

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE YSA

For Fear Of Masses, Davis Taken In Dark Of Night

HOOVER
JAN 11 1971
INSTITUTION

ANGELA EXTRADITED AS REPRESSION MOUNTS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Dec. 22—At 3:05 this morning Secret Service men whisked Angela Davis out of a side door of the Women's House of Detention in the first step of her extradition to California where she faces charges of murder and kidnapping.

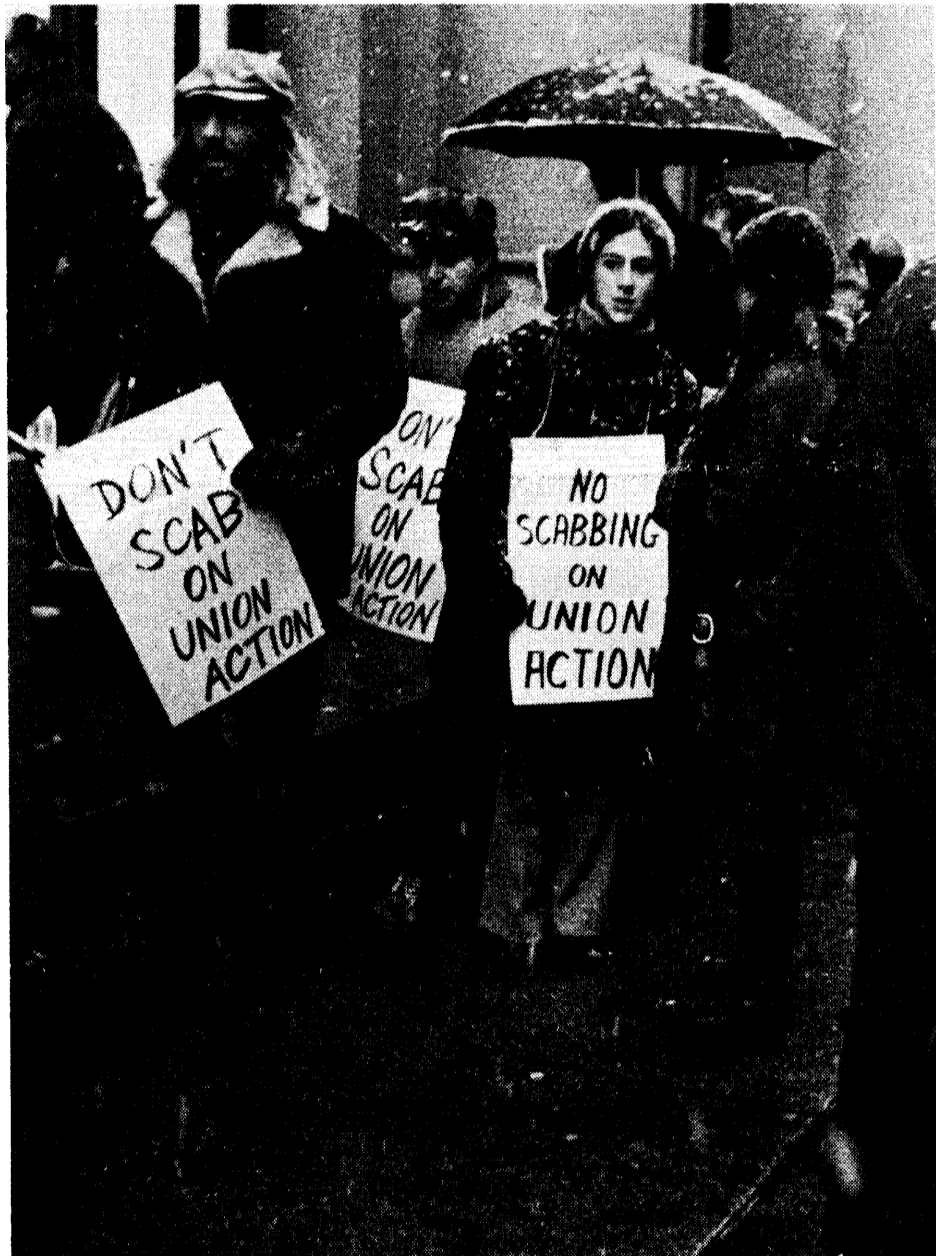
Afraid to move Angela Davis in the light of day, the Secret Service, accompanied by 10 police cars, brought her to the Tombs in the middle of the night, where she was transferred to an unmarked car and driven to New Jersey, presumably to the airport. The New York side of the Holland Tunnel was sealed off to all traffic during the operation.

Angela Davis has been held in the Women's House of Detention since her arrest here on October 13th. The first extradition order signed by Rockefeller was challenged by Miss Davis' attorneys in New York Supreme Court for lack of evidence of the allegations made against her by the state of California.

On November 10th, five days after the challenge, before a hearing on the question was held, California requested extradition on the grounds of a hastily called grand jury which indicted her for murder and kidnapping. Then the transcript of these proceedings was ordered sealed, contrary to California law.

In every possible way under the circumstances, the state, including the Federal government as well as the states of

(Continued on page 9)



Labor Threatens To Shut Down New York Jan. 1

SSEU pickets, mobilized by the Committee for a New Leadership fight to close down training center for reorganization.



POLITICAL REVOLUTION SHAKES POLAND

Armored cars patrol Szczecin in wake of revolutionary action of working class.

New York Labor Threatens Strike

BY A SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—January 1 may very well find the City of New York completely shut down. A showdown between the city unions which represent most of the city's employees and Lindsay is unavoidable.

It is clear that Lindsay is preparing for this showdown. Last week he urged the City Council to immediately pass a bill mandating compulsory arbitration in the event of an impasse in city labor negotiations. Several days later, the *New York Times* revealed Lindsay's "contingency plans" for the use of troops in case of a strike by city labor.

All of this follows upon Lindsay's threats of beating city workers back to the 1930s with "payless paydays" and "furloughs;" his warnings to city unions that there would be no raises in 1971; and most vicious of all—the layoff of 500 city workers as Lindsay's first step in solving the city's crisis through mass unemployment.

WAR

Lindsay knows that he has a fight on his hands. In order to solve the city's budget crisis he must make all out war on the workers and their unions—and the ranks of the city unions are ready to fight him on their wage demands.

While Lindsay is preparing, the labor bureaucracy is not. Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37, in a television



Firemen picket outside New York City Hall.

interview on Dec. 20, said that he foresaw "no strike on New Year's day." He was "optimistic" over finding a "compromise somewhere between bargaining and arbitration." After all, he said, "firemen are responsible people."

This amounts to a blueprint for betrayal. At a time when Lindsay and the ruling class are out for blood and will not stop short of mass unemployment, the destruction of the trade unions, and a return to the 1930s, Gotbaum can talk of "compromise." No basis for a compromise exists.

SSEU

The Hill leadership of the SSEU-371 has taken an equally dangerous position on the contract fight. This leadership is proceeding in negotiations on the basis that the SSEU-371 can wait until after the uniformed services settle their contracts and try to get a similar settlement. This, of course, will only mean that the SSEU-371 will be placed in the weakest position and will be driven back.

Instead of fighting for a clear "No Contract, No Work" strategy for Jan. 1 and joining the other city unions in strike action, Hill is trying to negotiate for a contract extension. At the same time Hill is being forced against the wall on the question which is at the center of the contract fight—reorganization.

The demand that workers refuse to cooperate in any way to further reorganization until the city agrees to the 1971 contract demands was first raised by the Committee for New Leadership. With

the reorganization of three welfare centers, Bay Ridge, Kingsbridge, and Hamilton the Hill leadership has been forced to call a work action saying the workers will not cooperate until the city negotiates with the union on the question of reorganization.

The City has refused to negotiate until the work action ends.

RANKS

While Hill is attempting a retreat in this action, the CNL is fighting to maintain this action, gaining unionwide support and posing the necessity to prepare now to go out on Jan. 1 together with the other city unions. The CNL is showing the way forward in this struggle which can turn the whole tide against Lindsay.

While the labor bureaucracy is trying everything to avoid the confrontation, the ranks of city labor are ready.

At one firemen's union meeting recently, the members yelled obscenities at their leader, Michael Maye, and shouted "Chicken!... You're yellow, Maye!... Let the city burn, they'll know they need us!"

Lindsay and the ruling class know that they face the very real prospect of a municipal workers' strike in New York City on the New Year. The "contingency plans" have been prepared by the Mayor for just that. These plans outline in detail the use of National Guard and regular Army troops in the event of a citywide strike. One can assume the plans also provide for martial law and emergency measures much like Quebec.

These plans are based on "memorandums of understanding" with all branches of government—city, state and Federal. These memorandums indicate that Lindsay is not acting on his own in planning these Draconian measures for taking on the working class—the whole ruling class is focusing its attention on the fight against labor in New York.

STRIKE

Lindsay and the bosses must not be allowed to get away with any of this!

The actions of the Philadelphia city workers show the way forward. On Dec. 15, Mayor Tate was forced to rescind the layoffs of 2,500 city employees only because the workers of District Council 33 had mobilized "to shut the city down" if one city worker was laid off.

The ranks of city labor must call on Van Arsdale, Gotbaum, and the heads of their own union to immediately prepare to shut New York City down unless all wage demands are met, all layoffs are rescinded, all job freezes lifted. All city workers must demand that their union leaders say NO to compulsory arbitration.

VICTORY

In a radio interview, Harry Van Arsdale said that if Lindsay calls out the troops, the Central Labor Council would answer this by closing down the city. This is the only way to beat back Lindsay. The ranks must hold Van Arsdale to his word.

This is the future that now faces city workers. The ranks must prepare to carry this fight through to the finish. A victory by city unions can be an enormous blow to the employers and Nixon turning back the sellouts engineered in the GE, GM and New York taxi struggles. This fight is a fight for the entire labor movement.

*two pamphlets
by cliff slaughter*
THE SLL AND REVISIONISM
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**CLASS NATURE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM
GROUP** price: \$.20

Labor Publications Inc 6th Floor,
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011



Juan Farinas addresses emergency meeting called in aftermath of court conviction.

Farinas Meeting Maps Out Mass Appeal Campaign

BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

NEW YORK, Dec. 18—A week after the conviction of Juan Pedro Farinas on three frame-up charges of violating the Selective Service Act, almost 100 persons attended a defense meeting here to map out a campaign for the fight against this conviction in the crucial months ahead.

Among those represented at the meeting called by the Juan Farinas Defense Committee were Young Lords from New York and Philadelphia, the Workers League, the Student Mobilization Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, Spartacist League, Labor Committee, the Pearce-Connolly Socialist Club, and Cineaste magazine.

There was a large contingent of students from campuses throughout the city: Cooper Union, New School, NYU, Brooklyn College, Columbia, New York City Community College, Queensboro Community College, City College, as well as from Penn State, Temple University in Philadelphia and Yale University. The trade unions were represented by a large group from SSEU-Local 371, members of Local 1199 Hospital Workers and taxi Local 3036.

The first speaker at the meeting was the defendant, Juan Farinas, who gave a full report on the December 10-11 trial proceedings. Farinas said that his prosecution is part of the United States government's political attack on the working class, militants, minority groups and youth. The reason the government is on the offensive and using repression against these groups is because Nixon and Agnew are frightened of the strength and the growing militancy of these groups.

STRONG

In the youth and in the working class is where we must base our defense, in a force that is as strong as the "Rock of Gibraltar." Farinas said that we cannot base the defense on the liberals who are going to run away when the "chips are down," just as Badillo and Shirley Chisholm turned their backs when confronted with three murders in the New York prisons.

Bridget Lester of the defense committee was the next speaker. In the light of the all out attack, she called for everyone at the meeting, despite their political differences, to join the campaign. She summarized the work of the committee so far, explaining that a great deal of money had been collected for the legal defense fund, but that now even more was needed for the Court of Appeals costs, perhaps bail fund, travel and publicity expenses. She also said that the ACLU is filing a separate brief for the appeal to make the case even stronger.

The committee has divided its work into four subcommittees: campus and high school, trade union, Spanish-speaking community, publicity. She called for all attending the meeting to join one of the subcommittees.

