

HOOVER

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weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY EIGHT 237

MARCH 20, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS



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BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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the vote, together with Lindsay and McGovern.

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Firestone Forces 8 Hour Day Deal

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The working people of Akron, Ohio, the rubber capital of the world, are facing the kind of industrial blackmail which is being planned for the entire

working class.

The three largest rubber companies, B.F. Goodrich, Firestone, and Goodyear, which virtually own and sustain the city, have announced that if workers refuse to accept a breakdown in the seniority system, speed-up conditions, and more layoffs, they are prepared to move out of the city immediately.

COLLABORATION

With full knowledge that all

three companies intend to close their antiquated plants in Akron as they shift the balance of their production to non-union automated facilities in such towns as Memphis, Tenn., and Decatur, Ill., the policy of the leadership of the United Rubber Workers has been one of total collaboration with the companies.

Starting with URW Local 5, representing workers at B.F. Goodrich, the union leadership of

(Continued On Page 18)

Nationalists Cover For Dems At Gary Convention

BY CYNTHIA BLAKE

GARY IND., MARCH 12—This weekend saw the sharpest expression of Black separatism on a wide scale since the Marcus Garvey Back to Africa movement of the 20's.

At the same time the convention reflected the extreme right wing, capitalist and reactionary position of nationalism. It was in fact, a convention of the worst Uncle Tom Democratic Party politicians and supported and covered

by every major spokesman of the remnants of the nationalist movement. It was here that nationalism and the Democratic Party of the capitalist class fused, each reinforcing the other.

One delegate stated during

a break: "Let's face it—the only reason we're here is to change things. They're even worse now than they've ever been. They're really trying to wipe out the 14th Amendment, just wipe it out, and if they take away one right they can take them all."

Yet the two keynote speakers, Gary's Mayor Richard Hatcher and the Reverend Jesse Jackson made only passing reference to the soaring unemployment rate and vicious speedups, never mentioned the wage freeze or Phase II and glibly stated demands for thousands of dollars in federal funds, an end to unemployment, scholarships and student stipends...a wide range of demands

which remain purely utopian in the context of the convention.

PURIFY

Because they are unable to cope with these basic questions, with why capitalism is now forced to slash away at the gains won by the working class over the past decades, they dwelled on the "decadence" and corruption of the system, posing that Blacks should "purify" America through a return to Africa spiritually.

At every point Blackness was used as a club in the hands of the chairmen, shutting off any small indication of opposition on the floor and warning those who, getting an object lesson in

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March 14th rally at Foley Square, New York demands freedom for political prisoners Carlos Feliciano and Yoruba Guzman.

Wilson Sabotages Vote To Censure Tory Government

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Prime Minister Edward Heath's Tory government is living on borrowed time. And it's the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Party leadership that is doing the lending.

Never has Heath been as weak as he is right now. The defeat inflicted on the government by the strike of 280,000 miners has demonstrated that popular support for the Tory policies has all but evaporated. Were an election to be held at this time, there is no question but that Heath would suffer a massive defeat.

CRISIS

Besides having to face a hostile population, the Tory government is racked by a deep internal crisis that has developed over the inability of Heath to defeat the working class. Leading sections of the English bourgeoisie are impatient with the Tory indecision that was expressed in the handling of the miners' strike.

The capitalists are threatening total war against the workers. The temper of the employers was revealed in an outburst by Ernest Barret, president of the Engineering Industries Association, who declared the "ugly, evil and mindless" workers must be destroyed.

Caught in the vise of the onslaught of the working class and the foaming rage of the employers, the Tory government is dependent upon the betrayals of the reformist leadership of the working class. A censure motion introduced by the Labourites that could have brought the Tories down last Monday night was sabotaged by its own sponsors.

Every effort was made by the Wilson leadership to encourage Labour abstentions from the vote. The political editor of the

Tory London Times observed: "One of the surprising features of the debate...was the absence of several Labour front-benchers and the yawning emptiness of parts of the Opposition back benches."

FRIGHT

The trade union bureaucracy shares the fright of the Labour Party. Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers Union, was expressing the fear of the entire bureaucracy when he stated last week that a compromise with the Tories was necessary to save "not just our way of life but Britain itself."

Iran Executes Leftist Youth

BY A CORRESPONDENT

In the past week 16 young left wing opponents of the brutally repressive feudal regime of the Shah of Iran were shot as "terrorists" and "subversives."

Trials of leftists are conducted by military tribunal. When the original trials of ten of the militants were held in January, they were sentenced to life imprisonment.

But afterwards the Shah issued orders that the repression should be made "more effective" by killing militants. So when the life sentences came up on appeal, they were changed by the court to the death penalty.

BRUTAL

The Shah's regime, through the medium of its brutal secret police, SAVAK, organized

European Nations Form Anti-Dollar Bloc In Brussels

BY FRED MUELLER

Last week the finance ministers of the Common Market nations and those seeking to join it met in Brussels to approve a five point plan leading to a monetary union. This was a meeting to consolidate an anti-dollar bloc in preparation for showdown battles with U.S. imperialism and with the European as well as the American working class.

The Brussels agreement calls for an "independent monetary zone," for narrowing the margin of fluctuation of the European currencies from 4.5% to 2.25% and for tighter exchange controls.

This is the European response to the continuing inflow of unwanted dollars into Europe. In the last week the European central banks have been forced to buy up hundreds of millions of dollars as the dollar sank to its lowest levels.

WORTHLESS

The alternative before the European capitalists is to absorb unlimited amounts of worthless dollars or to revalue their currencies further upward, on top of the revaluations of only three months ago.

Now we are seeing the real meaning of the December 18 agreement in the light of Nixon's August 15 measures, including the cutting of the links between the dollar and gold. Prior to August 15 the Europeans accepted billions of dollars which theoretically were still convertible into gold.

August 15 changed all this, and the accumulated dollar hoards in the European central banks were worth nothing more than the paper they were printed on. After December 18th, the dollar flow has continued. Now the Europeans must accept dollars which they know are absolutely worthless.

