

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

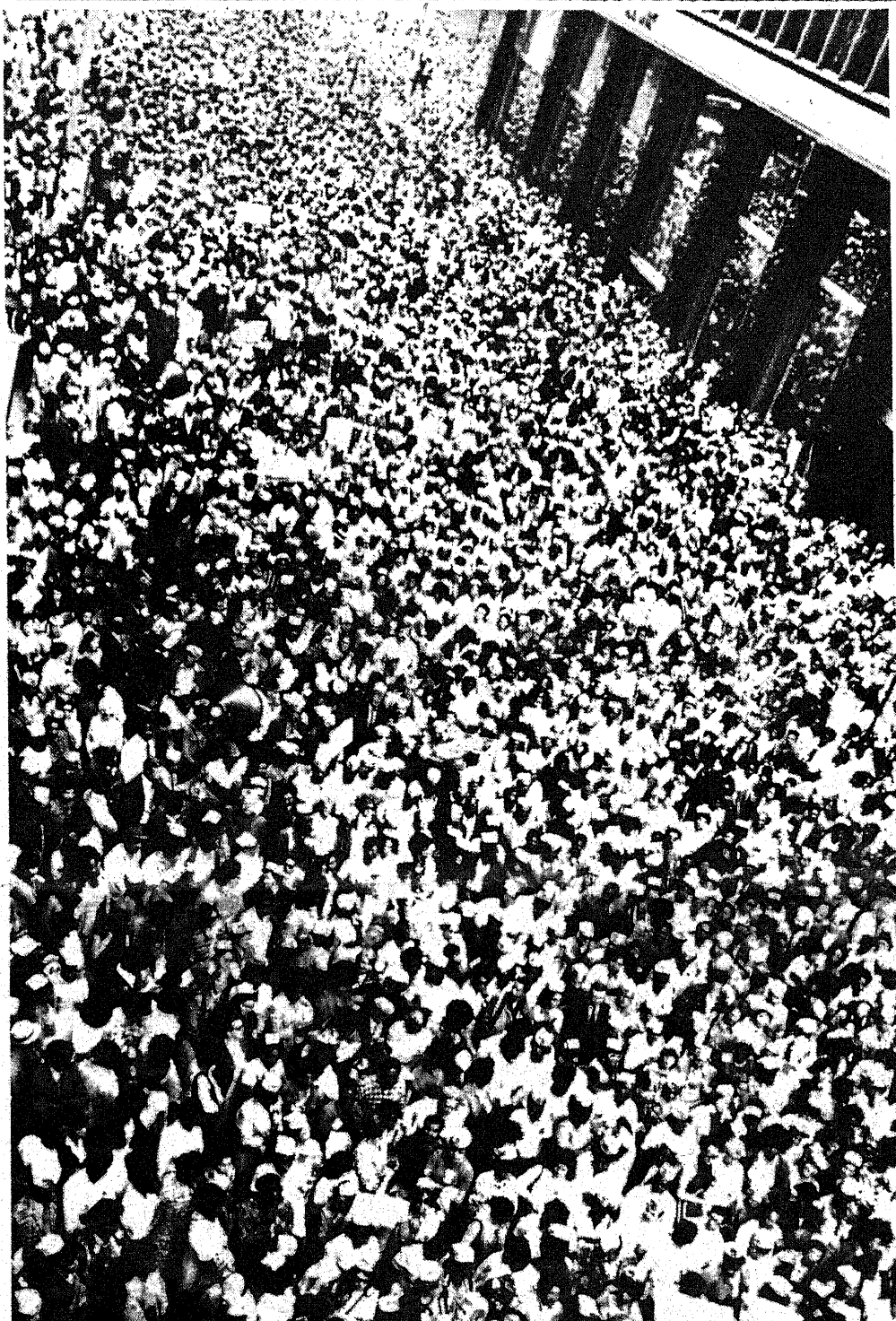
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FIFTEE

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N.Y.C. hospital workers demonstrated for contract demands. See story on Page 4.

WL National Committee Meet

## Launch Drive For Labor Party

BY THE EDITORS

The National Committee of the Workers League, meeting this weekend, voted to launch a massive campaign throughout the United States for the construction of a labor party in this critical election period of 1972.

This campaign will be centered around a Manifesto to be published in the next issue of the Bulletin calling on American workers to take up the fight to build a labor party now around a socialist program to break the labor movement from the Democratic and Republican parties and fight for the needs of the working people, youth, and unemployed.

It is around this Manifesto that the Workers League and the Young Socialists will fight to organize committees in the trade unions and the communities for a labor party preparing for mass meetings in the fall before the elections.

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## Wallace Welcomes Neo-Fascist Support

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 fourth of a series on where Wallace really stands.

BY DAVID NORTH

In 1968, George Wallace emerged from Alabama to wage a well-financed and far-flung campaign for the Presidency of the United States. Behind him was mobilized the broadest coalition of reactionary and neo-fascist elements who shared in common a violent hatred of the working class.

That campaign was merely the prelude to the drive Wallace has launched this year. But it was a "sneak preview," so to speak, of the forces being mobilized by big business against the working class. It posed

the urgency of establishing a labor party—independent of the Democrats and Republicans—to fight Wallace.

It is important to understand the conditions that led to the 1968 Wallace campaign; for his forces were given a national platform at a very critical period. 1968 was the

year of the most powerful offensive by the workers of the world since the immediate postwar period. As capitalism suffered drastic setbacks—the devaluation of the British pound, the weakening of the French franc, the attack on the dollar and the wild

gold speculation—it faced a working class determined to defend its gains.

The Tet offensive in Vietnam, the general strike in France, and the emerging political revolution in Czechoslovakia which threw Stalinism into profound crisis were the highest expressions of the new movement of the working class and the break-up of the profit system.

These international develop-

ments and the growth of the Wallace movement were not unrelated. The corporations which rule America began to realize that their system was in trouble—the days of the big and easy profits were coming to an end.

It was becoming impossible for the bankers and industrialists to meet the demands of workers for a decent wage. So the bosses began to search for a new voice.

That voice belonged to George Wallace. His ability to conduct a national campaign in opposition to the entrenched Democrats and Republicans meant that sections of the capitalist class were now seriously preparing for a confrontation with American workers. Wallace was summoned to the fore to lead that attack. His politics were not designed for the period of collective bargaining and so-called "cooperation" between business and labor. Wallaceism exists for

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# Nixon Prepares Bombing Of River Dikes In N. Vietnam

# Tories Send More Troops To Police Irish Workers

BY DAVID NORTH

Encouraged by his warm welcome in Moscow and by the total silence of the Peking and Kremlin leaders, Nixon has pulled out all the stops in the bombing campaign of North and South Vietnam.

Saturation bombing of the major population centers like Hanoi and Haiphong are being carried out daily. Laser guided bombs and the latest computer systems are being used to inflict heavy damage to the North Vietnamese supply system.

## TRANH HOA

Last week, important rail bridges, such as the Tranhhoa rail bridge south of Hanoi and the Lang Cai bridge to the North were almost destroyed.

"He's told the Air Force and Navy to go ahead and do their stuff," stated an American official, admitting that Nixon has given the military the right to do what it pleases. The commanders in Vietnam are given a list of so-called "restricted" zones but the military can bomb them as they see fit.

## INABILITY

But the inability of military might to defeat the Vietnamese revolution is behind the mass murder of Vietnamese that is being prepared by Nixon. It is reported that the American imperialists will bomb the dikes of North Vietnam, built to protect the population from the Red River. The floods caused by the bombing of the dikes, reported the French newspaper *Le Monde*, could kill more people than several atomic bombs.

## DESPERATION

These policies are guided by the total desperation of the American imperialists. It is necessary for them to embark on a policy of genocide because the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution cannot be accomplished militarily, short of annihilating the population of Indochina.

The revolutionary movement of the Indochinese masses flows from the total collapse of capitalism as an economic system. While it is possible for the American bombings to weaken the Vietnamese offensive for a short period, these methods cannot smother the historical questions.

## COLLAPSE

Even in the heat of the American bombing offensive, the Saigon regime has slipped closer to collapse. A full scale economic depression is sweeping South Vietnam, demonstrating that it is impossible for any nation to be fashioned with the tools of capitalism.

General Thieu was denied last week his bid for emergency powers to deal with internal rebellion by the Saigon parliament, which has up until now served him like a rubber stamp.

The American offensive is taking place without any protest whatsoever from Moscow and Peking. No effort is being made to break the United States' blockade of North Vietnam. The aim of Moscow's "peaceful co-existence" was described by former Cambodian premier, Prince Sihanouk, now in Chinese exile. He said that Moscow wanted a partition of the South into three parts, with Saigon in control of one of them.

The British Government is preparing for a massacre of Catholic workers in Northern Ireland.

In order to strengthen its military forces for a possible invasion of the barricaded Catholic ghettos—an action which it has threatened—the British are sending another battalion of troops to Ulster. This will bring the total there to 15,000.

The Tories also rejected a truce appeal issued Monday by the Provisional Wing of the IRA. William Whitelaw, the British Secretary of State for Ulster, arrogantly declared that he "cannot respond to ultimatums from terrorists."

Whitelaw recently warned the Catholic workers that he has "the means and capacity to sweep your barricades aside."

## BLOODBATH

While the British mobilize their own troops for a bloodbath,

the Protestant capitalists of Northern Ireland are arming the Ulster Defense Association (UDA) to terrorize the working class.

Within a very short period of time, the UDA has obtained the most sophisticated weapons in spite of the fact that arms—notwithstanding the false claims of the British—are virtually unobtainable in Ulster.

UDA is loyal to William Craig, the extreme right-wing former Home Affairs Minister, who told a rally of his supporters in March that: "We must build up dossiers on men and women who are enemies of this country because one day, ladies and gentlemen, if the politicians fail, it would be our job to liquidate the enemy."

Early last week, members of the UDA met with William Whitelaw and counterinsurgency specialist, Lt. General Sir

Henry Tuzo.

The intensification of the British offensive in Ulster has been aided by the betrayal of the Official wing of the IRA which offered last week to make peace with the British army in order "to avoid a sectarian civil war which the Provisional bombing campaign is threatening to provoke."

## PROVISIONALS

Not only does this stab-in-the-back give the British a green light to destroy the Provisionals with whatever means necessary, but it proceeds to blame the Irish Catholics for the "sectarian" divisions in Northern Ireland.

The Officials excuse the real killers, the British imperialists, who have for more than two centuries exploited Irish workers and fomented religious divisions, of their total responsibility. Behind this betrayal is the desire of the petty bourgeois nationalists of the IRA to collaborate with imperialism at the expense of both the Catholic and Protestant workers.

# Dock Strike Paralyzes Japanese Shipping

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Japanese workers are determined to continue their powerful two month old strike, the longest in the country's maritime history.

The strike has effectively paralyzed Japanese shipping, with more than 1,000 ships tied up in the ports and thousands of exports piling up on the docks.

The dockers are demanding a 25 percent increase in their monthly wage and larger compensation, retirement and pension benefits. Due to the trade war developing between all of the capitalist countries, the Japanese shipping companies are seeking to lower costs by driving down the living standards of the dock workers.



Stalinist betrayals of workers in Chile (above workers celebrate nationalization of copper industry) have opened the way for right wing resurgence as reflected in recent union elections.

# Rightists Win Chilean Union Election

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Christian Democrats have claimed victory in the election for leadership of the 800,000 strong Central Union, the main Chilean labor federation. Renan Fuentealba, president of the Christian Democrats, claimed the victory with a tally of 118,696 votes. The current Communist Party president of the union, Luis Figueroa, gained 78,074 votes, and the Socialist Party candidate garnered 73,603.

Although these figures are by no means final, the results so far represent a tremendous setback to the Popular Unity regime of Dr. Salvador Allende. Through its refusal to take up socialist policies, Popular Unity has opened the way for the right wing to launch an offensive that now saps the foundations of the regime. Since the Central Union was founded in the 1950's it has always had a Socialist or Communist Party member at its

head. The aim of the Chilean right wing is clear. They aim to use the weakness of popular frontism to prepare the way for a coup to oust Allende and crush the working class. Their success has produced a crisis within Popular Unity. Sections like the Communist Party are desperately casting about for some sort of truce with the "reasonable" elements of the right wing. To secure such an agreement they

are prepared to do everything to spike the forward movement of the working class.

## DAYS OF DECISION

Stalinist Senator Volodia Tietelboim in an interview with the Christian Democratic paper *La Prensa* stated he was looking for a "redefinition of positions," which would be "positive in the sense of casting aside the heady vapours of ultra positions." Continued Tietelboim, "I think we are living in days of decision. I believe the situation has reached a point demanding definitions and I feel that within the ranks of the left the Concepcion events point to such a definition."

"The Concepcion events" referred to make very clear the sort of deal the Stalinists have in

mind. A right wing anti-regime march was allowed to proceed in the industrial city of Concepcion while a countermarch by the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) was banned. The two marches ended up clashing in the streets. A split was produced in the coalition between the CP who banned the MIR march and the Socialist Party, some of whose members supported the counter-demonstration.

Big sections of workers have been so demoralized by popular frontism they are voting for the deadly enemies of the working class. Stalinism can only offer a policy of appeasement to a right wing which is out to destroy it. This is its deadly danger to the Chilean working class.

# Auto Ranks Call St. Louis Meeting Against GMAD

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS—Dan Fried, Labor Editor of the Bulletin, will speak here on June 25th at Sheldon Memorial Hall on "The UAW Convention and the Fight for the Labor Party."

The meeting is being sponsored by UAW Local 25 Rank and File Committee. Nat Mosley, head of the Rank and File Committee, as well as three other auto workers will also speak at the meeting.

This meeting occurs at a time when workers at the General Motors plant here face increasing attacks by GMAD and the government. In the past two weeks the men have only been able to work 28 hours each week. The company has refused to pay the 36 hour guarantee, insisting that the temporary layoffs were due to sabotage.

Workers coming out of the plant on one short shift, however, told the Bulletin that there was no evidence of sabotage. They pointed out that change-over on the line to the '73 model was imminent and that the company had been stockpiling '72's because of the recent strike vote at the plant.

## STRIKE

The ranks voted to strike GMAD some months ago. However, the union leaders of Local 25 have done everything possible to avert the strike and now, in the face of these new attacks, have refused to take a stand.

One Bulletin reader at the plant told us this week: "They sure as hell better strike after change-over because we can't keep going on like this. This would be the best time, it would hurt the company most."

Other workers told us that traditionally the plant was struck over local grievances in the spring. This is before change-over and plays right into the hands of the company, which is looking to get rid of all of last year's model.

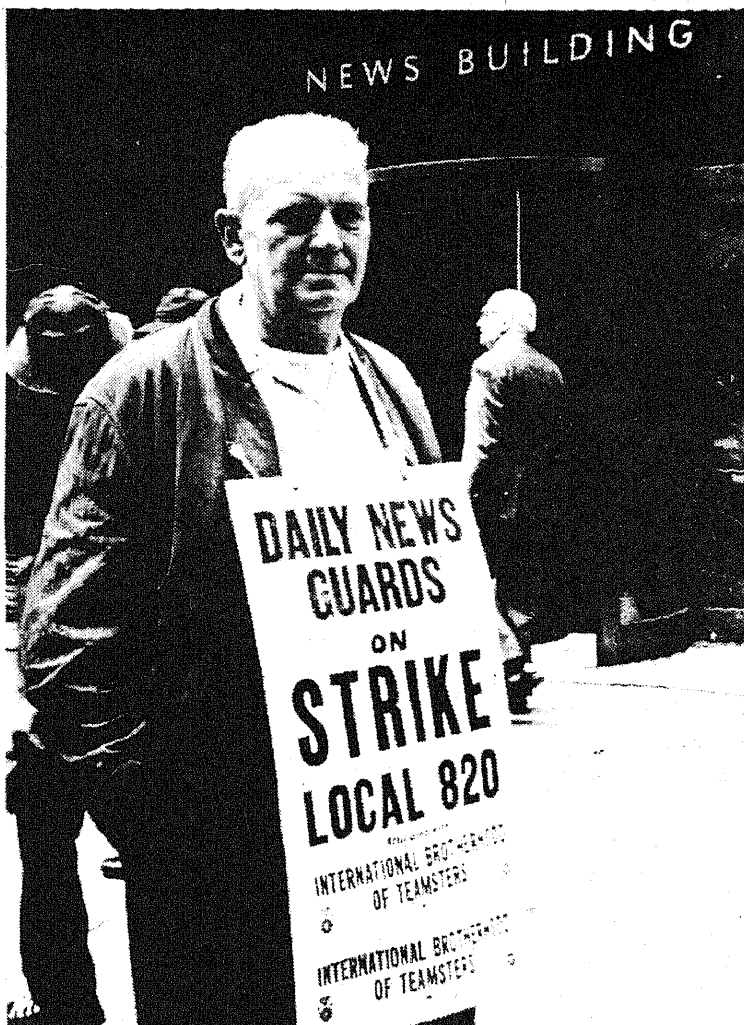
The increasing attacks and the impotent union bureaucrats pose very sharply the need for a new leadership. The International President of the UAW, Woodcock, has not even issued a state-

ment on GMAD, the most vital issue facing auto workers today.

Woodcock, together with many other union leaders, will be in St. Louis on June 23rd and 24th at the "Labor for Peace" conference.

## LOCAL 25

The UAW Local 25 Rank and File Committee will intervene at this conference and base its meeting on June 25th on a program to demand that the unions must build a labor party in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans around the following demands: Jobs for all, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay; Retirement after 25 years at any age and a minimum of \$750.00 per month; General strike to end the war and smash the Pay Board; UAW must fight to shut down all GMAD plants.



Daily News guards had struck for 11% pay raise. Bosses called demands "in excess of guidelines set by Federal Pay Board." NLRB got injunction to end picketing which had cut off supply of newsprint.

# Norwood Strikers Say: Shut All GMAD

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORWOOD, Ohio, June 11—"The company is trying to break this local because the guys stick together," said a UAW member at the Norwood General Motors Assembly plant. The workers are now in the third month of their strike with no signs of a settlement and little progress taking place in negotiations.

One worker told the Bulletin: "They want to put things back to slave days. The company wants to cut relief time from 24 minutes a day to 12 minutes a day, and they want to do away with job seniority, putting you on any job they want, shifting you around any time they please."

"I've been here for 20 years," he added, "and what we need is a labor party, just like you wrote in your paper."

## DISSATISFACTION

Dissatisfaction with the local leadership is surfacing with an election of officers and district committeemen taking place June 12 and June 13. A motion to postpone the election to a month after the strike is settled has been defeated.

One worker said the opposition slate is mostly "people who are soft on the company." The main pitch of the opposition slate is the amount of time lost during the strikes of the last two years.

Concerning the elections, another worker said that: "Some of the workers just don't know where to turn and are looking for some answers. The reason we're still out is the cars aren't selling. The only thing to do is shut the whole company down."

A second shift committeeman stated that: "The company wants to have new officers. Then they'll have a bunch of green-horns negotiating."

He continued: "There are three demands we have to have: job preference, shift preference, and equalization of overtime so the foremen can't play favorites. Without these standards there can be no contract."

## DISGUST

Many rank and file workers expressed disgust with the officers. One stated: "We need to know what's going on in negotiations and in the demands. All we know is, 'No progress.' That's all we hear. We never hear any of the details. We don't even know what the specific demands are."

One of the issues the company refuses to negotiate is back SUB pay. Workers explained how they were cheated out of thousands of dollars in SUB pay.

The company sent workers home early because repair work was piling up due to the line speed-up, then refused to pay the

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# 'People In Our Plants Don't Work Hard'

- J. Godfrey

BY DAN FRIED

General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) is out to smash the auto workers as part of the ruthless drive of General Motors and the giant corporations to destroy all rights and conditions of the auto workers, and all other workers.

The attack is being spearheaded by GMAD top boss Joseph Godfrey. In an interview with the Dayton, Ohio Daily News Business Editor Jim Good on May 28, Godfrey repeated his infamous statement of last month that: "If a man works 60 minutes an hour that's full productivity."

## PRODUCTIVITY

"Yes. I'd say that workers at our plants are less willing to give maximum effort than they used to be." Mr. Godfrey does not work up much of a sweat pouring over his productivity statistics in the comfort of his air-condi-

tioned Detroit office, while earning several hundred thousand dollars a year in salary and bonuses. But he pooch-poochs the idea that GM assembly workers work hard or have more and more job related illnesses than ever before, a charge made by the Lordstown, Ohio GM workers.

He states: "People in our plants don't work hard. Elbows and hands don't fly. It's not a Charlie Chaplin movie. We want steady and full work. We want them to keep their minds on the job."

"Men have their minds on things other than work these

days," Godfrey continued. The trouble is, according to Godfrey that these "lazy" auto workers are too well off and have it too easy.

## UNREST

"There is a lot of unrest in the world and we feel it on the assembly lines—war, youth, rebellion, drugs, race, inflation, moral degeneration. Marriage isn't what it used to be. We feel it. Their minds are on other things."