Helena Farinas, wife of the defendant and a member of Hospital Workers Local 1199, also spoke.

OPTIMISM

The chairman of the meeting, Fred Mueller, then opened the floor to general discussion. From the floor, several suggestions were made for future plans of the defense committee, among which was that a large demonstration be planned for

January 22, the day of Farinas' sentencing, in front of the Court of Appeals.

The chairman announced that a benefit concert and mass meeting would be planned for the early spring, as a culmination of the work of the committee.

A representative of the Labor Committee, speaking from the floor complained about the "air of optimism" of the defense committee, and suggested that more of the campaign should be based on seeking the support of liberals such as Paul O'Dwyer.

The reply was made that we are optimistic because we base our defense of Juan Farinas on the strength of the working class. Pessimism is bound to flow from reliance on the liberals because the liberals are in fast retreat. They are as afraid of Nixon and Agnew as Nixon and Agnew are of the working class. We must root this defense campaign in the class force which is capable of defeating the attacks of the capitalist class, the working class. It is on this basis that the defense committee was founded and has functioned.

After the discussion a collection of over \$45.00 was raised for the legal defense fund.

The meeting then broke up into the four subcommittees. The plans are to mobilize high school and college students, and school organizations to man tables to collect for the legal defense and to publicize the case, to canvass dorms, to hold mass meetings, and to gain new supporters and sponsors for the committee. The Spanish-speaking groups will bring the campaign to their neighborhoods, gaining new sponsors and raising money for the defense, and holding mass meetings.

Spanish-speaking radio stations and newspapers will be urged to cover the case. The trade union committee has scheduled an all-union meeting for December 29.

FORWARD

A great step forward in the building of the campaign was taken at this meeting. A nationwide offensive against the U.S. government's political attack is being built. We urge all our readers to contribute to and work with the committee. Please contact Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th Street, 6th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011, (212) 924-0852.

New sponsors of the defense committee include: Charles Garry, defense attorney for the Black Panther Party, New Haven; Jack Hart, Field Representative, U.E., Philadelphia; Fred Punch, President and Robert Moore, Treasurer, Local 1199E Hospital Workers, Baltimore; Pearce-Connolly Socialist Club; and Cineaste magazine.

Bulletin

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Polish Workers Shake Stalinist Bureaucracy

BY THE EDITOR

The strikes and demonstrations which shook the city of Gdansk and spread throughout Poland last week represent the struggle for political revolution. No matter what maneuvers or compromises are made temporarily by the Stalinist bureaucracy, this struggle by the Polish workers will go forward to link up with the mighty struggles of the European working class for socialist revolution.

No amount of slander or deception from the capitalist press or the Stalinist Daily World can hide the real character of this struggle.

The movement which has broken out in Poland is based on the working class—dockers, engineers, construction workers supported by housewives and youth. It is a fight to secure and advance the gains of the October Revolution against the bureaucracy.

The uprising began when over three thousand Polish dock workers in the port of Gdansk, singing the "Internationale", the anthem of revolutionary communism, walked off their jobs on Monday. Over the previous weekend the Gomulka regime had announced its decision to increase food and fuel prices.

REVOLUTION

According to a Swedish reporter, Karl Karlsson, quoted in the London Daily Telegraph this is what occurred:

"What happened in Gdansk was a revolution and a successful one. . . The local Communist Party leadership hung a white flag from a window of the top floor and left the building with their hands up. . .

"The house was set on fire and party officials were seized by about 3,000 shipyard workers who had marched in from the harbor."

The dockers were joined in their demonstration by students and housewives.

On Thursday a state of emergency was declared and the police were instructed to shoot all demonstrators on sight. In Szczecin, demonstrators chanting "We want food" marched into town and smashed the windows of the Party building. As in Czechoslovakia, tanks, Polish ones not Russian, rumbled through the streets, running over and killing a woman and child in their path. Written on the walls of the town was the cry: "We are workers, not roughnecks," a clear refutation of the Stalinist slander that the demonstrators were provoked by "hooligan", "anarchist" and "adventurist" elements.

The reporter quoted above also reported: "Riot police brought in from all over Northern Poland fired on the demonstrators, but all eyewitnesses agree that only a few soldiers used their weapons. . . "When they were ordered to shoot, they fired into the air. Many of them

threw down their weapons and said they could not shoot at their fellow countrymen.

"But the policemen were absolutely ruthless. They shot into the ranks of the demonstrators. Many women and children were killed and injured."

GOMULKA

By Sunday the upheavals in the working class brought the Gomulka regime down. The fall of Gomulka only points up the insoluble crisis which has openly affected Stalinism since the East German uprising of 1953.

It was Gomulka who was brought back to power after the revolutionary uprising in Poznan in 1956, to head off the movement of the workers. It was only a year later in 1957 that he moved against the independence of the Workers Councils and shut down the revolutionary youth paper *Poprostu* which had been formed during the uprising, expelling its leaders from the party. In the same year Gomulka smashed with brutal force a strike by streetcar workers in Lodz.

More recently, it was Gomulka who ordered Polish coal to be shipped to Spain, enabling Franco to break the Asturian miners' strike. Six months later the Gomulka regime sent Polish cement to Ireland to break the strike of the cement workers.

Last week it was the workers in Poland who answered the counterrevolutionary betrayals of the Gomulka regime.

The Stalinists cannot silence the workers and youth. The period when the bureaucracy could make concessions is over. They are making it very clear that rebellion will be met with brutal repression.

It is no accident that the very same day the Polish events began, the Soviet bureaucracy announced a campaign of cracking down on the opposition in Russia and at the same time the Czech Communist Party is being purged of every last conciliatory element. This is the spirit with which the Kremlin hails the new leaders in Poland, which include not only Edward Gierek but also the former Interior Minister, Mieczyslaw Moczar, who is hated by the Polish working class. The promises of Gierek are just a cover behind which the bureaucracy will seek to contain and eventually crush the offensive of the working class.



Party headquarters burns in Szczecin during workers rebellion against bureaucracy.

But it is not only the Kremlin that is looking to the new regime for stability—it is also the international capitalist class. Any "sympathy" that the capitalist class expresses for the events is nothing but hypocrisy and deception which is used against the working class to prepare for capitalist restoration not just in Poland but throughout the Soviet countries.

FEAR

Above all what the capitalist class expressed last week was fear—fear of the fight by the working class in Poland against the bureaucracy. Its main concern at every point were threats to its relations with the Soviet bureaucracy. On Friday, December 18, the New York Times headed its article with "Polish Riots Are Expected to Bring Serious Consequences for Gomulka's Rule: Blow to Efforts to Ease East-West Tension Seen." The Times went on to say:

"The political shock waves of the violence in Gdansk rolled across Eastern and Western Europe today and in the view of knowledgeable Europeans of both East and West they bode little good."

In West Germany the capitalists worried about the fate of the treaty it worked out with Gomulka. It is through such deals that the capitalist class seeks more and more to penetrate into the Soviet countries, threatening the socialized property relations.

While the US cynically uses the suppression of the workers for anti-communist propaganda, it unites with the Stalinist bureaucracy against the revolutionary struggles.

It is this collaboration which underlies the role of the American Communist Party. This party which is the most loyal servant to the Soviet bureaucracy has uncritically supported every twist and turn of the bureaucracy to crush the heroic struggles of the Polish workers.

When the demonstrations first broke out, the Daily World along with Gomulka described the workers and youth as "adventurist hooligan elements."

After the fall of Gomulka and when it became impossible to deny the involvement of the working class in the struggle, the Daily World gave the new regime uncritical support, defending the actions of the bureaucracy against the workers. In its editorial "Poland Corrects Itself" the CP attempting to lull the workers in support of Gierek, said:

"The actions taken over the weekend by the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party testify to the seriousness with which the Party views the outbursts in Gdansk and other cities. The Central Committee has undertaken to rectify the serious consequences which the recent price restructuring would have on the lowest-income families: it has decided to review immediately the new five year economic plan which begins in 1971. . . The former leadership apparently permitted itself to become isolated from the working class.

"One consequence of this was that some workers were induced to resort to work stoppages. This was 'fraught with great danger for the country,' Gierek said for these impulsive actions were exploited by elements in the population who cared not at all for solving socialism's economic problems. . .

"The alien elements were not interested in prosecuting a 'working class revolution' as the New York Times claimed Monday editorially.

"The opposite was the case. 'It was not a worker protest,' but incitement by 'enemies of socialism, anti-social and criminal elements,' as Gierek declared."

HOSTILITY

Here the CP shows its open hostility to the workers and youth which it attacks as "enemies of socialism, anti-social and criminal elements." In this editorial, it attacks the working class while covering for the crimes of the bureaucracy, saying it "corrects itself."

What the American Communist Party and the Soviet bureaucracy, together with the New York Times and the American capitalist class fear the most is the offensive of the working class, the political revolution in the Soviet countries.

As the crisis of capitalism deepens and the class struggles take on revolutionary proportions, these struggles threaten the privileges and the very existence of the bureaucracy. This pushes them into closer and closer collaboration with imperialism.

The Soviet bureaucracy cannot defend the socialized property relations.

The only way out of this crisis is the way of the political revolution. This is the lesson of the Hungarian Revolution, the Czech events of 1968 and Poland today. This is the task of the working class led by the revolutionary party. This is the program hammered out by Trotsky and the Fourth International and fought for by the International Committee of the Fourth International. The struggles in Poland point out the urgent necessity to construct sections of the Fourth International in the Soviet countries.

There will be no issue of the Bulletin next week as we take our annual holiday break. The next issue will appear on January 11th. We wish to take this occasion to wish all our readers the very best for the holiday season.

Dissident Drivers Oppose Fuel Settlement

STOP PRESS

Over a very strong opposition, the fuel drivers have voted by a 2-1 margin according to the official tally, to accept the proposed contract and return to work. The ability of local President McGuire to push through this sellout contract shows that the opposition must form a rank and file caucus to take forward the fight for a new leadership.

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Dec. 22—Striking rank and file fuel oil drivers voted here tonight on a "new" offer put forward by the bosses.

Outside the polling place at the High School of Fashion Industries, rank and file dissidents carried picket signs demanding a "no" vote and denouncing the sellout of McGuire.

The new offer provides the same wage increase—\$40/week, but in two steps during the first year of the two year contract. The rejected offer placed the increase in four steps over the first fifteen months. As far as the union demand for full \$300 pensions after 20 years regardless of age, reports on the proposed pact indicate that the employers have not budged from their offer of the pension after 25 years only at age 55.

The overall wage package is still far below the union's earlier demand for parity with the construction drivers' local of the Teamsters who will be up to \$267 per week next July. The proposed fuel



Rank and filers urge no vote during balloting on oil truck drivers contract in New York.

drivers' pact will bring the drivers up to \$215 at the end of the first year.

The drivers were particularly angry over the attempts by the capitalist press to turn public opinion against them. Not only has the press attempted to make it look like the drivers are asking "for the sky", but as the men pointed out, they have omitted the fact that the companies have doubled prices during the year, and one drivers' daily delivery brings in \$1200 to the bosses' coffers. One driver, dressed up as a Santa and

carrying a "vote no" sign, said that he only worked six months a year and that this was typical in the industry.

When asked about the almost certain prospect of a strikebreaking injunction by Lindsay if the contract was rejected, the men said that there had to be a wildcat if the leadership accepted the injunction. One of them said, "If Mr. Lindsay wants to come and drag me out of my house and make me drive that truck, let him try it. I'm not going to work for that kind of money."



Taxi drivers picket during strike which was sold out by Van Arsdale and his goons.

Taxis Back on Streets-- Drivers Bitter at Sellout

BY A 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Members and supporters of the 3036 Rank and File Committee were brutally attacked by union goons outside New York's Manhattan Center, Sunday, December 20, 1970, as members of Local 3036 met to vote on a return to work.

Police at first protected the young drivers handing out leaflets, but upon learning that they were dissidents, stepped aside. At that point, union goons renewed their vicious attacks, bloodying the mouth of one woman supporter.

