

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

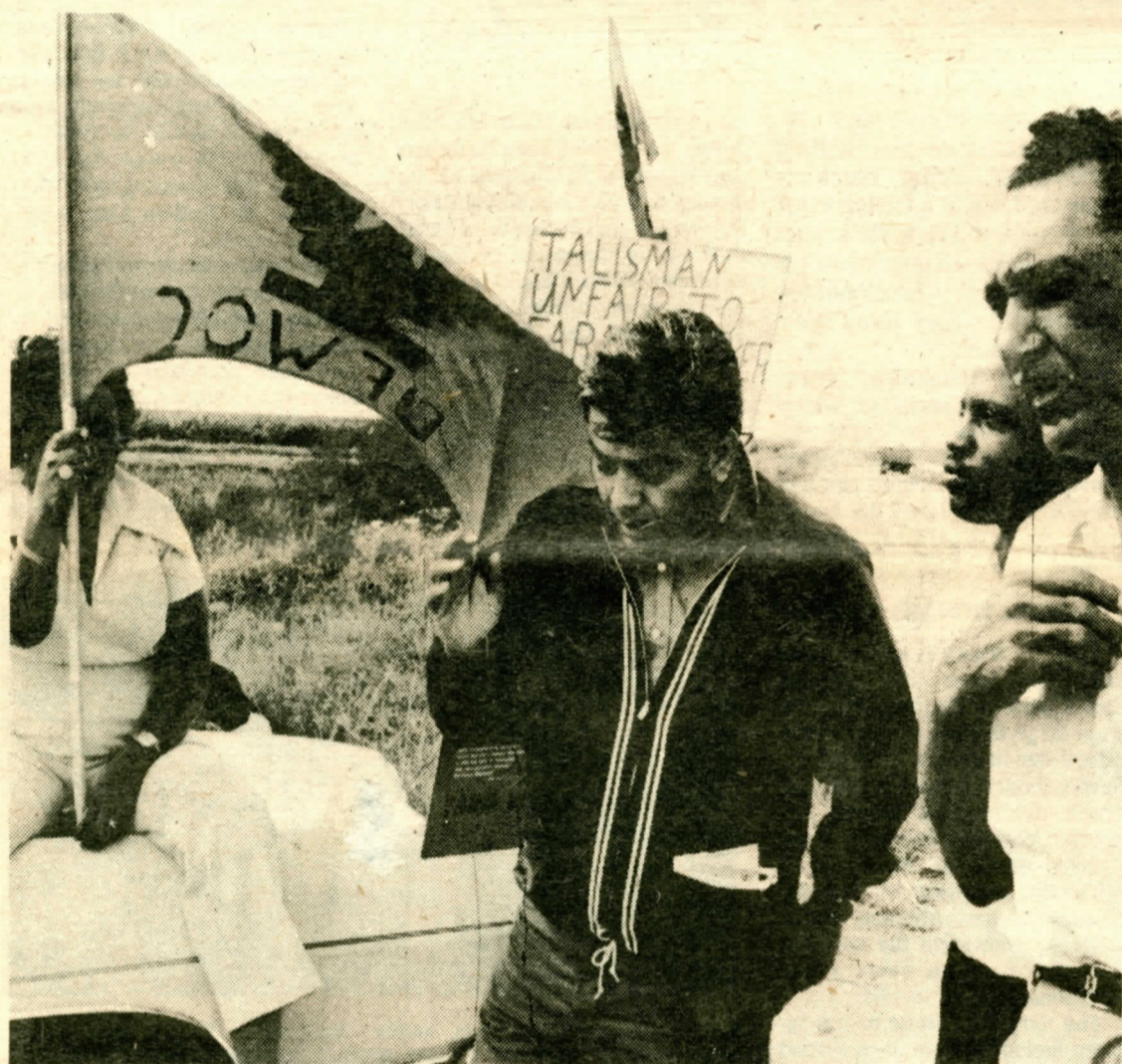
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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY THREE 232

FEBRUARY 14, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS

NIXON PUSHES UNEMPLOYMENT TO SMASH TRADE UNIONS



UFWOC strike leaders Manuel Chavez (center) and Nicholas Raymond (right) join picket line in bloody Florida agricultural workers strike in which 18 year old girl was already killed.

Girl Killed In Bitter Sugar Strike

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SOUTH BAY, Florida—A fierce strike of more than 200 agricultural workers which began on January 11th is raging against the Talisman Sugar Corporation at its plant 15 miles south of here.

The strike began after the workers, most of whom are Cuban and Chicano, began to look for help to fight against the increasingly oppressive condition, low wages and rotten treatment by the supervisors.

They first went to the IAM (International Association of Machinists) who represent the machinists at the sugar mill. Even though they all signed up with the IAM, the company refused to meet with them on their grievances. They then decided to take things into their own hands and walked off the job. "La Huelga—the strike was on.

The company said that as far

as they were concerned the men had quit. Some of them were illegally "replaced" by bracero type Jamaicans who live on the company property and are imported by agreement of the United States and Jamaican governments supposedly for the purpose of cutting cane, only.

Cane cutting in the rat and snake infested fields is perhaps the most miserable work in the world, and the bosses claim that the Jamaicans are the only ones who will do this work. But the Jamaicans are virtual slaves. The bosses force them to do the cutting 12 or more hours a day, seven days a week for subsistence wages. The company has also hired outside strikebreakers in

addition to the Jamaican cane cutters.

The company manager, Miguel Cervera, claimed: "These people earned good money considering

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The Nixon government in behalf of the employers is conducting a deliberate policy of putting millions of workers on the breadlines and of denying youth any right to a job.

No manipulation of the jobless figures can hide the fact that the country's unemployment lines are growing. Even after the figures for January were "seasonally adjusted" the government's figure stood at 5.9% which means that the actual rate of unemployment has soared. The government's January figures also showed that the work week has been slashed preparing the way for massive layoffs and forcing workers to take a cut in their pay.

This is the meaning of the government's drive on productivity. This is a conscious plan to get two, three times as much work out of fewer workers and throw the rest on unemployment. This policy of the Tories in Britain has meant the highest rate of unemployment since the depression.

The highest unemployment is in the United States. Whole cities like Duluth, Minnesota, once an industrial center of the Middle West, have been turned into ghost towns. Workers who have worked for 30 years in the plants are now thrown on to welfare. The youth have absolutely no prospect for jobs or a future. Duluth is the future for millions of workers.

The bosses and the government are consciously using unemployment now to weaken and break the back of the trade unions. They are using it now to force the workers who do,

(Continued On Page 8)

Construction Ranks Throw Firebombs At Scab Trailers

BY TOM STEVENS
BALTIMORE, Feb. 4—Construction workers have battled the courts and police all week in an effort to stop the use of non-union labor at substandard wages.

After a week and a half of fighting 28 workers have been arrested, one construction shed and four trailers have been burned and three cranes have been fire-bombed. The non-union companies have obtained court injunctions at several construction sites and three state legislators have presented a bill which would indict building trades unions for "crimes" of their members.

The battle began last week at Morgan State College when 200 construction trade unionists started picketing the site of the new \$3.4 million library. Lawrence Construction Company and Engleside Construction Company, two of the contractors at Morgan State, were charged with hiring only non-union labor and pay substandard wages. Angry pickets formed a massive blockade against anyone who

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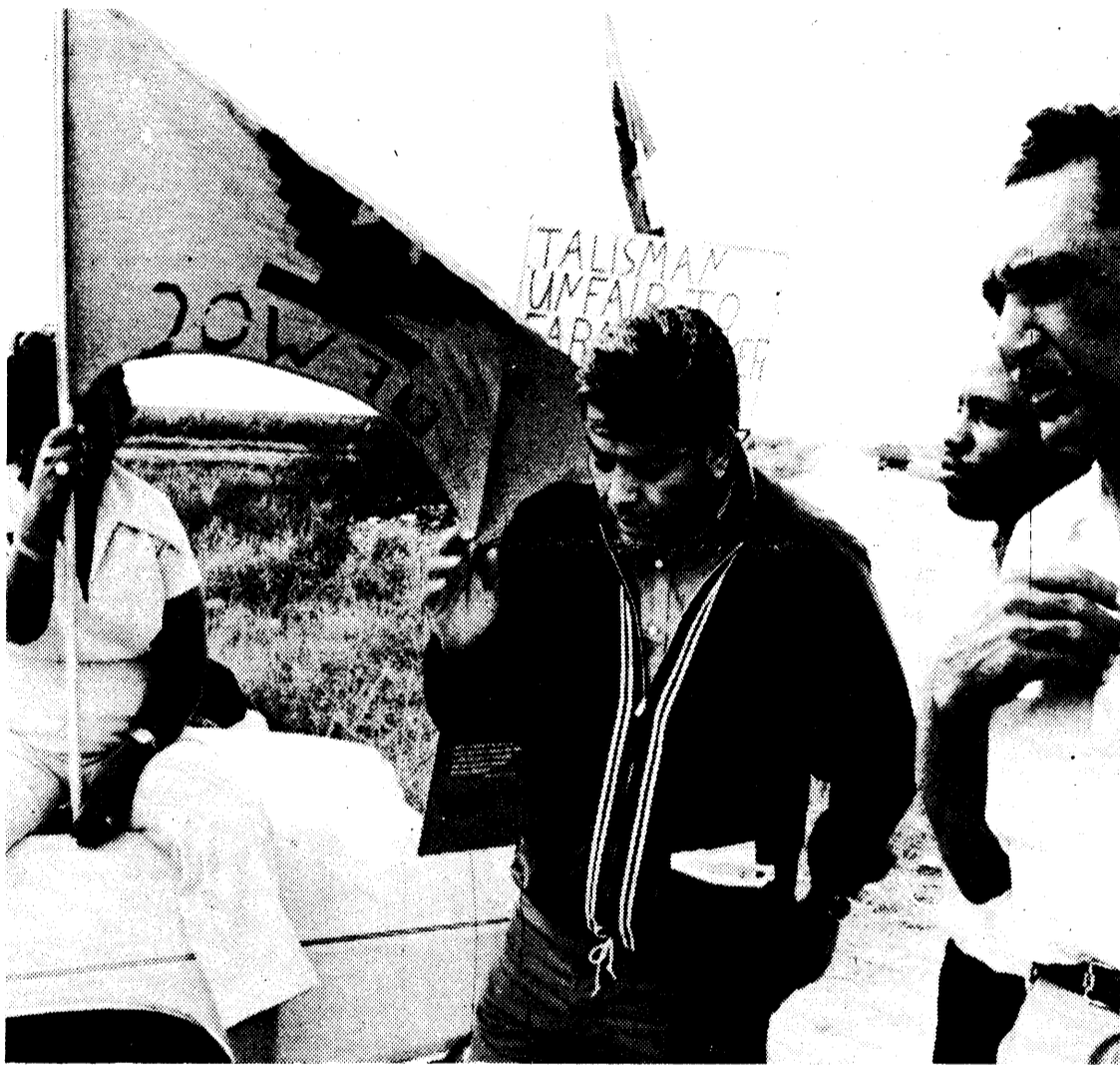
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Where Lenin Really Stood On Black Nationalism

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Sadat-Moscow Deal Calls Off War On Israel

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The complete treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Arab bourgeoisie was revealed in the contrasting statements and communiqués announced in Moscow and Washington last week.

Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat arrived in Moscow on February 3 with time fast running out for him. This was shown by the student rebellion at Cairo University last month, which sparked



Kremlin boss Leonid Brezhnev and Egyptian head Anwar Sadat. much broader protest and shook the Sadat regime.

The Egyptian leaders are caught in a tightening squeeze between imperialism and the masses. Sadat publically promised to launch a war in 1971 to recover the territory taken by the Israelis during the 1967 war. Just before his departure for Moscow he announced that he was going for additional arms and to consult the Soviet leaders before fixing "zero hour" for the conflict.

But 1971 has come and gone, and Sadat has done nothing. Even worse, he is returning from

Moscow, via a stop in Yugoslavia, with nothing but a new call for United Nations talks aimed at settling the question.

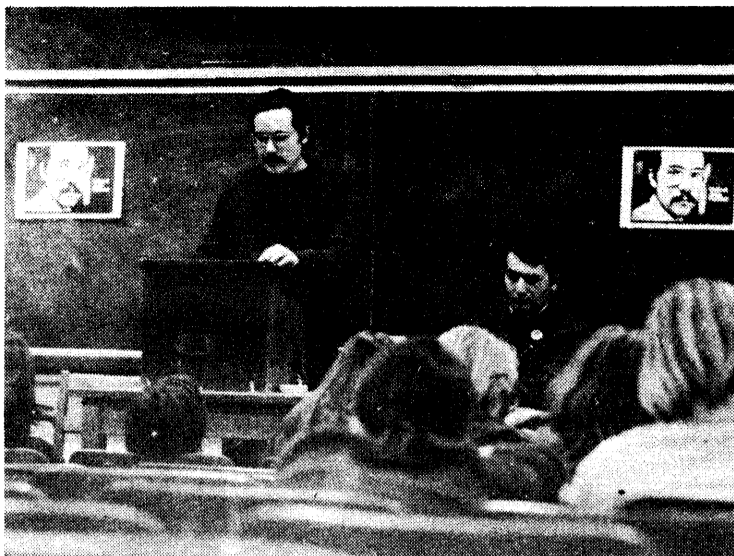
The joint Soviet-Egyptian communiqué makes absolutely no promises on arms for Egypt. Sadat had planned to ask for more interceptor aircraft and anti-aircraft missiles. All he has gotten is a slap in the face. He has not even gotten a promise of Soviet support in the event of war with the Israelis.

The Israelis, meanwhile, are at long last getting the Phantom and Skyhawk jets negotiated over the past year with Washington. It is reported that they will be getting 42 Phantom jets and 90 Skyhawk jets over the next two or three years. This represents a very substantial increase over the previously discussed figures of 18 Phantoms and 36 Skyhawks. This long term deal was reported just one day after the issuance of the Egyptian-Soviet communiqué.

BRAZEN

The imperialists are more confident than ever of the aid of the Kremlin and also of Sadat in betraying the Arab workers and peasants, and the Palestinian masses in particular. This is behind the brazen announcement of the sale of the jets. This is behind the new diplomatic pressure for direct "proximity talks" between Cairo and Tel Aviv to reopen the Suez canal as a step toward an overall settlement.

Fear of the masses is behind the coming together of these various forces. But the workers and peasants have by no means had their last words to say. Sadat's "achievements" in Moscow are bound to provoke tremendous bitterness.



Juan Farinas spoke at Boston U. last week as part of national tour which will rally support to his defense among youth and workers.

British Trotskyists Launch 12 Page Daily

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

The new twelve-page tabloid format of the British Trotskyist daily Workers Press got off to a fitting start on February 1st with a lead article on the massacre in Ulster entitled "Londonderry Sharpeville—Tory Hand Pulls the Trigger."

It is the tremendous crisis facing world imperialism which makes possible the rapid development of the revolutionary movement and which makes every step forward by the movement so critically important today.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The Workers Press will now have 50% greater space than in its previous four page large format. It will use the added size to deepen the fight for revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and among the youth. Central to this fight is the decision made on November 6, with the adoption of the All Trades Union Alliance manifesto, to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party in 1972.

The very first issue of the tabloid included a two page spread

on the Right-to-Work Marches being led by the Young Socialists and beginning in Glasgow on February 5. It also included the first of a seven-part series on miners' history, in the midst of the determined strike struggles of British miners against the employers and the Tory government. The paper is also running expanded discussion material on the decision to transform the SLL into a revolutionary party, as well as expanded international news and coverage of developments in the trade unions.



British Young Socialists lobby England's TUC—trade union leadership—to demand a fight against unemployment and Tories.

S. Africa Racists Murder 6 Miners

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

The apartheid regime of South Africa has murdered six Ovambo workers during the past week in an effort to smash the strike against the U.S. controlled Tsumeb mining company. The deaths occurred in two separate attacks by police against the miners, who have been striking since December 17.

The South African Government is trying to justify the slaughter by claiming that the miners had attacked the police with bows and arrows and machetes. It should be recalled that the British troops that shot down 13 defenseless Irish citizens also claimed they had acted in self-defense.

The shootings occurred at a time when the United Nations is holding a special session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to consider the particular problems of Africa. Both the Stalinist delegations from the Soviet Union and China urged the African nations to develop a position on Rhodesia that would be acceptable to the British.

Government Jails

YLP Leadership

Benjamin Cruz, Deputy Minister of Information of the Young Lords Party, was arrested January 31st in an early morning raid on his home in San Juan, Puerto Rico by F.B.I. agents.

He was charged by a U.S. Federal Grand Jury with three counts of draft evasion and bail was set at \$10,000.

This follows right on the heels of the conviction of Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, Minister of Information of the Y.L.P., on two counts of draft evasion.

During Guzman's trial which lasted only two days, the judge refused to hear witnesses for the defense who brought out the political nature of the case. The sentencing will take place on March 14th. As a result of conviction, Yoruba now faces a vicious sentence of up to ten years in jail.

MAO PLEDGES AID TO PAKISTAN

BY DAVID NORTH

The Peking Stalinists have descended to the lowest depths of treachery against the masses of Bangla Desh. The Chinese leadership announced, after two full days of talks with Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, that it will increase its economic aid to his country.

At the same time, Peking is known to have discussed the possibility of military aid for Pakistan, but no official statement was made.

Above all, Peking sought to keep alive Bhutto's hope that the independence of Bangla Desh could still be destroyed. A joint communiqué signed by Chou En-lai and Bhutto insisted that "there can be no tranquility in the Indian-Pakistani subcontinent" until Indian forces withdrew from all the territory conquered in the December war.

The hero's welcome prepared for Bhutto by the Chinese was designed to leave no doubt that Pakistan would have the full support of the Maoist leadership in the renewed campaign against the workers and

peasants of Bangla Desh.

In the course of a five hour discussion with Bhutto, Chou En-lai is reported to have said: "We are not ammunition merchants. Whatever your defense requirements are, they will be met gratis."

It is clear that the Chinese Stalinists are not in the least disturbed by fresh documentation of Pakistani atrocities in Bangla Desh during the past year. From the liberated nation emerges the incontestable fact that the Pakistani regime did little else between April and December than murder, torture, rape and pillage. It is estimated that 3,000,000 Bengalis perished in the bloodbath.

The man who was feted last week in Peking, Ali Bhutto, played a role no less decisive

than that of Yahya Khan in the genocidal war. It was Bhutto who set the stage for the slaughter when he declared that he would not accept the results of the elections that had given the Awami League an overwhelming parliamentary majority.

Bhutto's anti-communist convictions are of almost legendary dimensions. When once asked by an uninformed reporter whether he was a communist, Bhutto revealed two gigantic gold cufflinks and said: "They're solid gold and they're 24 carat—and I intend to keep them. Does that answer your question?"

It is with this reactionary politician that Peking is in full agreement and promises to support militarily. Mao Tse-tung himself was anxious to meet Bhutto, who later described the spirit of their talk:

"As Chairman Mao has said, sometimes there's an east wind and sometimes a west wind.

Today a hot wind is blowing against my country... We would like to be a source of strength for mutual relations and in the cause of world peace. If today China shoulders a certain burden on our behalf, we shall repay fully because we want a relationship with China based on honor, dignity and self-respect."

Stripped of all its flowery cynicism, Bhutto's statement expresses an essential political truth: that for an endangered bourgeoisie, Stalinism is the most reliable ally.

Nixon's trip to China is only two weeks away, and the results of the Bhutto visit should convince the President that bargaining in Peking will be an enjoyable experience. The American imperialists and the Chinese Stalinists share common ground in their opposition to India, their hatred of Bangla Desh, and their commitment to Pakistan.

Carnivale Plots Against Ranks

BY DAN FRIED

The latest "offer" of the New York Telephone Company, arrived at in conjunction with CWA President Joseph Beirne, is so rotten that even the Carnivale leadership of Local 1101 is recommending rejection.

All presidents of the New York State locals are reportedly against the offer. One 1101 dissident charged that even though Carnivale would like nothing better than to see this offer accepted and go along with Beirne, he is unable to come out openly for acceptance because the over-

whelming sentiment in the state is to vote "No."

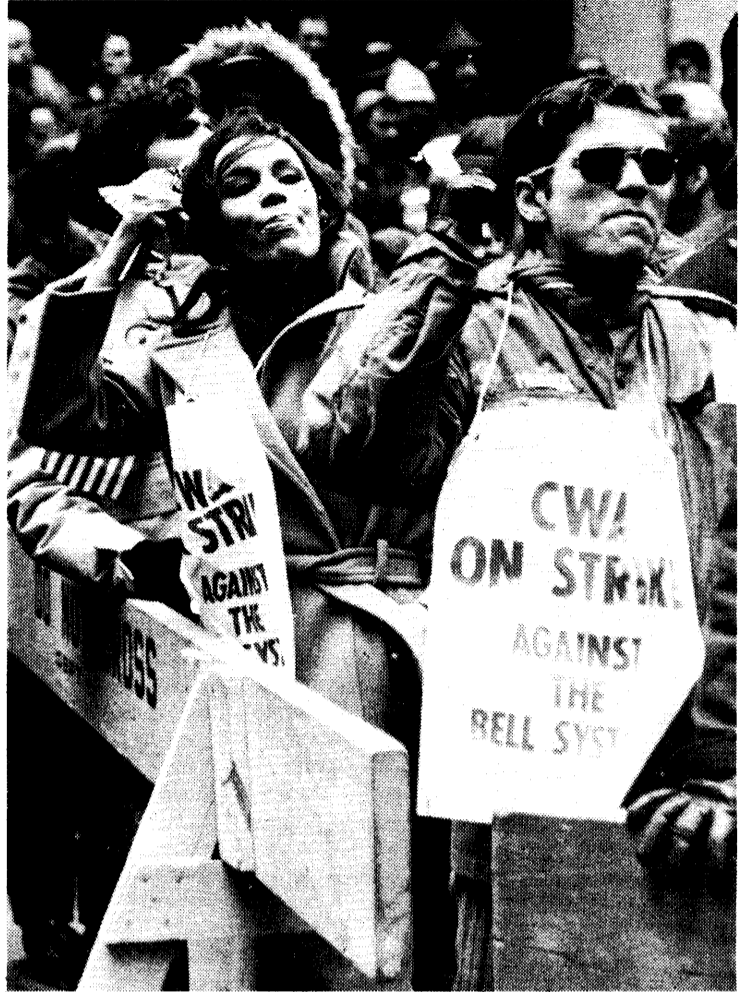
The New York Telephone Company has consciously made this pitiful offer, basing themselves on the strategy that a rejection will set the stage for the proposal by New York State labor mediator McDonald for compulsory arbitration.