We might give Mr. Godfrey a new nickname—Joseph (Goebbels) Godfrey. Like Hitler, his solution for the concern of the youth and working class with such questions as war, racism, inflation, is "work harder and don't complain."

According to Godfrey, the complaints of the workers about job-related illness and monotony are just illusions. "Monotony," he says, "is a misnomer. The big grievance is change. People resist change. Monotony is a state of mind. If you read enough times that a job is monotonous, then it becomes monotonous."

Godfrey spells out his plan to make American auto production as "productive" as Japanese auto production. He proposes to continue to make cars in the U.S. by bringing the wages and conditions of U.S. auto workers down to the level of the Japanese:

"In my judgment, our division doesn't compare with the Japanese in productivity...If our productivity were as good or our wage rates were the same, they couldn't compete with us. Their average hourly wage is \$1.24, ours is more than \$4.50—with fringes we pay \$7.50."



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# Pay Board Cuts Raise Of Philly Butchers

BY FRANK ELLIOT  
PHILADELPHIA—

Four thousand area meatcutters, from five locals of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, have had their wages rolled back by 4 percent as a result of a Pay Board decision June 8.

The Pay Board ruled that the second year increase, negotiated in March 1971 after a three-day strike, was to be reduced from 11 percent to 7 percent. This is the first time that the Pay Board has ruled on a contract which was negotiated before Nixon's August 15 announcements and the creation of the Pay Board.

This decision must be seen now as the opening gun in what will be an attack on all contracts which previously had remained outside the reach of the Pay Board.

Equally significant is the fact that the Pay Board had previously approved this contract. On this basis, the three food chains involved, A&P, Food Fair and Acme Markets began paying the second year increases, retroactive to March 4. This decision now means that meatcutters, weighers and wrappers will find their next pay check will contain \$4-\$10 less than their last pay check.

The rank and file meatcutters have reacted very bitterly to this legalized robbery. An older worker at a large A&P in North Philadelphia said: "This is no different than fascism. Who are these four people on the Pay Board that make these deci-

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# Fedders Strikers Battle Scab Campaign

BY DAVID NORTH

EDISON N.J.—Hundreds of workers of IUE Local 483, now in the 12th week of their strike against Fedders, massed in front of the plant gates Monday morning to stop a back-to-work movement launched by the company.

Angry workers, who have lived for the past three months on their dwindling savings and \$12 weekly strike benefits, threw stones at cars as scabs drove into the plant. More than 35 police dressed in riot gear escorted the scabs into the plant, and on several occasions attacked the strikers.

Several workers suffered bloody head wounds from the billy clubs of police. Fifteen workers were arrested.

While the company has kept the plant open with scab labor that has grown steadily in number as the strike continues, it was not until last week that Fedders actually attempted to bring Local 483 members back into the plant without the approval of the



20,000 hospital workers of Local 1199 rallied outside New York City Hall to demand 50% wage increase. Hospital bosses are offering \$6.00 to be spread over three years. Present contract expires June 30 and strike is inevitable.

# 20,000 At Hospital Rally

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—On Tuesday, June 13, over 20,000 hospital workers, members of Local 1199 walked off their jobs at noon and converged on City Hall in one of the most massive displays of union power the city has ever seen.

The demonstration was held in defiance of a court injunction signed Monday night to restrain the union from "striking or creating a work stoppage."

The rally was a clear warning to Lindsay, Rockefeller and Nixon that hospital workers are determined to strike July 1st if they do not win a 15% increase. The hospitals threw down an "offer" of \$6 over three years and then walked out on the negotiations.

Leon Davis told the workers that "the hospitals are deliberately inciting a strike. I am here accusing the hospitals. They told me they want a strike for four days. When we were working in the basements these people were out on the golf course on Saturdays and Sundays."

"We are telling them, don't try to shove a contract down our throats. We're not going to take it anymore. We dare the hospitals to open their books. They lie

through their teeth when they say we're responsible for high costs."

Thousands of workers cheered as Davis concluded: "This is a conspiracy against us, but they'll never destroy us."

An operating room delegate from Beth Israel spoke to the Bulletin about the contract fight:

## RIGHTS

"Patients' lives are at stake but our lives are at stake too. We just can't stand for it anymore. How can they call this demonstration illegal when we are fighting for our rights?"

"The government knows jail terms won't hurt us but they're going to fine us. If workers get together and say the hell with everyone...they can't arrest everyone."

Workers from St. Barnabas said:

"All we ask is to let us live like human beings. They're not negotiating—\$6? They must be kid-

ding! What's 5% to us? That's nothing. We are letting them know we are united and strong. We're fighting the Federal government.

"Tell them from St. Barnabas, we won't settle for less than 15%."

The aim of the hospitals and

the government is not just to impose a 5% limit on wages but to launch a campaign to destroy the union and drive wages back to what they were 10 years ago.

They are provoking a strike because they know the city and state will use all its power, in-

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# Boston Traveller Closure Liquidates Jobs Of 1,000

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON—Over one thousand workers will be permanently laid off here with the shutdown of the Herald-Traveller. The workers employed at the Traveller are represented by unions, including the ITU, the Newspaper Guild, and the Photo Engravers.

The newspaper was bought by the Hearst Corporation for over \$8 million. Its plant will be used to produce Hearst's Record-American, and the 1,000 workers now employed at the Traveller will be thrown out of a job.

The paper's closing has been brewing since March 19th. But when the Herald-Traveller recently lost its temporary license for operating WHDH-TV and the Health Traveller Corporation announced that since the paper was losing money and the state TV station was no longer bringing in profits to cover it, it was announced that it would have to be closed down.

## SHUTDOWN

The union leadership has done nothing to prepare for the shutdown. It has done nothing to fight against unemployment except to perpetuate the hope that the Record-American will provide some jobs for those laid off.

But every sign points to only a few jobs being made for the hundreds of workers now being thrown out of work.

"We haven't got any answers from the Herald-Traveller, from the Record-American or from the union leadership," a member of the ITU told the Bulletin. "I think the whole business about losing the TV license is a put-up job. You watch, in a year or so they'll have the license back, and we'll be out in the street."

"You should look into Acker-

man and Clancy (Publisher and President of the corporation). If the Traveller is losing so much money how come they're making so much? They just don't care what happens to us."

## PROSPECT

A member of Photo Engravers Local 300 said that the 32 men in his section of the plant, who average 20 to 30 years on the job, now face three weeks severance pay and no prospect of another job.

Another worker told the Bulletin that: "They just had a meeting with the Business Manager of the Record-American and things look extremely dim—nil—nothing."

The majority of the 1,000 workers facing layoff at the Herald-Traveller are over 50 years old. One worker told the Bulletin: "After 23 years you walk in one morning and there's a sign on the wall and it says 'As of June 18 your services in the Composing Room will no longer be required.' That's after 23 years."

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# Strike Wave Shuts Down Minnesota Construction

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS, June 12—Locals of the cement masons and iron workers struck almost all major construction sites in the Twin Cities and Southern Minnesota today. Contractors are now moving with a threat to lock out the state's 100,000 building trade workers.

"They want to take away what it took us 35-40 years to get," said one iron worker picketing the Old Age Home site of the Minneapolis Metropolitan Housing Authority.

The iron workers and cement masons in Northern Minnesota whose headquarters are in Duluth have stated that they will be on strike by Thursday.

The Associated General Contractors (AGC) is attempting to use new work rules to destroy working conditions. The AGC wants to set overtime rates on a weekly basis, cut back benefits and abolish craft distinctions.

The AGC is aided in this by a rural based company union, the Christian Labor Association. The type of "contract" this union has is the model for what the AGC would like in the Twin Cities and Duluth—increased flexibility of labor.

This contract allows a bricklayer, upon completion of his own work, to be forced to work as a cement finisher or a laborer.

Many pickets traced the difficulties back five years when the Minnesota AGC brought in Bill Garry from the South to be their chief negotiator. He has openly stated his belief in the necessity to break the union.

A number of strikers thought they should have gone out on May 1st when the contract expired. They revealed that the AGC was offering no retroactive pay for the six weeks they worked.

"They've had something like 18 meetings to settle this thing," reported one member of Bricklayers Local 1 in a meeting last week. "I can't see why they don't call us all out," added another bricklayer.

Iron workers at the IDS Tower Site discussed the meaning of the proposed condition changes. They indicated that this would jack up the accident rate in an already high fatality craft.

One worker told the Bulletin that he had lost his brother in last year's collapse of a TV tower. He had been one of the 3 survivors.

The leadership of the Building and Construction Trades Council has treated the strike as a routine matter and has already made serious concessions on wages.

Electrical Workers 292 got a one year contract with no wage hike and a 34 cent increase in benefits. St. Paul Plumbing and Pipefitting locals got a two year contract with some benefit boosts, no money the first year and 10 cents an hour the second.

With the full force of the government behind the AGC, this strike has important political implications. The government, through its consciously created

unemployment, its Pay Board and its Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, constitutes the biggest threat to the Minnesota construction workers.

The continued collaboration of the union leaders with the government, especially through the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, has only encouraged the AGC.

The breaking off of all collaboration with government boards, the ending of reliance on the Democrats and the creation of a labor party by the unions now takes on extreme importance if the labor movement is even to defend its past gains.

## Laundry Ranks Won't Take Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PITTSBURGH, Pa., June 11—"If I told you how I feel about this you wouldn't be able to print it." That's how one laundry worker expressed his feelings towards the Pay Board's attack on Local 141.

As was reported last week, the Pay Board has cut the negotiated 40 cent an hour increase to 13 cents an hour. With this increase the laundry workers are now making only \$2.07 an hour. While profits soar, the government is driving wages to below the poverty level.

The policy of the leadership so far has been to file an appeal. At the local meeting held here today the leadership could offer nothing more than a wait-and-see policy, saying only that there would be a meeting of the shop stewards the first week in July if the appeal is rejected.

### FIGHT

One worker described the meeting as follows: "It was a regular business meeting. There were a lot of speeches, but as far as

this Pay Board thing goes, they said all we could do is wait." Another worker said: "I want the union to fight."

In an interview with the Bulletin given last week, Amy Ballinger, secretary-treasurer of the local, talked about the apathy of the workers. She predicted that the turnout at today's meeting would be less than 60.

However, over 300 workers showed up. It is clear that the ranks are willing to fight but the leadership can only offer the bankrupt policy of begging the government to reinstate the original increase.

The only answer to these attacks is a strike by Local 141 backed up by the entire Pittsburgh labor movement and the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

## City Workers Defy Lindsay And Pay Board Ruling

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Saturday, June 10, Mayor Lindsay announced that he had "no choice" but to lay off an "undisclosed number" of city employees, in all probability in the Department of Public Highways.

Lindsay's rationale for this attack is the refusal of the State Legislature and the City Council to authorize a budget beyond \$9.4 billion dollars. In addition, Lindsay intends to save money through a hiring freeze on 3,500 jobs in the police, fire and sanitation services.

Lindsay's threats are dictated directly from Washington and serve as the sharpest warning to municipal workers. His remarks come on the heels of the Pay

Board's decision to defer action on the raises of 100,000 firemen, sanitation men and DC 37 workers "until sometime after June 26th."

City Budget Director Hamilton, when asked why he had just discovered that some \$50 million in contract pay was still before the Board, replied hypocritically:

"When we put those in in April we were told that the Pay Board would act in May." Hamilton and Lindsay both understand that the Pay Board is preparing to slash

these increases.

At the same time these developments took place:

- PBA head Kiernan warned that policemen will conduct a work action "in the near future" if the city refuses to negotiate a new contract.

- Firemen are conducting a sick-in, not only in defense of their increase but to maintain the 3.9 ratio between firemen and their officers.

Nick Cifune, DC 37 head of blue collar personnel whose 1,000 highway workers face layoffs agreed with Lindsay that there is inefficiency and stated:

"While I am disturbed by the Mayor's announcement, I must agree there are vast stretches of wasted time in the work day of

road repairmen." Camillo Penta, head of Local 300 of the asphalt workers, whose members struck last June with the drawbridge workers, said the problem could not be solved by "simply dismissing" workers. Neither he or Cifune have proposed any action at all.

Meetings between Victor Gotbaum, Executive Director of DC 37 and Lindsay have been going on since June 6th over the issue of 120,000 pensions which the Legislature refused to approve last year. The Legislature has once again rebuffed the union.

Municipal workers must demand that the union leaders call general strike action if so much as one contract is cut and if the pensions are not paid.



Minneapolis construction workers have struck against companies, which are using new work rules to attack working conditions. Over 100,000 construction workers may be out all over Minnesota by next week.

## Labor Party Motion Shakes Up Connecticut Labor Leaders

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Saturday, June 10th, the Young Unionists Action League (YUAL), formed by the Connecticut AFL-CIO, held its first annual convention.

The purpose of this gathering, which was opened to all interested, was made clear in the opening remarks of John DelVecchio, Vice-Chairman of YUAL, when he

stated that the conference was intended to "bring about coalition efforts in tackling problems we are all concerned about."

Behind this talk, stood eight to ten Democrats on panels and in the audience. They were there to try to salvage the old relationship between the Democrats and the labor movement.

But it was not long before the intention of the conference organizers ran into serious difficulties even from their own keynote speaker, Peter DiCicco, regional representative for International Union of Electrical Workers District 2.

DiCicco was also speaking in a state where the Pay Board had filed suit one week earlier to make workers pay back the bosses' wage increases over 5 1/2 percent. While accepting the coalition efforts of the conference, DiCicco was also forced to say in his address that:

"If the differences between the Democrats and Republicans continue to diminish, we will be forced to form a labor party."

### LEADERSHIP

From that point on, YUAL, together with the top-ranking AFL-CIO leadership in Connecticut, desperately sought to get a coalition not "to tackle problems we are all concerned about," but to stop any further discussion of the labor party.

One liberal Democrat after the next was brought forward and given free run of the floor, to try to hold together the old illusions of the Democrats as the friends of labor. But the labor party could not be squashed. At one workshop, supporters of the Workers League and Young Socialists were able, despite incredible bureaucratic manipulation, to get a vote on the labor party.

The eight to two vote in favor carried all but one of the rank and file trade unionists and included votes by members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, a supporter of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), and one of the panelists, a member of the Boilermakers Union who in support of the motion said:

"Every couple of years we get out and work long and hard for the Democrats. Now we are worse off than ever before. I cannot go out and work for another Democrat. It's time we had a labor party."

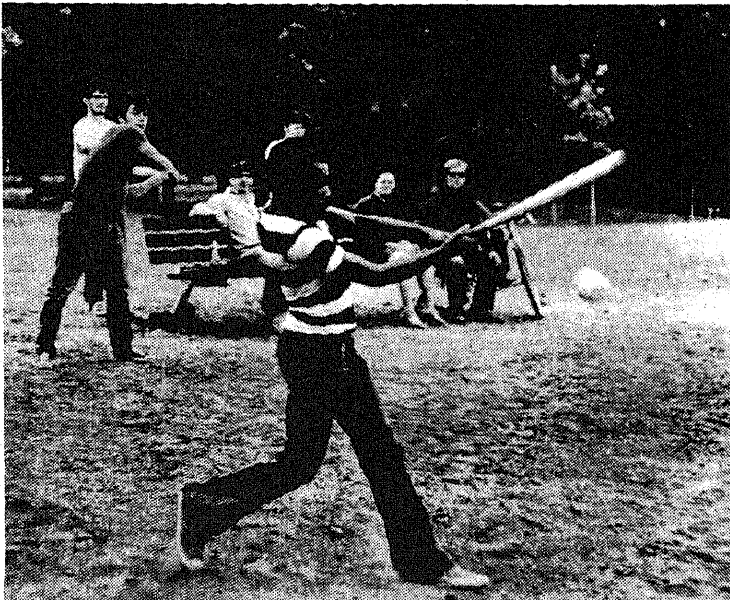
When the full conference met at the end of the day, the only motion placed before this body was the Workers League-Young Socialists resolution for the labor party. The final vote was 15 to 9 against the motion.

The CP-YWLL cast three votes against and one abstention, to side with the bureaucracy to provide the margin of defeat, just as they did in the mass movement in the 1930's and 1940's.



# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez



Minneapolis Young Socialists held baseball games and picnic as part of the Bulletin fund-raising campaign.

## What's Behind The Young Lords' Purge

The powerful movement of the working class against capitalism is having its effects on the nationalist movement. This is the case within the Young Lords Party which is now being split apart.

In the May 26 issue of Palante, an article details the expulsion of Diego Pabon from the Puerto Rican Students Union and the subsequent resignation of 11 others. Juan Ortiz has led another faction in a split with the YLP.

Pabon's relation to the American Communist Party was used as the basis for his expulsion. But what was at the heart of it was the attack by the Young Lords Party on anyone who even remotely raises the question of turning to the working class and Marxism.

The refusal to confront questions of theory and the history of the Marxist movement leads these nationalists into complete abandonment of any connection with the working class movement and throws their organization into turmoil. The hatred of theory upon which the YLP is functioning, along with the other nationalists around them, was expressed in the article in reply to Pabon. The YLP states:

"We should be clear that our theory is developed through practice, not by sitting in rooms and reading every book written on revolution."

It is precisely this idealist outlook which has brought the YLP to dropping all theoretical struggle and submerging themselves in whatever activity seems to work for the moment such as breakfast programs, garbage offensives, and the squatter's offensive.

The faction led by Juan "Fi" Ortiz accused the YLP of being "Trotskyite" and "Left Opportunists." The YLP answers:

"This is supposed to mean the party follows the political line of Leon Trotsky, a pig who tried to sabotage the working class movement as far back as 1917 in Russia."

If there is one thing clear in this statement it is the fact that even though the Pabon tendency was thrown out because of affiliation with the Communist Party, the YLP agrees with the Stalinists on the central point, the YLP stands with Stalin against Trotsky. They repeat the same slanders that the Stalinists are once again bringing out against the only revolutionary current—Trotskyism.

It is no mystery why the YLP lines up with Stalin against Trotsky. Because the YLP refuses to get at the roots of these historical questions it now bases its policies on the same theories as the CP. It was the CP that during the height of the nationalist movement gave support to the YLP as a "progressive movement."

The YLP has refused to confront the question of Trotskyism and this has led them towards Stalinism. When the YLP states "our first concern is independence of Puerto Rico and then Socialism," whose theory is it? It's Stalin's theory of the "two stage" revolution. This theory seeks to tie the working class to the capitalist class. It is a complete rejection of the international perspective which Lenin and Trotsky fought for. It stands right with Stalin's narrow national outlook which developed the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country."

Because the YLP refused to confront the questions of Marxism and Trotskyism they are now so totally removed from the struggle of the working class that when one member even mentions it they are thrown out.

The rank and file of the YLP and the two factions must take up a study of these questions. The YS is training youth on the principles of Marxism and Trotskyism to lead the working class against capitalism.

## YS Calls Rally! Jobs For All Now!

BY KIKI MENDEZ

NEW YORK—The Young Socialists will open its campaign against unemployment of June 22nd with a demonstration in front of Neighborhood Youth Corps at 505 Sutter Avenue in East New York.

Last year 505 was the scene of thousands of youth lined up outside the building from 5 o'clock in the morning waiting for jobs. Riots broke out and youth were injured when only 1,000 out of the 3,000 youth that applied were accepted. Later that summer 505 announced that an additional 100 jobs were available. Again 500 youth showed up for the jobs.

At the same time, Mayor Lindsay has announced that the city budget will once again be cut. This means that the school budget and the summer programs will be slashed. This is what is in store for the East New York and Brownsville area. In Ocean Hill Brownsville, the youth will face a 5.5 million dollar cut in their school budget in September.

The city, to avoid a confrontation with the youth, claims to have 45,000 jobs for all of New

York City. This is 3,000 more than last year. The city is putting more jobs in the "hard core areas" such as East New York and Brownsville.

Unemployment in East New York is as high as 45 percent among the youth and the only employment center is 505 Sutter. Neighborhood Youth Corps is responsible for finding jobs in 12 districts. They announced that 2,000 youth corps jobs will be available for East New York this summer. Although this is an increase from last year, the unemployment in the area has also increased. An estimated 5,000 youth will apply this year.

### MINIMUM

The salary for these jobs is the minimum wage of \$1.60 an hour for a 27 hour week. After all the taxes are taken out the youth are left with \$40.95. This way the city is using the youth for cheap labor. Under a unionized salary the youth would receive over

twice this amount. This is aimed at weakening the unions.

Among the staff positions at 505 there will be 80 jobs available for the 250 applications already filled out.

### GANGS

On top of the rising unemployment and the cuts in the school budget, the youth in Brooklyn are faced with the rise of gangs, which are only helping the government get away with the unemployment situation. These gangs are being used against the youth who want to fight the government.