SUBSIDIZE

Inconvertibility remains and Washington refuses even to discuss when it will be modified. This means that the Europeans must continue to subsidize the U.S. balance of payments deficits and help to strengthen both inflationary and recessionary

tendencies in their own countries.

Now Washington is hinting about an exchange of dollars for gold with the British so that London might be able to pay off all or part of a billion dollar debt to the International Monetary Fund. The only force that will get Nixon to consider "selective" convertibility is the specter of imminent political as well as economic collapse of one of his imperialist partners.

GENEROSITY

The political and economic situation in Britain in the aftermath of the miners' victory against the Tory government is

behind this apparent generosity.

Washington's continued brazen demands that the European bourgeoisie foot the bill for the capitalist crisis does not mean that

WAR

Nixon and the U.S. bosses are out of the woods. The truth is quite the opposite. Nixon's fantastic budget deficits refuel inflation before there has been any substantial drop, and with unemployment continuing at a ten year high.

The latest events are a big step in the direction of rival financial and trading blocs. The ruling classes all face the headlong plunge into trade war, recession and brutal dictatorship against the working class.

Franco Police Murder Striking Ship Workers

BY ED SMITH

There is no let-up in the continuing struggle of the Spanish working class against the hated regime of fascist dictator General Franco.

After the renewed Asturian miners' strikes and the massive struggles of students and professors that swept the country's campuses last month, comes news of battle with police arising from a sit-in in a shipyard in the north-western port of El Ferrol that left two workers dead.

The shipyards around El Ferrol have particularly well-organized "Workers' Commissions," underground trade unions which were formed in opposition to the stooge "syndicates" run by the fascists to bring labor under control of the state.

When several of the workers were fired for participating in an earlier demonstration, 3,000 workers barricaded themselves in the shipyard. When the police came to throw them out, the workers fought back with stones and iron bars and inflicted many injuries on the police before they were dislodged.

THUGS

The next day the workers again locked themselves inside the yard and the police returned to attack them. But this time the workers were ready for the police. When the cop detachments approached, the workers suddenly poured out of the yard and not only drove the police back, but appeared well on the way to taking over the whole town. The desperate fascist thugs then resorted to gunfire, killing two workers and wounding others.

It was reported that naval personnel had been landed to patrol the town, and warships in

the harbor had their guns trained on the shipyard.

This latest incident can only drive the Franco regime into a panic in the face of the growing opposition to the regime. On the one hand the regime has been closing down newspapers of even the mildest shades of bourgeois and Catholic opinion for reporting news of strike struggles.

In January, Luis Lucio Lobato was sentenced to 21 years imprisonment for being a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Throughout the country vicious persecutions of militants accused of belonging to the Workers' Commissions have taken place.

The Spanish Ministry of Labor has issued a special circular describing the organization of the Commissions and demanding strict action be taken against them.

Apart from the newspapers being closed down and bookstores broken up by fascist gangs for selling liberal or Marxist books, actors and actresses have been blacklisted by the regime for protesting the escalation of repression and censorship.

FALANGE

But even these measures are too little for fascist fanatics like Blas Pinar of the fascist party, the Falange. He is so frightened of the upsurge against Francoism that he has organized his own private goon squad, "soldiers of Christ the King," which has engaged in bookshop wreckings and attempted to invade campuses to fight "left elements." The students drove these scum off the premises.

Drivers Rally In Newark Against TNJ Attacks

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, March 14—Over 1000 striking members of the Amalgamated Transit Union demonstrated outside the Public Service building in downtown Newark this morning against the efforts of Transport of New Jersey (TNJ) to break their strike.

This followed a similar action on Monday when 1300 workers rallied at the Maplewood TNJ garage. In both instances, the ATU leaderships led the rallies as a means of pressuring TNJ head Gilhooley into resuming negotiations. They led chants which parodied the Alka-Seltzer commercials on television—"Gilhooley ate the whole thing"—referring to the company's attempts to slash wages and jobs in order to raise its profits.

TNJ took a step forward in this when it bought Inter City Line. Now they hope to cut the similar-running routes to consolidate operations and layoff the hundreds of "extra" drivers and maintenance men.

SECURITY

The fate of the 3,000 Ballantine brewers who are being thrown into the streets when their Newark plant closes on March 31 is now staring TNJ employees in the face. One TNJ striker explained that, "They would keep Inter City drivers and fire us because their wages are much lower than ours. We need full job security for all drivers."

Already, Gilhooley stated that there will be at least 200 workers

laid off and that the longer the strike continues, the bloodier will be TNJ's plans for cutting up the workforce. This threat amounts to a declaration of war.

Gilhooley makes this clear as he prepares for a long, drawn out strike. He just announced that for the duration of the strike, he and other company executives will take a 20% pay cut. Also, other non-union personnel will face similar cuts if the strike continues.

CRUSH

TNJ is out to crush the union, lay off hundreds of workers, and slash the wages of those who remain. The only approach to face these attacks is for the ATU to reject TNJ's pleas of bankruptcy but to say that the only solution is not subsidy from the state, but the nationalization of TNJ without compensation.

ATU Local 822 President Negast told this reporter that: "TNJ is trying to buy up the independent bus lines and use them to throw us out of work. If we can't get agreement with TNJ on job security, if we feel our jobs are on the line, we will call a statewide strike. NO buses will run in New Jersey."



New Jersey Transit strikers express hatred for company head, Gilhooley, at Newark rally Tuesday.

Leaders Desert Fedders Strike

BY OUR LABOR REPORTER

EDISON, N.J.—In spite of the attempt of the leadership of the International Union of Electrical Workers to isolate the strike of the 2600 members of Local 483 against the Fedders Corporation here, a tremendous movement toward solidarity with the embattled strikers is developing within the New Jersey working class.

The president of IUE Local 422 in Trenton, Joe Gaine, stated that his membership would consider an appeal for strike support from the Fedders workers in Edison.

"If an appeal was made from Local 483 to Local 422 for any type of support whatsoever," declared Gaine in a telephone interview Monday, "I as the president and business manager of 422 would take that appeal to the general membership of 422 and they would act on it. What-

ever action they would take I would have to abide by."