Both Beirne and Carnivale are accomplices in this strategy because they support compulsory arbitration if negotiations break down, as they most certainly will, following rejection.

The "offer" represents only \$1.00 a week more than the company had proposed in its last offer on July 18th. The \$1.00 increase would only apply to the top two crafts and the full \$30 would only go to men with five years seniority—which excludes 75% of the men in 1101.

The company offers only 10% premium pay for Saturday instead of time and a half demanded by the strikers and still "reserves the right to fire or otherwise discipline any striking employee who is charged with a criminal offense." This would

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Rank and file telephone workers rally in downtown New York last week against binding arbitration which CWA Local 1101 leader Carnivale is aching to use in order to end the militant 7 month strike.

Davis Faces Fight In 1199 Elections

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK—The election of officers for Hospital Workers Local 1199 is scheduled for April 24-28. Since the last election two years ago, the union has grown to nearly 45,000 in the New York metropolitan area, with new locals in Baltimore, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

The elections for 1972 promise to be very different from those of the past. The Rank and File Committee has announced that it intends to run 1199 Delegate Fred Mazelis for President. This will be the first time 1199 President Leon Davis has faced opposition directly.

The union now faces the sharpest attacks since its big growth in the 1960s. A tremendous explosion is building for the June 30 contract deadline. Reflecting the capitalist economic crisis and Nixon's declaration of war on the working class, the hospitals are preparing for a strike and looking for the chance to inflict a humiliating and crushing defeat on the workers.

KNICKERBOCKER

This is the meaning of the constant threats of closings and layoffs. It is summed up in the threatened closing of Knickerbocker Hospital and the campaign by that hospital for "voluntary" contributions by its own workers. This wage cut scheme has actually been endorsed by the union leadership, as reported in the last issue of the *Bulletin*.

The 1199 officials, and Leon Davis in particular, have absolutely no program to meet the growing attacks. They have completely cooperated in the institu-

tion of the job freeze throughout the voluntary hospitals, which has led to vicious attacks on working conditions. Now they carry their collaboration with the bosses to the point of encouraging workers to pay for the crisis out of their own pay checks.

The complete inaction and bankruptcy of the leadership on grievances, job cuts, speedup and the fight against Nixon and the Pay Board makes it necessary to run an opposition candidate. Mazelis is running on a program including the following:

For the contract: a 50% increase over two years, a full cost of living clause, 35 hour week for all workers, 4 weeks vacation after one year for all workers, clearly worded classifications, a guarantee of no layoffs and union control over working conditions.

Mazelis is also campaigning for an immediate end to the job freeze, a fight on all grievances, speedup and harassment, and for the unity of the Guild and Hospital Divisions of the union in order to take up this fight. He is further demanding that the union take forward the fight against the Pay Board through a fight for a general strike of the labor movement and for a labor party in 1972 to break once and for all from the capitalist Democratic and Republican Parties.

Efforts For Deal In Vietnam Collapse

BY DAVE NORTH

Since the unveiling of President Nixon's new "peace" plan, the United States has stepped up its drive to win a military victory in Vietnam.

The heaviest air raids since 1968 were conducted over North Vietnam last week, and General William C. Westmoreland conferred in Saigon with field commanders to prepare for offensive action against the National Liberation Front.

All the talk of negotiations "to find an honorable settlement" is nothing but so many words. The United States has not retreated one inch from its determination to keep the peo-

ple of Vietnam enslaved by capitalism. This is why Secretary of State William P. Rogers arrogantly proclaimed last Sunday on national television that "Communism doesn't really represent the will of the people (of Vietnam), it represents the will of a small group of people that control the Communist Party."

COVER

The Administration has attempted to cover up its determination to defeat the Vietnamese Revolution by pretending that serious negotiations are in the works. Rogers went so far as to call Muskie down for stating the obvious: that

STOP PRESS—By a vote of 15,176 to 11,703, city transport workers have accepted the contract negotiated New Year's Day by TWU chief Matthew Guinan and the Transit Authority. The narrow margin of passage represents a repudiation by the rank-and-file of the Guinan leadership. Although Guinan organized a massive campaign in support of the contract and arranged a mail ballot, about 40% of the workers voted no-confidence in the TWU bureaucracy.

NCR Strike Settled Over Large Opposition

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio—By a vote of 5,051 to 1,847, UAW Local 1616 has ratified a 38 month contract with the National Cash Register Company (NCR), ending a 16 week strike here.

The large opposition vote reflected widespread opposition to the agreement. The local leadership was able to push through the contract by keeping the membership in the dark as to the proposed terms until the membership meeting.

Local President Earl Hampton called the contract a "stepping stone," admitting, "We wanted more...you always want more...but this is the best we could come up with at this time."

This is indeed an understatement. On all the fundamental questions—wages, pensions, productivity—the company got what it wanted and

the union gave up everything it had originally demanded.

On the key question of productivity, Hampton himself admits, the agreement is a "spur for management to end inefficiency."

The central demands that the union struck for were: an end to the speedup piecework system known as the "standard hourly plan," a decent pension plan and a wage increase on a par with the UAW auto workers. None of these demands were won.

The wage increase amounts to a cut in real wages over the next 38 months—a paltry 5.5% the first year and 3% each of the next two. The pension was raised to \$210 after 30 years, as compared with the \$500 per month auto workers receive.

SPEED-UP

But what the company management found most pleasing was the retention of the incentive speedup plan with "modifications." NCR Board Chairman Robert S. Oelman said this plan "would not tie the company's hands too badly."

Oelman then went on to say that as far as he was concerned the contract is a green light for increased speedup:

"What we have to do now is everything possible to improve efficiency and productivity and recover our competitive edge. If we can't we will have to transfer jobs out of Dayton."

The North Vietnamese government has continued to

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VOTE 100% TO STRIKE SUNBEAM

BY A MACHINIST

CHICAGO—The 200 tool-room workers of the Sunbeam Corporation, members of Local 113 of the IAM, have voted 100% to strike against the company's final offer. This news will come as a severe blow to Sunbeam which has always relied upon divisions among the workers to hold down wages, and many other employers in the Chicago area who are in a concerted drive against the tool and die makers union.

A leading steward had the following to say about the company's final offer, which is said to be below the 5.5% federal minimum. "It's peanuts. It's so small it isn't even worth talking about."

The Sunbeam wage minimum is \$4.95 while the union standard is over \$6.00. The Sunbeam shop is demanding \$1 to start plus benefits, and there's real determination not to see these demands whittled away. As one worker explained: "Everyone here knows that this is going to be a long hard fight. We won't come back for nickles. We have to get at least the \$1 and a lot more besides."

DECISIVE

Since Sunbeam is the largest shop in the toolmakers union, it has been clear for months that this struggle was going to be decisive for the skilled industrial trades in the Chicago area. As early as November the company began seeking out tool shops with the intention of 'jobbing out' die work during the strike. At the same time the toolmakers union has placed a ban on all Sunbeam work throughout the 100 shops organized in 113. There is strong sentiment in the union that the ban should not simply exist on paper, but have real enforcement behind it—enforcement by the rank and file if the officials won't do it.

1,000 Detroit Workers March On City Hall

BY REX HENRY

DETROIT—Over a thousand people marched Wednesday at the Detroit City-County Building in a mass twenty-four hour picket organized by Council 77 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO).

The picket follows the announcement by Detroit Mayor Gribbs of a plan to force 1,400 city employees out of work and to violate every clause in the contracts of city workers to pay for Detroit's financial crisis.

Two weeks ago Mayor Gribbs announced that Detroit was nearly bankrupt and would have to cut back on virtually every public service provided by the city. He began a campaign to make Detroit labor pay for this crisis

97% Vote Strike At Lordstown

BY DAN FRIED

LORDSTOWN, Ohio—Workers at the General Motors Chevrolet plant voted almost unanimously to strike if the company does not halt its speedup and terror campaign aimed at breaking the resistance of the workers through disciplinary suspensions and short shifts. UAW Local 1112 announced that 97% of the 6,556 members who voted favored a strike. A total of 7,900 were eligible to vote.

The polling place at the union office opened at 5 a.m. on February 1. By 6 a.m. the cars, with workers sitting in them waiting to vote, stretched a full mile down the road.

Behind the massive outpouring is the fight of the militant young workers at the plant to defend their rights. Their feeling is that as one of them told us last week, "If GM can do it here, they can do it anywhere." Apparently, GM is not satisfied in its attempts to squeeze 100 cars per hour (normal plants produce 55) out of the workers, but have in mind upping the figure to 130.

This week two negotiators from the International office of the UAW arrived to "see for themselves" what the dispute involved.

One of the workers we spoke to felt that a strike was just about inevitable, that he did not see that General Motors had shown any sign of conceding to the demand for an end to speedup and harassment. He said that the membership is not prepared to wait too long to see if the dispute can be resolved at the bargaining table.

When we raised the question that this was a key battle in an overall war with General Motors and the rest of the bosses, he remarked that maybe it was "like Londonderry only without anyone getting hurt." As far as "anyone getting hurt," he said "let's hope not, anyway."

It is clear that a battle is shaping up which requires not only the shutting down of the Lordstown plant but the UAW leadership taking the offensive against GM.

by decreeing the layoff of 40-50 seasonal employees involved in the maintenance of city parks and recreational facilities.

This was only the beginning. Gribbs next proposed to the representatives of public employee unions that they accept a plan for all city workers to take one day off without pay every two weeks.

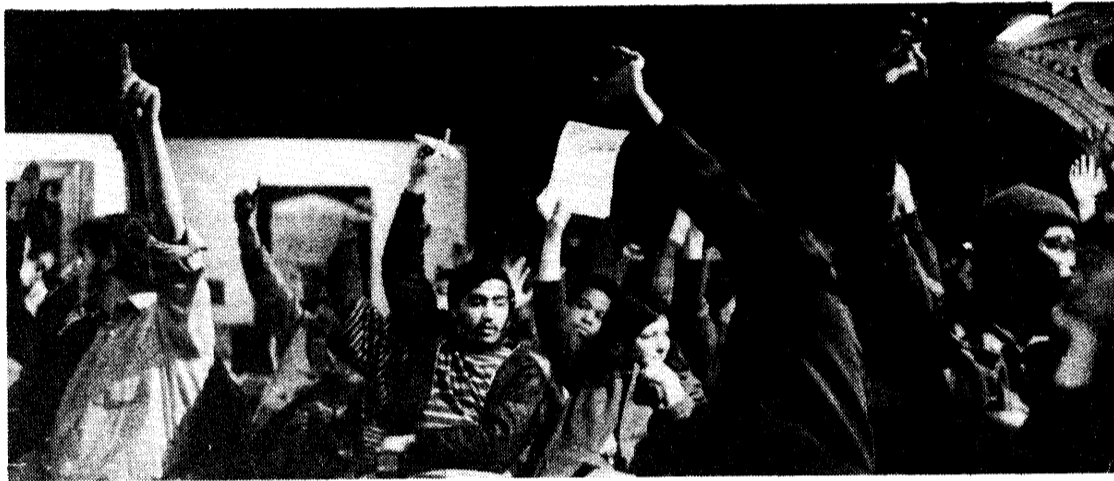
He followed this with a short

junctet to Washington, supposedly to plead for federal backing to avert the layoffs. Having thus represented himself as an innocent bystander in the affair, Gribbs then announced a plan involving the laying off of more than 1,400 city workers and speedups against those still at work. One Parks and Recreation worker reported that men with up to seven years seniority had

already been laid off in his department.

The AFSCME Council 77 demonstration received the support of every important union in Detroit, with the exception of the Teamsters.

One demonstrating city employee expressed the militancy Wednesday when he said that if the workers do not make enough noise now, the next step will be the wholesale busting of unions. He told *Bulletin* reporters, "I for one would break the contract and strike," if Gribbs' attacks continue.



Members of Young Socialists contingent vote at last week's citywide SMC meeting. See article on Page 6.

Ranks Upset Black Labor Parley

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

ST. LOUIS—The Black Labor Conference was held here on January 21-22, supposedly to discuss and outline 'New Directions for Black Workers.' What was presented, however, was anything but new.

The major speakers were trade union officials Charles Hayes, Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union from Chicago and Jack Edwards, International Vice-President of the UAW from Detroit. These speakers called for votes for Black candidates, the building of Black caucuses in the unions and support for reformist organizations such as SCLC, Core and the Urban League.

But the economic crisis of capitalism was the question posed by the holding of the conference, and was very much the center of discussion from the rank and file

workers present. Local organizers pointed out that the Black workers have to take the lead in the struggle of the Black community against the cuts in federal funding of the welfare program, public housing, education, etc.

However the objective role of these organizers was simply to provide a platform for the union bureaucrats, building support for the Democratic Party and its policies. They entirely avoided the struggle to unite the working class in the fight to build a labor party, although this question was proposed by supporters of the Workers League many times.

Opposition to the conference was expressed by two rank and file organizations present. Rank and File Teamsters (RAFT), an important development within Local 688 of the Teamsters Union, accused the conference organizers of ignoring the rank and file and pandering to the in-

terests of the union bureaucrats.

Nat Mosley of the UAW Black Caucus pointed out that it was the International leadership of the UAW, invited to address the conference, which had refused to defend those workers who had taken up the fight against racial discrimination at the local GM plant. He saw no reason why this leadership could be expected to provide the leadership in the struggle of workers against Nixon's onslaughts.

Both of these groups, however, failed to provide an alternative to the policies of the bureaucrats, because they are based on trade unionism and deny the need to unite the working class in a political struggle against Nixon and the bosses he represents. They could only propose the overthrow of the present leadership of their particular union and its replacement with new leaders more representative of the rank and file.

CANADA TECHNICIANS REJECT OFFER

BY OUR CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT

MONTREAL—After 8 months of fruitless negotiations the National Association of Broadcast Employees-Technicians voted strike action on January 22 against the public radio-television network—the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The over 90% "Yes" vote for the strike came after a Conciliation Board offer of a 10% wage increase over 21 months. The NABET technicians were demanding a 28.5% increase.

Their salaries presently range from \$119 to \$179 per week, and would rise to a maximum of \$237 if the technicians' demands were met. This compares to salaries of \$295 a week that technicians in

the U.S. require for similar work. Other key demands not met are over working hours, job security and union jurisdiction.

The technicians want a 32 hour week, a guarantee against layoffs if the job is abolished or if there is surplus personnel.

These demands came in the face of the CBC's attempt to remove certain equipment from

NABET's jurisdiction. CBC is installing new equipment that could be operated by non-technical workers. This would lead to the destruction of 30% of the jobs.

The strike vote came against tremendous opposition on the part of the union leaders. The CBC technicians staged wildcat strikes in both November and December but were brought back both times by the union bureaucrats.

This time the union head Kenneth Steel said the workers "are in a foul mood." "I don't know how we'll keep the men on the job until a vote is taken." He added, "It certainly doesn't bode" (Continued On Page 18)

Dockers Defend Bulletin Salesmen

BY BARRY WEST

Supporters of the Committee for a Decent Contract of the International Longshoremen's Union and salesmen of the *Bulletin* were physically assaulted on 3 separate occasions last week at two Brooklyn hiring halls.

At each point, this assault took place as the Committee's supporters were passing out the caucus leaflet which spelled out the rotten terms of the contract and urged the ranks to vote it down. These assaults have become a part of the ILA's strategy of keeping the men in the dark about the proposed contract for the Port of New York.

On Monday, January 31, violent attacks occurred at both the Van Dyke and 36th Street hiring halls. They came at a time when most of the men were inside and unaware of what was taking place. The news of these events however, spread like wildfire through the halls and on the piers that morning as well as on the following day.

On Wednesday, February 2, the ILA bureaucracy ordered another physical attack on the Committee's supporters at the Van Dyke hiring hall. This time, however, the men were waiting and came out of the hall en masse to defend the Committee's democratic right to leaflet and speak the truth. Men took scores of leaflets into the hall and onto the piers and gave them to their fellow workers. Needless to say, the ILA goons made a quick retreat at the sight of the ranks.

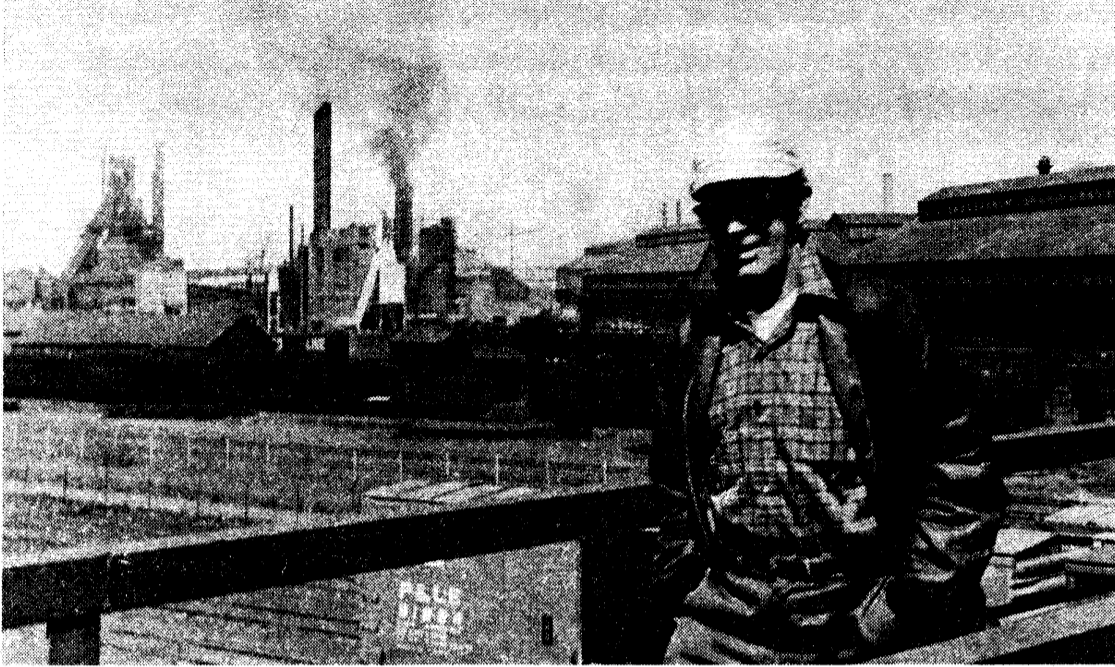
PANIC

These attacks reveal the complete panic of Gleason, Scotto and the ILA leadership in the face of the growing opposition of the rank and file to this contract. If pushed through, the rotten terms of this contract will enable the employers to push 80% of the men off the docks permanently during its duration. Beginning with the nearly unanimous vote of the Checkers on January 24 to reject the PDO, the opposition has mushroomed among the men against Gleason's sellout on the guarantee (through the PDO and multiple debiting), elimination of (Continued On Page 18)

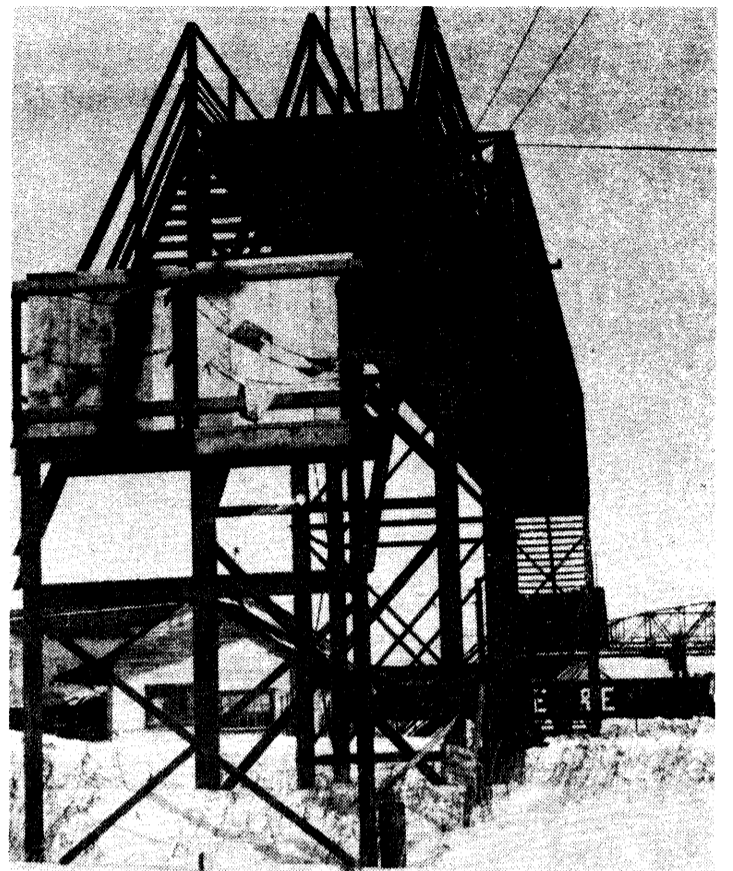
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UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

Duluth, Minnesota



Duluth mill (above) was producing steel before last year's contract. Now, the steel bosses used the agreements made by the USWA leadership in order to close the mill and lay off thousands of workers. Deserted walkway to mill (right) testifies to desolation now making Duluth into a ghost city.



STEEL CLOSURE LEAVES GHOST CITY

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

DULUTH, Minn.—Workers and their families here are facing an immediate economic disaster. U.S. Steel Corporation, the city's largest single employer, just announced that the "hot side" (blast furnaces) of its plant, closed since November 13, 1971, would not be reopened, meaning that 1600 workers are permanently thrown out of work.

Another 800 workers in the plant, making wire rods and fence posts from billets shipped in from the other U.S. Steel plants will in all likelihood lose their jobs within the year. The 300 workers at Atlas Cement will be laid off as soon as the slag from the adjacent steel mill is exhausted.

These workers hit the street at a time when Duluth unemployment figures are at record highs. Only last June the Pentagon's cutbacks at the Duluth Air Force Base cost 800 jobs.

A serious estimate is that Duluth's population, around a 100,000 for over a generation, could fall to as low as 65,000 within the next few years!

What this means is that the fate of the once prosperous Mesabi Iron Range, just north of Duluth, consisting now of towns on the verge of becoming ghost towns, now stares Duluth in the face.

SURVIVAL

Literally thousands of workers and their families in Duluth are now faced with a fight for their very survival.

U.S. Steel claims that the plant, built around the time of World War I, is old and unprofitable, and has to be shut down.