There will be thousands of youth looking for jobs this summer and there will be millions of workers trying to maintain their jobs. The workers and the youth must unite in a common fight against the Democrats and the Republicans who are responsible for these conditions and build a labor party. All out June 22nd at 505 Sutter!

## Dayton Shuts Summer Parks

BY A YS REPORTER

DAYTON, OHIO—Dayton City officials are very hesitant to say whether or not the city parks will be open to the public this summer. On the one hand they say they will be open, but as one city representative stated, "The situation changes from one day to the next. Maybe tomorrow they'll tell us they'll be closed."

It has been confirmed that two parks, Hills and Dales and Waldruhe definitely will be closed. Eighty-four maintenance workers were hired by the city last year to keep the grass cut in the parks and next to the expressways. This year only twelve workers have been hired to cut the expressway grass, none for the parks. So the grass gets higher and higher as June 19, the date the parks season is to begin, rapidly approaches. Obviously the city is lying through its teeth when it says that the parks will be open and fully serviced.

Besides providing minimum recreation for the youth, the parks in the past have constituted a source of summer employment for many Dayton youth. The cuts therefore constitute a vicious two-pronged attack on the youths' elementary rights to meaningful recreation and summer jobs that is nothing short of criminal.

The park cutbacks are only one part of the massive layoffs of city workers in every department. More than half of the city work force has been cut in the last year and a half leaving only 500 workers. The Dayton Public Service Union, an affiliate of AFSCME, under the thoroughly rotten leadership of Walter Smith, has done absolutely

nothing to stop these layoffs.

These cutbacks must also be seen in light of other recent developments in Dayton such as the wage cuts at Frigidaire, the massive layoffs planned at National Cash Register, and the removal of supplementary unem-

ployment benefits.

The Young Socialists is taking up a fight against these budget cuts and attacks on youth by posing the formation of a labor party which could confront the two parties of big business who are responsible for these attacks.

## Police Attack Youth At Chicago Meeting

BY MARK ALEXANDER

CHICAGO—Youth voicing protest over police brutality were attacked and beaten, and six persons arrested at a police community relations meeting in the 14 and 15 districts here last week.

The meeting was part of a series held in all parts of Chicago featuring Police Supt. James B. Conlisk. Conlisk's plan is to show that the police care for the feelings of the community, and in that way whitewash growing anger over brutality by his men.

In reaction to the hatred of the police shown at previous community meetings, Conlisk and Mayor Daley tried to salvage this spectacle. They stacked the meeting with Democratic Party hacks and off-duty policemen.

These puppets attacked and viciously beat two supporters of a youth group, Rising Up Angry, who stood on their chairs and chanted: "Power to the People," to protest at this farce.

At this point, fights erupted in

four parts of the room as the police goons tried to clear out the youth. Several persons, including police, were hospitalized.

One supporter of Rising Up Angry explained why he was at the meeting: "One time I was tortured in the 14th district station. They had me handcuffed to the cell, hanging there. My toes were not touching the ground and they started sticking me with a cattle prod."

"Then they took me down and started beating my hands with a blackjack. They did all this because they wanted to know where my brother was. I wasn't even placed under arrest."

Rising Up Angry (RUA) is a Maoist-oriented group which conceives of itself as the white branch of the Black Panthers.



**BY NANCY VASQUEZ**  
**BROOKLYN**—Eastern District High School, built at the turn of the century, barely stands today, in one of the area's worst ghettos: Williamsburg.

Youth in the Williamsburg-Bushwick area attend school in this dilapidated building. The school is equipped with only the minimum essentials of teaching. Wooden desks and chairs, metal fixed doors, small separate lunch rooms make up the inadequate facilities in this school.

A new school, desperately needed, was to be built approximately 18 years ago but it was not. With the deepening of the economic crisis, it is very unlikely that it ever will be built.

**CONDITIONS**

The Williamsburg-Bushwick community reflects the barbaric conditions of Eastern District. Large segments of the people are unemployed. Rundown and decrepit buildings are part of the scenery in this area. With the attacks of layoffs and pay cuts along with the rising cost of living, workers battle in a day to day struggle in order to exist.

It is no accident that Eastern District High School ranks among the lowest in academic achievements and fourth in drug abuse in the city. The youth are faced with the most oppressive conditions and see no way out, no way forward for themselves.

Because of these conditions, many youth drop out of school. The educational counselor said that: "plenty drop out here."

**ROCKEFELLER**

Because of the drug problem in various schools and particularly in Eastern District, the Rockefeller Foundation allocated funds for the formation of a drug abuse program. This program called "Spark" intends to help stop drug abuse through "intervention and prevention."

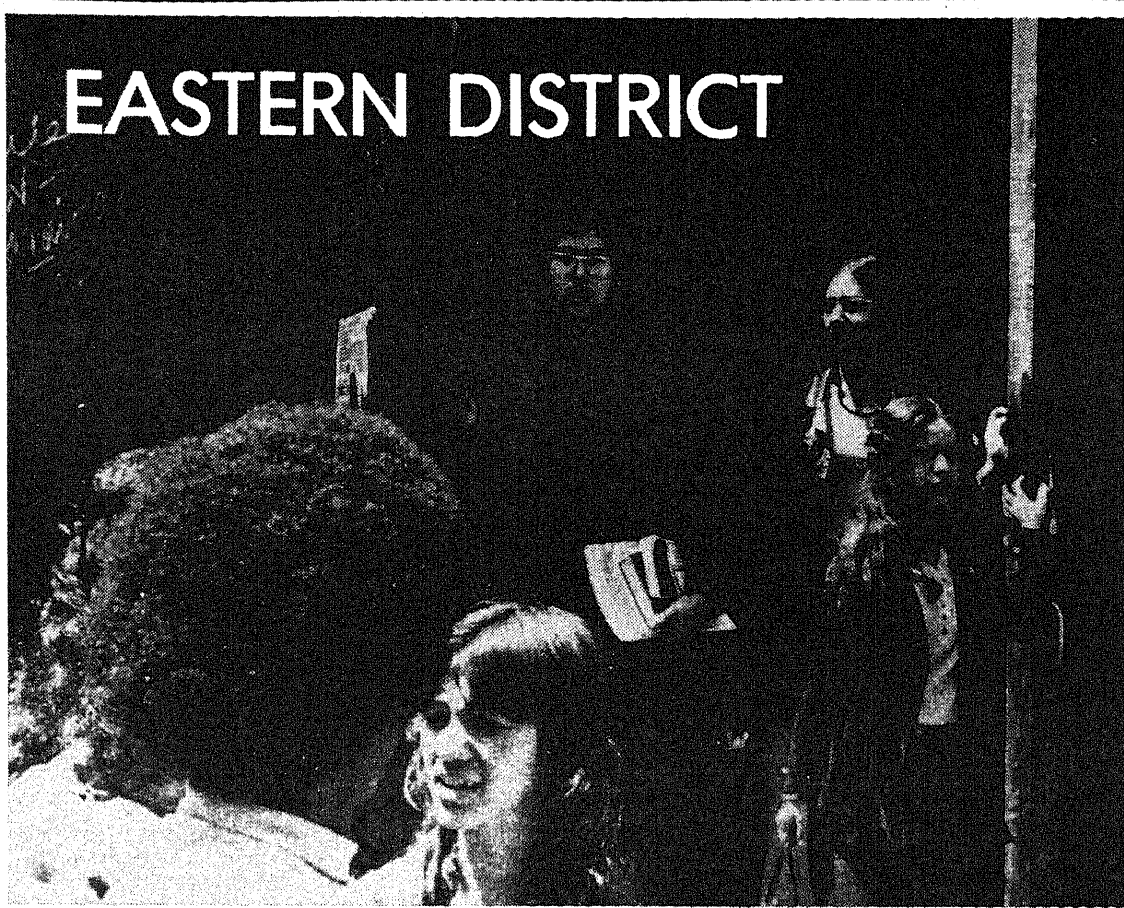
"Spark" intends to solve the youths' problems by "instilling self-awareness within the students and making them start to think."

Actually what it intends to do is to push the youth into believing that the problems they have and the sharp attacks coming down on them is all in their heads. Their hostility to the youth is expressed when they say they must teach the youth "how to think." However, they actually seek to divert the real struggles of the youth against the government's repression by instilling this garbage that working class youth are suffering from mental illness.

**REACTIONARY**

It is this reactionary conception which the capitalist class seeks to whip up against the youth. It is no accident that every single school is relentlessly trying to induce these programs today. Programs like this are coming forward with the sole purpose of holding back any movement of youth and workers against the sharpening attacks of the government.

In this period when the most acute attacks are focused on the youth, through unemployment and budget cuts, which place the youth in positions of literally having no future, the capitalist class would like nothing more than to have the youth believe



Students at Eastern District High School in Williamsburg section of Brooklyn are squeezed between ancient, dilapidated school and lack of jobs. Even employment counselors see no hope for the youth.

**PHONY DRUG PROGRAM CAN'T HIDE REAL STORY**

that "their problems are in their heads" and not in the objective world.

Unemployment, poverty, inadequate education, and repression in general are not invented in the minds of people. Only a fight against the roots of these problems can ever eliminate them.

**"SPARK"**

The reactionary role of the staff of "Spark" becomes crystal clear in the way they begin to justify this program. One member of the staff of "Spark" admitted that the causes of these conditions was the capitalist class. Meanwhile, he continues to

give illusions to the E.D. youth that they have a chance to survive in this world with "self-awareness."

**MENTAL**

Various "mental" exercises and sensitivity sessions are held to help "instill" this nonsensical conception. One such exercise is called the "trust exercise" as done by the "Peer Group," another group which works with and is similar to "Spark."

This exercise seeks to "gain trust and see where trust is lacking" among the members of the group. Everyone gathers around in a circle with one person in the center. This person

must concentrate on being a board and sway back and forth and "trust" that one of his fellow "peers" will catch him before he falls and breaks his neck.

Fruitless exercises like these try to express repression and inhumane conditions as being a question of morals and anxiety. They say that all that is needed is trust among the people and everything would be improved.

**TRUST**

In other words, we should trust that big business, out of the kindness of their heart will give the workers and youth jobs so they will not die of hunger. The unemployment situation in

Eastern District makes living conditions intolerable. Most of the youth at Eastern District fall into the city's statistics of minority youth unemployment which is at 35 percent.

The employment counselor said that: "Hundreds of youth come looking for jobs but there are very few available." She said that she "couldn't even begin to estimate how many E.D. students came looking for a summer job already."

Even the response to requests which she had sent out for permanent jobs for graduating students has been very poor. She said that it was due to the fact that the "economy wasn't too great."

**FRUSTRATION**

Youth in Eastern District have expressed tremendous frustration with the employment situation. One E.D. youth said that he had "no hope of getting a job this summer." Another student said that "that's one of the problems. There are no jobs. Kids are just going to be roaming around getting into trouble."

The budget cuts are felt acutely at Eastern District. Because of the overcrowded situation, this school was forced to take measures to try to alleviate it. An agreement was made between the Board of Education and the YMCA to permit Eastern District to use the first two floors of the YMCA as an annex. However, within a few years they again needed more space so they constructed a couple of portables inside the limited space of the school yard.

**ATTACKS**

The attacks by the government on education moved into other sections. A number of teachers have already been fired since the beginning of the school year. Rockefeller's new budget makes it clear that many more will be fired the following year.

This means that the inadequate conditions under which the youth are already being taught increasingly get worse.

These sharp attacks cut right into the recreational activities. The basketball team had to throw a benefit dance to raise funds to get team jackets. The baseball team has to kick in their own money for transportation every time they have a game.

Recently, student elections were held. The attitude of the E.D. youth during the campaign meeting expressed the growing militancy and frustration of the youth in the light of all these attacks.

**OUTBURST**

The center of the discussion was around how a new school can be obtained. The outburst of the students represented the tremendous disillusionment that they have. They understand that these candidates can in no way get a new school. All these candidates expressed the view that there is still a way in which things can be gotten from this dying capitalist system and attempted to tie the youth to a road of reformism.

Students alone cannot change the conditions of the school or the community. The fight of the Eastern District youth must be part of the working class struggle against the attacks of capitalism.

The fight of the youth can only be brought forward through the struggle to break the working class from the Democrats and Republicans in the construction of an independent labor party based on socialist policies.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Pay Board Imposes \$1.60 Poverty Wage

The drive by the employers and their government to destroy all the wages and conditions of the working class continues to mount through the decisions of Nixon's Pay Board and its enforcement arm: the Cost of Living Council.

Last week the Council prepared to take back two percent of the wage increase that 39 members of the ITU had been receiving since last December, demanding that these workers give this money back to their boss. Now, the Cost of Living Council, in its latest attack, has overruled the District of Columbia order which was to raise the minimum wage for hotel and restaurant workers in Washington from \$1.60 an hour to \$2.25.

This action makes clear that Nixon has absolutely no intention of allowing the workers even the protection of piddling minimum wage laws. The Pay Board and the Cost of Living Council, which was established by a Congressional act backed by both parties, are being brought forward with dictatorial powers to rip up all union contracts and take away all gains that the working class has achieved.

At the same time, the courts are brought in to help the employers smash up the unions by overturning any NLRB procedures that may favor the workers. This is the meaning of the decision of the federal appellate court which, contrary to the NLRB, ruled that an employer could legally fire his workers for union activity which is supposedly protected by NLRB regulations.

What is needed is general strike action to smash the Pay Board. The ILA which is at the center of the attack by the Pay Board, by striking now against the cutting of its wage increase can rally the support of millions of workers behind them.

At the same time, a strike against the Pay Board is a political strike against a government which is intent on smashing the unions in order to maintain the profits of capitalism.

That is why the labor movement must build its alternative through formation of its own labor party to fight for socialism against this government which serves the capitalists through their Republican and Democratic servants—McGovern, Humphrey and Wallace.

## Free Juan Farinas

The frame up trial of Angela Davis clearly exposed the government's plans to witch-hunt all militants. There can be no illusions about the acquittal of Davis. The U.S. Supreme Court is proceeding to overthrow all the basic provisions of the Bill of Rights. Jail cells are being prepared for trade unionists who defy the government's decision to actually take their pay out of their pockets.

It is for this reason that we urge all trade unionists and youth to take up the fight to free Juan Farinas as part of the defense of the working class.

The National Committee of the Workers League voted to send its greetings to Juan Farinas this past weekend. Farinas has been serving a two year sentence in Danbury Federal Penitentiary since March 27.

His sentence stems from framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act at his induction in August, 1968. His sole crime was to peacefully distribute leaflets opposing the Vietnam War as a class war being waged against the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The defense is preparing a motion for modification of sentence to the U.S. Court of Appeals.



"I'm doing this to protect private property!"

## What we think

### The Grooming Of Mr. McGovern

The Democrats and Republicans—the political spokesmen of the giant corporations and banks that control this country—will hold their national conventions in the midst of the most explosive crisis in the history of capitalism. The decisions made at the conventions will reflect the political instability as well as the fear and confusion now gripping American capitalists.

Any politician chosen by the capitalists to run for the presidency will have to defend their interests at a time of impending economic collapse and the powerful movement of the working class internationally.

George McGovern now appears likely to emerge as the Democratic candidate. In preparation for this distinction, he has been engaged in a tense round of negotiations with the entire business community and the most hardened reactionary Southern politicians including George Wallace to convince them that he has absolutely no intention of keeping any of the promises with which he won the primaries.

"I've always thought that I was a pragmatist that would not compromise on essential principles but that I know how to build a political coalition that will win," declared McGovern last week. "I'm not out to prove that my convictions are so fanatical, that I'm so rigid on everything that I do that I cannot function within a political system."

To convince the hold-outs, McGovern took out an ad in the Wall Street Journal in which he completely renounced the economic policies that won him—a staunch defender of union-busting "right-to-work" laws—the reputation of "radicalism." He declared his opposition to excess profits' taxation of any sort and also advised big business that he is not proposing any sort of inheritance tax, whatever he may have demagogically said during a primary campaign.

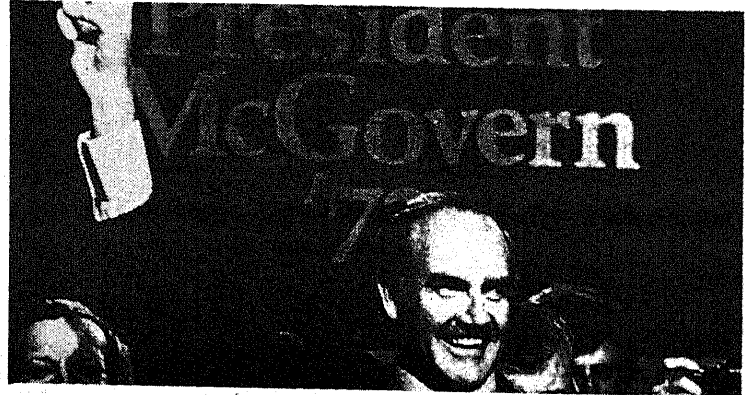
That big business itself never took any of McGovern's pledges too seriously is shown by the assurances

given by leading American financiers to European bankers that a President McGovern would follow more or less the same line that Nixon is taking.

Actually, these programs that McGovern is washing his hands of re-

that they'd better have an alternative to throw up to the working class in the event that all hell breaks loose between now and election day.

All the conditions exist for a complete breakdown of the policies of Nixon.



presented the last gasp of liberalism. Nothing that McGovern promised and which earned him a slap on the hand from big business outdid all the bankrupt programs of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. With the exception of the measly \$1000 per year guaranteed annual income (less than McGovern's weekly salary as a Senator) that he once proposed—and now has dumped after a policy meeting with Arkansas right-winger Wilbur Mills—all his plans have been heard before.

None of the Democrats have anything to offer the workers of this country but preparations for a ferocious assault on all the gains won by organized labor over the last 40 years. The banners of the Democrats and the Republicans are being waved from the platform of big business, committed to a program of mass unemployment, merciless productivity, wage cuts, union smashing, militarism and war.

Driven by the crisis, this is the program that the capitalists will seek to carry out. While they would like to continue this program with Nixon in the White House, the grooming of McGovern represents the understanding among the capitalists

• The fast deterioration of the economic system continues. The price of gold has zoomed to nearly \$70 an ounce as the law of value, which the capitalists joyfully ignored in order to rebuild their shattered system after the war, reasserts itself with vengeance.

• The offensive in Vietnam has completely smashed the "Vietnamization" program; and in spite of the genocidal warfare waged by Nixon, the social and political crisis that lies at the root of the movement of the Vietnamese masses against imperialism grows more profound.

• The American working class is bitterly resisting the attacks of the Government through the Pay Board in spite of the retreats of the trade union bureaucracy. A confrontation between the working class and the employers like none ever seen before in this country is on the agenda.

If conditions require such a step, the American bourgeoisie will drop Nixon like a hot potato—just as they dropped Johnson. But what they will not abandon is their offensive against the working class. Behind the liberal mask of McGovern, the needs of capitalism in crisis will make themselves heard.

As for all the talk of reform and social justice, the authoritative voice of capitalism, the Wall Street Journal, declared that if McGovern is elected, "He would quickly sense that these fantasies have no relationship to the real world."

Whether it is wielded by Nixon or McGovern, the working class will face the mailed fist of capitalism. American workers cannot defend themselves with candidates who base themselves on the program of employers in desperate search of profits. The only answer to the attacks is the independent mobilization of the working class in its own labor party.

## Final Fund Drive Push

As of June 13th, we have received \$31,771.32 on the \$40,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive. The decision of the recent National Committee meeting of the Workers League is that the full amount be in and on time. Each branch of the Workers League has agreed to do just that and are in the final stages of the last push to go over the top.

At the same time the National Committee approved plans for the 5,000 Subscription Campaign which will run from June 15th to September 15th. We urge all our readers to help us by renewing your sub if you have not already done so as well as asking your friends and fellow workers for subscriptions.



Dear Prisoners,

It is now nine months since the brutal massacre of the inmates at Attica. Attica brought to a head the rebellion which began in the prisons of New York in the fall of 1970 and swept throughout the country.

The Workers League saw these struggles as an expression of the class struggle outside the prison walls as the working class and youth are now forced into a battle with capitalism. It was the upsurge of the united working class that Rockefeller and his class saw at Attica and this is why they used all the forces of the government to break it.

The struggle of the prisoners of Attica was a struggle against capitalism itself. The 28 demands which they raised including coverage by the state minimum wage laws, political freedom and conditions in the prison as well as for amnesty could not be met by this system. Instead these conditions have become worse.

Writing in April of this year Stanley King, one of the Tombs Seven, said about the conditions of the prisons:

"...The conditions have not changed. Attica should prove that. Our Brothers gave their lives in order to live as human beings. Gov. Rockefeller murdered our Brothers, and now Mayor Lindsay is doing everything in his power to send us away for the rest of our lives...The justice system has not changed its concern or attitude towards the people."

Today because of the economic crisis the capitalist system faces, the big corporations and the state that

rules for them must drive back the conditions of the working class as a whole. It must slash wages, create mass unemployment, destroy education and housing. The struggle even to survive today means a struggle against the government. It means a struggle for power. There was no room for compromise at Attica, no more than there is for the working class as a whole.