TRENTON

Local 422 includes among its 300 members more than 100 workers in the Fedders plant in Trenton; and this statement by Gaine flies in the face of all those in the IUE leadership who have been telling the Edison workers that it is impossible to organize other locals to defeat Fedders.

Gaine told the *Bulletin* that the International leadership has

never contacted him about the Edison strike; and that the leadership of Local 483 has never asked Local 422 for support or even discussed the possibility.

TREACHERY

Given the great numerical strength of the IUE in this area, the treachery of the International leadership in the strike of Local 483 assumes criminal proportions. As the 2600 workers enter the third week of this bitter strike, it has become clear that the IUE leadership is the chief obstacle to victory.

At this point, there is no organized resistance to the massive scabbing campaign launched by Fedders to break the strike. No effort is being made by the International representatives to assemble a picket line to protest the daily motorcades of company men and scabs that drive into the plant.

Similarly, the leadership is passively accepting the court injunction that sets strict limits on picketing. On most days, there are less workers on the picket line than even the court order allows.

DESERTED

In every aspect of this strike—down to the absence of union leaders and shop stewards at the picket line—the membership of Local 483 is being deserted by its leadership. One striker, standing in front of the main gate with only four other workers, told the *Bulletin*:

"The least one should do now is show that we've got the people and the power behind us. But there's nobody here to do that. Not even the union leader—where is he? That's the whole trouble. It seems that everything is being dropped."

Chinese Stalinists Lie To Hanoi About Nixon's Trip

BY DAVID NORTH

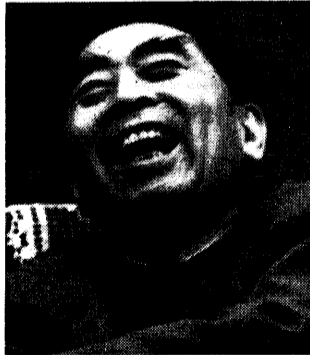
Despite the insistent claims of the Chinese Stalinists that they yielded nothing to Nixon during the recent week-long negotiations, there is mounting evidence that they made, in fact, fundamental retreats.

It is now clear that on the question of Taiwan's future—contrary to earlier reports—the major concessions were made by Chou En-lai and not by Nixon. While the United States has agreed to acknowledge the existence of only one China, the Peking government has abandoned all plans to replace Chiang Kai-shek with force.

This means, in effect, that the imperialist puppet regime will be tolerated by the Maoists for the indefinite future; opening the possibility that Chiang—the ranking anti-communist butcher in the world today—will be recognized eventually as the legitimate ruler of a special Taiwan "province."

In all its statements since Nixon's return, the United States has given no indication that it will tolerate the reintegration of Taiwan into the People's Republic of China.

A statement released by the State Department asserted that the U.S. commitment to Taiwan "is not in question and never has been in question."



Chou En-lai

REASSURE

Furthermore, Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green, who embarked on an 11-day tour of Asia to reassure all the blood-smearing dictators dependent on U.S. aid that their interests had not been compromised by Nixon, emerged from talks with the leaders of the Taiwan regime, and declared: "It continues to be the policy of the United States to encourage American companies to seek investment opportunities on the island."

Rather than reconciled to a pull-back from Asia, the United States has completed its initial talks with the Maoists confident that its position in that part of the world has been reinforced.

POLICY

In a major policy statement, Secretary of State William Rogers stated that it would be "very unfortunate to leave the impression that, now that the visit to the People's Republic of China has taken place, we are thinking of treaty revisions with countries who have based their foreign policies on such treaties."

Just as the Maoists have sought to mask their retreat on the Taiwan question, they have attempted to reassure Hanoi that the interests of the Vietnamese revolution were not bargained away by Chou En-lai.

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Nixon Drops Price Freeze For Companies

It is becoming more and more difficult for Nixon's Price Commission to explain the continuing rise in prices as just part of the "post freeze price bulge."

Last month prices went up again seven-tenths of one percent with most of the increases in food products.

George Meany denounced the price increase in a statement which said: "While the Administration permits this rising tide of price increases—in the name of controls—it persists in holding down the wages of most workers."

Only a few days before the February statistics were announced the Price Commission exempted companies with "low profit levels" from the price controls.

Fifteen thousand companies with sales of one million dollars or more a year will be allowed to raise prices to achieve a profit of two to three percent based on capital turnover. Companies with sales of less than one million

can raise their prices up to 3% regardless of the capital turnover.

PROFITS

If this is not sufficient to boost profits, the companies can appeal for exemptions from the Commissions.

The Cost of Living Council is now raising a completely phony hue and cry about the few violations that are reported to the Internal Revenue Service.

Since the so-called price freeze went into effect, it has become well known that there is no enforcement of price violations. The IRS openly admits that it puts no pressure on violators.

Forrest Higginbotham, chief of investigations and compliance stated that the word "violation" is avoided when making inquiries:

"We say instead: You are not in compliance. We are not consciously looking for prosecution. Our main purpose is to get people to comply through informal approaches."

Philly ILA Ranks Defy Gleason

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—On Monday, February 6, the rank and file longshoremen forced a full membership meeting in opposition to the plans of the local bureaucracy.

The reasons for the bureaucracy's opposition became apparent at the meeting itself.

ASKEW

Richard Askew, President of Local 1291 and the Local leadership have been trying to force the men to vote blind on the contract and at the meeting refused to clarify the local agreement and questions on the master contract.

What directly resulted from the Monday meeting was, on Wednesday, February 8, the Port of Philadelphia rejected the contract in a vote 936 against to 814 for.