Other drivers, old and young, immediately defended the young militants, whose demands centered around a \$200 per week guarantee for all full-time drivers, a one year contract, and other fringe benefits equal to transit workers. Such attacks reveal the fear the union leadership has of the ranks and the challenge to its sellout policies.

SLIM

The voting margin was slim, 3-2, and though the drivers did vote to return to work, the bitterness at such a weak pact negotiated by the union was evident everywhere. President Harry Van Arsdale was continually heckled, and he constantly evaded questions and motions from the floor.

Complete details of a final pact will not be known until the City Council approves a necessary fare hike, but one fact remained clear throughout the entire negotiations and strike—the rank and file driver was once again sold out.

The taxi drivers failed to get more than 50% of the meter. New drivers, in fact will begin at 42%, such percentage increasing by 2% for every 200 days worked, until 50% is reached. The 6% difference between new and older drivers will be used by the owners to finance fringe benefits for career drivers.

Since the number of new part-time drivers in the fleets is increasing, the pattern of the owners grabbing an even bigger share of the meter is clear. To the union leadership's surprise, the older drivers vehemently opposed this measure, fearing quite correctly, that the owners would find any excuse now to fire a career man.

Another sore point with many drivers is the fact that the length of the contract has now been placed in binding arbitration. With inflation skyrocketing living standards, anything over a one year contract (the owners want a three year pact) is a complete sellout.

Such actions by the union leadership and the owners, of pitting older drivers against the younger ones, is a deliberate step to weaken the strength of the rank and file.

Failure of the union bureaucracy to defend the drivers against the vicious attacks by the press, during, and after the strike, coupled with the physical violence by union goons upon the younger drivers, points up the fear that President Harry Van Arsdale has about a strong

rank and file movement.

Taxi drivers are fed up with being sold out by the union bureaucracies. Outside the hall after the meeting today drivers expressed their anger over the settlement. Only in a strong movement from the ranks can the drivers change the situation and throw out the rotten Van Arsdale leadership.

Seamen's Defense Committee of NMU Demands Nationalization of Ships

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—Members of the newly formed rank and file Seamen's Defense Committee, made up of seamen active in the Committee for NMU Democracy, have gone onto Grace Line ships here, called emergency rank and file meetings, and passed resolutions against the layoffs of six Grace Line ships for a strike to prevent layoffs and for nationalization of the ships if the company cannot meet the demands. Crews on the Santa Paula, Santa Rosa, Santa Magdalena, and Santa Mercedes have passed the resolutions.

The "Resolution to Save our Ships" demands that Curran "be prodded into taking militant action, including a strike, to save our NMU jobs and a march on Washington by mobilizing the American labor movement." It also states:

"Resolved that if Prudential-Grace insists on scuttling its passenger ships because they can't make a profit, that the ships be nationalized, run without profit, to protect our livelihood; that these passenger ships be operated by the government under trade union wages, conditions, benefits and rights..."

The second resolution calls for payment of all NMU pensions due to Grace Lines crew members who cannot ship out due to the layoffs of passenger liners, and calls for legal action to get it if need be.

ATLANTIC

One leader in this new committee stated, "Curran announced he will sue in Federal court to reactivate the old passenger ships. We don't buy it—he intends to lose; he is opposed to any strike. The sale of the Atlantic is a precedent. The companies are lobbying for the sale of American ships to foreign companies at any age. Now they are required by law not to sell any ship of less than twenty-five years of age (like the United States, the Brasil, Argentina, Santa Paula and Santa Rosa). Curran and Skouras (president of Prudential-Grace) have made a deal. After the bill

Newark Unions Support Teachers Against Gibson Union Busting

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK, December 18—At the initiative of the Newark Teachers Union, a cross section of trade union officials from the northern New Jersey area met here in support of the Teachers Union.

The trade union group issued a statement demanding that Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson take responsibility for getting the Board of Education to negotiate with the Teachers Union by Dec. 23.

Backed by Leroi Jones and his black nationalist supporters who are out to break the union by creating a racist division between the "community" and the teachers, the Board has steadfastly refused to sit down and negotiate with the union since Oct. 1. The present contract expires on Jan. 31.

The Board and its nationalist union-busting friends are preparing to force a strike and then attempt to smash the union in the name of the "black community" even though the leadership and many of the Teachers Union members are black. Gibson through his silence tries to get off the hook even though as a front man for the industrialists he is the man responsible for this attack.

GIBSON

If Gibson continues to allow the Board to stall on the negotiations, the trade union group plans a strong statement denouncing Gibson's role as a union-buster. Sentiment is strong among both black and white trade unionists in Newark that if the city forces a strike the Newark labor movement ought to "shut the whole city down" as one trade unionist put it.

The participants in the trade union committee included Charles Marciante, Chairman, New Jersey AFL-CIO; Mae Massey, Civil Rights Director, New Jersey AFL-CIO; Connie Woodruff, Community Relations Director, ILGWU; Jim Clark, UAW Local 595; Mart Verner, President Industrial Union Council, N.J. AFL-CIO; Mattie Stevens, V.P. Essex-West Hudson Labor Council; Aberdeen Davis, Hospital Workers Local 1199; Archer Cole, I.U.E., as well as representatives from the Asphalt Workers Union, the Amalgamated Meatcutters, the Fur and Leather Workers and Local 303 of the Newark Housing Authority Workers Union which is 98 percent black.

These developments in Newark reveal

a sharpening of the class struggle. On the one side are the mass of the workers and the unions. On the other side, the bosses, the Gibson Administration and the black nationalists. "Independent Black Politics" is a fraud behind which the ruling class uses black nationalism against both black and white workers in an attempt to smash the unions. All those on the left such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party who cover up for Leroi Jones and Kenneth Gibson show on which side of the class struggle they really stand.

New Year Dock Wildcat Threatens

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

As the two week "cooling off period" imposed on the Port of New York dock workers by the ILA bureaucrats and N.Y. Shippers Association draws to a close on Dec. 28, the rank and file have been anything but cooled off.

In fact, they are getting hotter day by day. More and more men on the docks are talking about another wildcat walkout after the New Year.

The agreement ending the earlier wildcat settled nothing. More than likely the decision on the 28th will make official the concession by the shippers on the question of forcing checkers to work anywhere in the port through the closing of hiring halls and through previous day hiring. But at the same time, this previous day hiring procedure will remain in effect as far as longshoremen are concerned. This is to promote the maximum "flexibility of labor" through moving longshoremen from job to job anywhere in the whole port.

The closing of the hiring halls was part of the campaign by the shippers to soften up the ranks for the next contract. There is no doubt that the shippers will launch a major attack on the guaranteed annual wage in this contract as part of their goal of eliminating another 10,000 jobs in the Port of New York.

The ILA leadership is a willing partner of the shippers in this attempt to destroy jobs and working conditions. Scott, Gleason & Co. are only out to feather their own nests while the ILA ranks get left out in the cold through containerization. This was made clear when the ILA gave a miserable \$135 container bonus payment to the men instead of the \$600 actually owed them from this fund. Meanwhile Brooklyn longshoremen are burning mad over reports that ILA clinic employees, all friends or relatives of the leadership, got a "Christmas" bonus equal to double their weekly pay.

A leaflet is now circulating on the docks, put out by ILA Rank and File for a New Leadership, which explains these attacks and calls for a walkout after the New Year on these demands: no previous day hiring for either checkers or longshoremen; full \$600 container money now; full payment by the NYSA of the millions of dollars withheld from the pension, welfare and medical funds.

The leaflet sees this fight as part of the counteroffensive against the employers for the next contract and raises the demand for "real job protection through a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and a guarantee with no strings based on \$1.65/hour wage boost." The leaflet goes on to pose the need for nationalization of the docks and all shipping under workers' control and for the formation of a labor party against the Republicans and Democrats.

The leaflet concludes, "The next step on the docks is the building of a real rank and file caucus that's prepared to go all the way in the fight against the shipping companies and their friends in the union leadership."

MOST CRITICAL PERIOD IN HISTORY

"The characteristic thing about American workers parties, trade-union organizations, and so on, was their aristocratic character. It is the basis for opportunism. The skilled workers who feel set in the capitalist society help the bourgeois class to hold the Negroes and the unskilled workers down to a very low scale. Our party is not safe from degeneration if it remains a place for intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, skilled workers and Jewish workers who build a very close milieu which is almost isolated from the genuine masses. Under these conditions our party cannot develop—it will degenerate.

"We must have this danger before our eyes. Many times I have proposed that every member of the party, especially the intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, who, during a period of say six months, cannot each win a worker-member for the party, should be demoted to the position of sympathizer. We can say the same in the Negro question. The old organizations, beginning with the AFL, are the organizations of the workers' aristocracy. Our party is a party of the same milieu, not of the basic exploited masses of whom the Negroes are the most exploited. The fact that our party until now has not turned to the Negro question is a very disquieting symptom. If the workers' aristocracy is the basis of opportunism, one of the sources of adaptation to capitalist society, then the most oppressed and discriminated are the most dynamic milieu of the working class.

"We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. What serves as the brake on the higher strata? It is the privileges, the comforts that hinder them from becoming revolutionists. It does not exist for the Negroes. What can transform a certain stratum, make it more capable of courage and sacrifice? It is concentrated in the Negroes. If it happens that we in the SWP are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

--Leon Trotsky in a discussion with J. R. Johnson April 11, 1939.

To the Young Socialist Alliance National Convention.

Dear Comrades:

Your convention is being held at the most critical period in the history of the American working class. The international crisis of capital which brought about the May-June Days in France in 1968, is now finding its sharpest expression right here in the United States. In a series of strike actions starting with the GE strike through the postal and auto strikes and now erupting in New York City, the American working class has gone on the offensive.

This forces the American ruling class with Nixon and Agnew are carrying out the most extensive repressions against the socialist movement and working class and minority militants since the McCarthy era. With Heath's speech before the United Nations, the ruling class all over the world is declaring openly its intention of conducting civil war against the working class, up to and including fascism unless they are stopped. Internationally, as you know, nothing has been solved in Vietnam and Nixon plans new atrocities there while opposition boils over within the army itself.

The strength of world imperialism and the strength of the international working class find expression right here. The United States is very much a key part of the international struggle of the working class.

The key to the situation in the United States lies in the conscious relation of the youth, particularly the minority working class youth, to the working class as a whole organized in the trade unions. It is within this context that we wish to deal with the documents presented to your convention.

These documents, as we understand them, are conjunctural in the sense that they represent a development of positions worked out in earlier resolutions. This is certainly the case as far as "Black Youth and the Struggle for Self-Determination" is concerned which is based on the document passed at the last conference.

OBJECTIVE SITUATION

The purpose of a conjunctural document is precisely to assess the changes in the objective situation since the last document was issued so that a certain assessment can be

made both of the changes and the work of the movement over that period, and a further strategic development posed. All four major resolutions fail to make such an assessment. In fact the most striking feature of the black resolution is precisely its retrogressive character.

Of all the resolutions the one which most closely approaches a general political resolution is "After the May Upsurge: Young Socialists and the Student Movement." Here, in place of such an analysis, we find the following sentence: "The May strike revealed more clearly than ever before the increased social weight and power of the student movement in today's neo-capitalist society."

What is this but an open endorsement of the revisionist views of Ernest Mandel who claims that today we live not in the period of imperialist decay as defined by Lenin and on the basis of which Trotsky developed the strategy in the Transitional Program, but in a new period of "neo-capitalism." The chief characteristic of this new period, as the quote above clearly indicates, is that the role of the industrial working class is lessened and that of the middle classes strengthened. It is thus a theory to justify an adaptation to precisely those layers in society that the petty bourgeois opposition in 1940 adapted to and through this adaptation abandoned Trotskyism.

In place of an objective and scientific assessment of the changes in the objective situation we find a reference to a revisionist theory which denies really the necessity for such an assessment, a theory which acts as a cover for the YSA remaining in and adapting to movement within the middle classes.

CONSCIOUS FIGHT

As Trotsky pointed out in the case of the 1940 opposition one may not wish to recognize the changes in the objective situation and the effects those changes have on the middle classes, but those changes can have a direct impact on one. In fact only through their recognition and a conscious class fight based on this recognition can one counter the class pressures engendered by the new situation.