The government faced an insurrectionary situation in the prisons and they could not give up. While the struggle at Attica was an expression of the class war going on outside, it was separated from it. The state was able to smash the heroic battle because of the isolation of the prisoners from the working class as a whole and from a strategy for power. This is the bitter lesson we must learn from Attica.

No, the conditions have not changed. Attica remains and the leaders of this struggle are either dead or in solitary confinement. As James Clark of the Tombs puts it:

"Do you think that reforms should be initiated? Reforms have been theorized till they have been made to fall on deaf ears. We must change, but change what? Change the system that allows underemployment, unequal education and housing facilities, also allows racism, drugs and profit for a few to ride the crest of a seemingly insurmountable wave while labor cannot get a reasonable increase in wages. Where war is now an everyday term, taxes skyrocket and military expenditures in excess of billions are made to seem reasonable. Where the richest nation in the so-called free world allows hundreds of thousands of masses of oppressed to remain ill-fed and poverty stricken...Is there any real wonder that there are over-crowded jails, courts and prisons? Should the system be allowed to function where it jails teachers who strike for better wages or incarcerates men who oppose a morally unjust war?...We must commit ourselves in all walks of life to changing this decadent system of capitalism."

This is the point. The prisons themselves are an essential part of this system. As Lenin put it the state

behind all its parliaments and congresses and courts "consists of special bodies of armed men who have at their disposal prisons." The prisons and other repressive institutions exist to maintain the exploitation and oppression of one class, the capitalist class, over the working class.

While the struggle within the prisons themselves will continue and is important for fighting the deplorable conditions, Attica shows the limitations of this struggle. Today reforms will be won only as by-products of revolutionary struggles by the working class. The prisons will be destroyed when capitalism itself is destroyed. Then the Bastilles will be opened and the prisoners freed as they were during the French Revolution.

Is there another way out? One of the other demands that was raised at Attica was for asylum in a "non-imperialist country." Herbert X. Blyden, a member of the Tombs Seven, also raises this as a solution. In a letter to the Bulletin, Blyden writes:

"I also feel that the ideological struggle that is being waged at present in the Socialist media must stop and a meaningful approach to the specifics of the Workers' problems must be reached. For example, there was a great hue and cry six months ago after the Attica massacre of 9-13-71. Then what happened? Absolutely nothing! More rhetoric about conditions being changed, about prison reform, etc., labor unions in prisons, etc., etc. But what about the several points which the media overlooks in its war on words about dialectics? 'Point 2' of the Attica Liberation Faction's Manifesto of demands dealt with the transfer of political prisoners (P.O.W.) to a socialist or a non-imperialist country: Why not wage struggle over this oversight? Why not try and secure the release of these comrades from these concentration camps? I think that the answer is simple..."

It is true that there has been a lot of talk about prison reform, and labor unions in the prisons, but these have solved nothing. All of these solutions seek to avoid the

## OPEN LETTER TO THE PRISONERS

# REVOLUTION & THE PRISONS



## LETTERS FROM PRISON

My condition is only part of the struggle that other politically conscious people in this country share in. Overcrowding conditions, excessive bail, repression at the hands of brutal fascist guards, inadequate medical attention, inadequate recreational and law facilities and the suppression of human dignity. All this is exposed by the Tombs-7 brothers and they are now on trial for their lives because they dare expose it.

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

Where war is now an everyday term, taxes skyrocket and military expenditures in excess of billions are made to seem reasonable. Where the richest nation in the so-called free world allows hundreds of thousands of masses of oppressed to remain ill-fed and poverty stricken.

Is there any real wonder that there are overcrowded jails, courts and prisons. Should the system be allowed to function where it jails teachers who strike for better wages or incarcerate

men who oppose a morally unjust war. Should not we be allowed our human dignity and pursuit of life, liberty and happiness? Or should we just be slave wage earners so that the corporate capitalist monopoly pig can continue to make vast profits off of the blood, tears and sweat of oppressed masses. Those of us that have become aware of the problem also seek to answer it with a concrete solution. We must commit ourselves in all walks of life to changing this decadent system of capitalism so that there will be freedom, justice, and equality for all. Oppressed workers unite—Oppressed people unite in the struggle for victory.

Power to the Oppressed  
James Clark 8th Floor Coordinator

Power Comrades,

As one of the Tombs Seven, who is now on trial for a 74 count indictment, stemming from the protest of October 2-5, 1970—I take this time to question the so-called public who has protested the slaughter of the Vietnamese people by the racist elements in this country—I question those who march, in the name of peace and justice for all the oppressed people of the world. My question is this: How do you find it possible, to protest injustice throughout the world, with over

100,000 marchers in New York alone, and yet you can't even find time to attend a trial that is a people's trial?

Yes, we who are incarcerated, within Amerikkka's concentration camps are studying Marxism and Leninism, changing our outlook towards life, bettering our mental conditions, so that when we do return to society we are no longer the robbers, rapers, murderers and the abusers of the people. For we now know, what the problem is, and why we have acted as enemies of the people!

As my own counsel I stood before the jury in the name of the inmates confined in the Tombs, and in their name addressed the jury to our plight...

"Ladies and Gentlemen, 'I have listened to Mr. Fine's (District Attorney) words, and I am amazed that he would continue his attempt to fabricate the facts...Ladies and gentlemen, the D.A. is a liar..."

"I intend to prove the law is not the same given to the millionairess Doris Duke, when she was charged with murder in New Jersey. It's not the same given to Ted Kennedy up in Chappaquiddick. It's not the same given to Judge Schweitzer, Judge Martini's son or Howard Samuel's son. Hitler had law and order, German law for Nazi order; both Mussolini and Tojo demanded law and order, but only for themselves. Even here in Amerikkka,

the Pilgrims instituted a policy of law and order, but we all know what happened to the American Indian. The question here is not law and order, but who's law and what order!"

There are two systems in play today, one for them, one for us. Then our comrades say to us, the working class is our salvation! We must have patience, when the working class are fed up with their persecution, then and only then, will justice be served! But we who are truly oppressed say "No" we will not wait until all Amerikkka is oppressed before we gain our freedom. White Amerikkka is too contented with their lot, to consider our plight. Are we to wait for our oppressors to perpetrate a unified oppression, before we can be free? Must all the working class become dissatisfied before the chains of slavery are removed? These are profound questions. They are asked by us the slaves. What are the answers?

Bro. Curtis Brown  
Tombs-7

Companera,

Last night a white inmate had cut himself up very bad. He was living right next to my cage (cell) so I was the first one who heard him scream. I had asked him what was wrong, he told me that he was going to kill himself, so when he showed me his arm, and I saw the blood coming out of his arm, I started to call for the

"Pigs." They didn't come so I started to talk to this kid so that he wouldn't cut himself anymore, but it didn't work. This time when I called the "Pigs" I started calling them all kinds of names and then he came. I told him what was wrong and, this fascist imperialistic Pig just stood there for 5 minutes before he called the doctor. You see comrade, this white kid is always with us, and the Pig knew this, and that's the reason why he didn't want to help his own kind.

By the way I was just told that the kid that cut himself up is half dead.

In the spirit of Don Albizu Campos—

Free all Political Prisoners  
Power Then Peace  
Comrade Raymond

Editor:

For several weeks I have received the Bulletin. I received some weeks ago also fifteen pamphlets and two books. Today, after having read most of the content therein, my awareness in regard to the struggle of the proletariat against the imperialist capitalist has expanded, and there is an increase in the total of "Tombs" prisoners who acknowledge this struggle...

When will I reach the revolutionary stage of my development depends on objective, social conditions. Thus, I do not

(Continued in center box)



central nature of the prisons themselves and to perpetuate illusions that there can be real changes for the prisoners under this system. But so does "Point 2."

It would be utopian to think that the government which consciously jails political prisoners, which frames them up like Angela Davis and our comrade Juan Farinas, and murders them like George Jackson and the prisoners at Attica is going to arrange an exchange of prisoners. The defense of political prisoners is a question of the mobilization of the working class.

This solution really denies the possibility of fighting capitalism because it begins from the individual and not the class. It is the thinking of capitalism which seeks to perpetuate the illusion that the individual exists outside of classes and can find a solution by himself within the system. The working class as a class cannot escape. It must either fight as a class or be destroyed.

The prisons themselves are a necessary arm of the state for the specific purpose of oppressing the working class. They will remain as long as the system remains and as the struggle intensifies, as it is today, more and more working class fighters will enter those cells.

INDIVIDUALISM

At best under "Point 2" a few individuals could go to another country but the masses are still left under the heel of capitalism and its bodies of armed men and prisons.

This solution reflects the pessimism that runs through the prisoners' struggles and is encouraged by "Third World" theories that the working class in the imperialist countries have been bought off, and that it is impossible to make a revolution in the advanced countries. But the character of the struggle today which was covered over during the boom of the 1960's is that the working class in the advanced countries now comes into direct collision with capitalism.

The so-called "socialist countries" are today working with imperialism. This is why Nixon is invited to Peking and Moscow. A privileged bureaucracy in these deformed workers' states seeks to preserve its privileges against the movement of the working class through compromise with the imperialists.

These countries have their own prisons for political prisoners. In the 1930's almost the entire leadership of the Russian Revolution was framed up by this bureaucracy under Stalin, jailed and finally exterminated. Today the oppositionists within the Soviet Union are jailed and put into "mental institutions."

Algeria is run by a military dictatorship and Ben Bella is still in jail. In Cuba those who oppose Castro are repressed and imprisoned. There is no escaping from capitalism or its agents. It must be overthrown internationally.

This is why there must be a struggle for dialectics. This is not just a "war on words" but is the question of changing men's consciousness so they can change the world. This is why Lenin said: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."

MARXISM

This is the struggle which George Jackson took up before he was murdered by the government. Just before he died he had begun a study of Marxist philosophy and had reached an understanding that only if the most resolute action is guided by the most advanced theory, by Marxism, could it overthrow capitalism. In an interview with a reporter shortly before his death, Jackson was asked what book impressed him most of all. He replied: "Engels' Anti-Duhring." This book is one of the most fundamental works on Marxist philosophy.

In the same interview he revealed that he was: "Engaged in a study of the working-class movement here in the United States and an in-depth investigation of history of the past 50 years, when fascism swept the western world."

It is clear from his writings that this study of history was related to the sharp struggle he took up against the American Communist Party. This struggle was centered particularly around the question of Angela Davis' defense. Writing in the March 13, 1971, issue of the Black Panther paper Jackson said:

"When certain members of her 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 turn."

In the same article he states: "The insecure and possibly counter-revolutionary elements of the A.C.P. represent Angela no more than do the Tabor couple, and R.D. Moore, represent Huey Newton. The underground attacks made on the Black Panther Party by these individuals of the A.C.P. must be viewed as they are—individualist and probably of an ulterior motive."

In the July 24, 1971 issue of the Black Panther, Jackson again took up the CP this time for its role in the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee:

"You took the wrong position on August 7th, 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 our operation was in the hopes that you would mature to an understanding of this..."

"For the few moments mental gratification it affords me, and as an example to you who have obviously been

Letters from Prison

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know. It might be next year, month, week, or tomorrow or any future time. Since I will never abandon Marxism, since I am determined to acknowledge society from a proletarian position, and since I will—as best I can—keep in "tune" with the day to day international struggle between the proletariat and the imperialistic capitalist, I know, however, that I will one day arrive at my revolutionary stage of development.

The revolution is the result of a social condition consisting of a quantitative contradiction, of antagonistically opposing forces (those who work but gain practically nothing for their labor in opposition to those who work not but accumulate almost everything for not working). The revolution is led by this social condition, which, figuratively speaking, not only sets the stage for revolution, but also composes the script for the collision of these forces. And in the final act, just as the exploitive system of production comes down, the fruits of labor are taken from those who profit but do not work by the proletariat, to whom those fruits belong.

Right on with proletariat power.

Best Wishes,

Sincerely,  
Norman Washington

ODYSSEY: "From the Tombs to Attikka and Back—Point 2." Greetings and Comradship—This is a Bulletin!!! There is much talk today about reform—be it within the prison structure or the system itself. Our position is that there can be no change in the lot of the masses until they become aware of the role played by the tools of the Slavemaster who is used to keep the working class subjugated (even though these slavemaster's lackeys themselves are members of this class of workers, 'ho they realize it not). "Point Number 1." For example,

in the Prisons the guards are responsible for holding the poor, oppressed comrades as Hostages because the High Bail is no more than Ransom which we are too poor to afford. Then there is the issue of the Military Complex which fights the workers at home to maintain "law and order" and the workers of Asia, Africa and South America under the guise of "seeking a just peace." This machinery as it is set up keeps the Soldier-Police in a state of constant preparedness for waging Armed Struggle against Peoples Liberation Movements, be they in Bolivia, Chile, Ghana, Congo-Brassaville or Cuba, or Attikka or Angola, etc., etc. Moreover, "Point One" was expressed when the issue of Reform became evident, hence we needn't dwell on the merits (or lack of same) on this approach. Note for example that during the Reconstruction Era there were more Black People in the various State Assemblies and the Federal Legislature than there are today! How then does one explain the Huey Newton Approach to Politics or the Gary Conference with a clarification of the workers role in any structural setup? What is needed if the working class is to struggle in a Democratic sense is to form a party of the workers (Labor Party) and in so doing can then confront management with the demands of the People. Coupled with that we would then have to apprise the masses of the fallacies of Democratic-Dixiecratic-Republicanism and guide them along the path of Confrontation with the enemy on the level of understanding which has been shown is the only thing that he understands: American Capitalism relates only to Violence. Cite the I.T.T. Affair; the present escalation in N. Vietnam; the Attikka Syndrome (even Women give birth after 9 months of impregnation—what then of Attikka some 9 months after the massacre?); Watts; Kent State; Jackson State; RFK JFK MLK (even George Wallace).

Wherefore the Comrades in Maximum Security extend our plea beyond these walls to you in

minimum security that you stop travelling along that 3rd or 4th International Road and cease your revisionist-reformist policies and start the real odyssey towards "Point 2"—! We say Avenge Attikka and Free the Tombs 7, Now!!!

Bro. Herbert X. Blyden  
Tombs-7

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a member of the Isabella Auerbach Collective, which originated from the Tombs and made its way to the Womens House of Detention and crossed the highways to Rikers Island.

The Isabella Auerbach Collective is a Marxist study group, but in order to continue our studies we ask you for assistance to help us make these proletarians push out of their heads, the bourgeois way of thinking.

A lot of brothers here, in Rikers Island, are not aware that they are a working class, they have fell victim to the instruments of fascism and must be pulled up. But we can only help ourselves with your assistance.

Comrade James Crute of I.A.C.

tempted murder of three policemen on November 23, 1970. From the time of his arraignment until today (some 18 months) he has supposedly been represented by one Mr. Irving Mendelson esq., 233 Broadway, N.Y.C., N.Y. For 18 months Mr. Davis, charged with a crime for which he can be given life, was never visited by this lawyer. This "lawyer" never filed any motion, prepared any defense, discussed any facts, supplied Mr. Davis with a copy of his indictment, or any way represented Mr. Davis for eighteen months. A man on trial for his life!!

Mr. Davis, with the assistance of a "jailhouse lawyer," prepared a motion, setting forth the lawyer's gross negligence, to have this "sham representation" terminated. The motion was denied.

Today is May 31, 1972 and the charade goes on. There are eight jurors in the box. Mr. Davis continues to protest. The Judge has threatened to have him "gagged and bound". Bobby Seale? Martin Sostre? Yes! And countless more to come!! This blatant injustice must be stopped!

Tombs Committee For the Defense of James Davis.

Attention!!

Comrades:

This is a call for help from every person who abhors injustice and naked oppression...

In Part (38) of the criminal court building on 100 Centre Street a legal "lynching" is taking place. A Black man, in the age old tradition of American jurisprudence is about to be—! being denied any and all rights to the much vaunted right to due process and equal protection of the law (as are all who suffer the same social oppression in America of this race and class). He is being lynched in the dark, the traditional method.

Here is what is happening. James Davis, the victim of the illegal proceedings taking place, was arrested for the alleged at-

Dear Editor,

I write this letter to ask for the people, the poor people, my people, to render help in these trying times...I have had enough. I am on the verge of a complete mind blowing and when that happens I feel somebody is going to pay.

They are killing and genociding my brothers and sisters. I am a person who keeps my cool. But the time is running out. All I want is revenge.

This concentration camp of this fascist government is upsetting me. Help me not to do anything out of the way. For if I go and lose my cool, now they will win and that is what they want.

Your brother in Struggle,  
V.S.



Above: Scene from Attica State Prison when inmates revolted against inhuman conditions and lack of rights. Page 10: Queens House of Detention uprising, around time of Tombs uprising for which Tombs-7 are charged.



led to believe that negotiations with a pig are possible, and that an appeal to arms is just taking life too seriously. The objective of all of 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!"

Jackson goes on to relate the CP's present position to its role in the 1930's.

"You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930's..."

"We are under attack now. We are not going to wait for the Soviets to peacefully co-exist our enemies out of existence."

I quote from Jackson here at length because his study of Marxist theory and his struggle against the Communist Party raise the central questions which must be confronted by all prisoners.

LEADERSHIP

First is the question of the construction of a leadership in the prisons which is trained in Marxist theory, the only understanding that can arm us for the struggle to destroy capitalism. This training cannot be separated from the source of the development of theory and the instrument by which Marxism is taken into the working class—the revolutionary party. Jackson recognized the need for such a party, if in a confused way, by joining the Black Panther Party.

He had just begun a study of the history of the working class movement. Marxism has developed historically as theory has taken on flesh and blood in bitter struggles in the working class and the working class movement itself against all those who sought to revise Marxist theory. It is in this struggle that the revolutionary party has been built. The present positions of the Communist Party and the "socialist countries" can only be un-

derstood through this history and the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism.

It is this question, the question of the continuity of Marxism, that must be taken up centrally in the prisons. Herbert X. Blyden writing to the Bulletin about the struggle with Stalinism states:

"This communication is directed specifically at the inconsistencies of the Workers (Be they Young Socialist or Progressive Laborites or whatever-Stalinist)!!

"Everyone is up in arms over the fallacies of Black Caucuses and Stalinist policies and reactionary political approaches to the Workers' problems by C.P., etc., etc."

"I don't think your Branch of the Socialist Community is lending the moral unifying and firm hand that it should toward resolving the differences in the Socialist Camps today."

Hap Gary, who organized and was the co-ordinator of the collective in the Tombs in New York set up to study Marxist philosophy, took a similar position when he wrote to the Bulletin:

"Yes, we have taken up the fight for Marxism. But we do not wish to get bogged down in petty skirmishes with those many organizations, groups and parties who claim to be the true interpreters of Marx. Many of them have been so busy interpreting (or misinterpreting) Marx that they themselves have become a contradiction. Marx emphasizes that we must not get bogged down in interpreting the world, we must change it. The antagonisms that exist between the various organizations and groups are downright anti-Marxist. And we who are involved in the prison struggle do not wish to add to these antagonisms by 'taking sides.' However, we must be 'guided' if we are to develop. So we remain 'open-minded.'"

However, both Blyden and Gary are forced in the

course of their struggle, like Jackson, to take up the "misinterpretations" of Marxism.

Blyden writes: "In Bulletin Pamphlet Series 5 the 'dialectical yes-no' of Progressive Labor in support of its stand on the dual position of the Black Nationalist in the struggle today, lends rise to speculation when we note that PL's attitude is one of playing a segment of the working class off against the other, much as those Gary, Indiana Non-Socialists had their so-called 'Black Caucus' recently. But what role does the working class play in such a gathering? It is not off base to say that the same play was used against the slaves of yesterday and today we see these former slaves crying out for Freedom from want and Freedom from oppression and then we read where Sister Angela Davis crying out for more Black Caucuses in effect when she says to put aside our differences with the Racist Capitalist Warmongers. The parallel is there between her views and the 'Let's Bury the Hatcher' tone of the 'Gary, Indiana Hot Air Conference.'"

Gary also writing on the Black Political Convention states:

"There has been much publicity regarding the impending 'convention' in Gary, Indiana. One of the laws of dialectical materialism is that motion (antagonism) causes change. Without antagonism we cease to progress..."

"Now they (Gary Convention) claim that they will use votes to support the Democratic or Republican Party; whichever party that makes concessions for Black people. To me, that is a backward step. Because they imply that they are willing to work within the framework of the established parties, parties whose history has been that of abusing poor and oppressed people."

STALINISM

So it is not a "petty skirmish" but the struggle within the working class movement is the struggle for the strategy of the working class against capitalism. It is a struggle against all those who would keep the working class under the domination of this system. The politics of the Gary Convention and of Angela Davis are the politics of Stalinism, to tie the working class to a section of the capitalist class.