The workers affected do not see it like the company does. One worker at the unemployment center stated:

"It's not fair, they make a

profit off us for 50 years and then throw us onto the streets. They don't give a damn about the people involved. They aren't one of them."

To divert labor opposition to the plant closing, U.S. Steel announced 1200 job openings in their Minntac (mining) division in Mountain Iron, Minn., 60 miles from Duluth. Another worker waiting to collect his unemployment compensation, exposed this fabrication:

"I've got 20 years rights on the 'hot side' and I went up there for a job. They said there were still laid off miners who have first priority to any openings. Besides there weren't anywhere near 1200 openings, not even half that. Working in a mine is nothing like working in a steel mill.

"I depended on U.S. Steel for my bread and butter. Where else in this town are steel workers going to find a job. There ain't none."

The truth of the matter is that U.S. Steel all along has been planning to shut down the Duluth plant without any measures for job relocation. The 16 year old son of a steel worker told us:

"U.S. Steel lied last November when they said the 'hot side' shut-down would only be temporary. They didn't even drain the water out of the pipes in the plant but let them burst from freezing, never intending to use them again."

Over a year ago, the *Bulletin* reported that U.S. Steel was intending to close the plant. Since then the workers in the plant have been strung along by false promises and hopes.

DEMOCRATS

The leadership of Local 1028 (USWA) tied the fate of the ranks to the governor and state legislature in the hopes they would cook up a deal to induce U.S.

Steel to keep the plant open. Democratic Governor Anderson recently appointed a blue ribbon committee of business, labor and governmental leaders. It did not even get a chance to issue its proposals for "saving" the plant before U.S. Steel arrogantly announced the permanent closure of the "hot side." Even the committee's belated proposal of \$40 million in tax credits to build a new plant by 1980 would provide jobs for only 1000 workers with nothing but welfare to live on for the next 8 years.

LABOR PARTY

The union leadership has at no time sought to mobilize the ranks in a determined fight to save their jobs. The workers, however, are eager to fight back. "What have I got to lose," said one worker with 18 years rights in the plant. When asked what he thought of a labor party to oust the Democrats and Republicans from office, he told us:

"Hell, yes, I'd support such a party. Let me tell you I've been a life-long Democrat, but the Perpiches, Andersons and Humphreys, too, are blowhards who won't do one thing for labor when the chips are really down."

A worker with 21 years rights on the "hot side" told us that he would not only support an unemployed march on Washington but would do his best to help organize it.

"They should get a huge crowd of unemployed from every state in the union to march right up to the doors of those guys in Washington. Of course, that'll mean the Irish Revolution right here in America. But that's what it's going to take."

Asked about his opinion of a labor party, he answered:

"You're damned right I'd vote for it and so would the rest of the

guys."

An unemployed printer explained to us that the situation in his trade is virtually hopeless now that the steel plant is shutting down. The printing firm he worked for just went bankrupt. His response to our question about an unemployed march was not only to help organize a march on the city, but "when we get there we got to take that Nixon out and hang him."

LEADERSHIP

The spirit of the ranks is in marked contrast to the union leadership. In an interview with Robert Olson, president of 1028, he said it was "unrealistic" to nationalize any closed plants and run them under workers control. "I hope that the state and national governments would have compassion for the suffering of the unemployed." As for a union sponsored march of unemployed on Washington, Olson said, "That would be too expensive to transport thousands of people to Washington by airplane, trains and buses. I still think that politicians will have compassion once they know how much suffering there is going on."

Former 1028 President Julius Cherra told us that he had observed protestors in Washington many times and "they never accomplished anything." He saw no difference between a middle class protest demonstration and a demonstration of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists. Like Olson, Cherra too opposes the formation of a labor party. "I think labor should go to the (Democratic) precinct meetings and get the right guys elected. There is no other way."

The leadership of the Steel Workers has already accepted defeat. Speaking at a mass rally Tuesday, February 1, at Steel Workers Hall, USWA District 33 staff representative, Peter Bensoni, had the gall to tell the men, "It's not the end of the world." In many cases, he predicted, they will probably be better off in changing jobs!

The hypocrisy of Bensoni is exposed by the real situation facing workers and their families in Duluth. Asked how the plant's closure affected him, the son of a steel worker with 25 years rights bluntly said, "less food."

"Now we live on unemployment and SUB (Supplementary Unemployment Benefits) but the SUB will be cut off in March. We can't even collect retirement, not without a full 30 year's service. I had planned to work in the mills this summer to earn money for college, but now I have to hope for part-time work just to help support the family. I'll probably go into the army after school."

YOUTH

The situation faces most of the students at Morgan Park High School, over half of whose fathers are steel workers. A girl told us, "How can we stay here? This will be a ghost town." Another girl whose father had put in 21 years in the plant told us, "but they're closing down steel plants in Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Gary, too. Besides, my parents could never even sell our home. Nobody wants to move into this town."

Students at Morgan Park High have shown their willingness to fight back by their campaigns this winter to keep the plant open through petitions to the legislature. In view of the failure of reformist schemes to save the plant, a number of the students agreed with us that the labor movement had to go out on strike for 30 for 40 and nationalization of the industry under workers control.

The workers and youth in Duluth are eager to fight back. The building of a contingent from Duluth to the Midwest Conference of Revolutionary Youth, in Minneapolis in March is now key to the building of a revolutionary Marxist leadership in the Steel Workers Union fighting for nationalization of basic industry under workers control.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez



Jefferson High School Young Socialist denounces YSA's high school civil rights activity. She said that the defense of students must be a class defense of workers and youth against the capitalist oppressors.

YS Demands SMC Fight For Youth

BY JEANNIE COOPER

NEW YORK—Last Sunday, February 6, the Workers League and the Young Socialists took the fight for a principled program into the citywide Student Mobilization Committee meeting. The meeting was called in preparation for the National Conference of the Student Mobilization Committee being held on February 25-27.

At the start of the meeting the Workers League and Young Socialists supported a proposal, along with the Labor Committee to have the first point on the agenda be a discussion of major proposals for the direction of the SMC. This proposal was narrowly defeated by a vote of 104 to 101 after several counts. The Workers League and Young Socialists were then granted 5 minutes to pre-

sent their resolution following a presentation by Sara Johnston of the SMC Working Committee.

SINGLE

Sara Johnston said that because of the recent escalation of the war in Vietnam, the demand for "immediate withdrawal" became much clearer as the single, central demand of the SMC and the whole antiwar movement. She said that it was because of the large antiwar movement that Nixon cannot defend the re-

sumed bombing of North Vietnam. The main question she stated is for the United States to withdraw from Vietnam and let the Vietnamese decide for themselves.

At this meeting, every spokesman for the SMC said that the SMC is planning joint activities and is welcoming the support of the "Youth for Muskie" and "Youth for McGovern."

The spokesman for the Workers League-Young Socialists stated that it was precisely because of the determination of Nixon to defeat the workers and peasants of Vietnam and the determination of the

(Continued On Page 18)

YOUNG SOCIALIST SMC PROPOSAL

WHEREAS the Nixon government is preparing an escalation of the war against the workers and peasants of Indochina

Whereas these same Democrats and Republicans are preparing to destroy the livelihoods of the workers and youth in the U.S. with the wage freeze, mass layoffs, unemployment, and huge slashes in education

Whereas Prince Sihanouk revealed that the Soviet bureaucracy is supplying the North Vietnamese and the NLF with antiquated equipment

Whereas the Stalinists are preparing a deal with Nixon to defeat the workers and peasants of Indochina

Be it resolved that the Student Mobilization Committee build the April 22 NPAC demonstration around these demands:

- Full employment—thirty hours work for forty hours pay. Labor off the Pay Board.
- No budget cuts in education—free higher education for all.
- No deals in Vietnam! We condemn the Soviet bureaucracy in its deliberate attempt to prevent a victory of the Indochinese workers and peasants. Victory to the NLF!
- For a Labor Party in '72 to defeat the Democrats and Republicans who are responsible for the war, wage freeze, budget cuts and unemployment. For a socialist alternative. Support the SWP election campaign.

Unemployed Youth Battle For Survival With Young Socialists

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—When youth are forced out of school and when those with college degrees cannot find jobs, when they are forced on the welfare rolls just as welfare is being cut, this is when even the right to live is threatened. This is why youth are beginning to fight.

One youth from East New York High School described the difficulty he is having finding a job. He told us, "The last time I worked was over the summer; part-time was all I could find. It paid \$40 a week, and only for seven weeks. Since then I haven't found anything. I even tried to buy a job at one of the agencies. Even over the summer it was hard. When I got there, there were 80 people on line. This was at 6:00 a.m. Later a whole lot more came."

Another youth who dropped out of high school over a year ago has still been unable to find a job. He told us: "I think the factories should be opened instead of shutting them down so that we can work. We have to do something."

MARCH 29TH

The YS is building to do something on March 29th. We are preparing a mass demonstration to demand full employment, 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay, an end to all budget cuts, and a labor party in 1972 to run against the Democrats and Republicans, who are all responsible for the attacks on the working class. We are calling on all the trade unions to support our demonstration, understanding that the unions have the power to win the

demands of the YS.

The demonstration is winning tremendous support. One youth said: "It's a good idea because nobody else is doing anything. I don't think this system is good any more. I came from Honduras where people think you come over here and get rich. But I don't think it works any more. This demonstration is a necessity. If they keep cutting the SEEK program, I couldn't continue my studies."

Another youth stated: "Yeah, I know we have to do something. People have to get more jobs, like me for instance. I'll probably go to the army if I can't do nothing else. I think that the demonstration is good if a lot of people come."

VETERAN

We spoke to a Vietnam veteran about the demonstration. He told us, "It's right on! Because you take me and other guys. I went to Vietnam and served in the Air Force for four years. Now I come back and there ain't no jobs around. I mean nothing in sight. I figured that it would be easy because I learned something in the Air Force, but it doesn't matter. I agree with you people because we can't let this go on."

These statements are not unique; in fact, they are widespread among working class youth

Frame St. Paul Girl For Murder

BY A YOUNG SOCIALIST REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—The first degree murder trial of Connie Trimble, 19 year old Black St. Paul girl, has been ordered changed from Minneapolis to Rochester, Minnesota.

About 100 miles south of the Twin Cities, Rochester, home of the famous medical center, is also well known as a bulwark of conservatism and racism in the state.

Yet the change of venue from the Twin Cities to Rochester was agreed to by attorneys for both the defense and the prosecution. This move is a vicious attack on her chances of getting anything resembling a fair trial.

ACCUSED

Trimble is accused of telephoning the St. Paul police in May, 1970, reporting a woman about to give birth, which brought patrolman James Sackett to a house where he was killed by a shot fired from across the street.

Trimble has been held in

Ramsey County jail for well over a year in lieu of \$50,000 bail under conditions that can only be described as barbaric. She is subjected to vaginal examinations for dope and weapons each time she leaves her cell. She has been denied medical treatment of her own choosing for eye and kidney infections she contracted. She is not allowed to see or touch her two year old baby.

When she was arrested she was working with the Inner City Youth League in St. Paul. This group has been struggling to unite ghetto youth and has therefore come under intense repression from the police. Three other members of the ICYL, Gary Hogan, Larry Clark and Ronald Reed have been arrested and/or tried on a series of trumped up charges.

St. Paul police trampled all over Connie Trimble's rights in the course of their investigation, setting precedents that endanger the rights of all workers and youth. The major piece of evidence, a voice print, was obtained without her consent.

None of this is of course any deterrent to the prosecution which is out for a conviction of a Black militant. The case is a political frameup from beginning to end.

The defense attorney, Thomson, is however limiting the defense to a solely legal and democratic level. That is why he allowed the criminal change of venue to Rochester. The pretext used by the Judge who ordered the change was that 2500 large buttons saying "Connie Trimble—Not Guilty" had been ordered by the ICYL.

Brooklyn YS Defy JDL Invasion

BY A BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENT

NEW YORK—On Monday February 7, the Young Socialists held their first meeting at Brooklyn College. The meeting was called to take up the question of Rockefeller's proposed budget cuts and plans for tuition at all CUNY schools. The Workers League-Young Socialists have begun an offensive against these threats to free education and open admission through the campaign for election to Student Government.

The meeting had just begun when thirty members of the Jewish Defense League stormed up to the door attempting to gain entrance so that they could break it up. The Young Socialists were prepared for such an attack and had a defense squad posted at the door.

However, in the course of the confrontation, the role of the Brooklyn College Administration became very clear. They had come to the meeting to insure the "democratic" right of all students to attend all meetings. Of course, they were not present one-half hour before when the JDL held a closed emergency meeting to plan their disruption of the YS meeting.

The Administration had pulled out all its heavy-weights for the occasion including the dean and the chief of the security force. They made it explicit that if we refused to allow the JDL into our meeting, they would take legal action against us, would bar us individually and organizationally from the campus and invalidate our election campaign.

It must be noted that it is this same administration which is complicit with the budget cuts and the attempts to eliminate the SEEK program entirely. It is clear that these authorities will try to do everything they can to use the JDL against the threat the YS poses to their system. They refused to allow us to search the disrupters while it is a well-known fact that these same forces stock-pile dynamite, carry weapons and have been allegedly connected with the bombings of the Soviet Embassy and the death of a worker two weeks ago in the explosion at S. Hurok's office.

It must be made absolutely clear that the YS admitted the JDL under protest and on the basis that they maintain the discipline of the chairman.

One student raised the question of why the YS constantly attacks the JDL. A member of the YS explained that the JDL is no ordinary religious or cultural group and that the material roots of fascism must be understood and fought against ruthlessly by the working class.

She stated that in the period of economic crisis that exists today the working class and the ruling class come into collision. At this point, the capitalists are forced to go over to open reliance on fascist groups to prop up their decaying system.

She stated that it is in this period that fascist groups come forward which seek to divide the working class and to generate the frenzy that exists among the middle class into an open attack against the working class.

At this point in the meeting, the chairman made it clear that the YS had no intention of debating

with fascist groups but that our purpose was to build a youth organization capable of taking a lead in the struggles of the working class to bring that class to power.

One student asked: "How can the students stop the budget cuts

and play a role in the struggles of the workers?"

The only way forward today is through the mass mobilization of all the youth against these attacks basing themselves on the strength of the trade unions.



Sharp discussion took place after Brooklyn College Young Socialist meeting which JDL had unsuccessfully attempted to disrupt.

Liberal Teachers Sabotage Jefferson YS Struggle

BY KIKI MENDEZ

NEW YORK—The opposition of the liberals to the struggle of the youth is sharply expressed at Thomas Jefferson High School.

The Young Socialists have been under constant harassment by the school administration. Every tactic is being used in order to undermine the functioning of the YS. On the other hand, those student organizations that follow reformist policies, like the Afro-American club, are encouraged by "liberal" teachers and the administration.

The liberals at Jefferson are scared of the Marxist youth movement. They support all the nationalist and reformist clubs that push racism and divert the class struggle. These liberals have always told the youth that writing to "progressive" politicians would stop the attacks on their rights and halt the proposed budget cuts. But when the youth started to build the Young Socialists with the understanding that nothing would stop the capitalists outside of the mass mobilization of the working class, the liberals became reactionary. They began plotting with the school administration to suppress the activities of the YS.

BETRAYAL

Those very teachers who are now active in the witchhunt against the YS have a long history of betraying the youth at Jefferson. One of them sided with the nationalists when they refused to invite political

prisoner Juan Farinas to speak on Black Solidarity Day. He fought the attempt of a YS member to turn the school newspaper toward political questions. This teacher also tried to have YS members removed from the leadership class.

In the dispute concerning the right of the YS to sell and distribute the *Bulletin*, the teacher assisted the administration in its attempt to avoid the entire issue. When the question of leafletting arose, he tried to ban that YS activity by accusing our organization of inciting eruptions at Jefferson.

Another teacher tried to prevent the YS from being chartered at Jefferson; one of the tactics he used was postponing the GO meeting that was to discuss the establishment of the Jefferson YS. He even fought against the decision of the GO president to discuss the YS at a regular meeting.

EXPOSE

The fight being waged by the YS to defend its right to organize at Jefferson is important for youth all across the country. The role of the liberals at this high school is no different from the role they play everywhere else. They are trying to tie the youth to capitalism.

Only by exposing these reactionaries can the YS be built.

Young Socialist

YSA Takes Splitting Action In Face Of JDL Offensive

Last week at Brooklyn College, the Young Socialist Alliance revealed their role in relation to the fight against fascism and in defense of the gains of the youth. Not only did they demonstrate their complete capitulation to the middle class, but even a reliance on reactionary forces.

Student Government elections were being held on campus, and for the past year the neo-fascist Jewish Defense League had dominated the Student Government. Rather than even raise a fight against the CUNY (City University of New York) cutbacks and threats of tuition, they have sought to whip up a racist and right wing hysteria to split up any fighting unity of students.

The Young Socialists chose to run for Student Government to deepen the fight against the fascists and budget cuts, and to bring our own independent program to mobilize masses of students. At the same time, we understood the critical importance of the unity of students, even on a minimal programmatic agreement on a fight against the cuts. Therefore, we gave critical support to the PRA (Puerto Rican Alliance) and YSA candidates. The YSA opposed such support as "That won't help us reach the 31,000 students out there."



D. Weisman (right) of Workers League State and P. Massas of Revolutionary State.

The logic of this opportunist position is to ally with the right wing forces that might have some strength on campus. This is what occurred. When the YS released a flyer urging critical support to the PRA and YSA on the basis of a sharp fight against the budget cuts and fascism, the YSA attempted to stop it. They went so far as to request a member of the Elections Commission (and the reactionary Libertarian Alliance) to stop us from leafletting.

The YSA has shown where it stands. It seeks to construct a middle class movement, compromising every struggle. Within the peace movement, they seek every possible alliance with the liberal capitalists. Yet at a time when unity against fascism is most critical they go so far as to side with reactionaries, against the right of a working class tendency to distribute literature.

This is the meaning of "mass independent movements" the YSA is always shouting about. It is a bloc with a section of the capitalists against the working class.

The class lines are being drawn. The greater the movement of the working class, the more the YSA runs into the arms of the ruling class. The only defense of the workers and youth is through the construction of a mass Trotskyist movement, in the sharpest battle against the betrayals of the SWP-YSA. This is what the Young Socialists are doing.

Penn State Cuts Out Food Stamp Program

BY A PENN STATE
STUDENT

STATE COLLEGE—Almost half of the Penn State students now receiving food stamp assistance will be cut off as of March 1st.

Already burdened with tremendous rent increases, tuition that has risen from \$150 to \$265 per semester over the last four years, and unemployment upwards of 25%, many of those students will be forced to either drop out of school altogether or try to get yet another loan.

The head of the Centre County assistance program cynically announced that this cutback is to "eliminate abuses." One student said the cut means "peanut butter and jelly instead of hamburgers and hot dogs." Such "abuses" cannot be tolerated by

the ruling class in this period.

Students living in State College are forced to sign year long leases and pay huge damage deposits. One graduate student just cut from the program said she could not break her lease to move into something cheaper, "but then all the rates are about the same—high."

With as many as 300 applicants for each job opening in State College, chances of finding work are growing slimmer. The university just announced that all plans for future construction at the University Park Campus and its Commonwealth campuses have been "temporarily" halted, meaning more layoffs for construction workers in the area.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Counterproductive?

UAW President Leonard Woodcock's suit against the Pay Board's action against the aerospace workers contract is a complete fraud. It is planned to prevent the ranks of the UAW from taking industrial action against the Pay Board. It is his cover for remaining on this Board while it proceeds to rip up contracts and slash wage increases.

Woodcock and his fellow bureaucrats sat on this Board as it denied to the aerospace workers the increase they had won in the last contract. He sat glued to his chair as his own rank and file demanded strike action. A strike, Woodcock contends, would be "counterproductive." With complete arrogance towards the aerospace workers, Woodcock declared: "At no time were we threatening a strike. We had no argument with the companies."

Well maybe Mr. Woodcock did not have any argument with the bosses but the thousands of aerospace workers who demonstrated in San Francisco against the Board did. It is their wages which are being slashed. But Mr. Woodcock does not begin from this but with not wanting "to impose a strike" that might hurt the profits of the aerospace bosses.

What Woodcock and the rest of the trade union bureaucracy refuse to do is to get labor off the Board and to mobilize the labor movement in the only action which can defeat the freeze, that is a general strike.

They are completely supported by the Communist Party which claims that Woodcock's suit "opens a new fight on Nixon's Pay Board."

Nixon Uses Jobless

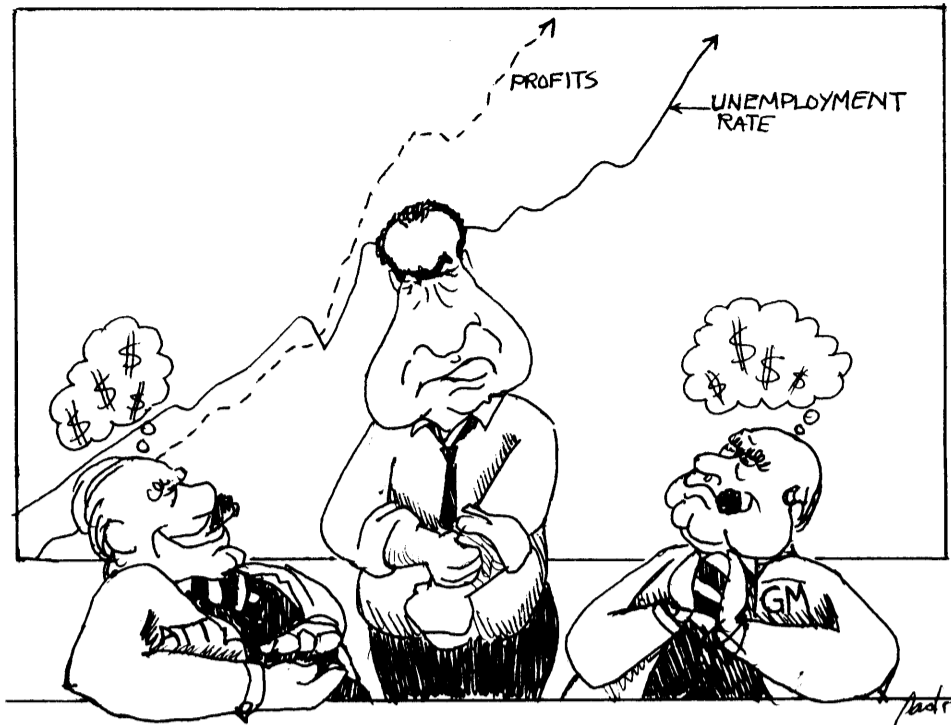
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keep their jobs to take cuts in pay.