The sharpening of the class struggle in the United States with the direct repression of the ruling class on the one hand and the movement forward of the working class and youth on the other has thrown sections of the middle class into panic and frenzy. The middle class both fears the repression of the ruling class and the movement of the working class. This in turn has found its expression deep within middle class radical circles including the campuses.

What appears to some as "apathy" on the campus is actually fear—a tendency on the part of radical students to get out of the way, to run for cover as the decks are cleared for a massive struggle between the two major classes in society. They seek to avoid the repression of the ruling class by turning to their private lives and deserting the struggle. They fear protest politics in a period when the movement of the working class constantly exposes the futility of such politics and requires that students turn to the working class, in a period where protest movements crumble in the face of a growing movement of the working class which poses the question of power. But to take up the struggle for leadership of the working class requires in turn a sharp class break which many of these students are unwilling to face up to.

FEAR

The very repression which frightens sections of middle class radicals is brought about by the fear of the ruling class of this movement of the working class. What the ruling class fears above all is a relationship between the more consciously and openly revolutionary struggles of the youth with the tremendously powerful but less conscious movement of the working class through the trade unions. This is the reason for the campaign against "terrorism" and "bombers", the witchhunting of SDS, the persecution of the Panthers, the conviction of our own comrade Juan Farinas.

The real significance of Kent State lies precisely in this—it represents the end of a whole period of protest politics on the campus and the beginning of a new period of working class struggle. Contrary to what is stated in the YSA leadership's student resolution, the student movement will not simply repeat itself along the same old lines. Those sections of radical students most tied to the middle class move away in

Open Letter To The YSA Convention

fear while new layers come forward, more closely tied to the working class, striving to take forward the struggle in a class way. The real meaning of the YSA documents is precisely that they adapt to the fears of the conservative layers of students and fight against the movement of the new layers of youth.

The question objectively posed before your convention is precisely where the Young Socialist Alliance stands in this situation. Is the YSA to reflect the fear, the panic, the running away from struggle of sections of the middle class as did the petty bourgeois opposition in 1940 or will it play a positive role by turning towards the revolutionary movement of the youth and taking this youth forward into the working class as a whole to forge a new leadership in the unions and build a mass revolutionary party in the United States? If the resolutions of the National Executive Committee are adopted it will take the former road.

PANTHERS

None of the documents before the Convention deal with the working class. In fact in several places such as the Women's Liberation, Student and Black resolutions, those to propose a turn towards the working class are roundly attacked. However, since the Black youth are, as Trotsky said "the most dynamic section of the working class," it is in the resolution on this question that the real relationship of the YSA leadership to the working class is clearly exposed.

In its very first sentence the resolution states: "In the past year, nationalist consciousness has continued to deepen in the Black community." But much of the resolution is taken up with a polemic against the Black Panthers for breaking with nationalism. Since the Black Panthers clearly represent an important section of the "Black community" how can we justify a claim that "nationalist consciousness" has increased.

How farfetched the reasoning gets on this point is indicated when one example of "nationalist consciousness" given is "the strike of postal workers, the majority of whom are black..." Not only is it untrue that a majority of postal workers are black, the postal strike represents a class action in which black, white and Puerto Rican workers acted in common. It thus actually was an indication of the decay, the breaking down of "nationalist consciousness."

It is actually the breaking down of nationalist consciousness combined with a sharp and deep revolutionary development among minority working class youth including blacks that is the major characteristic of the past year in relation to the black struggle. The deepening of nationalist consciousness has taken place not in the black masses but inside the YSA and SWP as a way of avoiding the revolutionary implications of the new developments in the working class.

CONSERVATIVE

The past year has fully confirmed the position of the Workers League that the blacks are not a nation but in large part the most oppressed section of the working class suffering from economic exploitation and racial discrimination. As such they can and will play a critically important role, as Trotsky pointed out, in the construction of a vanguard leadership for the class as a whole. The black nationalism of the YSA and SWP acts precisely to separate out the SWP and YSA from the minority youth—it acts as a weapon against the revolutionary development of these youth.

This is why this document represents a turn on the part of the YSA leadership openly towards the most conservative sections of the blacks and against the revolutionary sections of the blacks. Through these conservative sections it represents, it reflects a retreat before the repressive campaign of the ruling class.

The document mentions the two conferences held over Labor Day weekend but it cannot explain why 10,000 showed up for the Panther conference and only 4,000 for the cultural nationalist conference in Atlanta, Georgia. The YSA leadership resolution openly lines up with the latter conference against the former.

This conference, which called for "a Black political party" was warmly greeted by—Mayor Kenneth Gibson, Mayor Louis Hart, Mayor Richard Hatcher, and Representative Julian Bond. It was a conference held in common with the open agents of the bourgeoisie, actual members of bourgeois parties who administer city administrations in the interests of the bourgeoisie and against the interests of the working class, and thus of the vast, vast mass of blacks in this country.

That this conference also endorsed a "Black political party" is quite consistent. These politicians from cities whose populations are in their majority black are quite willing to participate in the formation of such a black party if the Democratic Party becomes too discredited among the blacks and under conditions in which a racial polarization at the polls can help the capitalists break up the unity of the working class in the factories. To Gibson and Hatcher such a party is just

one of the options in their opportunist role of administering the capitalist state in the interests of the capitalists. This slogan of the SWP along with the community control one is, as we have pointed out in the past, completely reactionary and today extremely dangerous.

It so happens that the keynote speaker at this conference, the very man who wrote the document calling for "a World African political party" was none other than LeRoi Jones (Imamu Baraka). As Newark Federation of Teachers Organizer Orrie Chambers, himself a black militant, has pointed out, Leroi Jones has been the main figure behind attempts to bust the teachers' union. He has sought to create racial hostility against the union despite the fact the union's president is black as are a large section of the teachers. In so doing he has acted as an aid to the Gibson Administration in its efforts to crush the union.

As far as Gibson is concerned, who is not mentioned in the YSA document and who the Militant assiduously avoids criticizing, Chambers has this to say about his administration:

"We view it, and the union as a whole views it, exactly as with Adonizio. It's a trick simply to save a situation. At this point we can't accuse the man of stealing anything, but we feel that he's a carbon copy, cut from the same piece of cloth as any administration that's put in by big industrialists."

CAIRO UNITED FRONT

Within this context it is significant that such attention in the document is given to the struggle in Cairo, Illinois. In the past year which has seen youth rebellions in Asbury Park, New Bedford and many other cities, a series of murderous attacks by police on Panthers and whole areas of cities where the Panthers were located, the deepening of the legal lynching campaign against the Panthers, and the great class movement of workers in the trade unions including hundreds of thousands of black workers, the document chooses Cairo for a lengthy section and as the shining example for the black masses to follow.

The truth is that the struggle in Cairo is retrogressive in every way. While the blacks in Cairo deserve and will receive the support of the working class movement and the black community throughout the nation, the struggle there is being conducted on a programmatic basis which is rooted in Martin Luther King, not even in Malcolm X.

It is significant that Cairo is a very small isolated town in a section of Illinois which, despite being in the state of Lincoln, has always prided itself as being confederate in loyalty. It takes place under conditions of what appears to be a complete racial polarization. Here is how the NAACP



Behind Mayor Gibson (left) stands industrialists and LeRoy Jones United Front (above) embraces ruling class. YSA leadership attacks them when they are under attack from bourgeoisie (below Phila and refuses to sponsor Juan Farinas (below right: defense demons



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By posing the struggle this way the Cairo United Front has formed a coalition based primarily on the churches which has an openly bourgeois program. One of its demands is for more industry in Cairo and another is to establish black capitalist enterprises. More recently, according to the *Guardian*, it has formed a bloc with "black legislators from Illinois and the State Ministerial Conference of the Baptist Churches..."

Does Cairo represent the present and the future or does it represent the past? This will, of course, be determined by struggle. But if America as a whole is to be divided into two armed camps, one white and the other black, we well know the black camp will be destroyed and in the course of being destroyed a fascist state established which will oppress the working class as a whole. Our aim must be in preventing Cairos from developing not greeting them as the model for the struggle. As we have noted the real movement of the black masses, the youth in particular, is not towards Cairos, but towards a class break with the ministers and politicians and other conservative elements in the black community and a turn towards class battles.

"ULTRALEFTS"

Next we come to the question of the Panthers. Why is it that in previous resolutions the Panthers along with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (an outgrowth of DRUM), were so uncritically praised while in this resolution they are denounced as "ultralefts." Why is there this sharp attack on the Panthers precisely at the moment that the Panthers come under such sharp attack from the bourgeoisie?

Ultraleftism is defined as "a question of moving away from nationalism," of not having a "nationalist strategy." This supposedly separates the ultraleft from the black masses who, as we have noted without any evidence, it is asserted are all nationalists. What the authors of the resolution cannot explain is the tremendous mass popularity, particularly among youth, for the Panthers and for similar formations among the Puerto Ricans like the Young Lords.

It is clear that the turn of the Panthers away from nationalism—and they particularly denounce the pan-Africanism of Jones—and towards in a very confused sense socialist and Marxist concepts has actually been accompanied by a growing popularity among masses of working class youth. This turn is actually described in the document as a "degeneration."

Why is it that the YSA denounces Huey Newton but endorses Malcolm X. Even Malcolm X had some qualms about nationalism in the last months of his life. So it is to the early Malcolm X and the tactics of Martin Luther King the YSA seeks to return.

Particularly pernicious is the YSA's attack on the Panthers for attempting: "to substitute themselves, the 'revolutionary vanguard party,' for the masses of black people, rejecting the necessity of putting forward and fighting for a program that could transform the general militancy of the black community into an organized, cohesive and consciously revolutionary force."

It is one thing to question the Panthers' credentials for being the revolutionary vanguard party, for certainly their theoretical weaknesses are obvious. But it is quite another

to attack them for seeking to become such a party and propose instead the completely liquidationist formula about transforming "the general militancy of the black community into an organized, cohesive and consciously revolutionary force." This statement represents not just an attack on the Panthers but on the concept of Leninism itself—the conception of forming a party of the vanguard elements of the class which, as Lenin noted, is both rooted in the class and separated from it. This substitutionist charge is dug out of the old Menshevik arsenal.

We, who have not been afraid to speak out critically on our differences with the Panthers at a time when uncritical adulation of the Panthers was popular in middle class radical circles, including the YSA, are also quite willing to recognize changes taking place in that movement and to search their objective meaning. When Huey Newton recently spoke out sharply for a turn to dialectics, we greeted this turn objectively as an expression of deep movements within the class itself.

Trotsky noted the critical role blacks can play as part of the leadership of the class. He also expressed his faith in the development among American workers—traditionally the most hostile to theory—of a turn towards Marxism and dialectics. It therefore would not have come as a surprise to Trotsky that the first gropings towards Marxist theory would come out of the black movement, particularly that section with the closest link to working class youth.

It is precisely at the moment when the Panthers grope towards dialectics that they come under the sharpest attacks from the ruling class. It is the Panther section of the movement together with the Young Lords and not the cultural nationalists who feel the brunt of the ruling class attacks.

It is precisely at this moment that the YSA leadership develops its attack on the Panthers throwing its lot in with the reactionary section of the black community which in turn is openly lined up with the bourgeoisie. At the moment when a section of blacks turns towards dialectics it becomes revealed that the YSA leadership, because of its failure to develop dialectics, reflects the pressures of the ruling class and aids this class through its denunciations of the Panthers precisely for their strengths.

We are forced to the conclusion that within the YSA leadership as well as within the leadership of the SWP, there are those who view the revolutionary movement of the youth with fear. And so the criticism of the Panthers for their call for "picking up the gun." This even reaches the point with Derrick Morrison in the *Militant* where he suggested that the Panthers were guilty of terrorism! It seems it is all right to pick up a gun if you do so in alliance with black businessmen, with the blessing of the Baptist Church, and with support from your local NAACP chapter. But should the idea of revolution catch on among the youth who at the same time as they consider armed self defense consider dialectics and class struggle, then it is another matter.