NOTHING

Storming out of the voting place many longshoremen replied to *Bulletin* reporters that this contract contained absolutely nothing and was an actual attack on the living standards of the men working on the docks. The contract had ab-

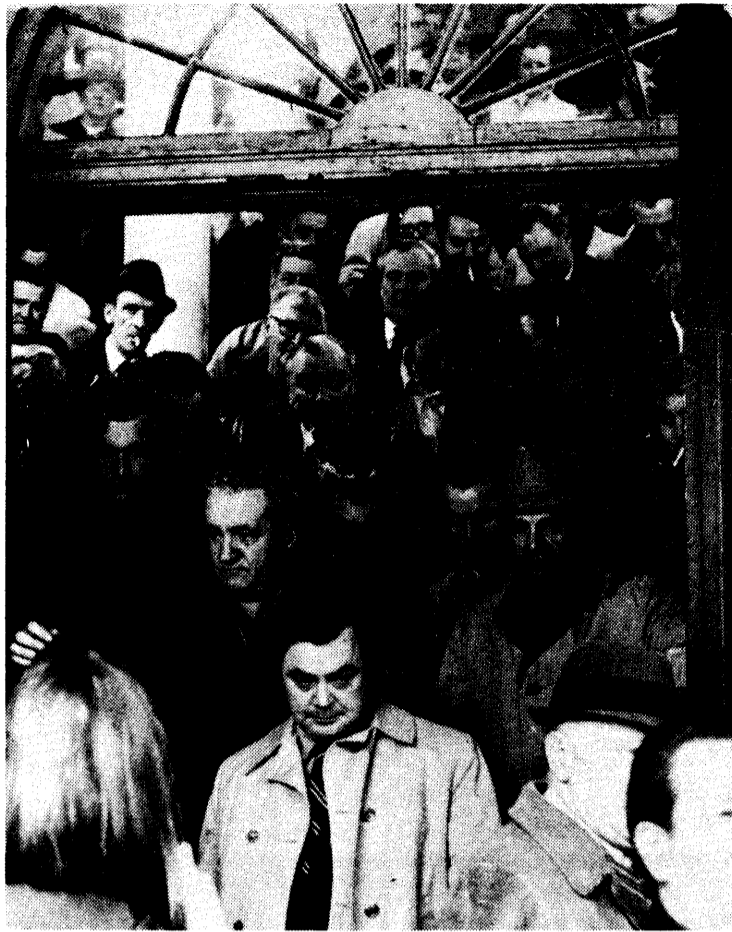
solutely nothing in needed increases in pensions, medical, hospital and dental care. The central issue of the 40 hours was nowhere to be found.

REJECTION

Since the rejection of the contract the Local leadership made every desperate attempt possible to get a re-vote on the contract. A section of the delegates even went so far as to start a petition campaign for a revote with the hopes of getting the men back to work.

Askew with the full backing of the International leadership held an emergency meeting on Monday, February 13, in fear of a shutdown, to make a final attempt for an acceptance of the contract.

This plan exploded in Askew's face when the men at the meeting demanded to know exactly what the local agreements



Rank and file longshoremen leave Boston ILA union meeting last week in disgust after leaders tried to force contract rejected earlier.

were and whether Philadelphia had won the central demands of the full 40 hours and better job conditions and benefits. Askew, thrown into a complete panic, refused to answer any of the men's questions.

He repeatedly stated that whatever the Philadelphia Maritime Trade Association offered

was what the men should take and going out would be slitting their own throats and isolating themselves.

At this point one of the men grabbed the mike from Askew and shouted that Askew was a liar and Gleason promised if one port went out all ports would go out.

Gleason Threatens To Isolate Baltimore Dockers

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE, MARCH 14—With the strike deadline less than 24 hours away, ILA President Teddy Gleason has refused to confirm or deny reports that if the Baltimore port strikes no support will be forthcoming from other ports. This occurs almost exactly one week after Gleason made his famous "One down, all down" pledge to Baltimore dockers.

Longshoremen here are enraged at Gleason's blatant at-

tempt to sellout their struggle. In an effort to cover himself Gleason has come to Baltimore to take over the negotiations.

Last Wednesday, ILA members here voted by an overwhelming 1780-129 to reject the final offer of the local Steamship Trading Association. One longshoreman said of the STA offer:

"If we took this offer we'd be getting nothing. There's no change in the number of hours in the guarantee. As a matter of fact the qualification requirements are stiffer than the last contract. They're not just trying to hold the line; they're trying to squeeze us out. The only

language people like this understand is a strike"

PICAYUNE?

Contrast this with Gleason's statement to the press yesterday on the differences between them and the bosses:

"There are quite a few issues here that probably don't mean \$15 for the whole group of them with the exception of the guarantee and we haven't talked about that yet. But the other items in there are picayune stuff."

REORGANIZATION

"Picayune stuff" to which

Gleason refers includes the cutting of crew sizes on barge work and the reorganization of other jobs throughout the terminal, eliminating many positions.

GUARANTEE

Thus far the demand for the full 2080 hour guarantee is on the table but a number of men are dissatisfied with the qualification requirements:

"The way they've got this set up is if we get the full guarantee only men with five or six year seniority will be eligible. This means that someone like me will just have to live off of what I can get.

Why ILA Contract Carried New York

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—Longshoremen and checkers in the Port of New York are still at work following the official announcement by ILA President Thomas (Teddy) Gleason that the contract terms had been accepted.

The official count on the vote reveals the widespread opposition. The contract was reportedly accepted by a margin of a little over 2-1: 9,761 to 4,503.

The opposition centered around the "local" issues, especially the issue of the guaranteed annual income of 2,080 hours. This was maintained in form only. In reality, the new rules and penalties governing the application of guarantee payments will mean the elimination of thousands of men from the guarantee and from the waterfront entirely, as containerization grows and the recession deepens.

RIGGED

Like the recent acceptance of sellout contracts in Transit (TWU) and in the telephone company craftsmen (CWA) in New York, the passage of the contract

raises sharply the question of how the bureaucracy was able to push through acceptance of a contract which very few rank and filers were happy with.

One view held by many rank and file militants was that the vote was "rigged." This was expressed by one checker at the Greenwich St. hiring hall who told the *Bulletin*:

"Sure the ballot boxes were stuffed. They just called the newspapers and told them whatever vote they wanted. You guys should take a straw vote and really find out."