Stalinism meant the revision of the philosophical foundations of the Marxist movement. The struggle against Stalinism is the struggle against the thinking of capitalism within the working class movement itself. Only through this struggle is Marxism developed, through the negation of its opposite, and the strategy for the victorious struggle of the working class prepared.

Yes, it is true that "antagonism causes change." The conflict between Trotskyism and Stalinism is the conflict between class forces—the struggle for the interests of the working class against those who represent the interests of capitalism in the working class movement. This struggle, as both Blyden and Gary imply, is a question of the victory or defeat of the working class.

Lenin stressed over and over again that the fight against revisionism was a recurring and inevitable one. Revisionism reflects class pressures on the labor movement. This is why almost everything he wrote as well as Marx and Engels were polemics against those who opposed scientific socialism.

We cannot understand the counter-revolutionary perspective of the CP unless we go back to the theoretical lessons of the past and the experiences of the working class as Jackson began to do. And we must take sides in that struggle.

Hap Gary's own history shows why this is necessary. Gary was responsible for the organization of the Marxist study group in the Tombs. The collective began on one floor and soon spread to other floors and to other institutions. The men eagerly have sought books on Marxism and Marxist philosophy, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Thus the most important task facing the working class and youth, understanding Marxist theory was taken up in the depths of the Tombs.

TROTSKYISM

But because he sought to avoid confronting the question of the revolutionary party and the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism, today he finds himself a willing ally of the Communist Party. At the Young Workers Liberation League convention last month he shared the platform with the Stalinists as they put forward the perspective that the youth should work in and support the Democratic Party. He shared a platform with them as even some members of the YWLL were criticizing the leadership for not educating them in the history of the movement.

The Communist Party now uses Hap's position to completely distort and lie about the development of the collective itself.

The Communist Party writing in its paper the Daily World said of the collective in the Tombs: "In the Manhattan Men's House of Detention, the Tombs, a Marxist study collective has been established involving several hundred prisoners...All this was possible, however, only because the group was in continuous contact with Marxist-Leninists on the outside and because the prisoners carried out a prolonged struggle against racism, nationalism, anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism and other forms of petty-bourgeois radicalism."

While the CP's publishers through Isabella Auerbach



supplied literature to the prisoners as many other organizations have, the prisoners are not fighting on the basis of Stalinism as the Daily World would have it. It is an open lie to say that they carried out "a prolonged struggle against Trotskyism."

The prisoners have studied not only the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin but of Trotsky. In this they have questioned the role of Stalin and what happened after Lenin's death. They were particularly upset at Nixon's visit to China. Many prisoners have in fact stated their hostility to Stalinism and the Communist Party.

Stanley King raised some of these questions in an interview with the Bulletin:

"We have had a lot of discussion on this, yes. Stalinism points itself out to be directed toward identifying with that which socialism was intended to remove...It's almost as though we have two enemies. One pretends to coincide with us, but only to the limit that they can try to destroy you. Like when Stalin came into power. They don't just kill the surface, they try to kill the root. The root principles."

The danger in the situation is that many of the prisoners who are now studying Marxism view it apart from a thorough study of the history of the revolutionary party, apart from the construction of this party and the struggles of the working class itself.

Many of the prisoners have through the course of their study rejected nationalism and the theory of the lumpen proletariat as the revolutionary force in society.

Hap Gary wrote while he was still in the Tombs: "Many of us in prison have gone beyond the reactionary concept of the lumpen. Our struggle is no longer confined to the physical; it has become ideological...Because we have picked up the superior weapon (dialectical materialism) and we have coupled

George Jackson's own development towards Marxism. For he very much expresses the developments the prisoners are now going through in coming to political consciousness. Jackson's turn to Marxism represented the highest expression of the struggle of the working class to overthrow capitalism. It reflected the strength of the American working class and anticipated the leap in consciousness in the working class as a whole, in the labor movement.

But Jackson saw his development isolated from the development of this class and the crisis which is forcing the workers, despite their present backwardness, into struggle against capitalism.

#### WORKING CLASS

In his book *Blood In My Eye*, Jackson sees the American working class bought off and therefore not a revolutionary force. Since the only elements which are not affected by this are the Black revolutionists, then here is where the struggle must begin. Jackson sees it, as Herbert X. Blyden poses, as a struggle of urban guerrilla warfare. Jackson said that the measures the state would have to take in such a war would shock the working class and would force it out of its conservatism. Jackson sees urban guerrilla warfare as the way to spark the revolutionary consciousness of the workers.

Jackson sees fascism as already having conquered and the defeat of the working class already accomplished. Curtis Brown in a similar way states that it is a question of the working class not being oppressed yet. Confidence in the revolutionary role of the working class is a question of the dialectical understanding of capitalism and of the crisis. Without this understanding two tendencies develop which are actually two sides of

through the destruction of the working class itself.

The institution of the Pay Board was the beginning of the offensive against the working class and its unions. It means the working class is coming into direct collision with the government as it does the work for the corporations. This raises the need for the working class to break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a labor party. This will mean a leap in consciousness and preparations for revolutionary struggle.

It is precisely this clash and the movement of the working class that underlies Jackson's own development, and in which we can see the source of all change.

Outside of this development of the working class, there can be no revolution. It is this class because of its material relation in society that holds the future within it and is thrown into struggle by the crisis. This is why it is not a question of waiting. The prisoners have an essential role to play in bringing about the change in consciousness. This as Lenin pointed out, will not come spontaneously or artificially but from "without" from the revolutionary party itself which is based on Marxist theory and on all of the lessons of the past experience of the working class and its leadership.

The prisoners today as Stanley King points out in his letter in this issue have precious time that workers and youth outside do not, to study Marxist theory.

It is to this struggle that the prisoners must turn as part of the revolutionary party which is fighting in the working class today for a program for power. Only in this way can the distance from the working class be overcome and can the prisoners play a role in the revolutionary struggle.

The Bulletin must play a central role in this. As Norman Washington writes: "It has been a while since I



Left, cops enter Tombs during rebellion. Right, Commissioner Oswald (left) talks to Attica inmates during revolt.

theory with practice!"

This is also reflected in the letters printed in this issue from Norman Washington and James Crute. Norman Washington writes:

"Since I will never abandon Marxism, since I am determined to acknowledge society from a proletarian position, and since I will—as best I can—Keep in "tune" with the day-to-day international struggle between the proletariat and the imperialistic capitalist, I know, however, that I will one day arrive at my revolutionary stage."

#### PESSIMISM

However, for the prisoners the working class remains an abstraction because of their own backgrounds and their physical removal from it. This must be the case outside of being part of the revolutionary party. This removal is reflected in a deep pessimism among the prisoners which comes in conflict with their desire for revolution.

This is expressed in many of the letters we have received from you.

Stanley King writes:

"There are questions which I wish to ask and I hope the answers shall allow for me to go on, as we must all do. Is it impossible for all of us students of Marxism to sit down and really get it together, because I don't see how it's possible, if everyone is going to keep on going off on their own. It's strange that even with such beautiful knowledge so much seems to stand in the way of bringing about that which is so understood to be necessary."

It is reflected in the letter from the prisoner in this issue who says he feels he must take revenge but knows if this is done he will be destroyed. And in the letter from Curtis Brown, a member of the Tombs 7:

"There are two systems in play today, one for them, one for us. Then our comrades say to us, the working class is our salvation! We must have patience. When the working class are fed-up with their persecution, then and only then will justice be served! But we who are truly oppressed say 'No' we will not wait until all Amerikkka is oppressed before we gain our freedom. White Amerikkka is too contented with their lot to consider our plight, are we to wait for our oppressors to perpetuate a unified oppression, before we can be free? Must all the working class become dissatisfied before the chains of slavery are removed? These are profound questions. They are asked by us slaves. What are the answers?"

We can understand some of the answers if we look at

the same coin. One is adventurism, the conception that revolution can be sparked by the acts of individuals or groups apart from the mobilization of the working class. The other is reformism, of all people putting pressure through protest or mass communication on the government to get concessions within the system.

The victory of fascism means above all the smashing of the working class, of its unions. This is what the right wing forces behind Wallace are preparing. But the working class has not been defeated in the U.S.

The mortal crisis that capitalism is now in forces it to increase the oppression of the workers through wage freezes, unemployment, attacks on the unions. The working class which has built powerful trade unions and made gains in the last forty years is not going to give this up. It is going into revolutionary struggle but it is going to enter this struggle with all the illusions built up over the past.

It is in this conflict between the objective crisis and its present consciousness which is the basis for changes in thinking taking place in the working class.

George Jackson like many of the prisoners, saw the development of his consciousness as singular in a society in which the class consciousness of the working class had been destroyed. But his development reflects just the opposite. It is the future of the working class as a whole as they are brought to the sharp edge of the struggle with the government.

1971

Why is it that a George Jackson came forward in 1971 and not in 1955. This is because Jackson's own development reflects the sharp clash of classes that was pasted over with paper dollars but now breaks out on the surface.

Many prisoners have been reading Marx's works such as *Wage, Labour and Capital*. From this they can begin to understand the crisis as it is developing and the only way in which profits can be maintained—by driving down the wages and living standards of the workers.

Beneath the currency crisis lies the ever-deepening contradiction between the productive forces first and foremost the working class itself and the system of monopoly capitalism. When Nixon announced his decisions on August 15th to break the dollar from gold and impose a wage freeze the basic contradictions of capitalism burst asunder the old class relations of compromise. As the price of gold soars what is at stake is the breakdown in the productive process itself. The only way the crisis can be overcome and value restored is

last received a copy of the Bulletin, a weekly report so reliable that I have become dependent on it to keep in tune with the international struggle of the proletariat."

You can prepare now to be leaders of the working class when you are released by constructing a branch of the party in the prisons.

#### REVOLUTIONARIES IN PRISON

Many of the cadres of the Bolshevik Party were prepared and educated within the prisons. After 1905 and before 1917 the prisons became a center for the development of political consciousness. It was in prison after his first arrest in 1898 that Leon Trotsky first came into contact with Lenin's work. Writing in *My Life* Trotsky says:

"By the end of the second year, the verdict in the case of the South Russian Workers union was announced: the four principle defendants were sentenced to exile in eastern Siberia for four years. After this we were still kept for over six months in the Moscow transfer prison. I used the interim for intensive studies in theory. Then for the first time I heard of Lenin, and studied his book on the development of Russian capitalism, which had just appeared, from cover to cover. Then I wrote and smuggled out of prison a pamphlet on the labor movement..."

After the 1905 revolution Trotsky was again thrown into prison. It was here that he developed the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky said of his work in prison:

"Altogether I was in prison for fifteen months. Each prison had its peculiar features to which one had to adapt oneself. Again I entered on a period of systematic scientific and literary work. I studied the theory of rent and the history of social relations in Russia...My studies of the social history of Russia was embodied in an article "The Results of the Revolution and Its Prospects," which represents, for that period, the most finished statement in proof of the theory of permanent revolution."

So too today the prisons have become a center of the development of political consciousness. A new generation of revolutionary leaders can be developed and come out of the Tombs of today. This is why we urge the prisoners to join the revolutionary party, the Workers League, and begin now to build this leadership. This is the only way theory and practice can be united for the destruction of this system.

Fraternally,  
Lucy St. John

# Film Lou Belkin

**THE GODFATHER.** Director, F.F. Coppolla. Photography, G. Willis. Editor, Reynolds and Zinner. Starring M. Brando, J. Marley, A. Pacino, J. Caan and many others.

The *Godfather*, adapted from the novel by Mario Puzo, has opened to the most tumultuous receptions and multi-block throngs. The picture has opened in London and Paris and will appear in all the major world capitals. It is a safe bet that *The Godfather* will surpass both *Gone With The Wind* and *The Sound of Music* in total viewing audiences.

The movie opened during a spate of New York gangland shootings that were reminiscent of the Chicago vendettas and, appropriately enough, of the feuds depicted in the movie itself. It was almost as if the Columbo-Gallo shoot-out was part of the preview scenario for *The Godfather*. But one thing must be made absolutely clear: that is, that this picture is a reactionary whitewash of the Mafia and an insidious attempt by the producers to not only pacify these gangster-murderers. Furthermore, it actually justifies their very right to survival.

Prior to the shooting of this picture, Coppolla, the director, and the producers and bankers at Paramount entered into an agreement with the Columbo-led Italian American Civil Rights League to refrain from using the word "Mafia" in exchange for "freedom from harassment."

### CAPITALISM

In spite of its reactionary idealization of the Mafia, *The Godfather* makes one very important point—although it is left to the audience to draw the observation. And that is that the character of the Mafia is completely harmonized with the func-

tioning of capitalism. The Corleone enterprise is almost like a naughty cousin of the Rockefeller empire. The methods used by the Mafia families in their rough-and-tumble competition for wealth and power are not so different than those used by the Vanderbilts and Goulds back in the 1870's, and which are practiced more subtly by the monopolists today.

The reason why the Mafia survives every official attempt to destroy "organized crime" is because it is so much a part of the capitalist structure. Every probe of the Mafia has to be cut short suddenly because government officials are implicated, corporation executives fall under suspicion, and a police chief or two is exposed as an accomplice.

### MANIPULATES

The *Godfather* is Don Corleone, played by saggy-cheeked, drooped-jowled Marlon Brando, made up to look about 60 years old. The time is just after the Second World War and five families vie for control of New York's underworld. It is quite clear that Don Corleone at this time is a



genuine power in his own right who manipulates lawyers, politicians and judges.

But things are developing rapidly for racketeering, and although there is absolutely no mention of the outside world itself, it is clear that narcotics is big business and Don Corleone is approached about a big narcotics deal. He turned it down out of moral indignation and after a series of events, finds himself on the sidewalk with five bullets in his body.

### VENDETTA

His son Santo (James Caan), quick-tempered and vindictive but not very clever, takes control and seeks vengeance. An arrangement is made whereby college educated younger brother Mike (Al Pacino), who had returned home as a war hero and forbidden by his father from entering "business," guns down the men (a mobster and police captain) responsible for the shooting of Don Corleone.

Much of the film's running time is concerned with vendetta and various strikes and "hits" are made. Don Corleone re-

covers, but his son-in-law tips off an opposing family head (Richard Conte) and Santo is killed. Don Corleone is shattered and ages mysteriously and rapidly.

Son Mike, whose moral disintegration is progressively noted, assumes power and becomes Don Corleone upon the death of his father. Only when he succeeds in destroying the four other family heads in a sequence parallel-cut with his appearance as godfather at the baptismal of his sister's child, and in having his brother-in-law exterminated—just so "vengeance can be done," is he fully accepted by his father's henchmen. These men, absolutely ruthless, are perfectly typecast. All of them resemble club prize fighters in New York City during the late '40's.

For three hours everything unfolds, initially in mute mauves which resemble faded forties photos. As time passes, stock footage of the early fifties, depicting fading Hollywood studios and expanding Las Vegas—new investment territories for the mobsters, appears out of the past.

### SYMPATHIZE

The audience is compelled not only to sympathize with the Corleones, but to come away with the opinion that there is a good and a bad side to the Mafia. Don Corleone is forced to sell narcotics, "but not to kids," while another mobster intones: "Yeah, let's keep it to the coloreds—they're animals anyway—they've lost their senses, why not their souls."

And as the family sits around and discusses business, they decide that they will pay for Don Corleone's politician friends and judges. "After all," they muse, "We're not communists, are we?"

The director who fancies himself a liberal, seeks to give these swine an aura of respectability and piteousness. We ought to grieve and weep at their misfortunes and share their joys. Of course protecting people is serious business and Don Corleone, in order to survive, has to be strong and ruthless.

These mobsters are in league with the ruling class, the government, the police and the FBI. Everything is abstracted out of the real world, and the world of *The Godfather*, for three hours, is transformed from churlish nightmare to fantastic myth.

# The Workers Are The Real Victims

**THE HOSPITAL.** Starring George C. Scott, screenplay by Paddy Chayefsky.

*The Hospital* is a vicious attack on the working class in general and on hospital workers in particular. Disguised as an "hilarious" murder mystery; and compared to *M.A.S.H.* by bourgeois film critics, it is the most cynical slander in this year's crop of anti-working class cultural assaults.

George C. Scott, fresh from his ultra-chauvinistic "triumph" as *Patton*, has been nominated best actor for his shallow piece of propaganda, in which he portrays a middle-aged doctor suffering from "menopausal melancholy." He leaves his wife of 25 years, hits the bottle, successfully resists suicide, solves the mystery of the medical murders and finds salvation in "taking responsibility" for putting the disintegrating hospital back together within collapsing capitalism. This task, however, in the words of the beleaguered hospital administrator "is like pissing in the wind!"

The problems of a real hospital in a city like New York—the enormous crisis of public health care within a dying system,

cutbacks in funds and services, attacks on the jobs and working conditions of hospital employees, astronomical costs for vital services and the closing down of entire hospitals—play no part in this film except, on occasion, to demonstrate "the madness of it all."

When faced with the only hint of genuine hospital conditions, a single reference by his secretary to short staff, part-time employees waiting six months to get paid, overload in the emergency room due to a public relations "commitment to the community," our hero runs to the psychiatrist!

Here he describes his complete despair and hostility to youth, science, humanity and life itself. This is the statement which the film is consistently pushing on its audience. All of society's problems are the mathematical sum of the problems of individuals and the individual's problems are all in his head!

### CARICATURE

This idealist nonsense is the complete opposite of the real situation. The attempt to push this line in the setting of a big city hospital is what gives this film its glaring distance from reality, in spite of all its attempts to cover this with scenes of the bloody emergency room and violent demonstrations. Even here reality is twisted into a lying caricature. Demonstrations rage constantly outside the hospital supposedly because it is expanding into the ghetto and evicting people from their homes.

This represents a theme borrowed from the Columbia University events of a

former period which certainly do not reflect today's grim reality of shrinking facilities. On top of this we are treated to a painstaking depiction of every twist and turn of the hero's tortured psyche while the demonstrators are drawn as loud, stupid and pitiful buffoons, hamming it up for the TV news camera.

This contempt for the working class is not restricted to the "outside agitators" but is directed in all its viciousness at the hospital workers themselves who are portrayed without exception, as inept, venal, corrupt, lazy and indifferently homicidal. It is the hospital employees who are responsible for all the murders in this film.

In spite of the attempt to cover this reactionary message with the transparent device of a "mad murderer," a former doctor turned Methodist missionary to the Apache Indians is admitted to the hospital in perfect health for a routine checkup and impersonally butchered in the course of a normal week's medical errors. We see that the murderer himself was created by the hospital employees. The Doctor hero asks if the nurses were trained at Dachau!

### LIES

In addition to foisting full responsibility for capitalism's criminal medical system on the workers it so ruthlessly exploits, *The Hospital* compounds its boldface lies with a bogus "explanation" of how and why this situation exists—it is simply insane. Underlining this theme of madness without origin, explanation or resolution, all these crimes are perpetrated by a genuine lunatic, himself a product of the

# Film Pete Burnham

insanity of the hospital, a conscious symbol of the inexplicable "madness of society."

The dramatic boiling point of the film finally arrives when Scott's Doctor hero, in a drunken suicidal rage, demands to know why "we can create life in a test tube but half the kids in this ghetto are not immunized against polio!" We cannot look to *The Hospital* for an answer to that one. The film is barely able to raise the question!

The fact that hospitals are factories and health care is a commodity for sale, of course, cannot be hidden even by this snow job. Not just medicine but all of man's scientific knowledge is now turned against him as a dying capitalism reaches the end of its rope.

From this point on *The Hospital* descends even deeper into cynicism and confusion as center stage shifts away from Scott's Doctor hero to the mad missionary, instrument of God, who proclaims the recipients of his divine justice as "ritual victims of their own institutions."

In the real New York the staff of Knickerbocker Hospital is faced with a pay cut while 13 wards of Bellevue are to be closed down. The film credits ironically thank the Hospital Corporation of New York for its cooperation in making this movie. It is this "superagency" and the class it actively represents in its war against hospital workers and its drive for profit that is alone responsible for the state of health care in New York City and all the grotesque conditions including murder, portrayed in *The Hospital*.



## Economy

# Gold Crisis Reaches New Stage

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The speculative explosion on world gold markets that drove the gold price on the Zurich exchange to \$65.25 on June 8th and now threatens to drive it above \$70 is a prelude to a whole new stage in the break up of world capitalism.

The massive rise in the price of gold reflects the fact that under conditions where world capitalism is completely unable to reach any decisions in relation to reform of the monetary system or achieve any fundamental defeats of the working class, the objective forces of anarchy and dissolution of capitalism unleashed by the break between the dollar and gold last August 15 are now taking over.

Already the gold price rise has begun to set off new pressures for the devaluation of the dollar and the break up of the December 18th Smithsonian Accord. At the same time it threatens to blow up once and for all the two tier gold market set up in April 1968.

## PANIC

In the face of this crisis the mood of the international capitalist class and particularly the Nixon government is one of growing panic. The Treasury Department, desperate to shore up the deteriorating situation, issued a statement last week reaffirming not only that there would be no new devaluation, but that it was now more committed than ever to a policy of demonetizing gold.