We must ask again the question we asked at the last YSA convention. How did the SWP and YSA end up where it is today? Last year this was dramatically posed around the question of the great Minneapolis strikes led by the Trotskyists in the 1930s. As the convention was held in Minneapolis the YSA planned a march to Deputies Run to honor those events and those traditions. At the last moment even this gesture to tradition was called off. This year the working class is absent not only in a ceremonial form but completely from the attention and orientation of the YSA as expressed in the documents. It was as if not only Deputies Run but also the postal, GE and auto strikes as well had never occurred in the U.S.

TROTSKY'S STRUGGLE

This year marks the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky by Stalin's agent. It also marks 30 years since the struggle with Shachtman and the writing of *In Defense of Marxism*. Those two events are so closely intertwined, for so much of what Trotsky fought for and so much of what we must learn again today from Trotsky is wrapped up in the 1940 fight.

As Trotsky stated in his discussion with Johnson quoted above, conservatism and opportunist influence on the SWP stemmed not only from the intellectual petty bourgeois section of the party but also from the working class section which, while rooted in the class, was rooted in a most privileged strata of the class.

In the 1940 fight Trotsky took on the petty bourgeois opposition of Shachtman which had openly abandoned Marxism for pragmatism and was capitulating to the panic of the middle classes. But he also warned the majority, both in the course of the fight and later in discussions on Stalinism, of the dangers they also faced of degeneration.

The truth is the SWP never did penetrate into the more exploited layers of the class, particularly the blacks. But the penetration of the working class, particularly the minorities, requires a theoretical development. It is not just a



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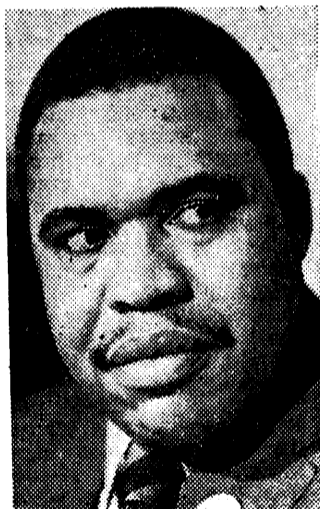
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practical question. It can only take place through the sharpest theoretical fight within the party against conservative influences which enter the party both from petty bourgeois members and from the trade unions which Trotsky correctly described as a "culture medium" for opportunism. This theoretical struggle, this struggle for dialectics to which Trotsky devoted his last days as he and Lenin did their whole lives, did not take place.

By 1953 the degeneration within the SWP had reached a point where a large section precisely of the trade union cadres of the party deserted under the leadership of Cochran and internationally of Pablo. While an empirical fight was made, it was not carried through to its theoretical and methodological roots.

So in 1961 the SWP, supported by the YSA (though not its leadership which went in to opposition and a section of which later formed the Workers League) rejoined the Pabloites internationally again without a discussion of the theoretical roots of the differences but basing themselves pragmatically on "concrete agreement" over concrete policies in the spirit of Shachtman and Burnham. This time the working class cadres had become largely eliminated through factional split and attrition in difficult years and the very composition of the party became more and more petty bourgeois until today the working class has but small influence in the branches of either the party or the youth.

STALINISM

Several of the convention documents correctly point out the danger of Stalinism or at least the organizational threat of the Stalinist Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League. While last year the YWLL was dismissed as unimportant this year it is recognized as the major threat to the YSA. Stalinism grows precisely on the basis of anti-theory. It lives only to the extent that all the great lessons of the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky of the 1930s are forgotten, or treated as irrelevant for today. It bases itself on the bureaucracy in the workers' states, that is true, but it also finds sustenance today even in movements like the Panthers and the Young Lords, by preying on their backwardness, their low theoretical development.

This Fall we proposed to the YSA as well as the SWP joint meetings on the 30th anniversary of Trotsky's death as a common blow against the Stalinists. We received no answer. Instead neither the YSA nor the SWP held a single meeting on Trotsky's death.

The struggle against Stalinism is the struggle for Trotskyism, for Marxism, for dialectics against pragmatism. In this struggle all the lessons of the past must be developed today in the new objective situation. In particular the historic development of Trotskyism must be brought into play.

As we write these words, the heroic struggle of workers

in Poland exposes the deep crisis of Stalinism and its treacherous role. Never before has Trotskyism been so strong against the Stalinists, reinforced at every point by the movement of the working class. But Stalinism will not fall of its own weight. Only the conscious struggle of the Trotskyist movement can lead to victory in the struggle against Stalinism which is inseparably linked with the struggle for socialism internationally.

JOINT DISCUSSION

This is why faced with the threat of Stalinism and the new objective situation of deepening class struggle posing both great potential for our movement and grave dangers to it, we proposed as part of the International Committee that joint discussion be held to assess the past and present differences. This, too, was rejected.

Now the situation is even more grave. Failing to fight for a development of dialectics in your own movement through a facing up to all the questions involved in the degeneration of the Trotskyist movement in the 1950s under Pablo, your movement now is becoming prey to the pressures of the bourgeoisie at a time when the working class is moving forward. There is a history to this. In 1963 when the first Kennedy was assassinated hysteria swept through the middle classes fanned by the ruling class. So Farrell Dobbs sends condolences to the widow of the man who himself plotted the assassination of Castro!

No lessons were drawn from this either. No correction made. It was the time of reunification with the Pabloites which went through smoothly.

But now it is not a matter of an isolated act of terror of an individual but of a mammoth movement of a class, the great American working class, which is moving forward, swiftly, powerfully, but with its confusion, with its different layers developing differently. Now we move from condolences for the ruling class to what is open aid to suppress the revolutionary movement of the class as expressed among the minority youth, aid to keep these youth away from the broader but less conscious movement of the working class in the trade unions.

Today the crying need is the fight to bring forward the class as a whole politically through the fight for a labor party. This in turn demands a fight to penetrate into the unions and deep into the minority youth at the same time. This is, above all, a theoretical task requiring a turn to dialectics and a re-learning of all the great lessons of the past. At each point this will bring us into the sharpest conflict with the Stalinists who will rest as always on every backward element in the working class and therefore in us.

This is the fight as we see it today. This is the fight we are now taking up. Where will you stand?

Yours fraternally,

Tim Wohlforth, for the Political Committee, Workers League

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in

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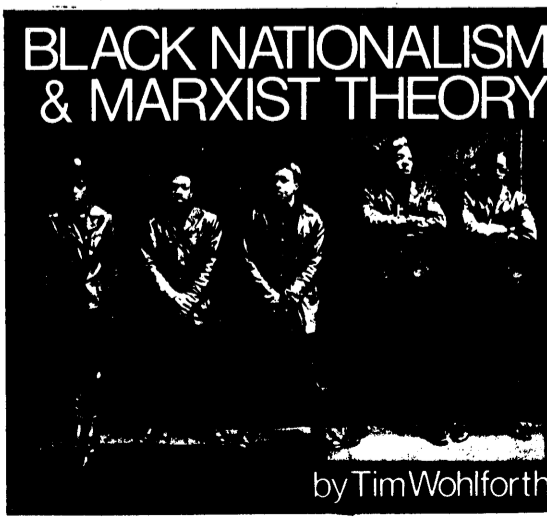
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by Tim Wohlforth



Franco Steps Up Repression As Workers Protest Basque Trial

BY LOU BELKIN

Sixteen Basque nationalists have been tried for the murder of a police official in a military court in the town of Burgos in Spain. The trial commenced on December 3. After one week of presentation by the defense, it was glaringly and horrifyingly revealed that confessions were extracted only under the most brutal conditions.

On December 9 after the defense unsuccessfully made an appeal to present more evidence and to cross-examine prosecution witnesses, presiding judge Gen. Ordovas declared the trial over. At this point one of the defendants rushed the judge's dais and was tackled by several soldiers. The military judges will render a verdict shortly.

In response to the trial hundreds of thousands of workers in Spain, not only in the Basque provinces but in Toledo, Barcelona, Madrid, Cordoba, Valencia and in smaller cities have demonstrated and struck. In response to the disorders Franco extended the Special Detention Decrees from the Basque provinces to all areas throughout Spain. Under such decrees the military and police can arrest without warrant and break up demonstrations or gatherings of any kind. Full censorship is in effect in Madrid as well.

RESISTANCE

But the resistance, despite the decrees, grows and grows. On December 14 leading intellectuals and artists, including the great abstract painter Joan Miro and his collaborator, the great ceramicist Murces, staged a sit-in at a monastery near San Sebastian in protest over the trials and over the murder on December 10 of Spanish student Perez Jauregui by Franco's police.

The resistance to fascist justice has spread over the European continent. A mass demonstration and boycott of Spanish goods, led by Naples dockers, was joined by students, youth and workers from Naples and Sicily. In Rome and Turin engineering workers staged mass marches to Spanish embassies, and Rome dockers, in solidarity with their brothers in Naples, boycotted Spanish cargo.

The CGT, largest of France's trade unions, held a mass rally in Paris, joined by thousands of students, Spanish exiles, shopkeepers and housewives. Demonstrations throughout France have continued to the present. In Stockholm more than

Angela Extradited

(Continued from page one)

California and New York, have tried to railroad Angela Davis to the gas chamber. From removing Angela Davis from the House of Detention in the middle of the night, to indicting her for fantastic charges of kidnapping and murder and then sealing the transcript of this indictment, they are doing everything possible to frame and then legally lynch her.

The government wants a scapegoat. Since the San Rafael police killed all but one person in the Marin County Courthouse massacre, they are looking for a victim to make into a criminal. Angela Davis is their choice.

Ruchell Magee, the sole surviving convict of the incident was offered his life if he would testify against Angela Davis. Since Magee was serving a life term at the time he participated in the incident, the murder charges he now faces mean an automatic death sentence if he is convicted. Last month he was offered a deal if he would testify against Angela Davis. He was forcibly removed from court while shouting "Angela Davis is innocent!"

VICIOUSNESS

But it is the police who murdered Jonathan Jackson, and the prisoners as well as the judge. It is their trigger happy viciousness which deserves to be on trial, not Angela Davis.

The capitalist class, from Nixon and Agnew, to Rockefeller and Reagan, are after blood.

It has to be understood that they are after not only Angela Davis, but the entire working class. This is what the threat of troops against striking New York City workers means. Angela Davis' defense must be taken up by the trade union movement as well as among students and youth.

25,000 metal workers struck and marched in solidarity with the Basque prisoners. London has seen large demonstrations of students and workers against the persecutions.

The military prosecutor has asked for the death sentence for four of the prisoners and 700 years imprisonment for the other 12.

STALINISTS

On December 9 in London, Santiago Carillo, Spanish Communist Party general secretary spoke at a London meeting organized by the British Stalinists. After denouncing the recent strikebreaking efforts of Poland during the Asturian miners' strike, he expressed his party's opposition to the development of diplomatic relations between Spain and the regimes of Eastern Europe. Full relations have been established with Poland and Czechoslovakia and are expected to be established with Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Soviet Union has developed important trade and cultural links with Franco and full diplomatic relations are on the agenda. Carillo expressed his party's position as follows: "For thirty years the socialist countries have gone without recognizing Franco. Now that Franco is about to fade out are they going to recognize him now?..."

SILENT

Although the British Stalinists, along with their cronies in America, remain silent on Carillo's comments, we must not believe that these remarks signify any fundamental break with Stalinism. The policies of the Comintern during the

Pentagon Report: GI Militancy Scars Brass

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Responding to the tremendously militant upsurge among GIs spearheaded by black soldiers stationed in the U.S. Army in Germany, the Defense Department last week issued new directives to "enforce racial equality in the armed forces."

This followed a month long survey of bases in Germany, Spain, Italy and Britain.

Black GIs in Germany have spearheaded the fight not only against racist practices in the army but the racism in capitalist society as a whole, and the imperialist war in Vietnam. Conferences and rallies of black, Spanish-speaking and white GIs have been held in German universities and in cities where bases are located, against racism and the war.

The clenched fist salute, first seen in the army as a black power symbol is now the common symbol of both black and white GIs, who greet officers with an up-raised fist rather than the traditional salute.