The trade union leadership has done absolutely nothing in the face of this. They have collaborated with the employers and the government and sat back while their membership has been cut in half.

The Young Socialists are mounting a campaign for a massive demonstration in New York on March 29th of workers, youth and unemployed to tell the bosses and their parties that the working people and the youth are not going to take their breadlines and their plans to starve those who have produced everything.

The Young Socialists are demanding that those who have the power, those who are now working, must take action in the fight against unemployment. The trade unions must organize the unemployed in a political fight against the government.



"Roll up your sleeves and increase productivity."

What we think While Yevtushenko Sips Champagne

For those in the Soviet Union who have dedicated their lives to the struggle against Stalinism, the past month has been burdened with relentless persecutions. Vladimir Bukovsky has once again been stripped of his freedom, and is making the time-honored journey of Russian revolutionaries—to the dreaded wasteland of the Soviet Union. His trial was not an isolated incident; the ruling bureaucracy has declared war against every opposition element within the country. A ruthless crackdown is in progress against all underground publications. One of the leading "samizdat" journals, the *Chronicle of Current Affairs*, has been denounced by the Kremlin; and now the bloodhounds of the KGB are out hunting.

For the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the past month has posed no special hardship. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case. He has come to the United States and indulges in all the comforts normally offered to an international celebrity on tour. The doors of every town house in Manhattan and Washington open before him. The evening talk shows compete for his attention; the arbiters of what passes for culture flatter him; and university professors invite the poet into their classes. Yevtushenko never fails to find the proper platitude for every occasion: "Ah, you see, flowers are better than bullets." Yevtushenko left that precious bit of wisdom with students in South Carolina.

The poet has not only proved to be a past-master of the kaffe-klatz. In

the Felt Forum of Madison Square Garden which holds 5,000, Yevtushenko won critical accolades from the audience and the bourgeois press for the poetry he recited.

But we are neither fooled nor moved by the carefully staged antics of Yevtushenko. The only response that this poet can arouse within the working class is disgust. Yevtushenko comes to this country as the cunning agent of Stalinism. His assignment in the United States has nothing to do with art and everything to do with politics.

It should be clear to every worker why the American ruling class—normally offended by the very thought of culture—does all it can to publicize Yevtushenko. As the working class is tearing itself free from the illusion of peaceful coexistence, Yevtushenko is attempting to instill new life within the dying Stalinist dogma by setting it to free verse. The importance of Yevtushenko is not lost upon the bourgeoisie.

It was not only through his presence at cocktail parties at the mansions of America's ruling families and in the White House that Yevtushenko sought to obscure the reality of the class struggle. He employed whatever talent he has in the service of Stalinism. The message of his poetry does not flow from an inner inspiration, but from the directives of the Politburo. The muse that led Yevtushenko to compose the line "Russia and America, swim closer!" lives in the Kremlin.

In his appearance at the Felt Forum, Yevtushenko introduced his

poetry by comparing humanity to "one village" in which one street is Russia and another is the United States. And then he added that he felt like a child of both streets. What a fine description of the Stalinist's social mentality!

In order to become the Kremlin's special ambassador of class collaboration, Yevtushenko had to prove his loyalty to the bureaucracy. For a while, he tailored his criticism of Stalinism along the lines of Krushchev's secret speech. But as bolder voices were raised against the bureaucracy itself, Yevtushenko spoke out against "extreme" criticism.

Right now, the bourgeoisie in this country is trying to portray Yevtushenko as a spokesman of the Soviet opposition, as a man with real revolutionary sympathies. Literary critics continually compare him to the poet Mayakovsky. What an outrageous fraud! It is an insult to the great "poet of the Revolution" who recited at the battle front and in the factories—who dedicated his art to the cause of the proletariat. The toothless tiger who hob-nobs with the rich and shakes the hand of Henry Kissinger has nothing in common with Mayakovsky.

The descendants of Mayakovsky—Daniel and Sinyavsky—are victimized by the bureaucracy they defy. Only the toadies like Yevtushenko are sent abroad to sip champagne with the enemy class. As Solzhenitsyn has written: "No regime has ever loved its great writers, only its minor ones."

Editor's Notebook

Jonathan Swift, the eighteenth century satirist, bitterly ridiculed the British absentee landlords' oppression of the Irish people who had forced thousands of men, women and children into starvation. In "A Modest Proposal" Swift translated England's exploitation of Ireland into cannibalism. The "Modest Proposal" was to have all the children of the poor in Ireland roasted and served up to the squires. This would lessen the number of people and be very profitable for the "Absentees."

Of course there was a great outrage at Swift's essay and many denounced him as mad to even suggest that the lofty lords would do such things.

But Swift was just ahead of his time. Close to a hundred years later a Rev. Malthus emerged in bourgeois circles with another

"modest proposal." According to Malthus the problem in the world was "surplus population." Surplus for the Reverend were those that capitalism forced out of production and into poverty. This "superfluity" should be considered a crime and punished with starvation. Malthus was not adverse to pestilences, wars and massacres to rid the bourgeoisie of this burden.

Marx and Engels destroyed the Malthusians over a hundred years ago. Marx termed Malthus' theory a "libel against the human race."

But now a hundred years later some latter day worshippers of Malthus, among them some "eminent" British scientists, have revived his reactionary theories. So desperate are these men to preserve capitalism. Like Malthus these sham scientists

put the blame for the fantastic unemployment rate and crisis, not on capitalism and its profit hungry masters but on the working class.

The modest proposal these gentlemen present is to eliminate 50% of the population and return man to the state of barbarism, wiping out technology and forcing the working class to accept a lower standard of life.

Two weeks after these "scientists" announced their "Blueprint for Survival," the Tories in Britain and Ireland employed their own Malthusianism by massacring innocent working people who are fighting against conditions of unemployment, poverty and starvation created by capitalism.

It was at this point that the pundits of the *New York Times*, not wanting to be left out of the

insights of this "major intellectual current" jumped on the Malthusian bandwagon. The only problem the *Times* foresees is getting the working class to accept it all.

"The current bickering in this country over the minor dislocations caused by wage and price controls provides a basis for pessimism," to implement such a blueprint says the *Times*.

According to the editors it would be better to take even the extreme sacrifices proposed by the British scientists than to wait for famines and other catastrophes. No doubt other catastrophes the *Times* has in mind are revolutions.

The *Times* is admonishing its capitalist backers to move fast before the anger of the working class over the "minor dislocations" gets out of hand.

'A Modest Proposal'

But as Marx said in relation to the Malthusians of his time:

"If...the problem is not to make the 'surplus population' useful...but merely to let it starve to death in the least objectionable way and to prevent its having too many children, this, of course, is simple enough, provided the surplus population perceives its own superfluousness and takes kindly to starvation. There is however in spite of the violent exertions of the humane bourgeoisie, no immediate prospect of its succeeding in bringing about such a disposition among the workers. The workers have taken it into their heads that they, with their busy hands, are the necessary, and the rich capitalists, who do nothing the surplus population."

A very modest proposal would be to get rid of this "surplus."

Capitulation to bourgeois nationalism has been a key element in the Socialist Workers Party's desertion of Marxism.

The SWP's adaptation to nationalism is based upon the same method as its theories of new radicalization and structural reform, and its embracing of Mandel's theory of neocapitalism.

The pragmatic method of beginning with the surface events and from immediate and tactical considerations has been applied with special vigor by the revisionists to the question of nationalism.

Without proceeding from an international strategy, an understanding of the crisis and the development of world capitalism, there can be absolutely no understanding of nationalism or of anything else. This is exactly what the revisionists discard. They begin with nationalism as such, with the growth of certain nationalist movements or moods.

This is the way the SWP has approached the question, from Cuba to the

from start to finish. His "documented study of Lenin's writings on nationalism" is a complete fraud, and extremely revealing for what it leaves out as well as for what it presents.

At the 1971 Young Socialist Alliance convention the revisionists laid claim to having the largest research library "on the left." Research facilities are of course extremely important. As we shall show, however, all the research in the world cannot turn Lenin into a supporter of bourgeois nationalism. Perhaps that is why it has taken the revisionists nearly three years to answer the position of the Workers League as presented in the pamphlet *Black Nationalism and Marxist Theory*, by Tim Wohlforth.

In order to answer Thomas we will have to do what the revisionists are incapable of—present Lenin's actual views and the development of these views through the early years of the Communist International, and concretely apply Lenin's method today.

LENIN AND THE NEGRO

Thomas claims that Lenin saw the Negroes in the U.S. as a nation. "Wohlforth and others who claim that the Leninist approach to the national question denies support to the Black struggle as a

favorable conditions for the development of capitalism in America and especially in view of the speed of this development, nowhere do the vast national differences shrink so fast and so radically as here into a single American nation!"

What we have here is only a brief treatment of the Negro question by Lenin in passing, in an incomplete article written in 1917. Even that article places emphasis on the development of American capitalism which leads to a shrinking of national differences. The real question, however, is what was Lenin's mature view of the question, when as part of the leadership of the Communist International, the question was discussed and decided upon?

There is only one other quote used by Thomas, and it is also the only one which has been previously used by others seeking to prove that Lenin supported a theory of a Negro nation. This is from the "Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question" written by Lenin in preparation for the Second Congress of the Comintern, in June, 1920. Thomas quotes a passage from the draft theses which ends as follows:

"...All Communist parties should render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and

which discussed it. John Reed, author of *Ten Days That Shook the World* and a member of the American delegation, gave the report to the committee and another to the Congress.

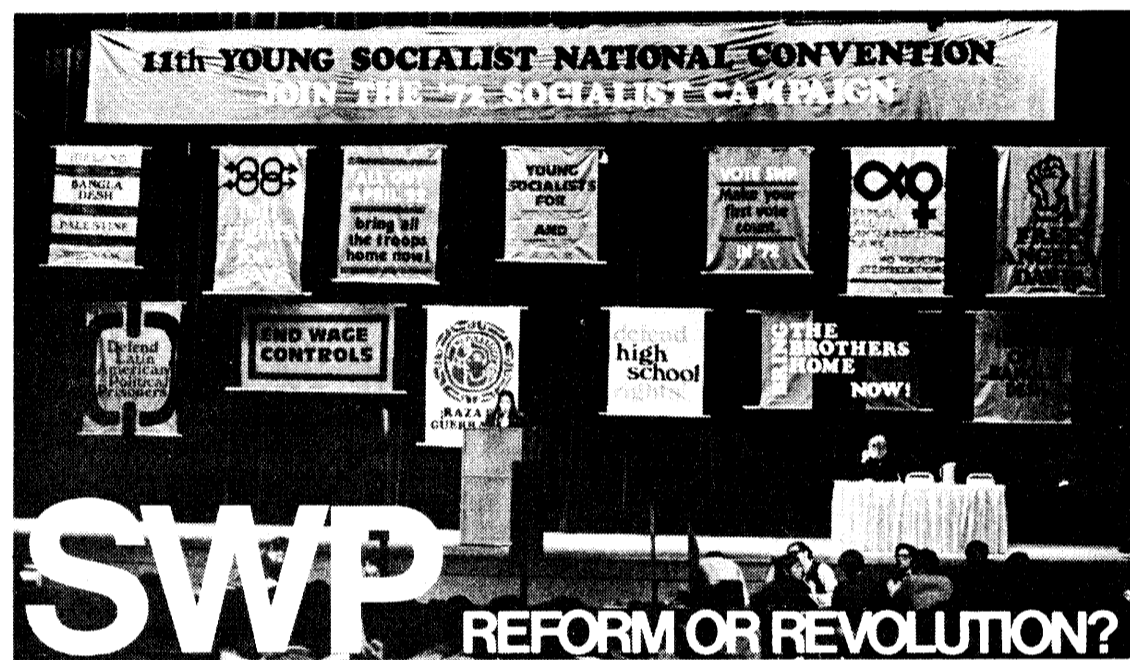
Reed defined the Negro movement as: "...That of a strong racial and social movement, and of a proletarian labor movement advancing very fast in class consciousness."

He specifically denied that the question of self-determination applied to the Blacks in America, but insisted that the Communist Party must intervene in the movement for social and political equality.

According to Theodore Draper: "There is no indication that Lenin or anyone else disagreed with him (Reed), though we know that Lenin did not suffer deviationists gladly and that Reed in particular brought down on himself a storm of criticism on other questions."

In 1922, at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, "Theses on the Negro Question" were introduced by the U.S. delegation. These emphasized the importance of minority workers in the class struggle and the international character of the struggle and of racism and imperialism:

"The Communist International notes



3 New Radicalization & National Question

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BY FRED MUELLER

Middle East, to the U.S. Using this method they have uncritically supported bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists both in the colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in the advanced countries.

At the same time so-called "revolutionary nationalism" has been used as a cover to hide their break from an international strategy and from the fight for leadership of the working class and for power. In this, as we shall show in detail, they have followed in the footsteps of Stalin and the Stalinist parties.

The working class and peasantry have suffered defeat after defeat as a consequence of the policy of reliance upon the bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalists. This is the lesson of Bolivia and the Middle East. At the same time Black nationalism in the U.S. has been exposed as a completely bankrupt and middle class movement, misleading workers and youth and openly in alliance with the ruling class.

Against this background of bankruptcy and betrayal the SWP seeks to defend its theory and political line in support of every variety of nationalism. The latest attempt is an article by Tony Thomas in the January 1972 issue of the *International Socialist Review*, entitled "Lenin's Real Views on Nationalism."

Thomas accuses his opponents of falsely claiming that Lenin did not consider the slogan of self-determination as applicable to the advanced imperialist countries, and of falsely stating that Lenin opposed nationalism.

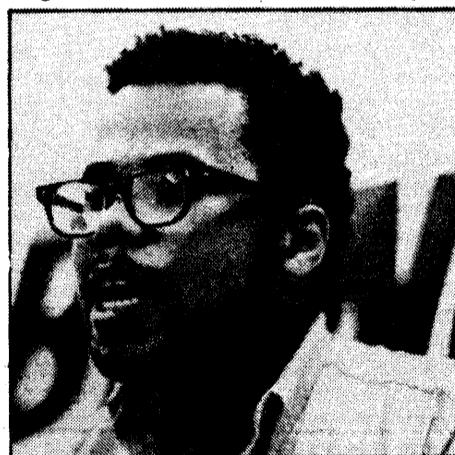
He specifically charges with holding these views and distorting Lenin's views, "the reformist Communist Party" and "sectarian ultra-leftists like the Progressive Labor Party and the Workers League..."

According to Thomas, Lenin was a supporter of the theory that the Negroes in America were a nation, a supporter of nationalism, and a supporter of demands such as Black control of the Black community.

Thomas' claims are completely false

national struggle forget Lenin's own conclusions."

Two quotations from Lenin are produced as evidence. The first is from an unfinished article on national minorities and nationalities around the world. This work was interrupted by the February Revolution in 1917, and never completed. Only fragments remain. They were first pub-



Tony Thomas

lished in 1935, under Stalin, and in English for the first time in 1946.

Thomas quotes from this article as follows:

"In the United States, the Negroes...account for only 11.1 percent of (the population).

"They should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, premonopoly capitalism of 1860-70 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish-American War of 1898..."

But he omits the following, only two sentences further in the manuscript:

"As is known, especially in view of the

underprivileged nations (for example, Ireland, the American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies."

The official text of the theses as adopted by the Second Congress, however, reads as follows:

"Communist parties must give direct support to the revolutionary movements among the dependent nations and those without equal rights (e.g., in Ireland, among the American Negroes, etc.) and in the colonies."

This translation is based on the official text as published at the time of the Congress itself, in German and Russian.

The draft theses were generally published before the opening of the Congress, then debated in plenary session, referred back to committee, revised in some cases and reintroduced and voted upon.

Thomas' quotation is from the draft theses, dated June 5, 1920, and in an English translation made years after the Congress by Stalinist editors of Lenin's *Collected Works*. This translation dates from the period after Stalin had decreed that the Blacks in America were a nation.

The version we have quoted, on the other hand, is from the official text, as we have noted, and is dated July 28.

Thus, if Lenin did formulate the passage in such a way as to leave ambiguous the question of whether the Negroes in the U.S. were a nation this was clarified in the theses themselves, which present them as an example of "those without equal rights."

So here too Thomas gives a distorted account in order to support what has not and cannot be proved: that Lenin considered the Negroes a nation.

Although this is the end of Thomas' arguments on the subject, it is by no means the end of the subject. The same 1920 Congress of the Comintern at which the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question" were adopted included, under this general heading, a separate discussion of the Negro question in America. Lenin himself headed the committee

with satisfaction the resistance of the exploited Negro to the exploiters' attack, for the enemy of his race and the enemy of the white workers are one and the same—capitalism and imperialism...

"1. The fourth congress recognizes the necessity of supporting every form of the Negro movement which undermines or weakens capitalism, or hampers its further penetration.

"2. The Communist International will fight for the equality of the white and Black races, for equal wages and equal political and social rights.

"3. The Communist International will use every means at its disposal to force the trade unions to admit Black workers, or, where this right already exists on paper, to conduct special propaganda for the entry of Negroes into the unions. If this should prove impossible, the Communist International will organize the Negroes into trade unions of their own and use united front tactics to compel their admission.

"4. The Communist International will take steps immediately to convene a world Negro congress or conference."

Under Lenin, the Communist International did not consider the Blacks in America to be a nation. At every opportunity it fought to turn the American movement towards the Negro workers, as the most exploited section of the working class. Special consideration was given to this matter as key to penetrating the American working class and building a party rooted in its most oppressed layers. As we shall see Trotsky was later to take up this same fight with his supporters when, after the degeneration of the Comintern, they took up the banner of Bolshevism in the fight for the Fourth International.

Thomas not only distorts the quotations, he ignores the actual history of the revolutionary movement. He ignores the actual policies which were based upon revolutionary strategy as elaborated by the first four Congresses of the Communist International.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Trot-

sky the Comintern developed a strategy aiming at the conquest of the masses in preparation for the conquest of power. It sought to understand the Negro question within this framework. Thomas cannot even mention this history because this is not his framework.

What is his position? Is Thomas the first one to distort Lenin in this way? Absolutely not. He is simply utilizing the exact same quotes used by the Stalinists for 30 years in order to "prove" that Lenin was a supporter of the theory of the Negro nation.

This was explained in detail by Theodore Draper in his book, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, published in 1960. Nearly twelve years ago he explained how the Stalinists used these quotes, how they were taken out of context or mistranslated.

Is Thomas unacquainted with this? He not only ignores the whole history of the Comintern in his "documented study," he not only rakes up the same quotations used over the years by the most bitter opponents of Leninism, the Stalinists, he also ignores the exposure of these same quotations made nearly twelve years ago.

STALINISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM

Far from the Workers League being in agreement with the Communist Party on this question, it is Thomas and the rest of the revisionists who are carrying forward the line first elaborated by Stalin and defended by his American stooges. It is Thomas who goes back to the Stalinist arguments and the method of distorted and incomplete quotation as well.

This is no accident. The whole development of revisionism today within the Trotskyist movement is back in the direction of Stalinism. This was the path followed by Pablo in the early 1950s and it is the path which the SWP is forced upon today by its refusal to fight for the Marxist method and principles.

Not only did the first four Congresses of the Comintern not regard the Negro question in America as a national question, but it was the Sixth Congress, held in 1928, four and a half years after Lenin's death, which classed the Negroes as a nation. The inspirer of this theory was none other than Stalin himself.

The theory of the Black Belt was elaborated and adopted at the Sixth Congress. The Negro Commission at the Congress was headed by the faithful Finnish Stalinist, Otto Kuusinen.

The editors of *The Communist International Documents 1919-1943* state the following:

"The Comintern's decisions on propaganda among Negroes marked a departure from its earlier policy. In the American party platform adopted in 1925 the Negro question had been treated on orthodox capitalist-labor lines, the Negro bourgeoisie being placed in the same category as white capitalists. After the sixth congress Negroes were redefined as an oppressed nation; American CP propaganda treated the 'Black belt' as a nation requiring its own national revolutionary movement."

The Comintern stated:
 "...If the slogan of self-determination of the Negroes is to be put in force it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes...Complete right of self-determination must include the right to governmental separation...The Communist Party must stand...for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt."

This theory was never more than a completely artificial imposition of Lenin's slogan of self-determination in a situation where it was completely inapplicable.

The Stalinists tried to show that the Negro fitted the definition of a nation, according to Stalin's formula referring to a different or common language, separate territory, economic life and psychological make-up. It was completely sterile from the beginning. Language, territory, economy and culture were taken as four lifeless metaphysical criteria. The American Negro was taken not within the framework of the development of American and world capitalism, but simply in order to fit a schematic definition.

The Stalinists claimed that the Negro shared a common language and occupied a

common territory in the so-called Black Belt of Southern counties populated by a majority or large minority of Blacks. The common economic life was seen as the sharecropping system. The vast numbers of Blacks that had already migrated to the North and the cities were brushed aside. The large numbers of Black workers developing class consciousness and striving for class organization were ignored.

Contrary to Stalinist dogma, the American Negro was not and is not a nation. He has no common territory or economy.