But the trouble with this explanation is that it avoids the fundamental question of the necessity of reaching the mass of the dockworkers in the port, especially those men about to retire, the youngest men and those men who are working steady, who did vote for the contract.

The idea that it was simply a question of "rigging" was put forward by individuals reflecting the views of the Communist Party in their leaflet, "Dockers News" of March 6, places all the emphasis on the perspective for a wildcat strike on March 15.

In effect, they concede the fight to bring the men out and to reach those men with illusions about the contract when they say, "Vote no BUT get ready to strike March 15," and "The vote...is rigged: we know it is a set up!!..."

Underneath the pseudo-militancy the "Dockers News" leaflet represents the most reactionary Stalinist conceptions of reliance on the capitalist state by appealing for a vote under the slave-labor Taft-Hartley Act which even in this contract has been used to weaken and divide the dockworkers on both coasts.

This is consistent with the policies of the Communist Party expressed in the *Daily World* which up until the last moment refused to criticize Gleason's contract over the issue of the guarantee. After the vote was taken the *Daily World* stated, in the March 10 issue, that the

dockers won a victory by "maintaining the guarantee of 2,080 hours per year."

The question of leadership meant that it was necessary to reach the regular working longshoremen and checkers, particularly in Port Newark-Elizabeth and in Brooklyn. Many of the men still have illusions that this contract is not the prelude to mass unemployment and the eventual destruction of the guarantee altogether on the docks. A fight against these illusions had to be carried out.

On the contrary, the Communist Party did not proceed with the understanding that the economic crisis of the capitalist system is forcing the bosses to declare war on all the rights and conditions of the longshoremen. They proceeded with a liberal approach, refusing to take up the fight for nationalization of shipping and the docks as the only solution for dockers.

THEORY

A purely "trade union" perspective which is based on militancy alone and rejects theory as the basis of the fight against the bureaucracy, only

Dockers In Boston Vote Down Contract

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

BOSTON, Mass., March 12—Nearly 500 longshoremen from the three ILA locals (800, 805, 799) crowded into Faneuil Hall for an union meeting at 8:30 this morning.

The local contract offered by the BSA was rejected by a 261 to 258 vote on the 8th, despite the refusal of the local leadership to spell out the terms and their attempts to keep the men in the dark.

Some longshoremen came out of the hall early, giving the "thumbs down" sign when asked about the contract. One worker said he was disgusted "with the idle conversation—a polite word for BS, that's being thrown around in there."

When asked what was taking place in the meeting one worker shrugged and said "Well, I don't know. You'd have to be a lawyer to figure out the clauses."

When this reporter asked, "Are they trying to pull the rug out from under the rejection and get the men to accept the contract pretty much as it stands," he said, "Now you're talking sense, now you're talking business."

Discussion from the floor, he said, got heated over one of the main local issues—cutting down on gang size, by 4 or 5 men each. In one case this was to be accomplished by changing the name of a crew. General cargo gangs have 20 men, "junk" gangs have 16. The leadership was proposing that a general cargo gang now be called a "junk" gang—which would of course wipe out 4 jobs on each gang it applied to, increasing unemployment and speedup on the docks.

The other major issue is on classification of "A" "B" and "C" men, with the leadership bringing in proposals that would break down and destroy the seniority rights built up over the years.

The overwhelming sentiment expressed as the men poured out of the hall at noon was that there would be strike action on the 14th.

CRISIS

At the center of the conflict is the economic crisis of the system which forces the capitalist ship-owners and their governmental agents—Nixon, Congress, the courts, the Democratic and Republican Parties—to extract the highest profit by automation (containerization) wiping out thousands of jobs. Any protection that the workers won during the boom period, including the guaranteed income, can no longer be tolerated by the employers.

While the Pay Board represents the major political weapon of the ruling class to push back the wages of the workers, unemployment and plant closings are used as a club to try to get concessions on wages and speed-

(Continued On Page 18)

BY NANCY FIELDS

Juan Farinas is scheduled to appear for surrender to the Federal government March 20.

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee is filing a petition for a modification of the sentence on Monday, March 20 in the United States District Court. The motion is to be heard on Friday, March 24 by Judge Milton Pollack.

Farinas is a 24 year old Cuban-born worker and a supporter of the Workers League. He was convicted and sentenced to two years im-

prisonment on charges of violating the Selective Service Act on January 31, 1971.

The specific counts of his conviction were: refusal to cease and desist from speaking and leafletting, hindering and interfering with the Selective Service System, and refusal to report and submit for induction.

This frame-up stems from an attempt by Farinas, in August 1968 at his induction, to express his opposition to the war by peacefully distributing leaflets to his fellow inductees.

The petition calls for the suspension of the defendant's sen-

tence of two years imprisonment and to permit him instead to be inducted into the Army.

If that is not possible, it then asks that he be permitted to serve his sentence on probation with the condition that he perform 24 consecutive months of alternative service deemed to be in the national interest.

It had always been and continues to be Farinas' position that he is willing to submit to induction as originally ordered by the Selective Service System.

Farinas has not changed his political views on the Vietnam War as being a class war waged by the capitalists against the workers and peasants of Vietnam. Nevertheless, he is not a conscientious objector and he has stated his willingness to abide by Army regulations just as any other soldier would.

The nature and extent of the

sentence clearly expose the political character of the case. In fact, at the sentencing, Judge Pollack claimed that the only condition for probation would be Farinas' expressed desire for "rehabilitation." Of course, by that Pollack meant that Farinas would only be considered rehabilitated if he agreed to abandon his political views.

The fact that such an extensive sentence was issued from a trial based on a regulation that had never been applied before reveals the extent to which the government will use its legal system to punish those who hold dissenting views.