At the same time the proximity of the United States to a new devaluation was revealed by the fact that the main thrust of

the Treasury Department's statement was taken up by a denial of persistent rumors that under Secretary of the Treasury Paul Volker was about to follow in the footsteps of Secretary of the Treasury John Connally and resign his post in protest over a secret agreement worked out with Moscow involving a massive increase in the official price of gold.

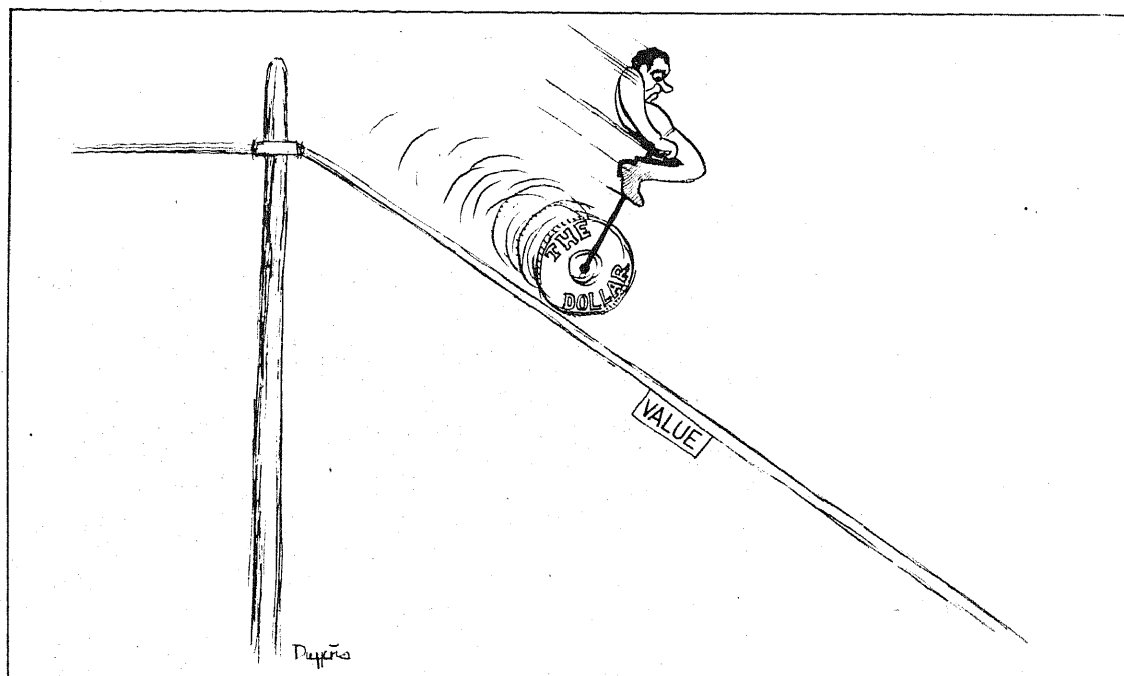
## UTOPIAN

Thus the utopian illusion that there can be any such thing as a demonetization of gold is being exploded not only on the world bullion markets but in the desperate maneuvers of Nixon with the Soviet Union. It is significant in this regard that preparations are now underway for the Soviet Union itself to join the International Monetary Fund.

This is a sign of the depth of the crisis, while the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 provided for the Soviet Union's membership, it is only now 29 years later that the Soviet bureaucracy, desperate to shore up world capitalism, is moving toward throwing the huge wealth represented by its massive gold holdings, that belong to the Soviet working class, into the breach to bail Nixon out.

However, no amount of Soviet gold thrown into the gold market at whatever price can now stop this crisis. What dominates present developments is the reassertion in an unplanned and explosive way of the law of value. It is not a question of the link between the dollar and gold being reestablished through some gradual and peaceful process.

In fact what is happening is that quite independent of the will of Nixon or other individual capitalists the law of value now



pushes forward to re-establish this link through a new massive round of devaluations. This occurs at a level that means the destruction of vast quantities of capitalist wealth. This destruction must now itself become the source of even more rapid break up and disorganization of the capitalist system.

Beneath the inability of capitalism to restore value to its currency and therefore the flight out of currency into gold lies its inability to come to grips in any way with the problems of how to fundamentally reduce the living conditions of the international working class.

It is actually the strength of the working class that underlies both the inability of the United States to curb its balance of trade and payments and therefore to even think of restoring convertibility of the dollar. It is likewise the strength of the European and Japanese working class that makes it impossible for the European capitalist class to agree to the massive trade concessions Nixon is demanding as the price for even talking about monetary reform or a return to convertibility on even a limited and indirect basis.

The deterioration of the situation for world capitalism is thus expressed on the one hand in the massive deterioration last week of U.S. trade and balance of payments figures.

The United States has not only registered a \$700 million trade deficit for the month of April, the

second largest ever, but it is reported that the deficit for the first quarter of 1972 already stands at 2.2 billion all in excess of the entire 2 billion dollar deficit for the year 1971.

On the other hand the deterioration is expressed in the complete collapse of all attempts of United States to come to terms with the European and Japanese bourgeoisie over questions of monetary reform.

This was reflected in the recent OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) which was to have begun discussion on trade and monetary matters. The conference broke up abortively two weeks ago Friday without agreement on a single issue.

## WAR

This is now leading not only to a deepening of the tendency toward international trade and currency war but is preparing the division of the world into rival monetary and trading blocks, the logic of which is the complete breakdown of the whole fabric of world investment and trade.

The movement toward monetary bloc was reflected two weeks ago when Guido Carli, the Italian finance minister, and Juego Ponto, head of the Dresdner Bank of Geneva, both spoke out for the creation of such currency blocs which would float as a whole against the dollar as the only alternative to the continued inflow of worthless paper currency from the United States.

The logic of this development was expressed at the same time by the actions of Chrysler Corporation which cited "developments in the international monetary field" as a reason for deferring plans to acquire another 20 percent interest in the Japanese based Mitsubishi Corporation. This followed the termination of Ford's cancellation of similar plans to acquire a share of Toyo Kogyo Corporation in March.

Now with a sharp acceleration of the gold crisis this tendency toward breakup of the world economy must gain powerful momentum.

In the face of this crisis, the only avenue open to the capitalist class internationally is the preparation to take the struggle against the working class for the preservation of capitalism to a whole different level.

The aggressive position taken by the Pay Board against the trade unions is only the beginning of the attack. The crisis cannot be solved by merely holding the working class to 5.5 percent increases, nor is it merely a question of improving the balance of trade. The bourgeoisie is being driven to attempt the complete destruction of the living conditions of the working class. It is for this purpose that the Tory government in England is preparing emergency legislation against the unions which is to be enforced by the army. And for this purpose the American capitalists are developing the Wallace movement.

# Capitalist Regime Proclaims 'Socialist' Ceylon

BY ED SMITH

The formation of the Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka was announced in Colombo, Ceylon. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, will remain at the head of the government, and Ceylon will remain part of the British Commonwealth, although it will no longer formally maintain allegiance to the British Queen.

The constituent assembly which adopted the new constitution was boycotted by the Tamil Federal Party, representing Ceylon's largest national minority. The "socialist republic" is founded on the basis of institutionalized racism and anti-Tamil discrimination.

Constitutionally, Sinhalese, the language of the majority, is the only recognized language. Sinhalese chauvinism is part of the program of Prime Minister Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Behind this move, however, is

the break-up of the coalition government, consisting of the liberal capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Stalinist Communist Party, and the ex-Trotskyist renegades of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. The coalition government, which was formed in order to bail out the Ceylonese ruling class which faced a militant and highly conscious working class, has been shaken to its core by a tremendous resurgence of the working class and youth in the recent period.

The government, after an in-

surrection by thousands of youth against the deteriorating conditions, imposed a state of emergency in April, 1971. A relative state of order was only achieved, however, with the aid of the American, British and French imperialists, and the Russian and Chinese Stalinists.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Conditions have deteriorated at a rapid pace since then. Unemployment rages at 15 percent, while inflation impoverishes the population by nearly 10 percent a year. Ceylon has \$1.5 billion in foreign debts; 40 cents of every export dollar goes for debt service.

Behind the government's talk of a socialist Ceylon is a move to the right. Thousands of youth

remain imprisoned since last year's rebellion. Leaders of the pro-Chinese Communist Party were imprisoned, as well as leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League, which is the Ceylon section of the Fourth International. To this day, the press of the RCL remains banned.

The Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, held in April, issued an emergency resolution calling for the lifting of the ban on the Trotskyist press in Ceylon.

Just prior to the formation of the new "socialist" government, the parliament approved a new Criminal Justice Commissions Bill, which lays the legal basis for dictatorship, by providing for special tribunals with no real

rules of evidence to try cases of treason, rebellion, and harming industrial property.

The three members of the Communist Party, who voted against the bill, have since been expelled from the coalition. This signals the break-up of the coalition under the pressure of the movement of the Ceylonese working class.

## OPPOSITION

Opposition among the ranks of the Communist Party is growing to that party's complicity with the capitalist government. It is important to note that the revisionist LSSP, even more distant from the working class at this point than the Stalinists, voted for the bill.

# Where Wallace Really Stands

(Continued From Page 1)

the opposite: for physically smashing the trade unions and the power of the working class.

Even in 1968 and much more dramatically in 1972, the rise of Wallace placed the establishment of a labor party on the order of the day. Because Wallace bases himself on the collapse of capitalism and the brutal conditions it must attempt to impose on labor, the working class cannot defend itself against Wallace and remain tied to the program of big business at the same time. But it is the position of the trade union bureaucracy, as it lines up behind the Democrats, that capitalism should not be questioned while Wallace is kept out of office. With that policy it is no small surprise that Wallace was able to win the Michigan primary, right on the doorstep of the UAW.

Wallace cannot be fought by the working class if it remains tied to Humphrey, McGovern, Kennedy, Muskie, or Jackson—all the scoundrels who are now running to his hospital bed with flowers in their hands, asking him if he'd like to be their vice-president. Wallace can only be fought with a labor party which puts forward the socialist alternative to the rotting capitalist system.

## STAGE

Wallaceism is a stage through which American capitalism would like to pass in defense of its profits. It would not be the last stage. Still beyond Wallace lies fascism, and the forces that would be the core of a fascist movement were already to be found within the Wallace campaign in 1968. The extreme right served as the very backbone of the national movement. They penetrated the candidate's organization at every level. Among his regional coordinators and advisors could be found members of the John Birch Society, Minutemen, American Nazis, and the Ku Klux Klan.

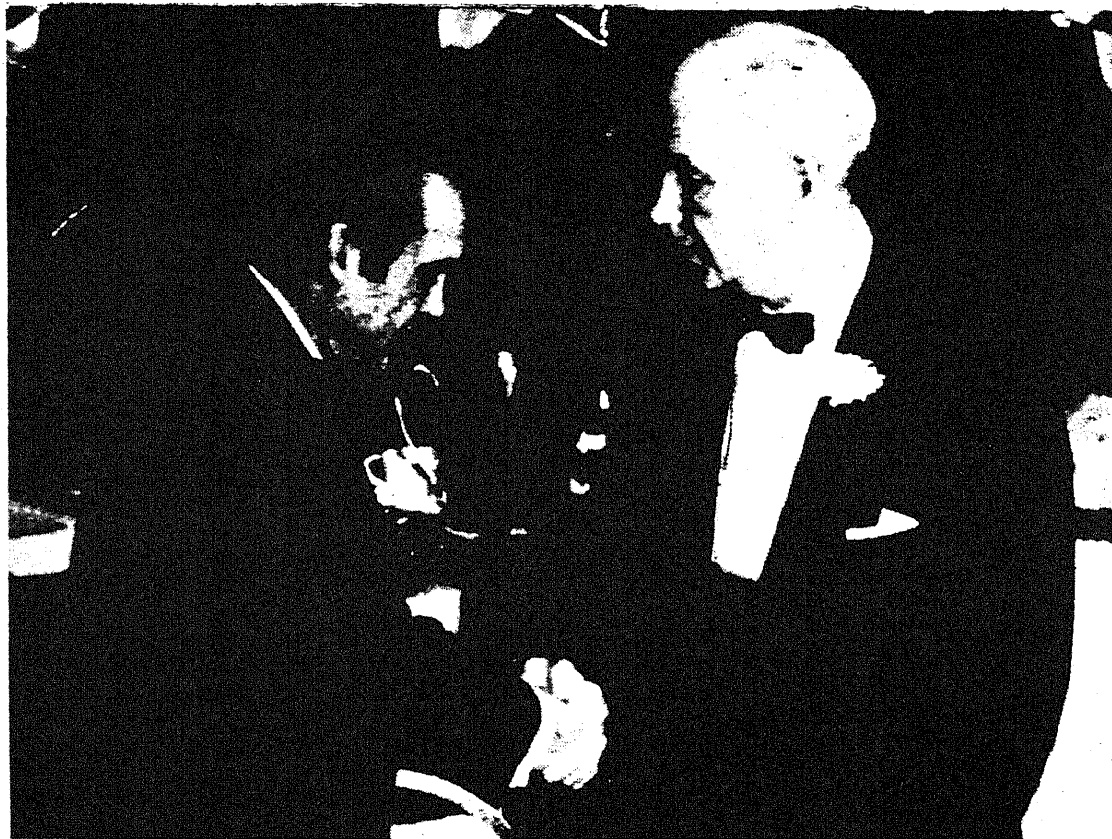
One of the first meetings in Montgomery to prepare the 1968 campaign occurred on November 8, 1965. It was attended by Ned Touchstone, editor of *Councilor*, a leading anti-semitic paper; by John Rarick of Louisiana, also associated with the *Councilor* and a notorious anti-semitic; and by Richard Cotton, a well-known right-wing radio commentator who has vowed many times to expose the "Zionist-Jewish conspiracy" sweeping the country.

On January 16, 1967, another top level strategy session was held in Montgomery. In attendance was Floyd Kitchen, the Missouri leader of the National States Rights movement. He worked with "Ace" Carter, a former Klansman who had founded the racist and anti-semitic North Alabama Citizen Council which distributes the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, an 80-year old forgery which "documents" the Jewish plot to take over the world.

The founder of the Conservative Society of America, Kent Courtney, was also at the meeting. According to the CSA, one of the most dangerous left-wingers in America is Richard Nixon! The CSA published articles that claimed that Nixon is a convinced Communist and a member of the NAACP to boot. In 1968, it manufactured lapel buttons that read "Win With Wallace."

Courtney worked throughout the 1960's for the building of a new right-wing party, and he wrote that a critical point in its program would be to "Protect the right to work without payment of union dues or joining any organization."

Once the Wallace campaign was out of the planning stages, it picked up some other leading rightists as key supporters.



George Wallace shakes hands with Robert Welch, head of right wing, viciously anti-union John Birch Society. Birchites all but controlled Wallace's campaign funding in 1968 elections.

Vance Beaudreau, who had been active in the American Nazi Party in 1965-66 and had served as a bodyguard for George Lincoln Rockwell, led the Wallace Drive in Texas.

Wallace-For-President headquarters were opened in Virginia by Karl Allen, who had been deputy commander of Rockwell's Nazis before breaking over a tactical disagreement. Allen told the press that "We want to show support for Wallace among citizens in this area and encourage him to run on a third party ticket."

It was not just in the South that Hitlerites flocked to Wallace. Clifford Franklin, the head of the movement in New York, said that an effort had been made to make sure that at least Wallace delegates were not Nazis: "We tried to stay away from the neo-Nazi types and other controversial groups, but I'm sure we're infiltrated with them," he said. But that did not disturb Franklin "as long as they don't wear hobnailed boots and stomp people."

The screening efforts occasionally broke down. Two Connecticut campaign chairmen for Wallace were arrested in the midst of the campaign for their part in a plot by the Minutemen, a paramilitary anti-Communist organization, to blow up a pacifist camp.

In California, the Wallace drive was supported by the leading American fascist of the 1940's, Gerald L.K. Smith, and actually assisted by his secretary, Mrs. Opal Tanner White.

Wallace's personal views complement those of his Hitlerite and fanatic anti-communist friends. "Many of McCarthy's warnings about left-wingism and communism have proved valid," he once said. "Maybe he was just a little ahead of his time."

More revealing was an off-the-

cuff opinion he expressed to a German-born businessman at a Pittsburgh gathering of Wallaceite industrialists. Warning up to the businessman, he said: "Yeah, you know they maneuvered us into fighting the enemies of communism back during World War II. The Germans and the Japanese were a mighty fine people, they were mighty brave soldiers...I'm sorry

drive in 1968, evolved into blatantly fascist organizations once the campaign was over. For example, Youth For Wallace went out of existence in November and was reborn several weeks later as the National Youth Alliance, with Willis Carto as its leader. Carto had been the head of the rightist Liberty Lobby before becoming the behind-the-scenes boss of

sions in the working class to maintain its hold. Especially in periods of crisis, it seeks to whip up a racist hysteria to disorient the working class.

Lately, Wallace has used the busing issue for the same racist purpose, although he now claims that racism is not involved in the issue and that he himself is not a racist. But in 1970, during his bid to win back the governorship from Albert Brewer, who had succeeded Lurleen Wallace after her death in 1968, Wallace waged a campaign based entirely on racism. And he mobilized all the right-wing and neo-fascist organizations at his disposal to create a climate of hysteria against the Black population of Alabama.

In the first primary vote, Brewer received more votes than Wallace but not an outright majority. A run-off election was required. The Wallace campaign had only one issue—the "Black bloc" behind Brewer. Throughout Alabama, the sickest semi-pornographic literature was circulated to create the impression that a Brewer victory would result in the destruction of the Caucasian race. One leaflet entitled "Wake Up, Alabama" had a picture of a nude white girl surrounded by eight naked Black boys. The caption read: "This could be Alabama four years from now! Do you want it?"

At the same time, Wallace tried to terrify white workers with the prospects that a Brewer victory would result in Black workers taking their jobs. The same leaflet warned: "What could happen in four years is enough to scare the daylight out of law-abiding, hard-working white citizens of this state. How many whites would be replaced with Blacks on the State payroll? How many whites would lose their jobs to Blacks on construction projects? How many more white teachers would be rolled for their jobs by untrained and unqualified Blacks?"

The leaflet ended by calling on Alabamians "to elect a man they KNOW cannot be controlled by the Blacks or any other bloc. That man, of course, is former Governor George C. Wallace."

It was with this massive fear campaign that Wallace won the election.

The campaigns of 1968 and 1970 showed the real forces being mobilized in the Wallace camp. Now, in 1972, with the capitalists forced to challenge the most powerful working class in the world, they are beginning to turn toward the Wallaceites.

The corporations are asking themselves: "How will we force the working class to accept the destruction of their living conditions?" The captains of industry, who fought and lost the battles against the unions in the 1930's and 40's, know that the working class will not roll over in terror of Nixon and the Pay Board.

They are turning to Wallace and dictatorship to physically battle the working class. Next to believing that Wallace is sincere when he claims to represent the working man, nothing is so dangerous as to believe that Wallace is just another candidate. Wallaceism is the weapon of capitalism in decay.

To fight Wallace the working class must break from the capitalist parties. It must mobilize its strength politically in a labor party fighting for socialism.

it was necessary to fight against those anti-communist nations. I thought that back then. Hell, we should have been in those trenches with the Germans, fighting them Bolsheviks..

## JOHN BIRCHERS

About the most dedicated Wallace supporters were to be found in the John Birch Society, the virulent anti-communist and anti-trade union organization founded by a retired businessman, Robert Welsh. Relations between Wallace and the Birchites have always been quite open; Wallace has even proclaimed a John Birch Society Day in Alabama. He has often praised the JBS. "I'm glad to have their support," he once stated. "I have no quarrel with the Birch Society." On another occasion, he declared "I'm not going to denounce the John Birch Society." Its members, Wallace insisted, "are some of our finest citizens and the society's opposition to communism is well-founded."

John Birch Society members practically controlled the entire \$7 million Wallace campaign. In Pennsylvania, 17 of Pennsylvania's 29 Wallace-pledged delegates were open Birchites. Eleven out of 14 Wallace electors were also connected with the JBS.

Also supporting Wallace was the Manion Forum, a radio broadcast outfit run by millionaire Birchites. In 1965, Wallace signed a telegram sent out to wealthy Alabamians for financial contributions to Manion Forum. "American industry and personal freedom are at the barricades," one of its broadcasts declared. To save it, the Forum called for "Anti-trust legislation governing the unions and Right-to-Work laws."

Certain organizations, which were created to spur the Wallace

Youth For Wallace.

Another individual, John Acord, who had been involved in the Youth For Wallace movement, attended a Pittsburgh meeting of the NYA, in order to see how the new organization was functioning. "I was shocked to see people with Nazi emblems on their persons while hi-fi equipment blasted forth with Nazi war songs," he told the press. This meeting, described as a cocktail party, ended with the NYA members singing the "Horst Wessel" song, the national anthem of Nazi Germany.