The Deputy Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity in the Defense Department stated after the survey:

"A dramatic turnabout of behavior and attitudes in the area of race and human relations is imperative in the military services if we are to maintain highly effective combat and support-oriented units.

"We did not anticipate such acute frustration and such volatile anger as we found among the blacks nor did we expect to find a somewhat lower level of frustration which was clearly evidenced by young whites."

WORRIED

What this mouthful by the Defense Department means is that the Pentagon is worried about the unwillingness of GIs to fight in Vietnam—with seek and avoid missions replacing seek and destroy missions—and with deep demoralization and rebellion growing among troops stationed in Europe as well as in Southeast Asia.

More and more soldiers are questioning the role of the army and of U.S. imperialism. Starting first among black GIs who are subject to racial discrimina-



Spanish workers march in protest against Franco regime's prosecution of 16 Basques.

Spanish Civil War, in which tens of thousands of revolutionaries and working class fighters were butchered, not by Franco but by Stalin's GIU, are not addressed by Carillo's remarks. He made equally clear that the role of the Spanish CP will be to form "The Pact for Freedom" a popular front alliance uniting the church, liberals, "forces from all sections of society, including the bourgeoisie." In fact Carillo regards the Catholic Church as being a progressive force, in fact "a church which is socialist and is the most important ally the CP has in Spain."

The role of the Communist Party in Spain is truly revealed in these words. Like the Soviet Union, which remains silent on the trial of the 16 Basques, the Spanish Stalinists seek to move in this period of monumental crisis for world capitalism in the direction of its own bourgeoisie and the church. They do this in order to behead the tremendous movement of the Spanish workers and so make

them vulnerable to the forces of fascism once again.

It is not accidental that within the Franco cabinet a big struggle is taking place between the Falangists, the old soldiers and military elements loyal to Franco, and the Opus Dei group, a Roman Catholic association of modern bureaucrats, engineers, economists and politicians. The army is beginning to grumble precisely because of the upsurge in the class struggle.

SOLIDARITY

Even in the province of Navarre, where most of the people fought on the side of Franco, demonstrations by young workers and students against Franco and in defense of the Basque 16 have occurred.

The way forward in defense of the Basque 16, who will soon be sentenced, is in the mobilization of the American and international labor movement in solidarity with their brothers in Spain.

tion in promotions, work assignments, military justice, this growing hatred of imperialism and growing demoralization with the army and the war is expressed—as even the Defense Department is forced to admit—by a significant section of white soldiers as well as blacks.

The class conflict of capitalist society is finding its expression in the imperialist army as well as in the population as a whole. The vast majority of soldiers are young workers, both black and white, who were either drafted into the army, or enlisted because they could not find work. They are being used as cannon fodder to protect the interests of the bosses and the capitalist system in Vietnam and all over the world, a capitalist system which cannot give them a decent life if they survive the war.

UNEMPLOYMENT

According to the Veterans Administration, the unemployment rate for veterans is 6.6%. Black veterans under 30 have an unemployment rate of 12.7%. Black veterans under 20 have a jobless rate of 66.7%. And unemployment has been growing month by month since August.

Although the bourgeois press has consistently tried to picture the conflict in

the army in Europe as a conflict between black and white GIs, it becomes clear from even their own reports, that more and more it is a movement spearheaded by black soldiers and gaining rapid support among white GIs, against the war in Vietnam and the blatant racism of both the army and the capitalist system.

Although the latest Pentagon report admits that discrimination exists in every area of the army against black and minority soldiers, it claims in its newest directives that officers, non-commissioned officers and civilians who fail to take positive action against discrimination will be removed or reassigned.

LINK

We say start with the Commander-in-Chief Nixon and his top deputy Agnew. The capitalist system breeds racism to poison and divide the working class.

Soldiers in the U.S. Army who face the viciousness of the capitalist class from every direction, must link their fight with that of the youth, black and white, in factories and plants and unemployment lines, and with the fight of the trade union movement for the political independence of the working class.

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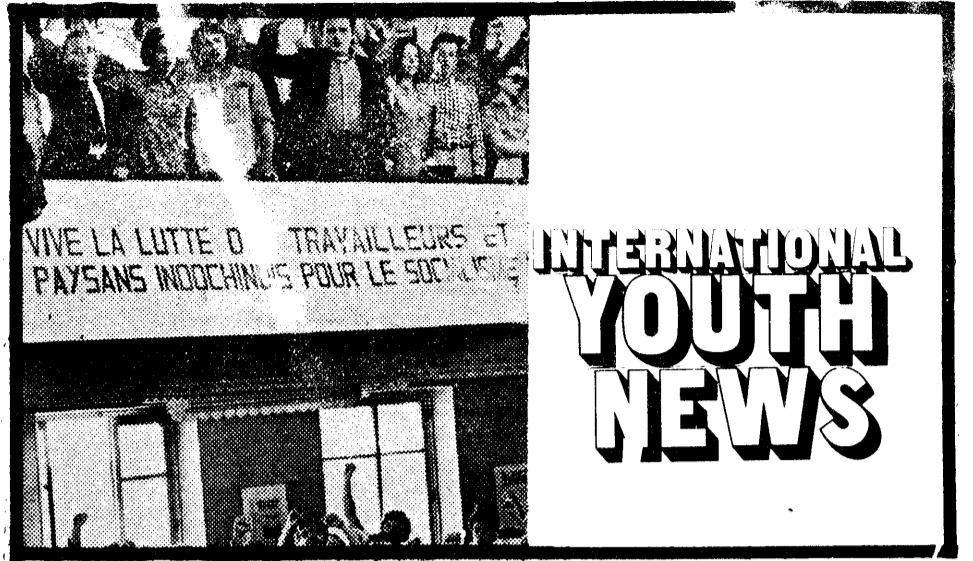
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French revolutionary youth answer the revisionists



Charles Berg

THE Ligue Communiste, French section of the revisionist Unified Secretariat, has carried a series of attacks in its journal 'Rouge' on the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS—French Young Socialists).

In particular H. Weber of the Ligue Communiste attacked the AJS in Issue No 85 of 'Rouge', suggesting that the AJS had capitulated to Minister Marcelin by demanding that its statute be published in the government newspaper 'Journal Officiel'.

Weber also attacked the firm stand taken by the AJS against police provocateurs who have on a number of occasions singled out AJS members for brutal physical attacks.

AJS secretary Charles Berg wrote to 'Rouge' refuting the allegations made by Weber. 'Rouge' refused to publish his reply. It was printed in the November 23 issue of 'Information Ouvrière' and is reproduced here.

I ASK you to publish this reply in relation to the article signed by comrade Weber in 'Rouge' Issue 85 which was couched in slanderous phrases derived from false or mutilated facts.

I add, in order to eliminate any possible misunderstandings, that you can, of course, refuse: we do not lean on bourgeois legislation in asking you to publish this article, which is, in any case, quite long, but base ourselves on the most elementary principles of workers' democracy.

There is a dividing line between polemic and systematic use of slander; we must avoid crossing that line, comrade Weber.

It is said, then, that we are guilty of several crimes and betrayals in relation to the workers' and revolutionary movement.

Let us examine the accusations made by prosecutor Weber:

The AJS [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme] is not fighting against repression and even worse they beg, in an open letter to Marcelin, for legal status for their movement and its constitution registered officially!

Finally, they inform readers of 'Rouge', so that they can pass the information on, that the AJS refuses to participate in the activities of the Committee of Initiative for 'Secours Rouge'.

Intervention

It is clear that comrade Weber's article is the first of a series which aims to 'arm' Ligue Communiste members against this 'reformist group' which far from all 'grandiosity' has in the recent period developed its strength, influence and support through active intervention in the class struggle.

The preoccupation of the leadership of the Ligue Communiste seems to us to be unfounded. But, in wanting to prove something too much one ends up proving nothing.

The struggle for the defence of workers' democratic rights, for us as young communists, is integrated in the general struggle of the working class against the state and its government.

Against a bourgeoisie which is reactionary and decadent all along the line, the revolutionary

working class must defend all the gains won in the class struggle: the right to strike, to organize, freedom of the press, etc.

It is only in this way that the working class can, by its action, victoriously oppose the ruling class, whose repression now takes on a permanent character, and prepare the way for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is by starting from the interests and needs of the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie that revolutionaries can define a strategy for mobilizing the masses. Such is the essence of the Transitional Programme.

But let us leave aside all 'schemata'. Let us approach the problems from the standpoint of what has taken place and what must take place.

When in April 1969 de Gaulle presented his corporatist plan aimed at destroying the workers' movement, and, first and foremost, vanguard organizations, we fought in the working class and its youth to unite all organizations opposed to de Gaulle.

The Ligue Communiste, rejecting any kind of 'parliamentarism' or 'compromises' on the electoral ground, called for abstention. Thus they said to workers: this struggle does not concern you, to vote yes or no, makes no difference at all.

Charles Berg writes to the Minister of Interior...

Alain Krivine, he presented himself as a candidate in the presidential elections.

While the working class had demonstrated massively its opposition to Gaullist Bonapartism, while the crisis of the leading bourgeois circles was deepening (Poher-Pompidou), Duclos, Defferre and Rocard refused the urgent task of drawing together the forces of the working class against all the bourgeois candidates.

Revolutionaries must intervene to impose the struggle of class against class at all levels, including the electoral field.

The Ligue Communiste came together with the Stalinist, reformist and petty-bourgeois bureaucracies. We fought, starting from the needs of the working class, for a single candidate from workers' organizations, and when at that time we asked the

revolutionary candidate Krivine to publish the list of signatories of the 'established political personnel' who enabled him to present himself, we were told that these were Stalinist methods and in addition that it was impossible to force him without cancelling his candidature on legal grounds!

A triumphant compromise? Maybe. But let us see what followed.

That the bourgeoisie conceals its own legality is one thing, that the working class accepts it is another.

Revolutionaries must not only expose these facts, but also mobilize on this question the broadest of masses to oppose a government incapable of ensuring freedom and rights except through facing baton blows, with the need for a government of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus the AJS, through its national secretary, wrote to the Minister of Interior to demand official, legal status for the constitution and organization.

Comrade Weber simply quotes from this letter the necessary polite sentences—the same as the 'Red Brigades' of the Ligue Communiste I presume had signed in order to obtain the support of 'established political personnel' for the candidature of Krivine—which were, in any case, edited in the most ironic tone possible.

But, comrade Weber, you forgot the essential thing.

Fraud

Let us quote in order to refresh your memory: 'The decree of June 12, 1968, must be completely repealed as everyone knows that the abuse of power makes it a complete fraud! No evasion is possible any longer. The only "groups of militia for armed combat" that we know in this country are those who aggressively wounded workers. Those who killed Marc Lanvin, member of the Young Communists. Those who pulled out an eye from Jean-Pierre Speller! We must raise, Monsieur le Ministre, that the latter is still waiting for a trial of his attackers amongst whom are the two sons of Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat Kaspereit, member of the government of which you are a member.'

'I do not wish to believe that you would allow practices to be established in this country which would spread contempt for legality and the law.'

'I cannot accept that the attackers of Jean-Pierre Speller are sheltered by judges because of the authority of their father while today dozens of militants are in prison because of their ideas, as I was myself in order to be kept under surveillance in June and July 1968 in conditions recognized today as being completely illegal and while eight other organizations, dissolved by yourself, still remain dissolved.'

'The decision, Monsieur le Ministre, of the Conseil d'Etat, reminds us that it was not so long ago when this country was considered as the home of ideas of justice and freedom. Today in this country militants are arrested and things are allowed to run free, proceedings are instituted against sellers of papers, organizations which stand for socialism are dissolved illegally...'

'We fight the iniquitous mea-

sures taken against worker militants, students, teachers. We defend the unquestionable right of everyone to express themselves and to spread their opinions, because debate is a condition of the gathering together of the oppressed against the oppressors in the light of day.'

Let us add that this letter ends with these three demands:

'For the complete repeal for the decrees of June 12, 1968.

'For the freeing of all the imprisoned militants.

'For the publication of the constitution of the AJS.'

Are these demands therefore capitulations?