Farinas has expressed the nature of his sentence in his present motion for modification. He notes:

"...that in view of my willingness to comply with the order which led to Count IV (refusal of induction) of the indictment, a sentence of two years im-

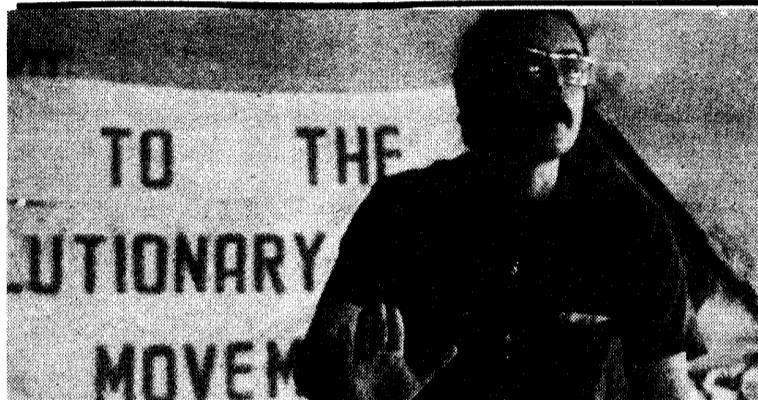
prisonment for the acts set forth in the other counts—leafletting and speaking—could only be interpreted as excessive and a politically motivated sentence."

The Bulletin appeals to all our readers to continue their support by sending telegrams or letters to the court immediately. It is necessary to fill Judge Pollack's desk with these before the motion is heard.

In addition, the Defense Committee is urgently in need of funds to aid in the support of Farinas' wife and child, to be able to continue our motions in court and to carry out a massive publicity campaign.

Send telegrams to: Judge Milton Pollack, U.S. Court House, Foley Square, New York, N.Y. 10013

Send funds to: Juan Farinas Defense Committee, 135 W. 14th Street, Sixth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10011



Juan Farinas

The Supreme Court decision on the Juan Farinas case is a blatant example of political manipulation of the Justice Department. It must be fought.

Steve Miles
President of the St. Olaf's College student body.
Northfield, Minn.

The student body is on record as a sponsor of the case.



Stanley Hill

Stanley Hill, President of SSEU Local 371, issued an appeal to U.S. District Court Judge Milton Pollack to grant the motion of Juan Farinas for modification of sentence. Mr. Farinas was sentenced to two years in prison by Justice Pollack in 1971.

Today the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the case. In a separate statement Brother Hill referred to the fact that Farinas was a trade unionist and that SSEU Local 371 had come into contact with many of its own members who opposed the war and suffered crises of conscience over the draft.

Brother Hill said: "Many were drafted and others were not. However from this experience I cannot draw the conclusion that the position taken by Mr. Farinas, in his forthright objections to the war, should be the cause of this particularly severe punishment.

"The fact that Mr. Farinas was also willing and is presently willing to serve in the Armed Forces makes this sentence all the more excessive."

The telegram sent by Brother Hill follows.

"We urge you to grant Juan P. Farinas' motion for modification of sentence. In view of Mr. Farinas' stated willingness to go into the Armed Forces, the rest of the charges do not merit the sentence of two years in prison. Upholding the present sentence can only be interpreted as a punishment for Mr. Farinas' political views and for his opposition to the war in Vietnam, an opposition shared today by the overwhelming majority of the American people."

It is important that we begin to investigate the political nature of this country. The systematic process of exploiting the political beliefs of those who are interested in bringing about changes which effect all in this country must be terminated.

The fundamental principles outlined in the Constitution must be reevaluated. The Constitution, idealistically speaking, guarantees the freedom of speech. We have too often witnessed this amendment being ignored.

The determination of political prisoners to speak out has been demonstrated by the Soledad Brothers, Angela Davis, Juan Farinas, and of course the brothers at Attica. This country has ignored these appeals.

It is evident in the fact that Juan Farinas has been convicted and sentenced to two years imprisonment for the "crime" of distributing a leaflet at the Selective Service induction center expressing his opposition to the war in Vietnam.

We must take it upon ourselves to defend Political Prisoners such as Juan Farinas to prevent this country from taking away the most important power of the people, the power to struggle.

Charles Ogletree
Stanford Angela Davis
Defense Committee

March 12, 1972
Peace, Power and Love,
Comrade Juan,
I sincerely hope my revolu-

**Trade Unions Demand:
Reduce Farinas Sentence**

tionary communications will find you in high revolutionary spirits. We the Political Prisoners of the Tombs Fourth International, Young Socialists Party are calling a mass meeting in protest of what the pig fascist racist Amerikkkan government has done to you.

We stand together with you in solemnity because we are wholeheartedly aware of what this imperialist pig Nixon and his racist judicial system is doing to repress and oppress all of our sisters and brothers. However, we also feel that Nixon's attack and unjust jailing you was done with unjust provocations.

It should be more than clear to all, the people are quite tired of being vamped on with oppression. Please remain strong Comrade Juan because we all love you. Power, Brother.

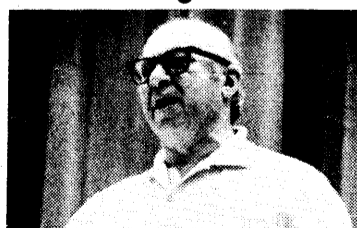
Yours in revolutionary spirit,
love and friendship,

Isabelle Auerbach Collectives,
Comrade N.P.D.

It is to our opinion as members of BSC of WVC that Juan Farinas is being unjustly penalized by the government for his convictions to a cause that he feels all should be involved in.

We are urging everyone to level support in his favor. As President of the BSC I personally feel that a judgement in Juan's favor would prove to be victory not only for him, but for all youth who are facing these attacks.

Gene Fowler
President of Black Student Coalition
West Valley College
San Jose, California



Abe Feinglas

I feel that the Supreme Court should have heard your case. Not only because it's an attack on your democratic rights but it's obviously an attack on the rights of all people.

Abe Feinglas, International Vice President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

"The day that a person is sentenced to prison for expressing his views is a sad day. I don't think we have a democracy if that happens."

Shirley Krogmeier
Member MFT No. 59



Leon Davis

Judge Milton Pollack
United States District Court
Southern District
United States Court House
Foley Square
New York, New York 10007

Dear Judge Pollack:

The Executive Council of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union, which represents 50,000 workers in hospitals and drug stores in the metropolitan area, has discussed the case of Juan P. Farinas, whose wife is a member of our union. We know that Farinas has been found guilty in connection with his military service.