With little resistance, the Youth For Wallace had become an open neo-fascist movement by mid-1969. In complete possession of the records, mailing lists, and correspondence of the defunct Youth For Wallace, the National Youth Alliance claimed to have recruited 2,000 members.

These elements, who would be prepared to go to war with the working class at the drop of a dime, functioned freely within the Wallace campaign in 1968. They are still with him today at a time when broader sections of the capitalist class—due to the deepening of the economic crisis—are now willing to directly encourage their development. This is why all the Democrats are suddenly declaring that Wallace must be given a voice in their national convention. This is why Hubert Humphrey—the favorite of George Meany—announced that Wallace would make a good vice-presidential candidate.

## RACISM

One of the fundamental tenets of Wallaceism is racism. "I'm going to make race the basis of politics in this state," Wallace once declared, "And I'm going to make it the basis of politics in this country." About this Wallace is deadly serious. Capitalism has always sought to foment divi-



## France

## Millions Answer CGT Strike Call

BY MELODY FARROW

On June 7th millions of workers responded to the call of the CGT (General Federation of Workers) and staged a 24 hour strike throughout France. The Catholic CFDT and Force Ouvriere, controlled by the Socialist Party, refused to participate.

The strike was organized as a reply to the policy speech of Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas to the National Assembly May 23rd and for the following demands: a minimum wage of 1,000 francs a month, improvement in buying power, right to retire at 60 with a pension of 800 francs a month, the right to work for all, and for defeat of the anti-union plans of the government and the extension of union freedom and rights.

This strike is the most powerful expression yet of the explosive confrontation that is building up between the French working class and the Pompidou government.

The CGT strike was preceded by a number of bitter, hard-fought strikes such as the two-month Joint Francais struggle in Brittany which testify to a rising determination and combativity among all sections of the working class. It was after this strike that a French employer nervously posed the question on the minds of all the industrialists: "Is this May 1968?"

At the same time, rail, postal and Air France workers have been staging partial actions for months in an effort to negotiate new contracts with the government.

## DISCREDITED

The CGT strike takes place at a time when the position of the Pompidou government is more discredited and shaky than at any time since its election in 1969. Its promises of a "new society" are in ruins, and leading Gaullist deputies have been involved in a whole series of scandals, including Chaban-Delmas himself. The April 23 referendum on the Common Market revealed that whole sections of the population have turned against the government.

It was under these conditions that the Communist Party which controls the CGT was forced to take a limited action. The French Communist Party has fought since the General Strike of 1968 to smother any struggle that could lead to another massive uprising. It only called the June 7th strike after tremendous pressure from the rank and file workers threatened to explode in an outburst of wildcat strikes that could sweep out of its control.

The strike was all the more explosive at a time when the government faces a parliamentary election next year and is desperately seeking to drum up support for its policies. Thus, the Communist Party consciously sought to keep politics out of the June 7th action. When Chaban-Delmas denounced the Communist Party for having political motives the CGT denied this and stated that the purpose of the strike was only "to deal a powerful blow to the intransigence of the employers and the government, to pursue the offensive in all its forms, in order to resolve in a positive way the general demands of the workers."

The vote of confidence which Chaban-Delmas received (368 to 96) for his statement of policy was an attempt to give his isolated regime some semblance of popularity.

His speech centered above all on the call for law and order. He stated: "No society can survive if order is not assured and thus if the authority of the state is not respected." These threats were coupled with a vicious attack on the Communist Party. Delmas carefully avoided any mention of the economic crisis as if it simply did not exist. Only a day before he claimed that "we are in a situation of full employment."

Behind the Prime Minister's attempt to cover up the crisis and present a picture of calm and normality, the government is preparing its police and its riot squads, is silently encouraging the growth of fascist organizations and is molding the state



French Premier Chaban-Delmas

machine in preparation for a confrontation with the working class. The government must now go on the offensive against the Communist Party in order to destroy any organization through which the working class can fight.

## PANDEMONIUM

The sharpness of the situation broke through the complacent facade of the Assembly, when CP deputy Ballanger rose and blamed the government for inflation and unemployment. Pandemonium broke out in the Assembly as Gaullist deputies walked out and others stood up and tried to shout down the CP deputy with cries of "liar!"

The true economic situation is just the opposite of the arrogant statements of the government. In the period since Pompidou's election the number of demands for jobs rose 60%. Unemployment is now at 500,000. Inflation has continued to rise by over 6% a year and this past March alone it went up 0.5%.

The sharp turn that the class struggle has taken in France is a result of the monetary decisions spelled out by Nixon last August. France, with stagnant industries and a backward agriculture is now faced with a vicious trade war with the United States and mounting competition with the Common Market countries.

The devaluation in 1969 solved absolutely nothing. The balance of payments has not improved and investments in business are virtually at a standstill.

The attempt of the Common Market countries to form a powerful trading bloc that can compete with the United States means ruthless modernization and centralization of industry and agriculture, wiping out whole sections which are no longer profitable.

In France this has led to the closing of some of the big steel and coal mines in the North, the elimination of most of the small farmers, mounting unemployment, a vicious speed up in the plants as new methods of automation are introduced, and the transfer of whole sections of workers from one plant to another.

## FARMERS

The depth of the crisis is expressed by the rise in militant struggles by the small farmers and the most oppressed sections

of the working class.

Joint Francais is a company that moved its operations to Brittany in the Northeast where it counted on finding a more docile labor force. Most of its workers are women who come from the farms.

The workers went on strike in March for an equal wage with the Joint Francais workers in Paris. They stayed out despite the riot squad, the CRS, that was sent in to occupy the plant. The strikers received the overwhelming support of the workers and farmers in the area who supplied them with food as they had done in 1968. In the middle of May the company conceded a 14% wage increase, which while it did not equalize the wages was an important victory for the workers.

In the town of Thionville, the workers, mostly women, of the department store empire, Nouvelles Galeries, spontaneously walked out for a wage increase. After six weeks of strike the company announced that it was closing the store for good.

These strikes have struck fear into the Communist Party. Since 1968, the Communist Party has consciously fought to prevent any strike unless carefully controlled. In the Joint Francais strike led by the Socialist Party, the CP openly declared its opposition to "unlimited strikes", thus strengthening the support of the SP among the workers.

In the Air France strike, where mechanics who belong to another union have been on strike, the CGT called a 24 hour strike of the Orly airport ground personnel but stated that this was not in support of the mechanics but for their own separate demands. Thus, the CP actively fought to prevent a united strike that could close down all the airports.

## EXPLOSION

Now a new explosion is shaking the Pompidou government. The small milk producers of Brittany have gone on strike against the reduction of the price they receive for each quart of milk from 60 to 56 cents a quart. The price is traditionally lowered every spring at a time of high production but this year the farmers refused to allow it.

The farmers have refused to accept any deal that does not maintain the 60 cent rate. They have sent out squads of strikers to block the roads and prevent milk trucks from making deliveries. In many areas hundreds of farmers stormed the cooperatives, occupying them and locking up its directors.

It was the young farmers from the Western region who initiated and led the strike and who constitute a socialist tendency within the National Center of Agricultural Youth.

The government has refused to consider the demands of the strikers and Chaban-Delmas contemptuously referred to it as a "local problem." The Minister of Agriculture denounced the strike and stated it was "launched by leaders who are more concerned with what happens in Peking than in Brittany."

## COMMON MARKET

The small farmers are bitter and desperate. The Common Market officially raised the price of milk on the market by 8% and while all of the farmers costs have gone up, the government is forcing them to cut back their income. The government's plans mean that thousands of small farmers will be driven into ruin.

There is no question that these struggles are the forewarnings of a revolutionary explosion. All the conditions of a revolutionary situation are developing. As workers in the industrial strongholds go on the offensive against the government, they are pulling to their side the most exploited sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

The government has sought to take on and defeat each struggle individually and thus to demoralize the working class. While it has sent in CRS troops to break these strikes its most valuable arm has been the Communist Party which has isolated each struggle from the other.

The Stalinists have stood behind the Gaullists' foreign policy as long as it was suited to the needs of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Communist Party deputy Billoux supported the government in the Assembly debate when he stated that "the most fundamental question is the sovereignty and independence of France."

The government is not just relying on the Communist Party. At the same time, it is preparing new repressive measures to destroy the power of the unions and to whip up the middle class against the working class.

The employers backed down at Joint Francais only temporarily in order to gain more time to weaken the workers in preparation for civil war. They are forced to move cautiously, knowing that any partial struggle could touch off a general strike.

The approaching elections now pose sharply the question that the Communist Party has fought to keep out of these struggles, the question of power, of a workers' government.

## COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party has been forced because of the desire of the workers to defeat the government, to seek a common electoral front with the Socialist Party. It fears such a coalition because this would place it in a position where its policies would be exposed to the working class.

Negotiations are now being conducted between the CP and the Socialists on the one hand and the Socialists and the Radical Party on the other hand.

The Radical Party is nothing but a capitalist pro-imperialist party whose supporters are middle class. Its leader, Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, is a rabid anti-communist who recently denounced the NLF in Vietnam as equivalent to the fascists.

Servan-Schreiber seeks to build a coalition which would subordinate the Socialist Party and Communist Party to the capitalist parties such as the Left Republicans, led by Giscard d'Estaing and the Democratic Centrists of Lecanuet. So far these negotiations have floundered because of the hostility and distrust of the workers in the Communist Party to the Radicals. George Marchais, General Secretary of the CP stated, "The policy of the union of the left excludes any agreement with the right and centrists. We do not want to fall again in the ruts of the past."

In other words, while they denounce any formal agreement with the right wing, the CP is prepared to enter a coalition with the Radicals who provide the connection to big capital. This is precisely what happened in the 1930's. The three parties formed a government of "Popular Union" which the Radicals dominated in every sense. This coalition halted the working class which was in a massive strike wave, from taking power and provided the capitalists with a smokescreen to prepare a counterrevolution.

The refusal of the Stalinists to fight for the formation of a workers government can now lead to the growth of fascist gangs who feed on the frustrations of the middle classes. This is the lesson of Italy. The small farmers and peasants who are in revolt and are looking to the working class for leadership can be won over to the fascists unless the workers parties take decisive action against the government. The fascists have grown in Italy today precisely because the Communist Party has refused to unite the partial and separate strikes into a united offensive against the capitalist parties.

The Trotskyist movement must be built in France in a battle to destroy Stalinism and the policies of the Popular Front. This must be done by demanding that the Communist Party lead the formation of a workers government and fight to implement a socialist program. Through this struggle the Communist Party can be exposed and the Trotskyist movement built as the only alternative for the working class.

# IRISH YOUNG SOCIALIST GUNNED DOWN



Jim Doherty

BY A CORRESPONDENT

JIM DOHERTY, a member of the Irish Young Socialists, was gunned down on Sunday, April 30, shortly after leaving the Venice Cafe in Belfast's Crumlin Road.

He received one bullet in the spine and, when he turned around, two in the chest and one in the stomach.

This week, for the first time since his critical injuries, Jim has been able to talk about his experience. In this interview reprinted from the British Trotskyist daily paper, the *Workers Press*, he describes what happened.

"I left Clifton Hotel at 12:15 p.m. to leave the girl home. I left the place about 1:30 p.m. or 1:45 p.m. and I decided to go and have a chip at the Venice Cafe.

"I was in the Venice, standing waiting on the order, and the woman who owns the place, in a statement which she gave, said that in one of the boxes at the end was a guy who was staring at me for the whole 20 minutes I was in.

"He had an overcoat pulled up to his neck, a gangster hat over his eyes. You could see his hair, fair gingerish hair.

"Anyway I got my order and just before I walked out he walked out in front of me.

"So I came out and walked 20 or 30 yards

towards home.

"This guy called me. He says to me that they were after trailing a guy from the Shankill Road. Would I give them a hand?

"So anyway I goes up. I understand now this was only to draw me into the light of the cafe.

"Just with that one of my mates who had been in the cafe walked out. I was going to call him, but I say to myself—let him go just in case he gets into any trouble.

"I turned round to look at my mate. Just then the first bullet hit me in the back, and as I swung around they fired another three which hit me in the stomach.

"By then I was half in the cafe and half out. My legs were outside.

"My legs felt heavy. I couldn't move them. I was conscious at this. I heard a shout: 'You're all right now, just try to get into the cafe.' I managed to get my legs into the cafe.

"A porter from the hospital saw a black Vauxhall car driving up Clifton Street with

no headlights.

"The porter says it went down Twickenham Street, one of the streets leading to a new housing estate built for people from the strongly Protestant Shankill Road district."

But Jim considers the question of who shot him is irrelevant. The important thing, he says, is it was done to keep Protestant and Catholic workers apart.

Jim is dating a Protestant girl and hopes to marry her.

He says that sectarian divisions are deliberately being encouraged, referring to a strange aspect of his own case:

"The gun used was only a target-practice gun. So why use it except just to injure somebody and so keep the frying pan hot?"

"I am totally against the bombing and the killing of the IRA. On the other hand I'm totally against soldiers for killing and torturing innocent people.

"I have read what the Protestants said about the paratroopers in the Woodstock; they came in like animals, wild men, just beating all in front of them.

"The only movement is the movement we are in. Socialism is the only opposite to civil war. We have to concentrate on this,

going out to Protestants, and telling them what is really happening.

"A woman from Crumlin in 1969 on TV said that the only way it could end would be in a bloodbath—the country finished and the people nowhere to go.

"Vanguard has nothing to offer the Protestant people. Craig and Faulkner, what are they going to do about jobs and housing?"

"With both, it can only lead to civil war. So it is really up to us to start concentrating.

"I want this in *Workers Press*, because in my opinion *Workers Press*, along with our own paper *Youth Bulletin* is the only true paper that gives the facts.

"The rest try to bluff it off, to sell more papers to make more money.

"People are dying here, and people are lining their pockets out of people dying.

"*Workers Press* is the only paper that prints the truth about the facts in Northern Ireland."

This is an unedited version of Jim's personal views, exactly as he said them. We hope that he will as soon as possible be well and back in the struggle.

# Golda Meir 'Saves' Israeli Union Heads

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Israel's AFL-CIO, the Histadrut, was recently saved from a leadership crisis by the personal intervention of Mrs. Golda Meir, the Israeli premier.

The issue was over the intended resignation of Itzhak Ben Aharon, the Histadrut secretary. Eventually after persuasion from Meir, he decided to stay—but the fact that the premier should have made such a dramatic personal intervention is a reminder of the close relationship that has always existed between Israel's trade union bureaucrats and the state.

At the same time, Ben Aharon's resignation was a reflection of the impact upon this relationship of the class struggle.

The Israeli union leader resigned in protest because of government intervention in a dispute involving 4,500 workers in privately-owned canning factories. He took the view that the Israeli government was intervening too often in industrial disputes, thus undermining the position of the Histadrut negotiators for the workers.

## COMPROMISE

The government move averted a strike and foisted a compromise on the workers already agreed by the Histadrut's central committee and the Manufacturers' As-

sociation. Under the deal, day-laborers in the canning factories will be given monthly salaried status after 13 years' work, bringing them into line with conditions of service in the Histadrut's own canneries.

Ben Aharon argued that these terms are not as good as the workers could have gained by free trade union action.

His announcement that he would resign brought a wave of demonstrations and strikes throughout Israel. This included the shut-down of Lydda Airport and the stoppage of all factories in the town of Safed.

The Ben Aharon resignation incident therefore constituted a significant breach in the politics of class collaboration which have so far dominated the Histadrut.

With its co-operative societies, industrial enterprises and institutions such as its Health Service, the Histadrut played a major and essential part in creating the basis for the state of Israel. Although it was a labor organization, it was a Zionist organization too, and one of its main aims was to replace Arab labor with Jewish labor, as the basis for a Jewish national state.

Since the formation of the state of

Israel, the Histadrut has continued to collaborate in the implementation of Zionist policies, both at home and abroad. Its bureaucracy has provided many of the political leaders of the state, in fact. Both Meir and Ben Aharon are from the same stable and the Histadrut secretary is a former Transport Minister.

The contradiction that has resulted however, is that the price of having trade union collaboration at the base of the state has been, for the Zionists, having to accept also a well organized trade union movement and a working class which expects decent living standards and rights.

Private capitalists setting up in Israel complain of the attitudes of the workers and the power of the Histadrut. Both they and the right wing politicians who speak for them resent the strength of the Histadrut and the position of its economic and social institution.

So far as the Zionist capitalists are concerned, the Histadrut might have served a necessary function in building their state, but now they would prefer to be able to dispense with it and "normalize" Israeli society. Unfortunately this is easier said than done.

## INFLUENCE

For the trade union bureaucracy, the Histadrut is the source of their careers and influence. It is an establishment within an establishment. They have to

defend their own social position and political power.

As loyal servants of the Zionist state, the Histadrut leaders do their best to hold back the struggles of the Israeli working class. The Histadrut has been jocularly defined in the past as "an organization for the prevention of strikes."! But at the same time the leaders must maintain some appearance of being workers' leaders.

Their class collaboration policies can be challenged from below, as when the seamen went on strike in 1954 in the Zim lines, which were partly Histadrut-owned, and raised the issue of wages and independent trade unionism.

In the 1960s, there was the challenge of rank-and-file movements, when workers in the industrial centers set up action committees to launch strikes and demonstrations against government wage-freeze policies and unemployment.

To some extent the Zionist rulers have been able to use talk of national security and patriotism to counteract class consciousness and hold back working class militancy. But they have not been as successful as they would wish. Particularly recently, working class anger has been growing because of the feeling that it is the working class alone that is being made to bear the burden of war expenditure.



**NORWOOD . . .**

(Continued From Page 3)

SUB, claiming the short hours were because of a labor dispute. Everytime the line broke down they called it labor trouble.

One time, they said, a generator failed so the workers were sent home early. Next morning the company declared it was "sabotage," and refused to pay the SUB.

**BITTER**

Most of the workers are bitter against the International and against Woodcock. As one worker put it: "If all the UAW members would stick together, Woodcock would have to pull out three or four other plants, saying, 'If you, the company, don't want to settle here we'll pull the other plants out.' But Woodcock doesn't say anything."

A large delegation of GM workers from Flint, Michigan will be coming to the Norwood union hall on June 18th to give support for the fight against GMAD. Workers here are spelling out the kind of support this should be as more and more

of them are demanding that the entire General Motors company be shut down.

This is the key demand that must be taken into the upcoming meeting on June 21 in Cincinnati of the GMAD sub-council of the UAW for the Southern and Western regions.

Shutting down all of GM, and the launching of a labor party is the only way to answer the GMAD drive for sweatshop conditions.

**1199...**

(Continued From Page 4)

junctions, the Taylor Law, together with a hysterical slander campaign in the press to crush the strike.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals is insisting that 1199 submit all the issues to binding arbitration, but Davis has refused any settlement that is imposed on the union.

1199 members must be on guard against any attempt by the union leadership to compromise the 15% increase. At a Guild

**MEATCUTTERS . . .**

(Continued From Page 4)

sions? There's nothing democratic about it at all. The government is spitting in the workers' face."

A woman worker thought that the decision "wasn't fair," insisting that the Pay Board had to be eliminated, and thought that a nationwide general strike was necessary. Another worker, a meat manager, who expects to lose 26 cents an hour because of this decision, said that "begging

for wages" doesn't work. "It's not just the employers," he said. "It's the government and the wage board. This government is not out to help the working people." He thought that a labor party would be a "good thing for working people."

In contrast to this willingness to fight for their basic rights is the complete retreat by the union bureaucracy. Their current plans are to attempt to renegotiate the contract, to eliminate the using of pre-packaged meat which they conceded in the last contract in a horse trade for the wage package, but not to contest the action of the Pay Board. When asked what options the union was considering, Leon B. Schachter, regional director of the Amalgamated Meatcutters replied: "We are not considering a strike."

It was primarily due to pressure from the leadership of the Meatcutters that a rally against the Pay Board called by the Philadelphia Food Council last month was cancelled. They

stated at the time that they feared that an "illegal" work stoppage would adversely influence the Pay Board. But it has been the retreat of the labor bureaucracy, in the ILA, the ILWU and dozens of other unions across the country, which has encouraged Nixon and his Pay Board to step up their attacks on the trade unions. It is this prostration of the union bureaucracy before the Pay Board which is responsible for the decision of the Pay Board to reverse its original ruling.

Above all, it is the refusal of Philadelphia labor leaders to break their ties with the Democratic Party which opens the door to these attacks. The open endorsement by Philadelphia labor, of Hubert Humphrey, who supports the Pay Board along with the rest of the Democratic Party, now leaves the union movement prostrate before the wage slashing of the Pay Board. Only an independent party of labor can preserve the contracts and hard won gains of the working class.

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT . . .**

(Continued From Page 1)

This campaign will rally thousands of workers, youth, and unemployed in the only struggle which can defeat the attacks of the big corporations, their government, and two parties and lay the basis for the actual construction of the labor party.