Let us take it further. Is it counter-revolutionary to force the bourgeoisie to expose itself completely? No. Like the AJS, the 'Association des Amis de la Cause du Peuple', and, we also believe, the 'Secours Rouge' have taken up the battle for their constitutions to be recognized and legally registered, wanting, just as we want also, to show and prove that the bourgeoisie seeks today through every means to isolate and repress organizations which stand for the socialist revolution.

Comrade Weber, you must lack political confidence to use 'quotations' and their amalgam as you do. The article is, above all, mainly viciously anti-AJS. A leader of the Ligue Communiste writes: 'When Charles Berg writes to Marcelin' and... in Grenoble after the brutal attack against our comrades the few members of the Ligue Communiste organize a demonstration of about 60 individuals who shout: "AJS-Marcelin the same struggle".'

The Grenoble events are reduced to a confrontation between anarchists and members of the AJS?

You are wrong, comrade Weber, completely wrong.

'In the middle of the period of police repression, "Max" clubbed our Trotskyist comrades and walked calmly around the centre of the town, without being in the least worried. Through their hatred of Trotskyism the Maoists chose to give their support to the "unprotected youth". Their attitude can hardly surprise true anarchist militants who have always seen Maoism as a variant of Stalinism. Everybody must take up their responsibilities today and must take up a position in relation to the "Max" affair. That is what I am doing in refusing to answer for a thug, in denouncing his provocations and in expressing publicly sympathy with my comrades of the AJS aimed at in these aggressions.'

(Grenoble, November 2, 1970. Roland Lewin, member of the Anarchist Federation.)

'Secours Rouge'? We simply demand you to take up your Grenoble Committee for supporting Max and his friends. Without that the AJS will never enter this 'mass' organization which, in order really to fight against repression, must reject the use of violence, of slander against a tendency in the workers' movement.

All differences are permissible. The most lively of polemics can be carried out. But when individuals proclaim that there must be physical attacks on an organization, shouting SS, we consider that they are no longer part of the workers' movement, but enemies.

When, in addition, these individuals, whatever tendency they

might belong to, take up iron bars to kill, and all the witnesses of this attack in Censier recognize that it was a miracle that the wounds did not cause death to human beings, no one can complain of extenuating circumstances.

We must here tell the readers of 'Rouge' a secret.

Shortly after the attack in Censier, comrade Krivine telephoned the Bureau Nationale of the AJS, proposing an immediate meeting so that the next day on a national scale a joint action of our organizations would take place against the Censier attackers.

Two hours later comrade Weber, to whom we proposed a joint leaflet denouncing the police provocateurs and not a political tendency, declined to give an opinion... arguing about our methods!

Finally on 'Secours Rouge' and the struggle against repression.

The AJS affirms that the struggles it is carrying out in all its terrains of intervention are against repression in all its forms. We remain ready to fight in the ranks of 'Secours Rouge', but on condition that the basis of this be clear for everybody.

Also Comrade Weber should on this matter be less affirmative; everyone knows that there are many Ligue Communiste members and leaders who envisaged, or envisage still, leaving this 'mass' organization, whose absence of clarity in the struggle for the defence of democratic workers' rights (leaflet: CGT=cops etc.) makes impossible any real effective action.

In relation to the lifting of the ban by the Conseil d'Etat from the OCI and the FER and the Revoltes group, we have no complex about this: the struggle for the Central National Strike Committee which was carried out for the destruction of the bourgeois state bear witness of what were the political positions of these organizations.

Divisions

The divisions at the heart of the leading circles of the bourgeoisie and the political activity we carried out on the level of the United Workers' Front, and which we will continue to carry for the complete repeal of the decree of June 12 explain this first victory.

Let us be serious.

Comrade Krivine was arrested at the end of the general strike for having written and affirmed 'the JCR continues'.

Freed without a trial, after long months of prison after having stated, as we did then, that only the ideas of the JCR continued, Krivine had not become an ally of the bourgeoisie—as the article of Weber tries to insinuate in relation to myself!

We must not, comrade Weber, go beyond certain limits which will lead only to dangerous incoherence.

Grenoble (two people injured), Censier (four people injured), Caen (two people injured), Toulouse (1 person injured). In each of these places they are members of my organization. In Censier the thugs struck without warning, in Caen there was individual aggression against our comrades. The list is long. Today the AJS, the UNEF and tomorrow comrade Weber?

Nobody is safe. We are all involved.

The workers' movement is involved.

College Heads Unleash Vicious Attacks On SDS

BY A BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENT

In the past two months all across the country college administrations have made vicious attacks on student activists. On November 23, members of SDS at San Francisco State College were arrested and charged with failure to disperse, conspiracy to incite a riot, and trespassing on state property.

These attacks are now being followed up on New York campuses, as college administrations emboldened by Nixon's demands to "take off the gloves", have started a crackdown designed to isolate radical students both from other students and from the working class.

In open hearings at Brooklyn College on December 18, four students were brought up on charges of violating sections of the Henderson by-laws. These charges stem from an anti-recruiter demonstration held November 30 in opposition to American Express. Several hundred students attended the hearings.

The Henderson by-laws were passed in the state legislature before the May student strikes against the war, and provide for penalties ranging from warnings to arrest for violation of faculty orders, occupation of facilities, disruption or "obstructing ...others from exercising their rights."

The real nature of the trial was apparent in statements made by the prosecutor from the Board of Higher Education: "If we allow these students to get off, there will be anarchy", and "If we allow them to get off there will be bigger and better demonstrations." The last statement was greeted with great enthusiasm by the audience.

Despite the inability of the prosecution to offer witnesses who had been obstructed from exercising their rights, and despite the testimony contradicting the administration statements, a student offering a purely legal defense was acquitted,

while the students who stated their solidarity with the Vietnamese were convicted and given warnings and censure.

At Stony Brook State University, the attacks are even sharper. Jerry Tung, a Stony Brook student who is a former member of Progressive Labor Party and is an SDS activist, was convicted on three riot charges stemming from incidents on campus during the May 1969 student strike, and is facing up to three years in jail. He is one of eleven Stony Brook students who were indicted in July 1969 for alleged participation in strike "disruptions".

Tung is now under attack by the college administration on the basis of a federal anti-demonstration law passed by Congress in 1968. This law, part of the arsenal prepared for use against students, mandates that a student who has been convicted of a crime that contributed to "substantial disruption" of a college, shall lose all federal educational aid for two years.

COLUMBIA

At Columbia University in New York six members of SDS have been suspended and then barred from campus. This action was taken because of their participation in a boycott and picketing of a campus cafeteria last April after a campus cafeteria worker was suspended.



Jerry Tung, shown here after arrest in March, 1969, faces loss of Federal funds.

The six were ordered to attend a college tribunal on charges of violating Interim Disciplinary Rules in the protest. Although the tribunals are supposed to be open to all students, the University ruled that the number of spectators should be limited to 25, in order to try to prevent any mobilization of other students in support of the SDSers under attack.

The suspension now bars them not only from attending classes, but even from living in their dormitory rooms. They will also be forced to reapply for admission to the college in order to return in January, a request that can be rejected even if they are cleared of the

charges they now face.

These attacks must be a sharp warning to students. Defense of even the democratic rights of students—the right to an education without the constant threat of expulsion or cessation of financial aid on political grounds or of being subjected to kangaroo courts conducted in secret—becomes a class question.

The fight back must be on a class basis, with the understanding that the capitalist class is attacking students because they want to isolate them from the working class which is on the move and challenging the very existence of capitalism itself.

Army Intelligence Spy Network Aimed At Workers

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The Pentagon and the Defense Department not only have spies in places like Saigon (28,000 that they admit), and in places like Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, there are at least 1,200 domestic intelligence agents secretly spying on civilians in the United States.

It comes as no surprise to socialists to learn that the Army does indeed spy

on radicals, socialists and militants. The conviction of Juan Farinas was in large part based upon the conscious lies of Army Intelligence agents who investigated Farinas for his opposition to the war and helped railroad his conviction.

But what has now come to light is so explosive as to force its way to the surface of the bourgeois media.

The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights headed by Senator Sam Ervin, a Democrat from North Carolina, has stated that Army Intelligence agents spied on Senator Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois and former Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, as well as on hundreds of other state and local officials, politicians, newspaper reporters, lawyers, ministers and others in Illinois alone.

The military earlier stated that they investigated civilians only if they were involved in violence or other illegal conduct. But Ervin states:

"It was enough that they opposed or did not actively support the government's policy in Vietnam or that they disagreed with domestic policies of the administration or that they were in contact with or sympathetic to people with such views."

The former Army Intelligence agent who gave this information to Ervin, John O'Brien, stated that in early 1968 his intelligence unit, the 113 Military Intelligence Group in the Midwest, switched from strictly military investigations—"routine" security checks of military personnel and defense industry workers—to investigations directed against individuals and organizations not associated

with any military activities.

Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird admitted in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Army Intelligence agents were active at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1968.

Military Intelligence operatives have built up computerized data banks on suspected "troublemakers" and have eavesdropped on telephone conversations of such liberals as Senator Eugene McCarthy at the Democratic National Convention in 1968.

The roots of Army involvement in civilian investigations supposedly goes back to the 1967 rebellions which swept Detroit and other cities across the U.S. By the spring of 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King, the Army was sent to Chicago, Washington and Baltimore to put down ghetto rebellions. At the same time the Army was told to make preparations to send as many as 10,000 troops each to 25 different cities simultaneously and began to gather intelligence data to try to predict where the troops would be called and how serious the potential was for rebellions in different cities. From this, according to the Army's public spokesmen, "things got out of hand."

General Counsel of the Army, Robert Jordan 3rd said:

"I honestly believe we drifted into this area without quite realizing what we were getting into and because no one else was around to do the job. I'm convinced that no one intended to spy on individuals or control civilian life in any way."

But what emerges is a completely different picture. It is a picture of a government preparing for civil war, a government frightened of the growing militancy and power of the working class. It is a government afraid of the ghetto youth and students by the millions who are opposed to the war in Vietnam and the racism of capitalism. It is the picture of a government preparing a Bonapartist dictatorship, on the road not only to crushing all the civil liberties of the masses, but using this as a weapon to drive back the working class to the 1930s and fascism.

This is what the unleashing of the Army to spy on civilians means in a period when the capitalist class is intent on creating massive unemployment, driving back wages, and crushing the trade union movement, the most powerful organized force which stands in the way of the profits of capitalism.

The fact that the Army is investigating bourgeois liberal and moderate politicians such as Stevenson, McCarthy and Kerner warns what is in store.

The tasks which are posed by this is not abject fear before an unbridled capitalist class which is as capable of torture, concentration camps, mass murder and spying here as it is in Asia. What is posed is the understanding that only one class and one force on earth is capable of smashing this decaying system which exists now only for the profit of the few, the working class led by Marxism.

Hoover Pours Out Racist Filth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the last forty years, was quoted in Time magazine last week as saying that there was no worry that Mexicans or Puerto Ricans would shoot the President "because they don't shoot very straight. But if they come after you with a knife, beware."

Following this foul racist filth, Attorney General John Mitchell said that in the context of his remarks Hoover was not "castigating or defaming any particular race or creed or anybody."

"Until he gets to the point, which he has not arrived at and I do not expect him to get to, where he is doing something that is improper within the confines of this department, he has a right to talk, just like anybody else.

"From where I sit he is doing a mighty fine job" said Mitchell.

It should be plain as day where Mitchell is sitting. The "Justice" Department under the Nixon Administration has backpedaled at top speed away from school desegregation in the south and from the

question of de facto segregation in the rest of the country. It is clear that Nixon himself, as well as Mitchell and the Justice Department, stand foursquare behind the vicious racist slanders of Hoover against Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

DEGENERATE

Following the Nixon nominations of Carswell and Haynesworth, both southern racists, this statement by Mitchell, as well as Hoover's statement, openly reveals the completely degenerate racist character of the ruling class and the Nixon Administration.

At every opportunity the ruling class seeks to divide the working class, using racist lies and slanders against blacks and minorities in order to break up the working class and perpetuate backwardness and division.

Hoover has been the head of the FBI for 40 years or more, and today feels emboldened enough by the openly racist policies of Nixon to come right out with his racist filth. But behind every administration, Democratic and Republican, conservative and liberal, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, stood Hoover and his policies of racism and red-baiting and hostility to the working class.