We respectfully urge that you uphold the petition for reduction of sentence in his case.

We are particularly concerned in this case, since it is quite clear that an overwhelming majority of Americans are opposed to the war in Vietnam and that large sections of our nation support the idea of amnesty for war resisters.

In this instance, a favorable action on your part would be an act of justice and charity.

Respectfully yours,
Leon J. Davis
President

"I'll help in any way I can, it's still a free country—we think so anyway—we must be fair."

Orrie Norton
Past President of
UTU Local 464

"It is shocking that the real law breakers in the White House are given accolades and the people who exercise their democratic

rights are thrown in jail for passing out a leaflet. I hope we can stir up enough energy to release Juan. He certainly doesn't deserve that fate."

Sidney Lens
Chicago Peace Council

I stand with Juan Farinas' struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam and denounce the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear his appeal. Farinas' conviction represents the beginning of an attack on the trade unions and the most basic rights of the working class: the right to strike and the right to work. I demand that Farinas' motion for modification of sentence be accepted and that he be allowed to enter the armed services from which he has been unjustly excluded.

Cornelius Hudson
President, DPW Local 26
Sanitationmen
Detroit

"I think the ruling was terrible. It is used to intimidate defendants and gives us more reason to redouble our efforts to defend Juan. I will do anything I can to help. I call on other trade unionists to join in this defense, not only trade unionists, but especially them, because the unions will be crippled, their contracts ripped up, by repressive laws unless we take a stand."

Jack Spiegel
United Shoeworkers, Chicago

"Seems to me that he's being railroaded because he's a Cuban. Others have done similar things and have got nowhere near this sentence. In as much as he really didn't refuse to go into the Army, it looks like a railroad job to me."

Alvis Swan
International Representative,
RWDSU

I see the Supreme Court refusal to hear the Farinas case as a gross attack on his civil rights. I personally feel that since he didn't refuse service he should be allowed to serve his two years in the Army or in alternative service.

Charles Williams
President, AFSCME Local 1164
Minneapolis

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

CCNY Uses JDL To Suspend YS

BY A CITY COLLEGE STUDENT

NEW YORK—The capitalist class and their most vicious agents are launching an insidious witch-hunt against all working class tendencies, particularly the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

The Young Socialists of City College of New York face being thrown off the campus and physical threats by the Jewish Defense League.

This attack comes shortly after the FBI has visited the offices of the Workers League. It comes at a time when Young Socialists are harassed on the way to the Conference of Revolutionary Youth in San Francisco. Further, it comes as the fascist JDL makes repeated attacks on the YS at Brooklyn College, and as Juan Farinas now goes to prison for two years on frame-up charges.

The YS charter was suspended following a meeting of the JDL. At that meeting the Young Socialists called a rally outside to get the JDL off the campus.

Independent students were beaten at the end of the meeting by the JDL who came armed with sticks, broken bottles and brass knuckles.

SDS went into the JDL meeting chanting and were thrown out by JDL goons and Wackenhut guards.

ADMINISTRATION

Following that rally, the college administration suspended the charters of the JDL, SDS, the Young Socialists and the Young Workers Liberation League. The latter were no where near the rally or the JDL meeting. The administration is using this incident to wipe out every working class tendency on the campus.

It became quite clear last Thursday that the administration stands behind the JDL in its complete hostility to the Young Socialists. The YS scheduled its regular weekly meeting before the dean told the president of the club that the charter had been suspended, which therefore denied the YS the right to hold

Pagan Trial Begins In Canada

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

In this period of tremendous crises in capitalism with its massive layoffs and pay cuts the government has to take a full-scale offensive against all militants.

Humberto Pagan, 20 years old and a member of a Puerto Rican nationalist organization faces possible life sentence on a framed up modern charge. He was accused of shooting Lt. Col. Juan Mercado, chief of the Puerto Rican riot squad during a clash between students and police of the University of Puerto Rico on March 11, 1971 in which three policemen were killed. His trial began last week in Canada.

The trial of Miguel Hudo Ricci, accused of killing a police sergeant, made it very clear what Pagan would face. His attorney had to use a gun to protect himself and Pagar from being attacked in the courtroom by right wing vigilantes while all police officials stood by and did nothing.

Pagan fled from Puerto Rico

meetings.

The YS held an informal discussion about the administration's attack and the political fight that had to be carried forward to drive the JDL off the campus. In the middle of the discussion, about eight JDLers sought to barge into the room to disrupt the discussion.

DISRUPT

One JDLer pushed her way into the room trying to get to a seat. She was told firmly by several YS members and their guests that the JDL was not invited to the discussion.

The JDLer persisted and had to be kept from sitting down. The girl then dug her nails into a YS member who was keeping her from the meeting. The other JDLers were trying to drag another member of the YS out into the hall and then threw a chair into the room.

When the YS finally threw out the fascists, they closed the door in order to proceed in an orderly way with the discussion. The JDL then summoned Dean Sohmer who has supposedly taken away the privileges of the JDL, as well as calling the Wackenhut guards.

SLANDERS

The three major campus newspapers have all carried articles about the JDL meeting and particularly the rally of the YS. The most vicious slanders have appeared in the *Campus* newspaper, which published a letter of the JDL accusing the YS of assaulting them, of carrying weapons and disrupting their meeting.

It must be made absolutely clear that the JDL is twisting the entire situation around in order to attack and try to destroy the

while free on bail and entered Canada on August 31. He was arrested in Ottawa on Nov. 8 on the charge of illegal entrance to the country. The usual penalty for such a crime is a \$25 fine and deportation to any country he wishes.

It was quite obvious that the FBI was putting great pressure on the Canadian government to extradite Pagan back to Puerto Rico. The defense's purpose at this hearing was to prove that if Pagan was to return to Puerto Rico his life would be in great danger.

The attack on Humberto Pagan is a direct attack on the entire working class. This witchhunt by the government on all militants is an attempt to stop the movement of the working class.