The Civil War, the second bourgeois revolution, ended slavery. The dominant bourgeoisie of the North fought slavery in order to extend capitalist relations into the South and West. After the Civil War, the capitalist class was able to go through a tremendous expansion so that by World War I the United States changed from a predominantly agricultural country which exported agricultural goods and imported manufactured goods into the world's mightiest imperialist power, an industrial country which replaced England in world dominance. This above all was the significance of the Civil War for without the destruction of slavery such a development could not have taken place. This is why Marx and Engels recognized the progressive character of the North's war against the South despite the com-

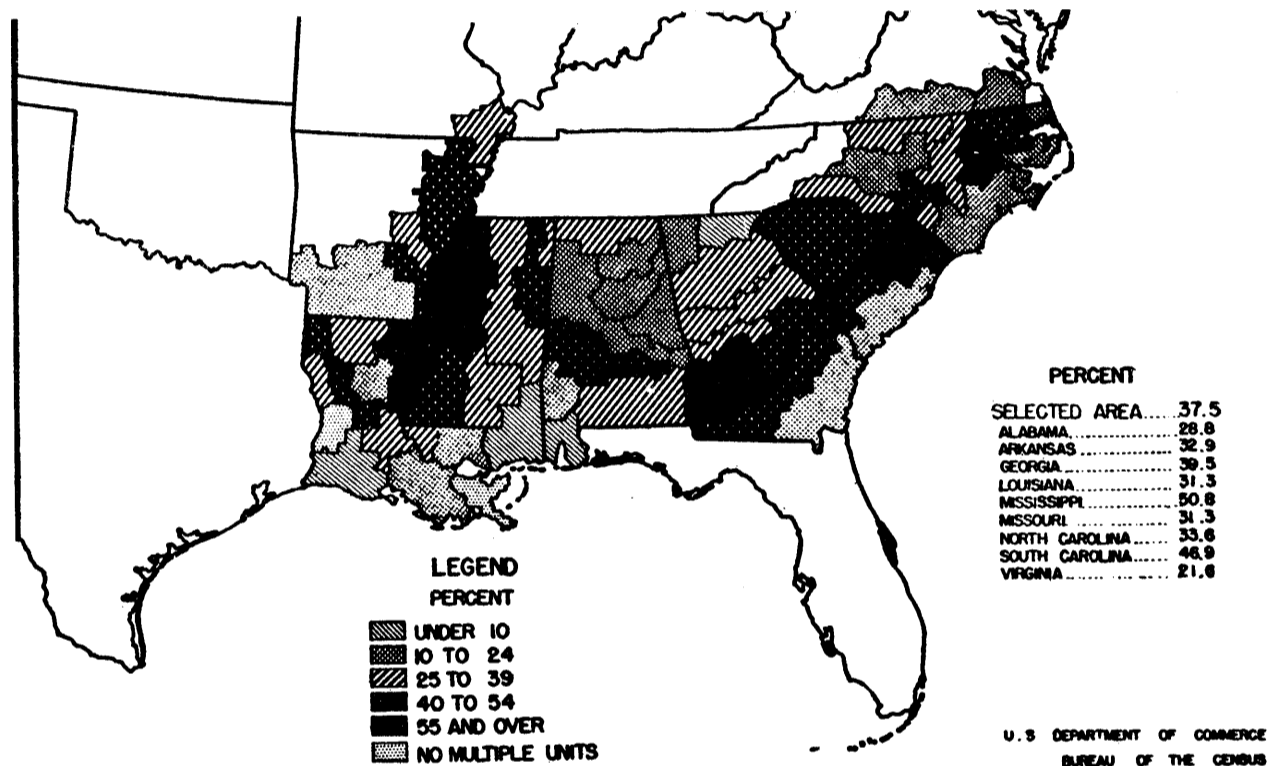
largest industrial cities. The Black Belt theory is thus more completely removed than ever from the real conditions of life of the Black population.

What becomes of the Black Belt theory? It was defended for 30 years by the Stalinists. Their complete contempt for theory was expressed in a double line during the 1930s and 40s, when they continued to push self-determination at the same time as they defended the Popular Front with Roosevelt.

During the patriotic honeymoon with the capitalist government in World War II, when Browder announced the dissolution of the Communist Party itself into the Communist Political Association, the self-determination theory was briefly dropped. With the removal of Browder after World War II, the theory was resurrected, and not finally dropped until 1958.

From the beginning the Stalinists encountered great difficulties with this theory. Since it corresponded less and less to the actual movement and development, they were never able to give it meaning in struggle. A large majority of Black CP members resisted the theory. Draper reports that about two years elapsed before the new line could be put into effect. Many of the early Negro members of the CP left the party in this period.

The successes of the Stalinists in win-



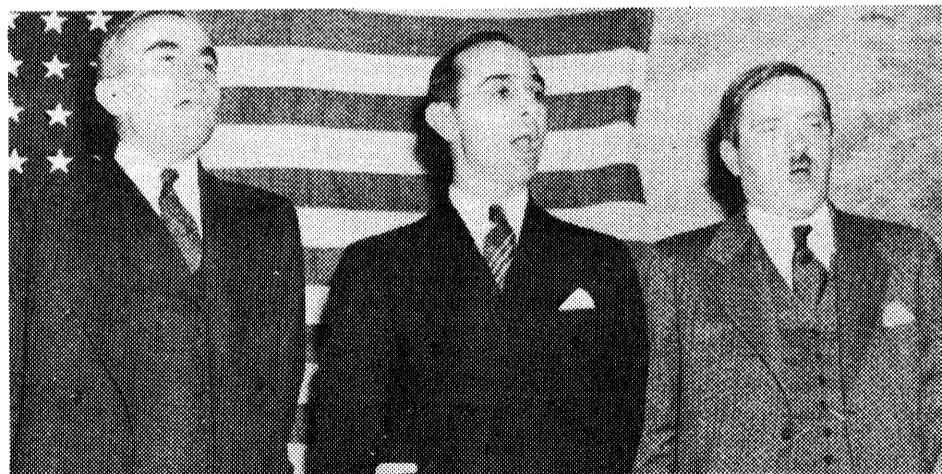
BLACK BELT AS CP SAW IT IN 1945. AREA SHADED FOR OVER 40% IS PLANTATION REGION.

promising nature of the capitalists in relation to slavery.

It was this industrial development which broke down the conditions for any national development of the Blacks or any other section of the population. Of course this process proceeded unevenly with the partial preservation of the plantation system through sharecropping and a system of racism and segregation not only in the South but also in the North. However, the sharecropping system, which was very backward economically, went in decay particularly after World War I as did the whole of cotton culture. This and the general industrial development led to massive migrations of Blacks from the South to the North and within the South to the cities.

The Black Belt theory was thus elaborated at a time when the trend was in the opposite direction. But the Stalinists stuck to this slogan for many years. In 1948 Harry Haywood wrote *Negro Liberation*, which sought to defend the theory of the Black Belt. Twenty years after it was first proposed, Haywood tried to show that it still existed and that it was not shrinking.

This becomes a complete absurdity. Though the pace of migration slowed somewhat during the depression of the 1930s, it accelerated rapidly in the period after the Second World War. According to the 1970 census, 50% of the Black population is concentrated in 50 cities, including 20 in the South. The last few decades have seen the industrialization of the South at a rapid pace and the growth of a large Southern working class, including many millions of Black workers. The vast majority of the Black population nationally is concentrated (over 75%) in the



ning Black workers in the 1930s can be attributed not to the Black Belt theory but to the aggressive fight against racism and for social and economic equality waged by the CP, as well as the prestige of the Communist Party derived from the October Revolution itself.

In its propaganda the CP stressed issues such as housing, relief and jobs. According to Cannon, the CP was able to make gains despite its theory of self-determination:

"The expansion of communist influence in the Negro movement in the Thirties happened despite the fact that one of the new slogans imposed on the party by the Comintern—the slogan of 'self-determination'—about which the most to-do was made and the most theses and resolutions written, and which was even touted as the main slogan, never seemed to fit the actual situation....When the party adopted the slogan of 'self-determination,' it did not drop its aggressive agitation for Negro equality and Negro rights on every front.

On the contrary, it intensified and extended this agitation. That's what the Negroes wanted to hear, and that's what made the difference. It was the CP's agitation and action under the latter slogan that brought the results, without the help, and probably despite, the unpopular 'self-determination' slogan and all the theses written to justify it."

The question was not simply one of getting no immediate response. The slogan did not correspond to either the present or the future of the Negro.

When the Stalinists finally dropped the Black Belt theory in 1958, it was not in order to assess it from a Marxist standpoint. This was completely impossible for a party which had followed every twist and turn of the bureaucracy for thirty years. The theory was dropped not for Marxism but to go over more consistently to a policy of adaptation to the liberals and the Negro preachers such as King.

As we have said, the Black Belt theory represented at least an attempt at a justifi-

fication of the application of self-determination to the race question in the U.S. On what other basis can the Negroes be considered a nation?

Thomas says nothing about this, confining himself to rehashing the Stalinist falsifications of Lenin's position without even giving credit to the original source.

Elsewhere, George Breitman has dealt with the Black Belt theory. In 1967 he wrote that it was an example of an "arbitrary caricature" of Leninism. His main criticism was that the Stalinists bureaucratically decided the question of self-determination.

It is significant that at this time (1967) Breitman refers, though only in a footnote, to Draper's exposure of the ques-

It is important that we understand the historical meaning of the Black Belt theory. It was more than a mistake, more than a harebrained or bureaucratic conception that entered Stalin's head. It flowed from the whole method of Stalinism and was an integral part of the left turn of the so-called Third Period of the Comintern.

The 1923-28 period, after Lenin's last illness and death, was a period of defeat and disaster for the working class internationally. In the Soviet Union the kulak gained strength and all the gains of the October Revolution were called into question by the growing economic crisis and the division between town and country. Internationally the right opportunist

The denial of international strategy went hand in hand with the suicidal ultra-left policy of forced collectivization in the USSR. The Third Period represented a final break with any Marxist policy, and was to lead directly, in 1933, to the victory of Hitler over the mighty German working class without a struggle.

It was the victory of Hitler which forced Trotsky to conclude that the Communist International could no longer be reformed and that it was necessary to fight for the Fourth International.

The Black Belt theory was part and parcel of this break from Leninist strategy behind the cover of ultra-left formulas. The revisionists' theory of Black nationalism serves the same purpose today. It is based upon the artificial formula of self-determination divorced from strategy. This is the method which drives the revisionists into the arms of the Stalinists politically and even to the level of stooping to Stalinist falsification.

SELF-DETERMINATION IN ADVANCED COUNTRIES

Thomas tries to use Lenin's slogan of self-determination for oppressed nations to confuse the issue and to turn Lenin into a supporter of nationalism.

First of all, Lenin saw the demand for self-determination as a bourgeois democratic demand, as a part of the bourgeois revolution. This did not mean that the working class would not support this demand, under circumstances where the bourgeois revolution had not yet been completed. But this was subordinate to the class struggle, to the struggle for socialism, the very survival of the working class.

The bourgeois revolution was fundamentally completed in the advanced imperialist countries. This did not mean that no democratic tasks remained unsolved. With the decay of capitalism, moreover, the democratic rights of the working class were constantly more and more restricted and attacked by the ruling class. That is in the nature of capitalism itself, and sets the stage for the socialist revolution.

But this is not the same as the situation facing the working class and the peasantry in the semicolonial countries and the more backward capitalist countries. In countries of belated capitalist development the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois revolution could only be ac-

tionally developed the bourgeois democratic national movements and intensified the national struggle. The tasks of the proletariat in these countries, both in completing their bourgeois democratic reforms, and rendering assistance to the socialist revolution in other countries, cannot be carried out without championing the right of nations to self-determination. The most difficult and most important task in this is to unite the class struggle of the workers of the oppressor nations with that of the workers of the oppressed nations.

"Thirdly, the semi-colonial countries, such as China, Persia and Turkey, and all the colonies, which have a combined population of 1,000 million. In these countries the bourgeois democratic movements either have hardly begun, or have still a long way to go. Socialists must not only demand the unconditional and immediate liberation of the colonies without compensation—and this demand in its political expression signifies nothing else than the recognition of the right to self-determination; they must also render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising—or revolutionary war, in the event of one—against the imperialist powers that oppress them."

Here too, Thomas outrageously falsifies Lenin's position. He claims that Lenin saw a progressive content to national struggles in the advanced capitalist countries. According to Thomas Lenin divided the three types of countries as follows:

"He divided the countries of the world into three main types: imperialist advanced countries; semicolonial areas (today we would call them neocolonial areas) such as Persia and China of his time, formally independent but in reality controlled by imperialist powers; and direct colonies."

But a reading of the passage immediately shows that this is completely false. The second category Lenin refers to is not the semicolonial areas, but Eastern Europe. Lenin for his purposes includes the semicolonial and colonial countries together, where the bourgeois democratic movements have barely begun or have a long way to go.

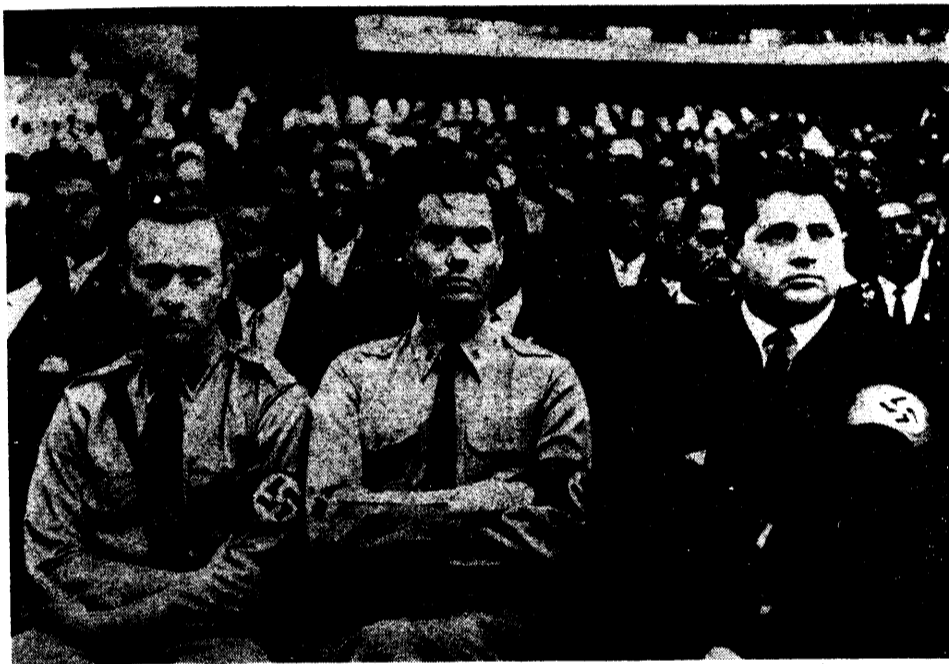
Thomas cannot explain why Lenin makes the distinction between Eastern and Western Europe, so he falsifies the quotation! For Thomas there is no distinction, the slogan of self-determination is equally applicable everywhere. For Lenin there is an obvious distinction based upon the actual development of capitalism itself. It is this development to which we have referred in detail in explaining why the Negroes in the U.S. are not a nation.

The revisionists clumsily try to use Lenin's sharp polemics against Rosa Luxemburg's refusal to support the right of nations to self-determination to support their contention that Lenin supported nationalism and that this slogan is applicable to the U.S. In his polemic with Luxemburg, however, Lenin makes it absolutely clear where he stands on this question:

"A comparison of the political and economic development of various countries, as well as of their Marxist programs, is of tremendous importance from the standpoint of Marxism, for there can be no doubt that all modern states are of a common capitalist nature and are therefore subject to a common law of development. But such a comparison must be drawn in a sensible way. The elementary condition for a comparison is to find out whether the historical periods of development of the countries concerned are at all comparable..."

"The same applies to the national question. In most Western countries it was settled long ago. It is ridiculous to seek an answer to non-existent questions in the programs of Western Europe. In this respect Rosa Luxemburg has lost sight of the most important thing—the difference between countries where bourgeois democratic reforms have long been completed, and those where they have not..."

"The epoch of bourgeois democratic revolutions in Western, continental Europe embraces a fairly definite period, approximately between 1789 and 1871. This



tionable nature of the quotation from Lenin's draft theses referred to above. The fact that Thomas now drags up this same quotation without any mention of its source and background is another index of the revisionists' sharp movement to the right and toward the Stalinists.

Breitman suggests that the correct application of the slogan of self-determination was to favor it in relation to all minority peoples everywhere, and then wait to see how they would seek to implement it. Elsewhere the revisionists have sought to give a more substantial explanation of why this slogan is applicable to Blacks in the U.S.

Derrick Morrison explains it as follows:

"The conflict between the needs to expand bourgeois property relations and the plantation system led to the second American revolution in 1861, which ended with the destruction of slavery. However, the former slaves—even though 200,000 fought in the Civil War and provided the margin of victory in the North—did not get possession of the land. The campaign for 'forty acres and a mule' which was an expression of this urge for land, never got off the ground..."

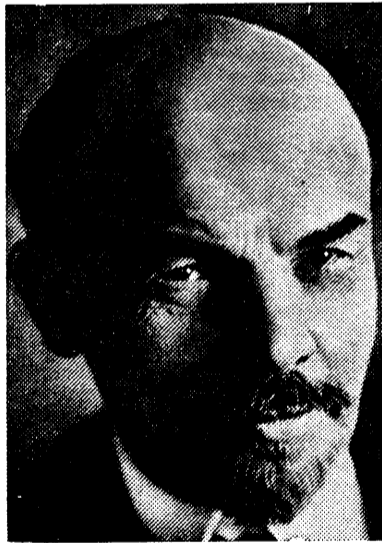
What Morrison ignores is the actual subsequent development of capitalism. This is exactly what Lenin stresses again again as central to an understanding of the concrete meaning of the national question in any given country.

The basis of a national development in the U.S. was ended by the migration to the cities in both the North and South and the absorption of millions of Blacks into industry. Where is the "urge for land" today? The Blacks represent the most oppressed section of the working class, strategically placed in basic industry. They have no separate territory or economic life. The ghetto is even less of a basis for nationhood than the Jewish ghettos of Eastern Europe 50 and 60 years ago.

policy led to the defeat of the German Revolution, the defeat of the British General Strike of 1926, and the bloody massacre of the Chinese Communist workers at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, in whom Stalin placed total confidence.

This was the background against which the sharp turn to the left took place, without any assessment of the previous policies. This was the complete opposite of Leninism, as Trotsky pointed out at that time. Instead of learning from the defeats Stalin deepened his break from Marxism. The ultra-left policy of the Third Period was based upon a complete break from any international strategy. Hollow formulas were substituted for any fight to win the masses away from the Social-Democratic and reformist leaderships, which were simply labeled social-fascist.

This policy represented above all a deepening of the nationalist outlook of the Stalin faction. The conception of building socialism in one country was the constant for Stalin, through all the twists and turns.



Page 10: Black Belt (center) as CP saw it in 1940s. Stalinist theory of Black Belt was based on existence of sharecropper system (sharecropper shown above), which has since been destroyed by development of agriculture. CP leader Earl Browder (bottom, far right) sings Star Spangled Banner with Republican candidate Louis Lefkowitz during World War II. Browder liquidated Black Belt theory during WWII as concession to Roosevelt.

Page 11: Now SWP (top) takes up Black nationalism and reactionary slogans such as "Black control of Black communities" which Lenin himself (bottom) explicitly rejected. Logic of nationalism was expressed when American Nazis supported Muslims' call for a separate nation (center).

complished by the working class seizing power. This is the meaning of the October Revolution and the theory of the permanent revolution. In these countries the struggle for self-determination of oppressed national minorities requires proletarian leadership and the socialist revolution.

It is not posed this way in the imperialist countries. This is what Lenin means in his description of the three types of countries in relation to self-determination:

"First, the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States. In these countries progressive national movements came to an end long ago. Every one of these 'great nations' oppresses other nations both in the colonies and at home. The tasks of the proletariat of these ruling nations are the same as those of the proletariat in England in the nineteenth century in relation to Ireland.

"Secondly, Eastern Europe: Austria, the Balkans and particularly Russia. Here it was the twentieth century that par-

was precisely the period of national movements and the creation of national states. When this period drew to a close, Western Europe had been transformed into a settled system of bourgeois states, which, as a general rule, were nationally uniform states. Therefore, to seek the right to self-determination in the programs of West European socialists at this time of day is to betray one's ignorance of the ABC of Marxism.

"In Eastern Europe and Asia the period of bourgeois democratic revolutions did not begin until 1905... And only a blind man could fail to see in this chain of events the awakening of a whole series of bourgeois democratic national movements which strive to create nationally independent and nationally uniform states. It is precisely and solely because Russia and the neighboring countries are passing through this period that we must have a clause in our program on the right of nations to self-determination."

If Lenin's reference to the three types of countries in relation to self-determination does not make this clear enough, his polemic against Luxemburg spells it out. It "is precisely and solely" because of the belated bourgeois development of Russia and "neighbouring countries" that the demand of self-determination must be raised.

Luxemburg, transforming Marxism into a lifeless schema, refused to see the differences between various countries in terms of their stage of economic development, and consequently was led to reject the necessary slogan of self-determination in Eastern Europe. Today the revisionists use the same method, only they capitulate to bourgeois nationalism in their application of this slogan to all countries, again without regard to their stage of development.

LENIN ON COMMUNITY CONTROL

Thomas' efforts to show that Lenin was a supporter of nationalism and of demands such as Black control of the Black community are just as false as his attempt to prove that Lenin considered the American Negro a nation, and the right of self-determination as applicable to the advanced countries.

In all of his works on the national question Lenin makes his position on nationalism very clear.

"The slogan of the working class democracy is not 'national culture' but the international culture of democracy and the world-wide working-class movement..."

"Working class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities and all working class consumers, education and all others—in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism..."

"...All liberal-bourgeois nationalism sows the greatest corruption among the workers and does immense harm to the cause of freedom and the proletarian class struggle..."

Was there some kind of "proletarian nationalism"? No, nationalism was and is a bourgeois tendency.

"In advancing the slogan of 'the international culture of democracy and the world working-class movement,' we take from each national culture only its democratic and socialist elements; we take them only and absolutely in opposition to the bourgeois culture and the bourgeois nationalism of each nation..."

"Those who seek to serve the proletariat must unite the workers of all nations, and unswervingly fight bourgeois nationalism, domestic and foreign. The place of those who advocate the slogan of national culture is among the nationalist petty bourgeois, not among the Marxists..."

"Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the two policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question..."

Was the proletariat hostile to nationalism? Absolutely. But did the revolutionary party recognize and fight for the equality of nations? The answer is just as absolutely yes.

As Lenin points out, this is a con-

tradiction only for extremely shallow minds. In writing on the resolution adopted by the Conference of Russian Marxists held in 1913, he says the following:

"...Some people profess to see a 'contradiction' in the fact that while point four of this resolution, which recognizes the right to self-determination and secession, seems to 'concede' the maximum to nationalism (in reality, the recognition of the right of all nations to self-determination implies the maximum of democracy and the minimum of nationalism), point five warns the workers against the nationalist slogans of the bourgeoisie of any nation and demands the unity and amalgamation of the workers of all nations in internationally united proletarian organizations..."

The tasks of Marxists in the national question, that of supporting the right of self-determination of nations:

"...is largely a negative one. But this is the limit the proletariat can go in supporting nationalism, for beyond that begins the 'positive' activity of the bourgeoisie striving to fortify nationalism..."

Lenin sums up his polemic against Luxemburg and others who denied the right of self-determination as follows:

"In this situation the proletariat of Russia is faced with a two-fold, or, rather, a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind, above all, Great Russian Nationalism; to recognize, not only fully equal rights for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards polity, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession. And at the same time, it is their task, in the interests of a successful struggle against all and every kind of nationalism among all nations, to preserve the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organizations, amalgamating these organizations into a close-knit international association, despite bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness..."