This is the true face of the capitalist class.

CP Is Silent Over Attack on Tarrytown Militants

BY A UAW MEMBER
LOCAL 664

NORTH TARRYTOWN, Dec. 18—Yesterday three members of the Rank and File Committee, UAW Local 664, Bill Scott the Chairman, and Co-Chairmen Bob Beachman and Lewis Pizzarro appeared in civil court here for arraignment.

They are charged with "second degree coercion—threatening to destroy the union hall." A hearing was set for January 7. This frameup was the reply of local union bureaucrats to a rally on December 9 of about 100 workers.

These workers demanded the rehiring of three rank and filers, Dennis Mora, Joe Wilson, and Karl Saindon, fired by General Motors for their active stand last month

against the rotten auto contract. The bureaucracy refused to open the union hall to a meeting called to discuss union action for the victims' defense.

Today a fourth member of the Rank and File Committee, George Troy, was fired as the repression against American workers deepens on a nationwide scale. More and more workers here are beginning to link up attacks on their working conditions which GM is trying to introduce in the wake of the sellout contract agreed to by Woodcock, with the lynchings of Angela Davis, and the Panthers, the jailing of Cesar Chavez, the injunction against the railroad workers, Juan Farinas' conviction, and repression against students and youth.

A mass rally of all 5,500 workers in the factory must be immediately built to be held in the factory parking lot. The rally must be a springboard for a broad campaign to mobilize the entire rank and

file of the UAW to demand the rehiring of all four workers, and the dropping of charges against the Rank and File Committee officers.

The Daily World, newspaper of the Communist Party which is regularly distributed at the plant has remained completely silent on this case. This is shameful—for a newspaper supposedly fighting for the working class. Could it be that the World wants to cover up for its friends in the UAW bureaucracy, Woodcock and Fraser who we know actually stand behind the victimization of militants?

The struggle for the defense of these rank and file militants must be seen as part and parcel of the struggle against the Woodcock bureaucracy and its policies which led to the contract sellout. The events at Tarrytown posed sharply the need for the formation of a national rank and file caucus to fight for a new leadership in the UAW.

State Threatens To Intervene Against Radical Professors

BY A MCGILL STUDENT

MONTREAL—In an open letter, dated November 19, to Principal R. E. Bell of McGill University, Quebec Education Minister Guy St. Pierre warns of direct state intervention in higher education if administrators do not themselves crack down on "radical" professors.

St. Pierre states that "the training of a pupil or student... should exclude every form of pressure exerted on him that takes the form of political propaganda or of indoctrination pure and simple." He goes on to say that in the absence of a self-regulating effort of the conduct of teachers and administrators, "we risk feeding a flow of pressures which will bring on authoritarian types of intervention to which I hope not to be forced to have recourse."

Under the traditional guise of preserving "academic freedom" and "value-free education" St. Pierre is openly stating that any challenges to the hegemony of capitalist consciousness within the university will be smashed, with whatever force is necessary. It is just another example of the length to which the bourgeoisie and their parliamentary servants have to go in their attempt to hold back the deepening crisis of the capitalist system.

SMASH

Just as the ruling class is attempting to smash working class organizations through the War Measures Act and anti-labor laws, so are they trying to stop the development of working class ideas among students and youth.

At first glance it seems strange that

the government should crack down on the campuses now, as in the last year or so Quebec campuses have been relatively free of "student unrest." What it clearly shows is that the government did not get tough before because New Left student radicalism was no threat to them.

Now when ever-increasing numbers of students are looking towards Marxist theory and building the revolutionary party the ruling class finds it necessary to declare openly that it will resort to "authoritarian types of intervention" if school administrators can't keep Marxist students and professors "in line."



NEWS FROM CANADA

UAW Bureaucracy Pushes Sellout Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL, Dec. 21—As we go to press, it has been announced that the Canadian GM workers are voting on a new contract tentatively agreed on by the UAW leaders and the company.

Unconfirmed reports are that this contract represents a break with the Canadian-American wage parity achieved in 1967. As with the Ford contract, the Canadian GM contract represents an even further retreat on wages by the UAW leadership. Reportedly, the Canadian workers will get 13¢ an hour less than their U.S. counterparts receive (on the basis of the cost of living escalator clause) for the first year of the contract. Only then will they be given parity.

It still remains to be seen whether or not the Canadian GM workers will swallow this deal.

As American GM workers go back to work, having been forced by their union leadership to accept a sellout contract, significant signs of opposition among the auto workers remain.

In this respect, one of the most im-

portant factors is the continuing fight of the Canadian GM workers against the contract.

In Canada, there are two central issues. The first is wages, the second is wage parity with American workers. For years American capitalists have been crossing into Canada in order to take advantage of cheaper labor costs. But in the last 10 to 15 years Canadian workers have been fighting back. The Canadian UAW workers have taken the lead in this fight for wage parity with American workers and got wage parity into their 1967 contract. Now the GM bosses are trying to take it away from them.

But the whole point is that Canadian GM workers, while wanting equal pay with American workers, do not want to equally share in the sellout American contract. This is why the demand in Canada must be for—parity at \$1.25/hour first year.

Using this demand as the basis of a leaflet, members of the Workers League went up to the GM plant in Ste. Therese, Quebec. There morale among the workers was very high. They were prepared to see this strike through until they got what they wanted. They said parity with American workers was the key issue in the strike. The workers said the wage increase in the contract was miserable.

In Quebec the capitalists like Premier Bourrassa and the union bureaucrats like Louis Laberge, head of the Quebec Federation of Labour, have been saying that one of the key issues in the GM strike in Quebec is whether or not the GM bosses

speak French to the GM workers. Did the workers think it was one of the key issues? They laughed. According to them, it was all rubbish. On the shop level, anyone who wants to speak French can. All this talk of language was to get away from the basic point—wages.

The ranks said there was no use staying out this long just to go back to get "nothing." "Nothing" referred to the U.S. GM contract. The leaflet was well received by the workers. They agreed with the need to fight for parity but parity on \$1.25/hour first year.

When one worker came across Trudeau's name in the leaflet he said that he'd "break his neck if I ever saw him." There is a growing awareness among the workers that the government is not a neutral observer of the class struggle but that it works actively and consciously in the aid of the capitalist class in repressing the workers.

LEAD

Now, when Quebec workers face martial law, the working class can no longer afford to remain "neutral" in politics. It must break itself politically from the capitalist class, unite with the rest of the Canadian working class in the independent party of the working class—the NDP.

The fact that Canadian workers stayed out and rejected the GM offer illustrates the great strength and potential of the Canadian working class. The Canadian workers can give a real lead to the growing opposition in the U.S. and show the union hacks that, in reality, things are far from over.

STOP PRESS

MONTREAL—Three members of the Workers League were arrested last week at the Ste. Therese, Quebec General Motors plant as they handed out leaflets calling for a "NO" vote on the contract offer.

They were arrested and held for questioning for five hours in order to insure that they would not be able to distribute

the leaflet to auto workers arriving to vote. After the contract ratification meeting was over, they were released from custody.

Over 1000 workers, 40% of the plant, abstained from the vote on the contract by not going to the meeting, and over 10% voted to reject the contract outright.

It is clear that the UAW bureaucracy is afraid of the rank and file, and afraid that socialists will reach the ranks of the union with a strategy for opposing the rotten sellout.

Labor Must Back Chic Strikers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—The strike at Chic Lingerie here is now in its third month. The strike basically involves union recognition.

Since roughly 56,000 of L.A.'s 60,000 garment workers are unorganized the struggle at Chic is important for all the garment workers, for it poses the organization of all Los Angeles garment workers at a time of inflationary pressures, high unemployment, and an attack on wages.

The owners are well aware of the possibilities of unionization spreading throughout the garment industry. They are determined to stop the union and consequently, demoralize all garment workers in the city.

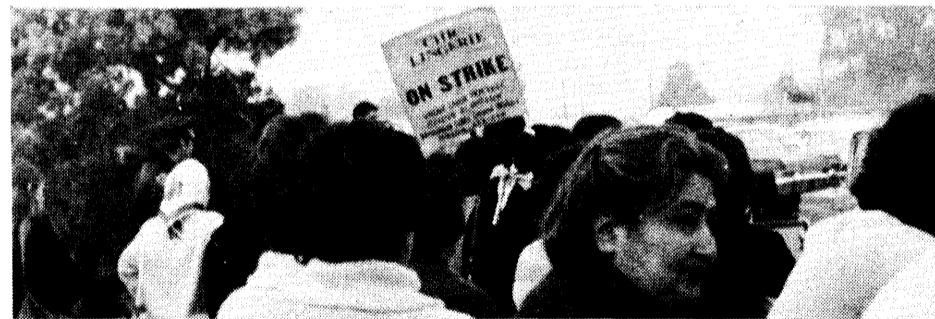
Chic has hired a negotiator known for her unionbusting tactics. Her most recent infamous case is the Herald Examiner strike. The strategy of the company is to use every possible means to stall while

the strike is scabbed to death.

First, the company got injunctions against picketing and then got local police to enforce them. Then the company's negotiator met and continues to meet without any intention of discussing anything but the total surrender of the strikers.

The union cannot meet this kind of attack with a "business-as-usual" strike. The company will hold out just so long as it can continue to recruit scabs. The negotiator will drag out battles in the courts forever. Any union strategy based on legal battles in labor courts and symbolically picketing in front of the plant will be defeated.

The struggle for this strike must be taken to the other garment workers. The union must mobilize the 4,000 ILGWU workers in Los Angeles and place them squarely in front of those plants regardless of injunctions or anything else. The union leaders must explain to the ranks



Women workers demonstrate in Chic Lingerie strike which is now in its third month.

exactly how they intend to win the strike and why they have not called out the workers under their control. It is not enough to tell the strikers to be "patient." It is not enough because the union has the resources to win this strike and the workers certainly have the will.

Moreover the union must call regular meetings of all strikers to discuss the strategy needed to win the strike. Reports

on negotiations are necessary but not enough! The time for patience has passed for every worker. There must be a mobilization of garment workers to win this strike and the strikers must demand the union take these actions:

- A mass strategy meeting of all strikers!
- Mobilize all ILGWU workers to win the strike!

New Haven Rubber Workers End Month Long Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—On Sunday, Dec. 13, members of rubber workers' Local 338 voted to accept a new contract and end their month-long strike.

The terms of the contract express the inability of the Morbidelli leadership to fight to win a decent living wage for the ranks. The 72¢ wage package over a three-year period will not even allow Seamless workers to keep in step with inflation. To make matters worse, no cost-of-living escalator clause was won.

Faced with a rank and file that was sick of their rotten wages, the union

leaders retreated. There were no serious preparations for the strike. The workers did not even start getting their strike pay until half-way into the strike.

CRUCIAL

At the most crucial point in the strike—when Morbidelli himself and four other pickets were arrested for refusing to allow scabs into the plant—there was a complete refusal on the part of the union leadership to take up the defense of these strikers and thus of the strike itself.

When the ruling class uses its cops to help break the strike, these bureaucrats are speechless. The real meaning of this attack is covered up and these arrests are simply used to gain sympathy

and a "militant" cover for these leaders. But what is desperately needed is to draw the important lessons from these attacks.

MILITANCY

For many years the workers at Seamless had accepted low wages as inevitable. Suddenly they found themselves among the lowest paid industrial workers in Connecticut. In the midst of the strike wave presently rocking the U.S. they correctly demanded a much better wage scale.

Their strike attained a militancy which was expressed in the action against the scabs which led to the arrests on November 20.

The numerous, ever-present cops on the

picket line and the arrests express the city government's collaboration with the Seamless Rubber Company.

The refusal of the Local 338 leaders to take up the defense of the arrested pickets led directly to the defeat of the strike. Their previous half-hearted efforts became even weaker as they played into the hands of the company.

BETRAYALS

The rank and file must now analyze the betrayals of their leadership. The only way this fight can be taken forward is by organizing a rank-and-file committee as part of a preparation for building a new leadership for Local 338.