**PERSPECTIVES**

In presenting the perspectives report, Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League said that Nixon's decisions announced on August 15th have thrown the world capitalist countries into an unprecedented crisis.

In this crisis the Workers League must play the decisive role basing its policy on the perspective discussed at the recent Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

In his report Comrade Wohlforth pointed out that the price of gold has soared to almost twice its value and is being held down now only by tons of gold dropped on the market by the Soviet Union. What is involved is not simply a question of the balance of trade deficit, of the surface relations between countries and within countries but of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system which has been building up in inflation for the last twenty years. What is involved in the

gold crisis is the undermining of value itself which threatens at any point to halt the entire productive process.

**CRISIS**

Only if this underlying crisis is understood can the next drive of the capitalists be exposed and American workers prepared. Nixon and the American capitalist class are now proceeding on one level as they impose a 5.5% freeze on wages. But this is not going to solve anything fundamental. What is at the heart of the Pay Board is the destruction of the unions themselves. This is what it means when the government says a union cannot negotiate a contract.

The capitalists are now preparing on another level. This is the meaning of the Wallace campaign and the open preparations for civil war in Europe. Reactionary tendencies now emerge alongside the offensive of the working class preparing for the next stage of the struggle to smash the working class.

It is within this objective crisis and the revolutionary character of the struggle in Europe that the development of the American working class and the fight for the labor party takes place.

The struggle for the political independence of the American working class now takes place under new objective conditions.

The development of a labor party will require not just a quantitative change of more trade union militancy, but a leap. This is what the American working class must take up now. This will only be possible through the most bitter struggle against Stalinism which today like in the 1930's seeks to keep the workers tied to the Democratic Party and against the revisionists who adapt to Stalinism.

**LEVELS**

The development and understanding of the labor party, Comrade Wohlforth said, proceeds on three levels. First is from the class struggle and its surface expression in the struggle of the unions against the Pay Board, unemployment and speed-up. It is through the bitter experience of these struggles that the thinking of workers is beginning to change.

The second level is the underlying crisis which prepares new conditions for the class struggles in the future. By understanding the depth of the crisis, the meaning of the gold crisis, we understand why it is not sufficient for the government to freeze wages. But in order to restore value the capitalists must create mass unemployment, destroy all democratic rights like the Supreme Court is now doing, and mobilize fascist forces that are gathering around the Wallace campaign to destroy the unions.

**EXPERIENCE**

The fight for the labor party also proceeds on a third level, on the basis of the whole historical development of Marxism which brings forward today all of the experience of the international working class and the struggle for the independence of the working class against Stalinism and revisionism.

The perspective and program for the labor party was developed by the Trotskyist movement in a struggle against Stalinism which has sought to keep the unions tied to the Democratic Party. Today the Communist Party openly attacks the Workers League's fight for the labor party.

By training workers and youth in the history of the Marxist movement and the struggle against Stalinism and revisionism a Marxist cadre is being prepared which can fight in

the labor movement for the labor party and socialist policies.

**CENTRISM**

The fight for the independence of the working class can only take place today with the development of Marxism and a leadership in the working class that is trained in Marxist theory. This requires a struggle against Stalinism, revisionism and all those centrist movements which will emerge today to compromise the struggle of the working class. The centrists begin first and foremost with an attack on the theory and history of Marxism which alone can arm the working class for their struggle today. The reflection of these tendencies must be bitterly fought within the revolutionary party itself.

**PAY BOARD**

The fight for the labor party now occurs in the framework of the sharpest battle between the working class and the government which rules for the big corporations. The Pay Board has now opened a new drive against the unions. Many workers have felt that the freeze is temporary but it is becoming clear that Phase II is just the first stage of attack. Now the steel and miners contracts go before the Board. The confrontation with the Pay Board can explode at any moment.

At the same time workers are being ruthlessly thrown onto the unemployment lines. Plants are closed with workers who have spent their lives working in these factories denied a job and their pensions. GMAD is now leading the drive in auto to push productivity and speed-up to inhuman levels.

It is these attacks that underlie the changes in thinking among workers and prepare for a confrontation between the workers and the government in this election period.

**WALLACE**

The 1972 election campaign is not a normal one. Within the Wallace campaign is being prepared the program for the destruction of the unions. This is why the labor bureaucracy is paralyzed. There is no more room for class collaboration and compromise with the capitalist parties. The real relationship between labor and the Democratic Party is being exposed.

The capitalist class now faces a critical situation with the dollar crisis. At the same time it is unable to stop the offensive of the working class in Vietnam. Sections of the capitalist class now question whether Nixon can accomplish what has to be done. It cannot be excluded that they will turn to a McGovern who under the demagoguery of reform will be groomed for taking on the unions and getting a solution in Vietnam that will free the hands of the government to take on the American working class. In this situation the Communist Party plays the most dangerous role by seeking to hold the Democratic Party together and calling on workers to vote for McGovern.

**ALTERNATIVE**

The only alternative to Wallace and the Democratic and Republican parties, the only alternative to the preparations for dictatorship is the construction of a labor party.

It is only the Workers League which is fighting for this alternative and it is the Bulletin which will lead this campaign. It is with this understanding that the National Committee voted to expand the circulation of the Bulletin to 17,000 by September 15th and to 20,000 by December 15th.

We call upon workers and youth to join our ranks, to join the Workers League and the Young Socialists and expand the circulation of the Bulletin and build this campaign.

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# West Coast News

## IBT Forces Bottlers To Return

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

OAKLAND—After seven months of one of the most bitter strikes in recent history, the Bay Area bottlers and beverage drivers returned to work last week after Teamster and AFL-CIO officials, meeting in an emergency conference, refused to mobilize the truckers and the rest of labor in the strikers' defense.

The tremendous resistance of the rank and file to the Food Employer Council's attempt to purge union militants and push for an open shop threatened to blow up underneath the Teamster leadership.

But instead of a council of war, the emergency conference was used as a pressure tactic to gain

amnesty for the strikers in order to send them back under binding arbitration.

This mere gesture of labor solidarity, posing the tremendous power of the Bay Area labor movement, was enough to force the employers to back down on the question of amnesty.

But all of the issues in the strike, including the employers'

demand to use supervisory personnel to do union work, and the continued presence of scab labor in some plants, are now in the hands of federal mediator Sam Kagel, who is notorious for his pro-management rulings.

### FORCE

It was only with the greatest difficulty that the Teamster bureaucrats were able to force the men back to work with absolutely nothing settled. Over 500 rank and file Teamsters converged upon the emergency conference called by the bureaucrats. Teamster officials told the men they were in violation of the bosses' injunctions and ordered

them to leave.

When the question of going back was brought before the locals, the ranks were presented with virtually no alternative. The bureaucrats reported that the emergency conference had produced nothing, that the strikers could get no support for general strike action from the AFL-CIO or the rest of the Teamster locals.

Nevertheless Bottlers Local 896 split right down the middle. Half of the men voted against going back under binding arbitration. According to a militant from Local 896, the resistance was really much greater than 50 percent.

He said:

"I thought there was going to be a 90 percent no vote. From the way the meeting went, it seemed like everybody was in favor of staying out. Anyway, half of the local is for staying out.

"I do not know how the negotiations are going to go, but if things don't look right, I'm for going out again."

Throughout the strike, the spineless policy of the Teamster leadership isolated the bottlers and encouraged the Food Employers Council. The latter was backed up by vicious court injunctions and fines in a move to break the union. All of the tactics of the 1930's, police dogs, armed scabs, and a witch-hunt against militants, were revived by the employers.

### PRECEDENT

This has now created a very dangerous precedent, as the employers prepare to take on the dairy drivers in the East Bay, whose contract expires in August. The employers are testing the union leadership to see how far they can be pushed to discipline and betray the ranks.

The ranks must maintain the strictest vigilance to insure that their historic gains are not bartered away at the negotiating table. They must be prepared to go out again if Kagel attempts to strip the union of its work rules and job security and permit the scabs to keep their jobs in favor of unemployed Teamsters.

The general strike committee, which was set up two weeks ago by a mass rank-and-file meeting, must be prepared to take action and back up any wildcat with pickets to bring out the truckers.

## Davis Judge, Sheriffs, Booze Up Over Trial

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SARATOGA—Judge Arnason, Sheriff Geary and the Santa Clara County Sheriff's Department celebrated the ending of the Angela Davis trial by inviting the international capitalist press to an evening of wine and dining at the Paul Masson winery chateau in the foothills of Saratoga, California.

A reporter from the Bulletin was present to observe the festivities.

All were toasted with the entire line of Paul Masson rare pedigree wines, champagnes and liquors for doing such a good job on the trial.

One foreign press man stated that: "I have the feeling that being tried in Santa Clara County is fun!" The crowd laughed and applauded.

Judge Arnason spoke to praise the achievement of justice in the Davis trial and the workability of the American judicial system. He received a standing ovation.

### BOISTEROUS

The press was impressed by the impartiality and judicial demeanor of Judge Arnason. As the evening progressed, sentimental speeches became mixed with jovial boisterous shenanigans.

One inebriated police photographer spent the night apologizing to the press for having to put them through the same harassment as the working class spectators entering the trial.

The party ended with a joy ride down the hill to San Jose in a van used to transport prisoners driven by a drunken deputy.

While the press, the police and the judiciary unite to toast the achievements of the American way of justice, new frame-up trials are being prepared and the jury system dismantled to prepare for the jailing of militants in the labor movement.

The most fitting thing about the evening at the chateau was that the ancient winery was constructed by slave labor and is maintained by workers earning \$1.65 an hour.



Recent Service Employees International Union National Convention. Mass layoffs faced now by Los Angeles SEIU Local 99 are part of same attacks on city workers throughout the country.

## L.A. School Board Plans Slash In Jobs And Hours

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Custodians, clerks, cafeteria workers and other classified members of Local 99 of the Service Employees International Union, employed by the Los Angeles City School District, are being laid off.

Faced with a tax deficit, the School Board sought to balance the budget by layoffs and through cutting the work week to 37½ hours. Already 50 bus drivers have been permanently discharged and 68 more put on part time.

### PRESSURE

Under tremendous pressure from an incensed rank and file, the union leadership was forced to call a protest rally held at Belmont High School on June 10. The rally was nothing but a disgusting display of groveling by the bureaucrats before the bosses.

A last minute possibility that a section of the teachers would vote to transfer to the state retirement system, thereby providing a windfall in the neighborhood of \$100 million, allowed the Board members to adopt a posture of conciliation.

### BRATRUD

Local 99 Secretary Bratrud, who chaired the meeting, embraced this development as an opportunity to put off a fight against the cutbacks, eagerly praising the Board's new-found position of teamwork.

The ranks, however, bitterly aware of the fact that the funda-

mental showdown had been at best momentarily postponed, sought to express their opposition to the naked speed-up, decreased income, and layoffs but were muzzled by the leadership who were finally forced to adjourn the meeting early.

In the words of one member: "This 37½ hour week is nothing

but speed-up. You expect us to perform the same amount of work for less pay."

The opposition within Local 99 can only be successful as organized into a caucus fighting for no layoffs, no speed-up and the immediate construction of a labor party.

## Judge OK's Electronic Spying On Community Colleges

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The democratic rights won by the working class after years of struggle were chopped away recently here by Superior Court Judge Thomas C. Yager.

Yager refused to issue an injunction against electronic "eavesdropping" carried out against student groups at L.A. Trade Tech. Yager based his refusal on the grounds that students seeking the injunction could not prove that they were hurt or endangered by the wire-tapping.

Testimony showed that Black Student Union meetings were tapped and taped as well as dossiers were compiled on students and faculty. When Trad Tech President F.J. Brinkman was

called to the stand, he and five other school officials took the Fifth Amendment. However, he issued a formal statement claiming that he had been threatened by BSU members and

### BERKELEY . . .

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An eye witness stated that: "They knocked him to the ground and started pounding his head into the pavement. When blood started spurting out of his ear, they kept hitting and pushed people away who were trying to help him."

Friday's joint statement by the leaders of the Bay Area labor movement reflects the growing awareness among trade unionists that the U.C. strike is a testing ground for all the weapons that the state plans to use against the whole labor

movement.

Richard Groulx, head of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, to call the strike official after nearly 2 months that exposed the workers to these savage attacks.

Now that the labor movement has been forced by the rank and file to join the pickets, Groulx is pulling back from issuing a call

for a general strike throughout Alameda County.

When questioned by the Bulletin, Groulx denied a rumor he would do this and stated that the University had agreed to resume negotiations. The University has denied this.

The mass picketing of the major unions in the Bay Area opens up the way to win this battle. A campaign must be launched to shut down the entire university and to bring all workers in Alameda County out on strike if Reagan's cops attempt to renew their attacks.

times a week." Wells modestly suggested that the good dean "has almost literally an obsession" with such activity. All of the campus cops who were called refused to testify about anything.



# West Coast News

## EDITORIAL

### Gus Hall Praises McGovern, Covers Up Vietnam Betrayal

The crisis facing the working class in California is one of the sharpest in the country.

In Berkeley striking U.C. workers are beaten bloody and hauled off to jail while Richard Groulx, the leader of the most powerful labor council in the Bay Area, is hauled off to jail for protesting the refusal of the state to negotiate.

New preparations are under way by the Food Employers Council to bring in scabs to break the Teamsters union.

Longshoremen and aerospace workers have not only had their wages cut by the Pay Board but ILWU members continue to work with their contract tied up in the courts while the aerospace industry faces new cuts.

Already Reagan is moving to reintroduce the death penalty and to prepare sharper repression with the 9-3 jury system.

Workers are looking for a new policy to carry out the fight. None of these attacks can be answered with pressure or more militancy. They drive home the urgency of the labor movement using its strength to build its own labor party.

It is precisely for this reason that Gus Hall of the Communist Party spoke in San Francisco on the night of the Humphrey-McGovern election to divert the working class from a perspective of political independence.

Introduced by Archie Brown of the ILWU not a word was mentioned of the threat to the labor movement.

Instead Hall congratulated California voters for defeating Hubert Humphrey and praised McGovern as the man who "was able to articulate what is in the minds of the working class." He called for pressuring McGovern from the left to counter the pressure from the right. Approximately one week later McGovern paid his ritual pilgrimage to the hospital bed of George Wallace.

The bankruptcy of this perspective and the crisis of the CP in holding back the working class and the youth was expressed in the arrival of Angela Davis almost an hour late for the meeting and the fact that she did not speak.

While Davis has denied that the trial was "fair" Hall spoke of "...dispersal of the fog of racism in the U.S....some dispersal of the anti-communism that has engulfed our country for such a long time." This in the middle of the Wallace campaign and the attacks opening up on the unions!

Throughout the speech, true to the policy of peaceful co-existence Hall had to assure the youth of the YWLL that the summit was not a sellout. "You don't have to worry about what the Soviet Union will do."

Hall speaks of the deterioration of cold war politics internationally and domestically just at the point that the ruling class prepares a drive to destroy the very existence of the labor movement. Every worker has already received a bitter taste of these policies.

These are not the 1930's. Hall and the CP are now coming into the sharpest conflict with the working class and youth whose entire future depends on a break from the capitalist parties and the launching of a party of labor.

The Workers League is fighting to expose the entire rotten history of Stalinism as an essential part of the fight to build that labor party now.

## Leaders Push GM Program In Fremont GMAD Local

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FREMONT—Last week John Herrera, Chairman of the Shop Committee at the General Motors plant in Fremont, distributed a leaflet to the ranks urging them to work harder for the bosses and announcing that they must be prepared to have "an old fashioned strike," that is, without any strike benefits, when the contract expires in 1973.

This was the word from UAW Vice President Irving Bluestone, who met recently with the local leadership and Jerry Whipple, newly elected West Coast Regional Director.

The leaflet, which reprimanded the men for absenteeism and told them to "cinch in their belts" for 1973, was so rotten that even Herrera had to apologize. He said: "We don't mean to sound like management, but..."

The response of the ranks inside the plant to Herrera's leaflet was that not only did he sound like the management but that he was backing them all the way on speed-up, absenteeism and discipline.

### OPORTUNIST

This is nothing new for the opportunist Herrera who served for years as a loyal lieutenant to Paul Schrade. During the 1970 GM strike at Fremont Herrera and Schrade worked closely with the police and tactical squad, red-baited "outside groups" and pushed acceptance of the contract on the rebellious local.

Schrade's ouster at the UAW convention reflected the enormous anger of the ranks at the failure of the Woodcock leadership to lift a finger against massive speed-up and layoffs and above all, against the Pay Board's cutback of the aerospace contract.

Herrera only switched to Whipple at the convention when he saw which way the wind was blowing. With GMAD's Joseph Godfrey openly boasting about his plans to smash the UAW, Herrera's threat to go along with management in disciplining the ranks is an extremely dangerous development.

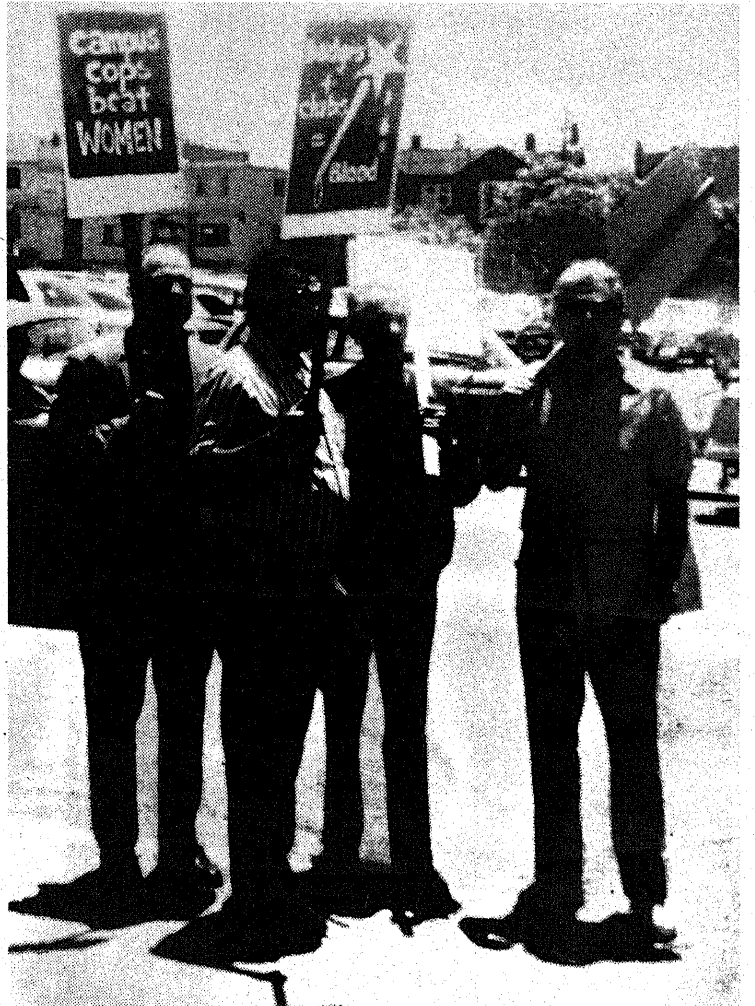
Jerry Whipple was elected by the West Coast delegates because Schrade was completely discredited by his refusal to fight off these questions.

So far Whipple has not raised a peep about the UAW's refusal to back up the Norwood strikers. He has not said a word about how he proposes to fight the threatened layoffs or about the plans to cut off strike benefits.

Now GM prepares to tighten the screws at Fremont with the open support of the Herrera leadership.

The defense of the UAW requires a refusal to go along with any of the productivity schemes in auto and preparation for an all-industry strike. It requires an all-out fight against layoffs in aerospace. Above all it requires a political solution through the construction of a labor party.

The ranks must force Whipple to declare exactly where he stands.



U. of Calif. strikers were beaten and arrested last week by cops. AFL-CIO, Teamsters and ILWU called for mass pickets to end terror.

## Unions Plan Mass Picketing At U. Of Cal.

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—Leaders of the Alameda County AFL-CIO have been forced to change their policy of protest in the University of California strike because of the mass beatings and arrests of union members last week.

A joint statement issued Friday by representatives of the AFL-CIO, the ILWU and the Teamsters announced that beginning Saturday, the University would be hit with mass picketing with the full support of these unions.

The statement came in a response to a week of police terror directed at strikers, in which a dozen workers were beaten and at least as many were arrested by University police. Some of those arrested were union leaders already facing charges from earlier arrests.

The University began its terror tactics on Monday when a woman

picket was beaten and arrested. The attack was provoked by right-wing student scabs who attempted to run down pickets with a fork lift and then make a "citizen's arrest" of the young woman for assault and battery.

Then they called the police who beat and arrested her for "assaulting an officer."

Two days later, 200 unionists picketing University Hall were attacked and clubbed when a contingent attempted to enter the building to see President Hitch. One electrician was beaten so badly that his skull was fractured. He is now in Herrick Hospital in serious condition.

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