In his article Thomas includes long quotations from Lenin on the importance of national movements, on the fact that Marxists must recognize their "historical legitimacy."

But he completely omits Lenin's repeated warnings on the limit to which the party can go in supporting these movements, and the ruthless struggle that must be waged against every nationalism, including that of the oppressed nations.

This is because for the revisionists there is no struggle against nationalism whatsoever. The right of self-determination is abstractly applied to all countries and is furthermore interpreted as meaning exactly what Lenin opposed and warned against, support to "the nationalist slogans of the bourgeoisie." Whereas Lenin concedes the minimum to nationalism in order to unite the working class in the fight for socialism, the revisionists concede everything to nationalism because they completely discard the strategy of Marxism, the fight to unite the working class and to overthrow capitalism.

Thomas accuses us of falsely identifying the revisionists' slogan of Black control of the Black community with the program of cultural-national autonomy as put forward by Otto Bauer and the Austro-Marxists over 50 years ago.

Thomas refuses to deal with Lenin's own definition of this theory:

"Consolidating nationalism within a certain 'justly' delimited sphere, 'constitutionalizing' nationalism, and securing the separation of all nations from one another by means of a special state institution—such is the ideological foundation and content of cultural-national autonomy. This idea is thoroughly bourgeois and thoroughly false. The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinction and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism..."

According to Lenin, the program of cultural-national autonomy:

"...Aims at introducing the most refined, most absolute and most extreme nationalism. The gist of this programme is that every citizen registers as belonging to a particular nation, and every nation constitutes a legal entity with the right to

impose compulsory taxation on its members, with national parliaments and national secretaries of state..."

"Such an idea, applied to the national question, resembles Proudhon's idea, as applied to capitalism... Just as Proudhon was petty bourgeois, and his theory converted exchange and commodity production into an absolute category and exalted them as the acme of perfection, so is the theory and programme of 'cultural-national autonomy' petty bourgeois, for it converts bourgeois nationalism into an absolute category, exalts it as the acme of perfection, and purges it of violence, injustice, etc. Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilized brand..."

Lenin denounced the Jewish Bund, so-called Marxists who, while denying they supported the theory of cultural-national autonomy, insisted on separate organization for Jewish workers and on Jewish control of the schools.

The revisionists' Black nationalist program today, its call for Black control of the police, of the schools, for "Black universities" and Black studies programs, are the crudest expression of this program of cultural national autonomy.

These demands express the real character of the nationalist movement. The demand for secession, the right of self-determination has no relation to the objective situation. Lenin counterposed this demand as the only one Marxists could support, to all the demands for cultural autonomy. Today the Black workers and youth demand equality, an end to discrimination, and jobs, housing and education. The demand for self-determination does not apply to these struggles. But the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie expresses its strivings in the demands for Black control of Black schools, preferential hiring of Blacks, and other exclusive demands which only split the working class.

The SWP's support to Black nationalism serves the same purpose as Stalin's Black Belt theory did for Stalinism in 1928. It represents a break with an international working class strategy in order to prepare a nationalist accommodation with imperialism. Stalin was never interested in the American Blacks or workers anywhere. He simply used them to give a left cover to the trans-

formation of the Communist International into an instrument for promoting the narrow national interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. This is why Stalin could so easily abandon his ultra-left verbiage for open accommodation with imperialism in the popular front period. These policies led in the United States to the Stalinists' wholesale betrayal of the Black masses particularly in sabotaging the March on Washington movement in World War II.

The SWP uses nationalism to avoid the struggle today to unite the working class around a revolutionary perspective. It uses nationalism to develop a national perspective as did Stalin. But it is not in the least interested in the Black bourgeoisie or even the Black middle class and certainly not the Black masses. Its interests lie in an accommodation with American imperialism itself.

Now the SWP no longer seeks to struggle for the overthrow of American capitalism but rather to avoid this task at all costs. Thus by posing the question as a matter of national struggle, of democratic rights, of completing the bourgeois revolution, the SWP is able to limit its program to one held in common with the liberal bourgeoisie, to reformism. Such a program, of course, means paving the way for fascism and fascism will mean the brutal destruction of the Blacks and other minority peoples.

Thus all the shouting the SWP did in defense of Cuba did not prevent it from sending condolences to Kennedy's widow—the man who organized the invasion of Cuba. All the SWP's talk of defense of the Blacks and the Black community did not prevent it from advocating that the very troops which butchered the Vietnamese people be sent into the Black communities—no doubt to "protect" the Blacks in the way British troops protect the Irish Catholics in Londonderry. While the SWP has refused to criticize LeRoi Jones, the Republic of New Africa Reverend Koen, when Huey Newton and George Jackson took up a partial fight for Marxism in a revolutionary way, the SWP heaped on criticism and abuse calling them, as did the CP, "ultra-lefts."

Support to Black nationalism has thus played a very important role in the SWP's whole new radicalization turn to the middle classes and to a program of reform instead of revolutionary struggle around transitional demands.

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FILMS

DAVE NORTH

NICHOLAS AND ALEXANDRA. Produced by Sam Spiegel. Starring Michael Jayston.

There is no historical event that the bourgeoisie despises so much as the October Revolution. The passage of fifty years has done nothing to soften the irreconcilable anger of the possessing class to the establishment of the first workers' state. In that autumn of 1917 when reports from Petrograd spoke in desperate tones of the flight of Kerensky and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, the bourgeoisie foamed at the mouth with malignant rage.

The monopolies of international capitalism momentarily forgot the differences that had sparked a brutal world war and instructed their newspapers to set the adjectives of class hatred in bold type. Lenin, screamed the New York Times, "is the evil genius" of the revolution.

The Stalinists tell us that much has changed since the old days. The capitalist class, so the story goes, has grown more tolerant with the years (the Hitlerite invasion, assert the Stalinists, was the work of a madman). The banks of the Rockefellers and Rothschilds, say the Stalinists, can "peacefully co-exist" with the planned economy of the Soviet Union.

The Trotskyist movement denounces this lie and fights to expose it before the entire working class. We warn that the capitalist class has never stepped out of its battle dress, and that it is determined to overturn the victories of workers in every country of the world—including the Soviet Union.

An example of the capitalists' undying hatred of the greatest proletarian triumph—the October Revolution—is the new film, *Nicholas and Alexandra*. Adapted from the national best-seller by Robert K. Massie, it tells in three hours the head-throbbing story of the reign of the last Romanov despot, Nicholas II. The book by Massie was amateurish trash: he wrote history that read like the memoirs of a lady-in-waiting.

The tinsel of the Winter Palace and the soothing mauve bedroom of the Tsaritsa Alexandra stirred Massie's imagination. The fat volume produced the fabulous theory that the Russian Revolution was caused by the bleeding disease that the heir-apparent Alexis caught from his neurotic mother.

REACTIONARY

The movie follows the same reactionary train of thought. Producer Sam Spiegel employed a "cast of thousands" to inform the world that the Revolution was a crying shame even though *Nicholas and Alexandra* may have thoughtlessly provoked the workers and peasants of Russia. The Tsar is portrayed as a narrow fellow who is rather indifferent to the suffering of his subjects, but who is nevertheless a kind father who hates to watch his son bleed.

The Tsar is married to a woman who cares even less for the masses, but who also is moved to tears by the illness of her son. On the scales of history, insinuate Massie and Spiegel, the suffering of one heir-apparent weighs heavier than the age-old misery of the oppressed millions.

It is interesting to note that Spiegel made no effort to present the tsar and his wife as decent rulers. Not at all. At every point he admits that *Nicholas and Alexandra* were in fact quite cruel. The blame for the "Bloody Sunday" massacre that led to the 1905 Revolution is placed squarely on the Tsar's shoulders. In similar

fashion, no effort is made to hide the role of the Tsar in plunging Russia into the terrible Russo-Japanese and First World Wars. Furthermore, the young Alexis openly expresses a vindictive contempt for the Russian people.

In spite of all this, Spiegel expects—let us say, demands—that the audience remain loyal to the Tsar and feel outrage at his overthrow and execution. The message of this film is that the ruler is above popular reproach and that it is the obligation of the oppressed to submit without question. In the language of 1972, this message is a challenge to the working class.

VICIOUSNESS

Spiegel introduces us to the revolutionaries. Of course, Lenin is a megalomaniac who intones at one point: "Power...power...all I want is power." Trotsky fares just as badly, put in the movie as an enemy of Lenin. Every scene given to the revolutionary movement reeks of viciousness. Historical facts are

altered to fit the film's story line. The life of the Bolshevik Party is portrayed as an endless string of terrorist conspiracies and gossip.

One would never guess that Lenin had any understanding of historical developments. We are shown Lenin sitting rather unhappily in a drab room complaining about his difficult life. It is 1913: Lenin says to Krupskaya, "The Romanovs have ruled 300 years...why not another 300 years." Spiegel tries to suggest that Lenin never had a scientific understanding of the epoch in which he lived; rather, he was an adventurer driven by evil intentions.

If Spiegel has any fondness for any of the historical personalities portrayed in the film besides the principal hero and heroine, it is for Alexander Kerensky. The film makes only one criticism of the self-styled Bonapartist: Kerensky is shown naively refusing to kill Lenin as advised by representatives of the American and English governments. Naturally, the film does not mention that Kerensky tried

Nicholas And Alexandra

mass murder of the Bolsheviks in July 1917.

The film reflects a rich man's disdain for the masses who made the revolution. The masses are shown as dull and uncomprehending entities, moved only by the animal's survival instinct. But when it comes to the feeble-minded rulers of Russia, Spiegel lavishes upon them the full range of human emotions. Most likely the producer was educated with the idea that the juices of humanity flow only through the blue blood of the aristocracy.

MANIPULATE

Similarly, he believes that history is dominated by great men who manipulate social forces. Therefore, most of the movie takes place indoors, and only occasionally does the movie suggest that great things are going on in the streets.

There is one more thing about *Nicholas and Alexandra*. The film is even less interesting than the couple it portrays.

FILMS

PHILIP BRANCHE

Angla Davis -Portrait



ANGELA DAVIS-PORTRAIT OF A REVOLUTIONARY. Directed by Yolande du Luart. Edited by Maryse Sicher and Jacqueline Mappiel. Camera by Yolande du Luart, Roger Andreieux and Charles Barrett. Sound by Nancy Dowd. Song "Free My Brother" by Yolande du Luart and Harold Battiste.

Angela Davis, Portrait of a Revolutionary, is an important film document made by students at UCLA to chronicle the events prior to the FBI's allegations against Angela Davis and her subsequent arrest.

Incorporating footage of interviews, rallies and news films, the filmmakers bring to light the real situation that today necessitates the state's attempts to destroy re-

volutionary leadership—the thirst for Marxism by youth and the civil war conditions in the ghettos of Watts and Fillmore.

It is significant that some of the film's first shots are of Angela's packed classes at UCLA—classes in Marxism and discussions of the works of Lenin. In these scenes is revealed the real turn toward history and theory being taken up by a new generation of young militants.

Brief interviews follow, one with the head of the California Board of Regents and another with the Dean of Philosophy at UCLA, which clearly reveal that precisely because of her active membership in the Communist Party and the overwhelming student interest in her lectures, Governor Reagan could not tolerate her position on the faculty and put into motion a machinery for witch-hunt that would not content itself with merely her suspension.

CONTRADICTIONS

Her activities in the Soledad Defense Committee, her lectures, and rallies all focus in on the willingness of the youth in the ghetto and on the campus to come forward with a new determination against the state's attacks. In the film, they come

forward for a fight for socialism with the remnants, but the crumbling remnants, of the old student power, nationalist, and reformist movements, which now twist through political crisis brought on by the advancement forward of the working class.

These contradictions come out in the course of the film itself and at times in Angela's statements, dictated by the Stalinist perspective. They fly in the face of some of the more agitational scenes like the remarkable news footage of the police raids on the offices of the Black Panther Party. At one point in the film Angela expresses the program of Stalinism on the question of defense of political prisoners, by saying that this defense should be carried out in the same way that the "white left" has found its "success" in the peace movement—by mobilizing the widest popular support, even to encompass sections of the liberal capitalists.

But the rapidity of developments in the class struggle today forces Angela Davis to begin to reassess and break from that perspective of collaboration with the enemy. Recently in statements to the press she spoke of the dangers posed by seeing her defense merely in terms of her innocence and bourgeois legality in a period when revolution against capitalism is on the agenda. She spoke of the class war that is going on as was expressed in the Marin County shootout which claimed the life of young Jonathan Jackson.

JACKSON

George Jackson and the youth join her. Jackson too was forced to take up a fight against the betrayals of Stalinism shortly before he was killed. In an open letter to the Communist Party, he said, "you cannot save me with the reformist, reactionary steps to the techniques of the 1930s."

There is undeniably a pessimistic note running through this film making it more like a portrait of a revolutionary in her last days or a posthumous tribute. It is structured so that it begins and ends on the same note: shots of demonstrators protesting against repression. Opening the film are scenes of Angela's supporters outside the New York Women's House of Detention.

The film closes with Angela leading a march in defense of the Soledad Brothers, Jonathan Jackson at her side, and a tribute to him by his brother, George, who would be murdered by the government a year later. The fate of Angela's comrades does not have to be hers if the working class is mobilized not with a section of the capitalist class as the Stalinists would have it, but against it.

Economy

Capitalist Breakup Drives Dollar Down

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

It took four months of haggling before the Group of Ten capitalist powers could come to an agreement on how to deal with their international monetary crisis. The main world currencies were realigned against a devalued dollar. But this has completely failed to stop the decline of the dollar.

A huge new wave of speculation against the dollar last week drove it to its all time high of \$50 an ounce. This now threatens to blow sky high the international monetary accord reached in Washington on December 18th. As the Congress prepares to pass legislation implementing the December 18th devaluation, it is conceded by many capitalist monetary authorities that the planned eight percent devaluation incorporated in the December accord is too little, too late.

The crisis opened up by the severance between the dollar and gold by Nixon on August 15th is now raging completely out of control. A much more disastrous phase of the present crisis involves a wholesale breakdown of the process of capitalist production itself.

The explosive character of the crisis found expression on the London gold market last Wednesday. In trading which was called "hectic and hair raising" gold leapt a record \$1.15. This is the largest single day increase in history. As of Wednesday gold stood at exactly \$5.55 above its price level on January 1st.

The only thing preventing the gold price from moving over the \$50 mark last week was the announcement by the U.S. Treasury that the devaluation bill to be presented to Congress this week would not raise gold above the \$38 price originally announced.

DOOMED

The December 18th agreement and the \$38 gold price are however completely doomed. Hastening their demise and giving a spur to the latest speculative attacks was Nixon's announcement of a budget deficit for the current year of \$38.8 billion and a projected deficit next year of \$25 billion.

This amounts to a declaration to the European capitalists that the U.S. intends to continue to flood Europe with oceans of paper dollars and to continue the inflationary course that led up to the August 15th measures.

This was confirmed last week by Dr. Otmar Emmiger, Chairman of the Balance of Payments Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and Vice-Chairman of the West German Federal Bank. He admitted that there would be no substantial improvement in the U.S. balance of pay-

ments before next year and that in fact it was going to get worse.

What is now emerging is the clear determination of Nixon and the American capitalist class to continue to run up huge deficits and continue inflationary capital outflows to Europe while insisting that the price for this be paid by huge concessions on the part of the European capitalists in the area of trade.

This is the meaning of the agreement worked out recently by U.S. Trade Envoy William Eberle and Common Market representatives in Paris. This agreement represents another major defeat for the European capitalist class. Taken together with the effects of the December 18th devaluation it must now throw Europe into a sharp crisis.

After weeks of protestations that nothing would be accepted that undermined the crucial variable import levy on agricultural goods which has long been the lynchpin of the EEC (Common Market), a major breach in EEC agricultural tariff walls has now been made by the U.S.

While full details of the February 4th pact have not yet been revealed, Eberle has obtained concessions which include a special tariff reduction, and an agreement that Europe will stockpile 1.5 million tons of surplus wheat rather than put in on the world market in competition with the U.S.

The onesidedness of the agreement was underlined by Eberle's refusal to even discuss reciprocity, demanded by the Europeans on some products.

These and other concessions to be an-

nounced next week must now have the most profound effect upon the class relations in Europe precipitating a deepening of the revolutionary conditions now already expressed in the developments in North Ireland, the miners strike in Britain and the parliamentary crisis in Italy.

No amount of concessions wrung from Europe, however, will succeed in stopping the speculative drive against the dollar and the onrush of trade war and massive depressions being directly provoked by the breakdown of paper money.

The meaning of the surge of the gold price to \$50 is that the break between the dollar and gold made when Nixon halted convertibility on August 15th has rendered paper money a completely unreliable depository of value. Under these conditions the very productive and distributive process of capitalism which takes place only in so far as value can be realized breaks down.

The contraction of production in such basic industries as steel, shipbuilding, textiles and machine tools and the unwillingness of the capitalist class to advance capital for investment in these areas is already a fact of life in all advanced countries. It is this that is at the heart of the growth of massive unemployment throughout Europe and the United States. It is this that is at the heart of the civil war in North Ireland.

Today the strength of the international working class is the biggest barrier preventing the employers and their governments from resolving their crisis.

France

Pompidou Plans Mass Unemployment

BY MELODY FARROW

The intensification of the trade war between capitalist nations since Nixon's August 15th measures has pushed the French regime of George Pompidou into a frenzied drive to compete internationally.

The attempt to increase the profitability of French industry has meant a sharp turn in Pompidou's attacks on the French working class. Since the fall of 1971, Pompidou has pursued a conscious policy of ruthlessly driving up the level of unemployment by closing down whole sectors of industry and agriculture and drastically reducing the number of workers in the plants that remain.

Unemployment is being used as a

club to destroy the trade unions and drive down wage demands. Unemployment jumped 24% from 1971 to 1972 and went up 2.4% last November alone. The CGT, the Stalinist controlled trade union federation, estimates that prices rose by at least 8% in 1971.

The policy of the French capitalist class was summed up by the vice-president of the National Council of French Businessmen when he said:

"Given the international situation and our position in it, we must break the inflation through lowering the rise in wages; we must not be afraid to confront long strikes."

The rise in unemployment is one of the central issues facing French workers. Almost every day strikes and demonstrations take place against layoffs. Tremendous pressure is building up for the trade union leaders to call a general strike and unify the fight against unemployment.

On February 1st all the Paris daily papers as well as the radio and TV stations were shut down by a strike initiated by the journalists of the paper *Paris-Jour*.

Paris-Jour announced on January 28th that it would shut down operations for good.

Pompidou openly declared that his aim is to reduce the number of daily papers in the Paris area to two or three. Throughout October and November there were a series of layoffs at *Paris-Jour* and *France-Soir*. On January 11 the workers of *Paris-Jour* staged a 24 hour strike.

On January 25th, against the will of the trade union leadership, the journalists at *Paris-Jour* voted for an unlimited strike against layoffs. This was quickly followed by a 24 hour strike vote by all the Parisian journalists. Soon after, 2,500 workers at *France-Soir* held their first mass membership meeting since the 1968 May-June General Strike to discuss the crisis.

The closure of *Paris-Jour* is a vicious attempt to intimidate the workers into submission with the threat of even more massive layoffs.

At every point, the trade union leaders attempted to hold back the movement, using the government's arguments that a strike would jeopardize the jobs of the remaining workers and even proposed that linotype operators and typists continue to accept copy from scab journalists.

A new confrontation is now developing in the nationalized Renault auto plants. Renault management has reduced the number of tractors produced at the Le Mans agricultural plant from 90 to 37 and plans to lay off many sections of workers. Already 300 workers have been prematurely retired at 60 years of age. The unions at Renault are now presenting their wage demands for a new contract covering 90,000 workers.

At the huge Boulogne-Billancourt Renault plant outside Paris where the CGT has a majority, workers held a demonstration against the threatened layoffs carrying signs calling for a 40 hour week, retirement at 60 and job security.

The Renault workers have consistently been in the lead of every important battle of the French working class. The Renault plants were one of the strongholds in the 1968 General Strike and only last spring

workers staged a sit-in at all Renault plants. It was the Renault workers who rejected the CGT's Grenelle agreement with the government in 1968 which meant the continuation of the General Strike.

Disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the Communist Party have deepened at Renault. In the last union elections the CGT lost 1400 votes. Those 1400 workers did not vote for other parties but abstained, expressing their feeling that neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party represented their interests.

The Pompidou regime is systematically preparing for civil war with the working class by building up the power of the state, using new laws to jail left wing leaders, and by financing terrorist attacks by fascist organizations.

On January 5th, the headquarters of the AJS (Alliance Des Jeunes Pour Le Socialisme) in Toulouse was completely destroyed by a bomb.

Two men were seen running from the doorstep of the building just before the explosion at 5:30 p.m., only one half hour before a public meeting was to begin. The bomb was clearly meant not just to frighten, but to kill.

At the same time, Charles Berg, National Secretary of the AJS, was placed on trial January 10th for defamation of the police. The charges are based on statements Berg made concerning the murder by the police of such militants as Marc Lanvin, a member of the Jeunesse Communiste, shot in 1968.

The Pompidou regime has emerged from the May-June events with the firm intention of strengthening the state and preparing the way for dictatorship. Minister of the Interior, Marcellin, told Parliament:

"In times of trouble, conflict, when even the oldest institutions hesitate, only the State can serve as a rampart for the population against the consequences of disorders in men's minds."

The current wave of struggles in France in a period when capitalism faces total collapse means that an even more powerful explosion than 1968 is developing.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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DIALECTICS AND 'RIGHT ON'

This is a letter to the countless counter-revolutionary fractions, organizations, newspapers, etc., but mainly you know who.

To the committee, its leadership, members and associates: we have just received your token contributions to our support—two "free" copies of the backdated Right On. We the political prisoners of the 10th Floor were shocked and appalled at this so-called gesture of support.

Let us remind you that we are well aware of your financial difficulty and pressures from the existing pig political establishment and also limited community support but this has no bearing as such. Your delusions of grandeur have led you to make commitments to the people that you cannot keep. Your egotistical delusions have now left you in a state of chaos to the extent that you only try to identify with the headline makers. No longer are you interested in the masses of the people whose brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers are incarcerated behind the fascist concentration camps throughout Babylon.

What little good you had intended to do to extend political awareness to the masses and help political prisoners has fallen to the wayside. We who have countless hours to study the inroads of progress of so-called organizations that jump on the bandwagon to help us, have seen where "your ass was too big for your britches."

By your actions, words, deeds and commitment to numerous numbers of incarcerated brothers and sisters, we feel that you are more hindrance than help. You who supposedly support the professors of Marxist-Leninist theory have shown us that your organization or committee was based more on fantasy and abstractions than concrete reality.

Your lack of foresight, knowledge, planning, political awareness, dialectical approach and unity has led your egotistical cadre down the road of extinction. Although we harbor no malice toward your group or association we feel that the lining of one's pockets was the true goal for most and even as petty capitalists you have failed. Your stamped "free copy" of the backdated Right On was subtle hint that the updated forthcoming issues would cost us. You poor misguided fools.

It is we who make headlines, who write your editorials, your epitaphs and it is we, the political prisoners of Babylon, who will write your obituary.

Have you so deluded yourselves to think that our dependence on you is so great that we would become stagnant when you became stagnant? Oppression and repression may stop a dream or an ideal but it can't stop the revolutionary concepts of history, past, present and future. We are that concept, that reality, we are the new makers of history. How can it stop the inevitable transformation that is taking place throughout the world today and we are a vanguard part of that transformation.

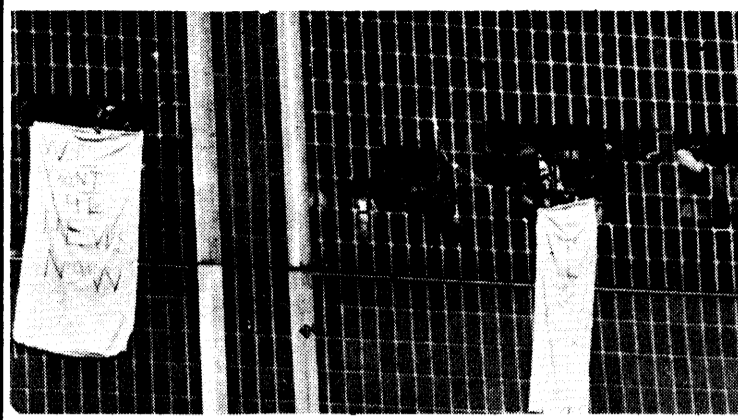
No political party (and through what you say you are) can possibly lead a revolutionary movement to a complete victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement. As an organization you have become myopic to the extent that the theory of Marxism that you supposedly embrace has left you inane. Criticism and self-criticism is for others, not for you! (we suppose). Your organization cannot even dwell on past mistakes so that you may formulate a more progressive and practical unit to function readily with the people.

Revolutionary contents, values, and validity in your organization are dead but you refuse to die because of past has-been self glories. If everything that comes into existence must pass out of existence as all of reality pounds constantly into our minds, then every affirmation must inexorably express its negation in logical thought. Every stage of thought, action, deed is necessary, therefore justified for the time and conditions to which it owes its origins but it must give way to higher forms of thought, action and deed which will also in its turn decay and perish.

Nothing is final, absolute, sacred or immovable. All things meet their doom. Such is the dialectical theory of Marxism, something your group refuses to contend with. Die and rebuild, then die and rebuild again so that you may ever increase and reach your highest revolutionary level in tune with the masses of oppressed throughout the world.

"Power from the barrel of a gun."

From twenty political prisoners of the 10th floor of the Tombs Slave Camp.



Letters from Prison

The following are excerpts from letters that were sent to the Workers League by the brothers from the Isabelle Auerbach Collective in the Tombs prison, New York City. In addition, we are printing their article addressed to Right On, the publication of the Eldridge Cleaver faction of the Black Panther Party.

Despite all the harassment and difficulties these prisoners have faced, they have formed and maintained a Marxist study group within the Tombs. They got in touch with us through their struggle to understand Marxist theory and dialectics and to teach the other prisoners.

As the brothers of the Tombs state, an understanding of dialectics and the history of the Marxist movement is the only way that workers and youth can build a revolutionary movement for power. This is the lesson of Attica, of the fight that George Jackson took up before he was murdered.

We extend our solidarity to their struggle and will do everything in our power to assist them in this task.

Most of us are confined in the maximum security section of the Tombs because of our "political activities." I was originally indicted for attempted murder, riot, etc., as an outgrowth of the prison struggles in Kew Gardens, Queens in 1970. Additionally I am a "veteran" of the Attica struggle. So much for a cameo history.

We are struggling to understand Marxist theory. Since none of us has what is called a formal education, this tends to hamper us in our efforts. I have the privilege of functioning as "coordinator" and instructor to the men in our program. Since I left school when I was twelve years of age, this makes the task that much more difficult.

We have classes twice a day, seven days a week. We study the principles of Marx as carried forth by Lenin. Additionally, we study Trotsky and his concept of the Permanent Revolution.

One of the problems that I, as the instructor have, is to read and analyze Marxist theory and then give it a grass roots interpretation without distorting or revising its content. We study materialism (dialectical and historical) and we study the class struggle.

We are dealing with dialectics right this moment and it has opened many doors. What can you suggest on this? Anything which shall help us learn so as no matter where we go it's possible for us to help develop those around us for our aim is to reach as many as possible.

Not using your mind is like living in a ten room house and sleeping in the basement. I hope to hear from you soon. Power and stay strong.

On Sunday, January 23, 1972, the New York City Daily News indulged in its latest outrage with a very misleading article on the Tombs, concentrating its remarks to the 10th floor. We, the inmates, were accused of "run-



Prisoners who earlier rebelled in prisons such as the Tombs (top) and Queens House of Detention (above) are now taking up questions of Marxist theory to struggle against capitalist oppression they face.

ning the floor," physically assaulting and raping other inmates (which are lies), and "charging" the other inmates for the use of a telephone (also a lie).

The fact of the matter is that we have the most orderly floor in the prison. Every effort that we make is a communal effort. We help those men who cannot read, by writing their letters for them. We teach simple arithmetic, remedial English, spelling and we also help the men with their legal work. In essence, we per-

the same old "crimes" before a seed is planted that may germinate and bear fruit?

Most of the men here are at a terminal point in their lives. Why not plant that seed now, here in the Tombs? Presently the Tombs is a graveyard for the socially and morally dead. Is it not possible to turn it into a greenhouse and to sow the seeds for social survival?

Contrary to the beliefs of many people, the soil is fertile. Just ask someone to come up here (10th

floor) some time and sample the opinions and responses of the men who are participating in our study program. Discover how much they have learned, in so brief a period of time and with so little

to work with.

This writer has the honor and privilege of serving as instructor to our group. I make no pretense to being educated nor am I really qualified to teach. But I can recognize the needs of my brothers, Black, white and Puerto Rican. Imagine how much could be accomplished if the officials cut back on red tape and allowed into the prison, educators, speakers, lecturers!

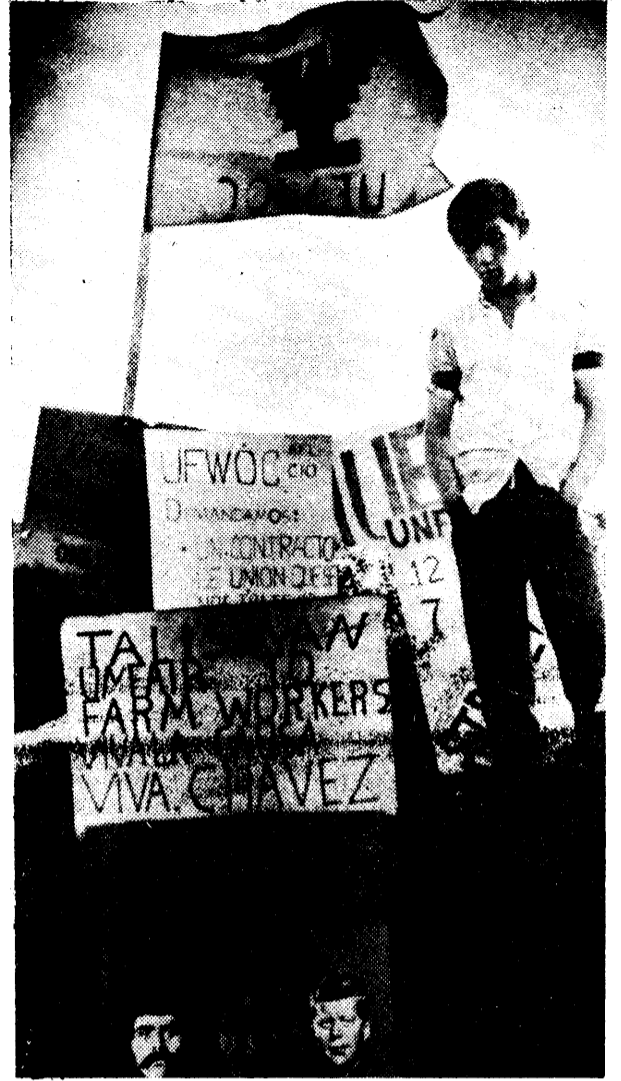
We urgently appeal to the public to support us in our struggle against ignorance. Must our cries still go unheard?

"Not using your mind is like living in a ten room house and sleeping in the basement."

form tasks that the prison administration and legal "counsel" should be doing.

This is "chaos"? This is "troublemaking"? A strange interpretation that is. We are doing precisely what poor Blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans are doing in all oppressed communities: establishing a self help program and raising our level of consciousness in spite of opposition on the part of those who control.

The question we now ask ourselves is why wait until we are back on the streets, living the same old life styles, committing



Pickets fight to get truck drivers to join their strike (above). Strikers mourn death of Nan Freeman who was killed by scab truck just after one such incident with driver. Left, strike leader John Burns (l.) welcomes a truck driver, Charles Lee, who joined strike after being threatened by company goons. Below, picket captain discusses with another driver.



SCAB KILLS GIRL IN BITTER SUGAR STRIKE

(Continued From Page 1)
 the work they do." He said that this amounts to \$180 to \$200 per week. But even if this were true, this would be at the rate of \$2.15 to \$2.35 an hour because they work 12 hours a day, seven days a week without overtime.

PICKETS

It was only after the strike had been going on for 10 days that it came under the leadership of Cesar Chavez' UFWOC (United Farmworkers Organizing Committee). Chavez' cousin, Manuel Chavez, became the chief organizer of the strikers.

From the beginning the strikers set up picket lines with the aim of keeping out the scabs,

particularly the machinists and the truck drivers. The pickets were able to make a real dent in Talisman's production by convincing some machinists and drivers not to cross the lines.

At this point the harassment by the police and company goons was stepped up. One truck driver said that Palm Beach County Deputy Lieutenant Dave Day approached him and asked if the strikers "knew" that the flag (UFWOC flag) they were carrying was a Communist symbol. Sheriff's deputies attempted to whistle and wave the drivers of hesitant trucks into the plant. Later three union organizers were arrested while attempting to enter the plant to talk to the cane cutters.

On January 27th, a truck driver who had been hired through the Employers Overload Company of Miami claimed he was forced at gunpoint from his truck by company officials, allegedly for "talking to a union official."

After the incident with the company officials, he was out on the picket line waiting for fellow truck drivers. "I got something to tell them," he said.

MURDER

The bloodthirsty attempt by the Talisman Company, backed up by the Florida police, to crush the strike resulted in the tragic murder of one of the pickets, an 18 year old girl from a nearby college who with several friends had come down to support the strike.

Nan Freeman was standing on the side of one of the huge trucks which has stopped at the plant gate while a picket explained the strike, and asked the driver not to cross the line. He said he would think about the request.

He then let his clutch out, crushing the girl between the guard rail and the truck as he drove off. One striking truck driver said:

"That driver should never have been so close to the guard rail. They have gone out and hired anybody to drive those trucks and the people they got just don't know how to drive them...and they're paying them more. I made \$2.10 an hour for four years. Now they are paying those scabs \$2.50 an hour just to break our strike."

Following the girl's death, Cesar Chavez has retreated further from the struggle which his union had quite literally stumbled into in the first place. Chavez said he "would rather lose a strike than lose another life." "We'll get them with a boycott or any other way we can that's legal," said Manuel Chavez.

Under the cover of this middle class pacifism, the UFWOC leadership has deserted the struggle to shut down the plant and has gone over to a "boycott" policy. This is the same policy that prevented victory over the grape growers in California for so many years.

The latest report is that Chavez is threatening a national boycott of the Borden Company because Borden handles sugar from the Talisman mill. He is developing a completely defeatist "strategy," spreading the story that the "strike has been largely ineffective." At the same time he plans to take the company to court for importing strike-breakers from Jamaica.

The real alternative for leadership in the strike is to shut the plant tight. The UFWOC must demand that the IAM and the Teamsters mobilize all the strength of their unions to close the plant. This must include an immediate public appeal by the AFL-CIO. Union delegations must be sent to the Jamaican labor movement demanding a campaign against the export of scabs into the U.S.





BLOODY SUNDAY

THE FOLLOWING IS an exclusive interview with Bernadette Devlin, MP, together with an interview with a representative of the Official Wing of the IRA. This material is reprinted from Workers-Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain.

Bernadette Devlin: "When miners get hit by police on the picket line, it's no different to getting bullets in the back in Londonderry."

"North Ireland is only the training ground for this country".

Miss Devlin described the minutes leading up to Sunday's massacre.

"I was on the platform speaking when I heard the first shots. Then some Saracens drove into the square firing away. Shots rang out over our heads.

"We had 20,000 people with a right to march in their own country, with a right to demonstrate in their streets.

"There was not a gun in the area. Both IRAs had removed their guns lest any of their own people should be provoked when 20,000 were on the streets. A few young people threw stones and lumps of brick at the army and that was all they had.

"Nobody told us the death penalty had been imposed for illegal demonstrations in North Ireland.

"The paratroops of the British army drove their tanks straight towards people who had their backs to them. They were firing and within ten minutes 13 people were dead.

"The army claims people were sniping from the Rossville flats. Those flats are 12 storeys high. There are 12 dead bodies in Altnagevin morgue with no broken bones. How do you fall 12 storeys and not break any bones?

"My first reaction was disbelief. Thousands of people just dived for cover.

"When we finally cleared the square ten minutes later, there were 13 people dead. It was a peaceful, unarmed meeting.

"The people had their backs to the British army.

"There was 20,000 of us. We outnumbered the soldiers by five to one. The only way the army could show its superiority was to shoot people in the back.

"This shows you just how the law works—you can be peaceful, unarmed and in the majority, but still be shot down. That's your democracy for you.

"The British paratroopers, with the full backing of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defense and the entire British Tory government, coldly murdered 13 people just to show they could control North Ireland.

"They talk to us about peace, democracy and freedom and we are sick of hearing them. I had to speak to people and say: 'Yes, I rang the hospital. Your husband is dead.'"

Miss Devlin nailed one of the lies creeping into the capitalist press reports.

"It is completely untrue that the paratroopers went berserk. They behaved as they were ordered to behave. The operation definitely didn't get out of hand. Nobody can say one or two soldiers went berserk. It was carried out absolutely efficiently. They were under orders."

Referring to her attack on Maudling in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon, Miss Devlin said:

"One blow against Maudling won't bring down the Tory government. Not if we all hit him. What we've got to do is bring down the Tory government.

"The offensive against the working class in this country is the same as the murder in Ulster. You can see the development of the Tory mentality in both places. They are resorting to sheer naked force.

"When you move to bring down the Tory government the British army will move to bring you down with a gun.

"When we held the picket lines in 1969 the police kicked us. Today they are kicking the miners on the picket lines. Tomorrow they will be shooting to kill.

"To end the army murders in Ulster we've got to bring British imperialism to an end. And the best way to do that is to bring down the Tory government.

"If we don't they will go ahead and shoot more people."

Miss Devlin was contemptuous of Maudling's call for a tribunal to investigate the massacre.

"We don't want an inquiry at all. Why should we? We know who is responsible. The Tory government is responsible for murder. That's all there is to it."

She concluded by declaring: "I say if for nobody's sake but the 13 dead people in Derry, bring this blasted Tory government down."

The Official Wing of the IRA stands for a United socialist Ireland where the working class can decide its own future.

This is in sharp conflict with the provisional wing who expound a purely nationalist line and do not detail what kind of Ireland the workers should inherit.

For the Officials last Sunday's slaughter has dramatic political importance. Here one of their leading Derry members explains why:

"The killings I think have great relevance to the situation."

"We knew for example that the middle class politicians were moving towards a political compromise with the Tory government through the good offices of the Labour Party.

"The unofficial date for this was some time in April. Men like Gerry Fitt and John Hume (MP for the Social Democratic Labour Party) were looking towards some "democratization of Stormont" and possibly a commission to run things, with themselves on it.

"They wanted to get the British government to put the internees on trial and release the ones they did not want to charge and, on the basis of these so-called concessions, get some form of law and order back into areas like the Bogside and the Creggan.

"This is now impossible, particularly for men like Hume. His constituents here will have nothing whatsoever to do with Stormont after Sunday's events. They want the total withdrawal of the army—they will never allow the troops back into this area again.

"Now Hume could be in trouble and the old nationalists like McAteer (ex-nationalist MP who lost his seat to Hume) are making a big play for supporting the IRA. McAteer is very wary about condemning us now.

"The Provos would support Hume or McAteer—it makes no difference to them they simply fight with arms for a united Ireland.

"We would support neither. What we try to do is to stimulate some political interest.

"We ask who is going to determine the outcome of the solution for Ireland? Is it going to be Hume and the middle class

politicians, or is it going to be the working class?

"But it is difficult to organize on any scale outside the area where troops can't go—that is the Bogside and the Creggan. At the present time the Protestant community is completely isolated.

"The indiscriminate bombing of shops for example has alienated them still further—this hinders the attempt to put the IRA over on a workers' revolutionary basis.

"We have made attempts to get Protestant working class support. For example some people in the Fountain (a 100 percent Protestant area in Derry) approached us over moving to a new house—their own councillors didn't want to know them, so they wanted to go to Hume and they contacted the James Connolly Republican club.

"We started helping them and then slogans were put up on their doors and they got scared. They told us they were sorry but didn't want to go on with it.

"The indiscriminate bombing just reinforces this fear. We defend the area with guns and carry out acts of reprisal on the ruling class and the army but we do want to build an army to lead both sections of the working class in North Ireland.

"Now we are trying to get factory committees going in each plant embracing Catholic and Protestant workers. Here we have had some success. We put out a leaflet in one from the James Connolly Republican club calling for this.

"We got 30 replies and four were from Protestants who were interested in the idea of a workers' committee. This I think is the way forward but after Sunday things are much more difficult.

CWA . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

include many militants who were arrested for defending the strike. It forfeits seniority for the months of the strike and denies the union shop.

The prospects for rejection and the prospects for taking forward the strike afterward depend on the fight for leadership in Local 1101 against Carnivale who is charged by dissidents including the "United Action" group, based primarily in Brooklyn, with being a down-the-line Beirne man.

This fight has now led to a split on the 1101 Executive Board with two members, Schaeffer and Dempsey standing in support of the four motions carried overwhelmingly at the jam-packed Jan. 31 Local 1101 meeting.

Carnivale usurped the authority of the meeting, flagrantly disregarding the will of the membership, and ruled these motions null and void. A new meeting is now being fought for to reaffirm the motions in opposition to Carnivale.

Taken together the motions that Carnivale is trying to throw out represent a big step toward a strategy for defeating "Ma Bell." "No binding arbitration—the right to vote on any settlement before returning to work; out of state picketing, with machinery to carry it out; week-

ly mass demonstrations; a public call for operators to walk out and support for all who do." What is required in addition is to publicly demand that Van Arsdale call a mass rally of the rank and file of all New York unions and a one day general strike.

One of the anti-Carnivale militants told us: "Let's face it, the telephone striker right now has received no cooperation from his leadership, has received no cooperation from any other union in the city or state—just lip service. We got a lot of lip service the other day at that rally (Feb. 4) from all of the other unions, we got a lot of lip service from Van Arsdale. It's public now but if we reject it (the contract) are they going to go back hiding underground again, or will we get their support?"

On the question of binding arbitration, he said that the fight to put the local legally and officially against it would be made at the special membership meeting which is now being demanded through petitions.

"If they pass legislation, every union in the state will out of necessity have to start pulling some weight, because if they can do it with the CWA, then they can do it with the ILA, and the Teamsters."

ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

section seniority rights, the category system, travel time, as well as over pensions and wages.

In the face of this opposition, Gleason postponed the vote on the contract for the Port of New York last week and extended the old contract until March 14. At the same time he arranged with the Shippers to continue the existing set-up, PDO and all, until the vote. He also gave Nixon his solemn promise not to take the union out on strike when Taft-Hartley ends on February 14.

But what is really required now is a strike on February 14 which when linked up with the West Coast strike will provide the power nationwide to win a decent contract for all ports. This is what Nixon really

fears.

If Nixon moves to bust the West Coast strike, the ranks on both coasts must demand that a general strike be called by the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters.

The fight for a new leadership in the ILA must begin now to mobilize the ranks to shut down the East and Gulf Coasts and to stay out with the West Coast until our demands are won in all ports:

- 2080 GAI, all men, all ports; NO PDO, no multiple debiting, no change in section seniority; 13 annual sick days included in GAI.
- 20 and out at \$500 per month at any age—6 hour day at 8 hours pay.
- Retroactivity of all provisions to Oct. 1.
- All new container bonus money to be paid in cash.

SMC . . .

(Continued From Page 6)

government, both Democrats and Republicans, that the SMC had to break from the Muskies and McGovern and build a movement that can take forward the fight of the youth and the workers both in Vietnam and the United States against capitalism.

The fight of the SMC has to be against the massive unemployment, the budget cuts and the attempt of the government to destroy the trade unions. Central to the strategy of the capitalist class to defeat the workers and peasants of Indocina is the complicity of the Stalinist parties of the Soviet Union and China. Since it has been exposed that the Soviet bureaucracy is sending inadequate arms to the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front, a similar betrayal is also being prepared in the Middle East.

The SMC must fight to break the youth for Muskie and McGovern from the Democrats and Republicans, to break the working class from the parties that are responsible for the war, for unemployment, for the budget cuts, and to build a Labor Party for '72. This means support to socialist candidates in the elections, support to the SWP candidates.

In presenting the proposal, the WL-YS spokesman made it clear that the Young Socialists will

build its own demonstration on March 29th on this basis.

The proposal of the Workers League and Young Socialists to center the April 22nd demonstration around this perspective received 80 votes at the meeting.

SHARPNESS

Every speaker from the Young Socialist Alliance, in defending their middle class position refused to recognize the sharpness of the period we are in. At one point the question of concentration camps was raised and the members of the Young Socialist Alliance laughed! A spokesman from the Workers League came to the microphone, saying:

"You laugh at the mention of concentration camps because you are so completely distant from the working class. Two days after 13 Irish workers are murdered, and you can't see it! We sell the Bulletin down at the docks, and the longshoremen are interested. They don't want Muskie or McGovern. You can't remain neutral on the question of the elections. The Democrats and the Republicans mean concentration camps. Ulster and Baton Rouge prove that these conditions are being prepared."

HIGH SCHOOLS

Sandy Modell of the SMC gave the High School Rights Report

which saw the struggle in the high schools as a civil liberties one centering on a liberal fight against violations of democratic liberties.

A representative of the Seward Park Young Socialists called for support in the struggle against the school administration which has banned the club. "They are afraid of the Young Socialists because we fight for the interests of the working class and that is the reason they seek to suppress our rights," he stated.

A Jefferson High School Young Socialist member attacked the whole perspective of the YSA and SMC.

"It is not a matter of civil rights. These are economic attacks, class attacks. Our classrooms are packed with 60 and 70 students. No teaching is going on. The buildings are falling apart. Now they are cutting funds so we cannot go to college. We will have no jobs when we get out of school. All these issues must be brought together and fought out around the Young Socialists' program."

The high school discussion was rushed through and a vote called. The SMC narrowly carried the vote by 93-88.

The Young Socialists is now laying plans to fight for its program and the February 29th National SMC meeting while it prepares now for its own demonstration on March 29th.



BALTIMORE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

tried to pass. Just as the police began to arrive a construction shed burst into flames. Then, two non-union men were given a beating for trying to break the picket lines. By 11:00 a.m., however, the police had an order prohibiting union pickets on campus.

The next day 200 pickets once again greeted the police and company officials. By 6:45 a.m., four construction trailers were overturned, one toppling into the library's foundation. When the

Vice-President of Lawrence Construction Company tried to run through the picket line to catch a glimpse of his fallen trailer, construction workers mobbed him and it was only the intervention of police and dogs which saved him from the onslaught. After another fifteen minutes another construction shed was hit by a molotov cocktail and exploded into flames. As the morning fighting drew to a close, the companies sent their telegrams off to Governor Mandel requesting National Guard troops to protect their property and to break the picket lines.

On Thursday, January 27, and again on Monday, similar treatment was given to John K. Ruff Company construction sites at Keswick Home for Incurables and at Towson State College. Ruff Company is the largest contractor in Baltimore and hires only non-union labor at non-union wages. In the early morning on Thursday, two of their trailers were set on fire and burned to the ground. By morning 125 pickets assembled in front of the entrances physically blocking anyone trying to pass.

At this point the police moved in to help the company break the blockade. Eleven pickets who re-

fused to give any ground to the company were arrested and carried off in the paddy wagons.

At Towson State College 200 pickets fought the onslaught of 75 county and state police equipped with riot gear and K-9 dogs. Construction workers hurled rocks at police while behind their lines a Ruff Company crane and trailer blazed. Seven were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

On Tuesday and Wednesday the battleground shifted downtown to the construction site of the Fire Department's pumping station. On the first morning two fires were set. The following day pickets gave the police some of their own treatment. Two policemen were beaten with blackjacks when they tried to break the lines and arrest the pickets.

CANADA . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

well for the future."

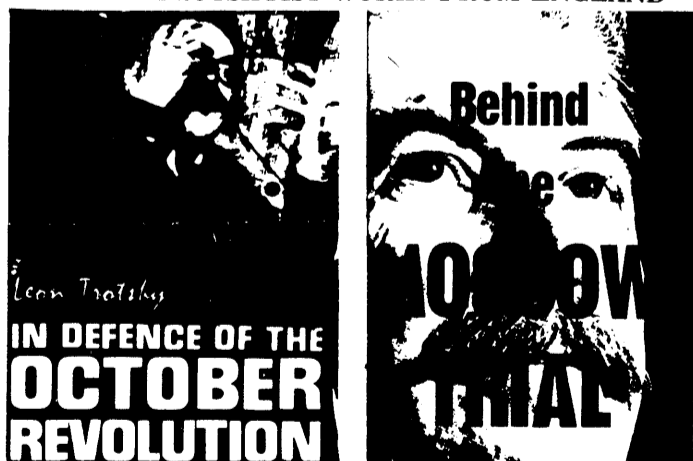
However the bureaucrats have virtually hamstringed the effectiveness of the strike, limiting it to rotating and selective strikes across the country. Thus when one section goes out in the city, management personnel are able to carry on, bringing in and broadcasting programs from other centers.

The Conciliation Board's offer of 10% is a continuation of the government's hard line offer, such as to the air controllers, postal workers and railroad workers. Most of these offers do not even keep up with the cost of living increase.

This can only be seen as the beginning of an attempt for a wage freeze here in Canada as was imposed in the U.S. This is what Trudeau is preparing if he is given another four year term.

Workers must elect an NDP government to defend their rights and stop the capitalist attacks on jobs and wages.

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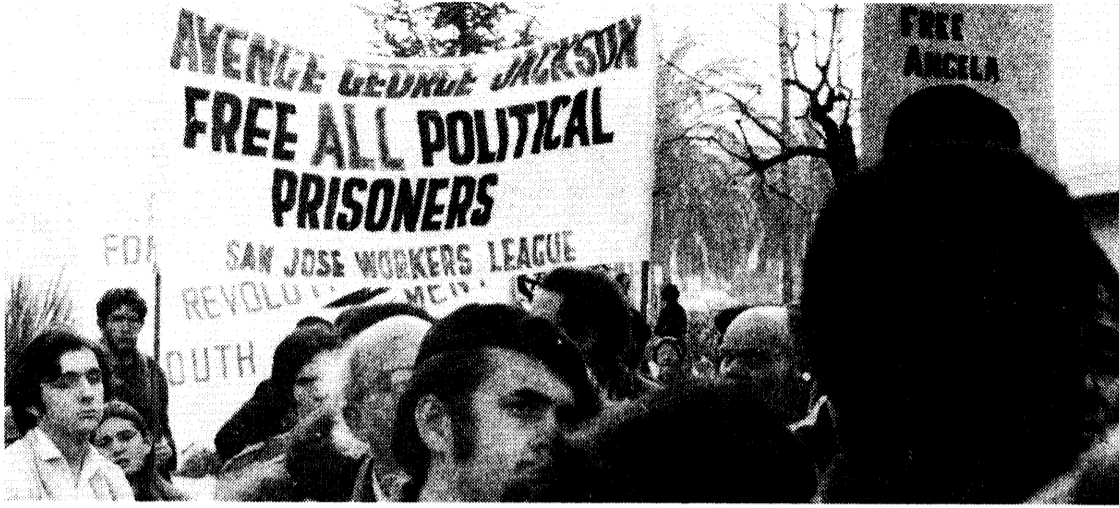
VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

insist that the deposition of President Thieu is an essential condition for any settlement in Vietnam. In an interview held Saturday in Paris, Xuan Thuy stated that "Thieu is the symbol of Vietnamization and Vietnamization is the policy by which the United States seeks to maintain South Vietnam as a neo-colony." Thuy added, "How could we accept an election when Thieu's forces, including a million-man army, pacification forces, civil guard and police are operating down to the hamlet level."

The position of the Hanoi Stalinists holds definite dangers for the success of the Vietnamese Revolution. They are leaving the door open for a coalition government in the South by demanding that Thieu alone be removed from office. The establishment of such a government would be tantamount to a betrayal of the struggle against imperialism that has spanned two decades. The decisive defeat of American imperialism requires nothing less than the creation of a workers government of a united Vietnam.

West Coast News



San Jose Workers League joins rally in defense of Angela Davis.

Arrests Open Davis Trial

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The pre-trial hearings of Angela Davis opened this week in San Jose with the arrests of 24 demonstrators who peacefully picketed outside the courtroom. Police authorities have announced that the State intends to press criminal charges on each of the demonstrators.

In the first stage of the trial, which opened Monday, the defense presented several

motions to Judge Arnason: that Santa Clara County is a prejudiced area not suitable for a fair trial, that the state of California must pay the expenses for the defense and that the security arrangements, \$750,000 worth, deny the possibility of an unbiased trial.

During the second day of the trial the chief prosecutor Attorney General Harris made it clear what the intentions of this government are. He stated that this is "Not going to be a trial of pressure."—"We're not going to have outside pressure in this trial. Supporters of Angela Davis will not be allowed to participate or influence the trial proceedings."

The arrests of the 24 militants, which occurred outside of the courtroom on Monday and Wednesday, were made on the basis of a newly enacted law which was used for the first time. The law forbids demonstrations near courtrooms which may, in any way, influence the proceedings inside the courtrooms. The demonstrations had been centered around calls for "a return to Constitutional rights," and "Freedom of Speech."

The policy of the National

STEEL. . .

(Continued From Page 20)

mented "This is unique. It means, you see, they want to break the union." No doubt Dobbs and Kaiser get some of their inspiration from Abel's position on the Pay Board and the western regional director's cringing retreat from strike action.

Presently the strike is being conducted as "an orderly shutdown." This means that the union provides a skeleton crew to keep the furnaces going and allows supervisory personnel into and out of the plant in exchange for continued payments by Kaiser on the health plan.

But with Nixon's anti-strike legislation awaiting passage by the Democrats, Abel's open capitulation by sitting on the Pay Board, and the arrogance of Kaiser all out in the open, it should be clear that this will not be a business as usual strike. Kaiser and the government are in perfect agreement on breaking the unions in this period.

United Committee to Free Angela Davis towards the arrests was summed up by F. Alexander, co-chairman of NUCFAD and also one of those arrested, when he said that these attacks could be fought by "exercising our rights, through court injunctions, and legislative appeal."

These counterrevolutionary policies on the one hand tell working class youth that they should fight to defend Angela Davis and their own rights by protesting for more rights—a larger courtroom, a different location for the trial (supposedly less racist than Santa Clara County), etc., but on the other hand base the defense of those arrested on the same courts that have already denied those rights.

1,000 Youth Rally Against Nazi Party

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—Over 1000 workers and youth surrounded the L.A.-Orange County headquarters of the American Nazi Party in a demonstration against the openly fascist organization. One hundred policemen were necessary to protect the Nazis from the crowd. During the course of the demonstration, which lasted six hours, 40 participants were arrested.

The demonstration was organized by the Jewish Defense League, but it was clear that the workers there did not come there to support the JDL but to express their hostility to the kind of movement the Nazis are trying to build. The crowd around the headquarters paid little attention to the "march-by" staged by JDL nor to JDL's attempt to move the demonstration to a nearby park. JDL was trying to divert the demonstration from a fight against the Nazis into JDL's own fascist movement.

The workers and youth demonstrating against fascism are faced with a fight for their lives. The swastikas in the Nazi's headquarters and the slogans of white power, etc., show clearly what is in store if a movement based on the needs of the working class and youth and on the strength of the trade unions is not built.

Truckers Fight For Survival In Beverage War

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Bay Area Teamsters now are being given ultimatums that pose the life and death of their union as a powerful combination of food employers have formed a state-wide Food Employers Council to head up this assault and have chosen the bottlers strike as their concentrated target.

These arrogant employers did not even want to hear the modest proposals for contract renewal put forth by the Teamsters but instead tossed out their own list of demands which called for dismantling of the union hiring hall and the virtual destruction of every gain won over the past four decades.

The employers' strategy is to attack the powerful Teamsters union at its weakest points, its lily-white racial composition and the union's difficulty in mobilizing its full strike power in the food industry because of the staggered contract expiration dates.

The Teamsters bureaucrats headed up by Goldburger of Council 7 go along with Teamsters President Fitzsimmons' cooperation with the Pay Board in establishing wage guidelines of 5.5% and express a willingness to accept this guideline as contract settlement for the bottling workers. But the united Employers Food Council is not accepting the guidelines of Phase II but are anxious to begin Phase III and Phase IV. A disturbed Goldburger faced with a solidly united front of hostile employers

and a breakup of all the old relationships was forced to go to Fitzsimmons for strike authorization and reluctantly after three months of futile efforts to negotiate a settlement, called for a strike against Seven-Up bottling plants in Oakland and San Francisco in hopes of inducing the old divisions within the solid front of employers.

The employers promptly responded by locking out workers at the Coca-Cola plants in the Bay Area and under mutual aid arrangements supervisory personnel from Royal Crown and Canada Dry were to handle Seven-Up while Pepsi-Cola and Dr. Pepper companies were to distribute Coca-Cola shipped in from other areas. The Teamsters countered this employer move with a total strike against all Bay Area beverage bottling firms extending this strike into Hayward and San Jose.

The employers' next move was to institute their "minority on-the-job training program" of hiring unemployed Black youth at \$1.90 per hour against union wages of \$4.60 and enlisting the strike breaking aid of Black nationalist organizations to attack the "white racism" of the Teamsters Union.

The employers beefed up their defenses by securing the aid of hundreds of armed security guards to "defend" their plants and patrol the movements of beverages into the strike area.

Many of these guards are city police moonlighting for extra pay.

This reporter has personally witnessed beverage trucks being escorted by Oakland City police while many other unmarked trucks are delivering beverages into this area from unstruck areas.

These security guards now patrol these struck plants with Doberman Pinschers and German Shepherd dogs which they have encouraged to bite pickets. These guards have pulled their guns and aimed at pickets, threatened them with knives and clubs and wrecked one picket's car by running it off the road.

Management continues to send out discharge notices to militant pickets while they attempted their first probe to reopen the Royal Crown plant in East Oakland with 12 Black youth hired as scabs who were escorted through the picket line by cops.

The spontaneous anger of pickets produced slashed tires and damaged windshields of these scab cars, and two arrests. The second day only four scabs were desperate enough to try it again ending for the time being management's time table for demoralizing and defeating this strike through open strike breaking.

Ravenswood Conditions "Impossible"

BY ALAN KEARNY

EAST PALO ALTO—"We aren't going to take it any more. The administration thinks it can keep the youth down but it has a surprise coming to it."

This statement by a Ravenswood High School student expresses the determination of the working class youth to fight the attacks levelled upon them by the agents of the capitalist class, the school administration. The conditions facing youth rapidly worsen, conditions the businessmen have in mind for the entire working class.

Ravenswood is the only high school in the Black ghetto of East Palo Alto. The four years there seem to many like a prison sentence. Talk to any student and he's most likely hoping for the day he can leave. They find it difficult to ignore the two cop cars constantly parked at the school.

Across the street a number of youths sit in cars or mill around the parking lot of a hamburger joint, the "Dairy Belle." They are mostly former students of Ravenswood, graduates and drop-outs. They are in the main unemployed.

Here are a few comments from the crowd: an unemployed teenager, he's been out of Ravenswood for two years—"I just try to survive from day to day." A senior—"When I turned 18 (I had about four months to graduate) they told me I had to leave." He's out.

Now that the school has done its job of providing an "education" for these youth, the administration does not want to bother with them. They have stated that they intend to clear the area where young people congregate.

White youth are bused into the predominantly Black school. Integration, however, is consciously turned into its opposite—to divide the youth into hostile camps of Black and white.



1000 workers and youth rally against American Nazis in L.A.

West Coast News

SEBASTIAN FEYER IN EDITORIAL OFFICE, ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

Editorial

Angela Davis Trial Sets Off Hysteria Against Youth

The witchhunt of Angela Davis is a calculated blow aimed at every worker and youth and designed to create the atmosphere for racial hysteria and massive repression.

The real purpose of this trial becomes clearer every day. While demonstrators are dragged away and arrested at the courthouse in San Jose a campaign of racism and fear has been launched against the youth in San Francisco to coincide with these events.

Precisely at this time a fight has been opened up for the removal of San Francisco School Superintendent, Thomas Shaheen. Shaheen has been closely identified with busing and with strict observance of school integration guidelines. The campaign for his ouster has been consciously designed to create middle class panic and racial polarization.

The bourgeois press has joined in with a daily barrage of reports concerning the horrors of the public schools. Suddenly they are exposing drugs, racial fights, class cutting and vandalism in every issue.

The frustration of the youth is being used to demand more repression, more police and increased numbers of guards and monitors to watch every move.

Thus an outburst of Hunters Point youth on a bus resulting in smashed windows has become front page news. The bus was placed on prominent display at the Board of Education while the press editorialized on the need to crush the youth.

It is absolutely clear that the only purpose of all of this is to create the atmosphere for a virtual police dictatorship over the youth. These are the moves of a ruling class unable to grant the slightest reform or concession and completely panicked by their inability to control the growing hatred of the youth for their system.

It is no accident that the Stalinists and middle class reformists are rushing to their aid.

Thus Huey Newton announces to the press from his \$650 a month penthouse that he has discovered that it is necessary to work within the system and urges a voter registration drive to line up the youth to provide votes for Black reformists in the Democratic Party.

The Stalinists back him up all the way praising the Democrats in Congress for their hesitancy in breaking the longshore strike and proclaiming their belief that Angela Davis can obtain a fair trial and justice through the exercise of pressure.

All of this is designed to leave the youth completely defenseless in the face of these vicious attacks.

The fight of the Workers League to unite the youth in a revolutionary movement that takes up the fight against racism, for jobs, for the defense of the unions and for the unity of the working class in a fight for power is the only way forward.

ILWU Must Reject Sellout

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

February 9—The tentative settlement reached between the Pacific Maritime Association and Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU, is a complete betrayal of every demand for which the ranks of the ILWU have struck 123 days.

Bridges has capitulated to the PMA on the central issue of the guarantee. Bridges used the government's threat of arbitration to hand the "non-economic" issues, the critical issues of the guarantee and the "steady men"

over to an arbitrator.

At the same time, the government, encouraged by Bridges' sellout, is going ahead to pass their bill forcing the contract into compulsory arbitration. If the bill is passed it could mean that not only the "non-economic"

issues but wages also would be put in the hands of an arbitrator. On all the major issues the decisions have been taken out of the hands of the union and the rank and file.

Bridges capitulated precisely at a point when Nixon, the Senate and House were deadlocked, unable to pass their strikebreaking bill. They were hesitating in fear of the strength of the dockers. In an historic challenge to the government Bridges only days before had said he would be unable to get the men back to work, law or no law and threatened to get the aid of longshoremen in other countries.

ARBITRATION

Now Bridges' sellout has strengthened the hand of the employers and the government strikebreakers as Congress prepares to pass its bill not only against the current dock strike but all future strikes by transportation unions. This bill will outlaw the transportation unions' right to strike and force all contracts into compulsory arbitration.

CONTINUE

The ranks of the ILWU must reject this settlement and continue the strike calling on the ILA to shut down both coasts in a nationwide strike to win the forty hour guarantee for all dockers.

The ILWU must call for support from the entire labor movement and prepare for defiance of and a general strike against the government's legislation or intervention.



Harry Bridges, head of ILWU confers with PMA (ship-owners) leader Flynn in recent contract negotiations in Calif.

Steel Ranks Strike Kaiser

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—Kaiser's Fontana plant, largest steel production facility west of the Mississippi, shut down yesterday as 6,500 members of USWA 2869 walked off the job. The strike centers around demands for parity with basic steel on all incentive programs.

In 1964 Kaiser pushed the craft and production through a "Fruits of Progress Sharing Plan" which was widely touted as eliminating "the need for strikes." In point of fact the incentive plan cost the company less than incentive plans won in basic steel. Furthermore it set up a system whereby older workers (pre-1965 and known as "incumbents") had lower production levels for the same work than newer workers (non-incumbents). And of course the company split up

where the matter could be discussed. Even with all of this the vote was for a strike.

Kaiser's incentive plan, which would be better known as "The Grapes of Wrath," does now run concurrent with the rest of the contract. Kaiser followed basic steel with the rest of the contract but refused to discuss incentives until near the deadline. Then Kaiser made one offer, mailed a bunch of half-truths out to the workers and sat back confidently waiting for capitulation. The regional director of the USWA appeared to urge no strike and forced a vote at the plant gates rather than at a meeting

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A grievance man pointed out that in the first round of talks, Phase I had confused everyone. But his position now was "First we fight the company and if the government doesn't like the contract we say 'To hell with you, you make steel' ". The company is presently wallowing in arrogance. One of their P.R. men named Dobbs said that Kaiser wouldn't talk until work resumed "even if it takes a year." A worker interviewed by a Bulletin reporting team com-

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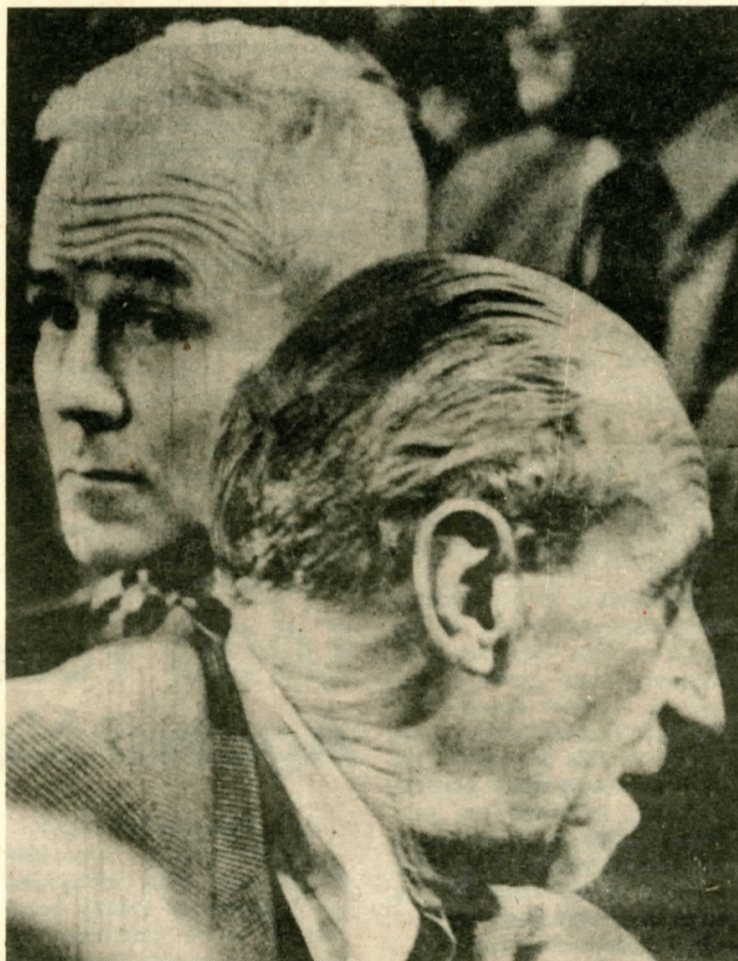
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