Young Socialists. It was the JDL that brought armed thugs from off campus to intimidate and attack any opposition.

It was the JDL who beat up three independent students who disagree with them. It was the JDL who tried to disrupt a discussion attended by members of the YS.

As the last headline of the *Bulletin* stated, unemployment among the youth is hitting 19%, the highest since the government began keeping records in 1948.

Lindsay has just announced his budget which will wipe out open admissions in the city university system, and threatens the existence of every publicly-funded school and institution.

LASHES OUT

It is no accident that the fascist JDL, and the capitalist system behind it, lashes out to stop the movement of the working class and the youth against these attacks.

The YS is building a conscious leadership among the youth to defeat this system that creates mass unemployment, wipes out the schools and threatens the very lives of the entire working class.

60% Jobless Rate Drives Philly Youth Into Gangs

BY MARTY FELT

PHILADELPHIA—Nearly 50% of the youth in North Philadelphia belong to a gang.

One youth told the YS: "It used to be just a question of having community pride, that we used to have separate dances and parties and sports activities. But what's been happening is the cops bust up our parties, they harass us at the playground, and at the same time we can't find a job and don't have a decent education."

Behind the existence of the gangs is the complete inability of capitalism to provide for the youth. In Philadelphia, unemployment among minority youth between the ages of 16 and 25 is 60%.

This intolerable unemployment situation is clear in the industries of Philadelphia. The Budd plant, which employs 5,000 workers, many of whom are under 25 and are getting on-the-job training, will be phased out. The same situation exists in the General Electric Plant in West Phila. which just laid off 500 workers.

Midvale-Heppenstall, which during World War II was a booming steel producer, will be closing down. Boeing Vertol which employed thousands of workers has been shut down.

This is what one gang member had to say about this situation:



Youth in Gary, Indiana face life of unemployment. Next week's *Bulletin* will feature a story on jobless conditions in Gary.

Police Murder Youth In East Menlo Park

BY A CORRESPONDENT

MENLO PARK, CALIF.—Gregory White, a Black youth of 15 from East Menlo Park was shot and killed in cold-blooded murder by a Sheriff's deputy Thursday evening. He was running from a car he had allegedly stolen toward his home.

According to the police report, Larry Bringhurst was running after the youth, fell, and seeing the youth climbing over a fence, fired on him. One shot and he was dead, just yards away from his home.

According to an East Palo Alto resident, Bringhurst is one of six new deputies recently brought into East Palo Alto as part of an anti-crime campaign launched jointly by a conference of Black and White Women Against Crime and the East Palo Alto Municipal Council with the support of Nairobi College. These police are not there to protect the citizens, but to harass and smash the youth.

The Sheriff's office has agreed to suspend Bringhurst pending the outcome of investigations. The first report from the Sheriff spoke of two shots being fired, and that Bringhurst hearing the first, which was fired by his partner, assumed he was being fired upon and shot the youth.

This story has been dropped, but with the Municipal Council appointing a committee to take legal action, it is clear that something will be worked out between them as an acceptable cover.

WAR

Meanwhile, the youth are ready for war, as evidenced by a packed meeting in the Bellehaven School gym of close to 300 members of the community the next evening.

But it is vital that the lessons of the San Jose and San Francisco police killings be learned by the youth today, to prevent the nationalists and Stalinists from coming in to divert the upsurge of the youth into pleadings before the City Council or some suicidal guerrilla action.

Avenging Gregory White and defending all youth from these attacks, can only be done by the building of the Young Socialists, a revolutionary youth movement which can oppose these killings through the mobilization of the entire working class against the government and its tools of oppression.

ELIMINATE

The conditions in the schools are no better. Last summer the school board, due to lack of funds, attempted to eliminate all extracurricular activities, including the entire sports program. In schools like Benjamin Franklin High and William Penn High where there are 45 students in each class, cops regularly patrol the schools and the doors are locked to prevent the students from leaving during the day.

Last week they brought back mounted police to patrol the city streets.

The youth that the Young Socialist reporters spoke to were enthusiastic about the YS March 29 demonstration against unemployment.

Jobs Marchers Enter London

SPECIAL TO THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

LONDON, March 11—The historic Right to Work marches drew closer to the climatic Sunday rally as four contingents of the Young Socialists entered today the outskirts of London.

During the four weeks that have passed since the first march began in Scotland, the Young Socialists walked more than 1,300 miles under the most difficult conditions. Besides having to face the blustery weather of the English winter, the Young Socialists were confronted with the antagonism of the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy.

But once the marchers began their long journey, there was never any doubt that they would make it to London; for behind the Young Socialists stood the support and admiration of the British working class.

DEFY

Again and again, in every working class community, trade unionists and their families defied the official proscription to extend whatever help they could afford to the Young Socialists. Rank and file members of the Communist Party ignored the Stalinist slanders against the marchers in order to assist them toward London.

What motivated this support was not mere sympathy for the difficult conditions facing the Young Socialists but rather solid support for their principled struggle against the hated Tory government. As the YS passed through working class neighborhoods, they were recognized as the leaders of the fight to defeat the Tory plans to break the back of the trade unions.

It is for this reason that the Labour Party was completely unable to enforce its vicious proscription against the Young Socialists' Right to Work marches.

WOOLWICH

The weakness of the labor bureaucracy and the political power of the YS was dramatically illustrated two days ago in Woolwich, where the Labour Council supplied accommodations to the marchers after hour-long chanting by the YS broke their original resistance.

At first Woolwich Labour Party Secretary N. Stevens ordered the YS delegation seeking support for the marchers out of the party's office. But the demonstration

by the Young Socialists rallied the workers in the town; and the Council quickly granted lodgings and a three-course meal.

John Strand, one of the marchers, stated: "I was really impressed. The Council's decision shows we can do something. Men like these have got all the power and we're just a relatively small group of people, yet we frightened the hell out of them."

Another marcher, John Quilty, added: "It was fantastic. I've never seen anybody shake so much as the men we spoke to at the town hall."

REVISIONISTS

The Young Socialists have been able to smash the Labour Party and Trade Union Council proscriptions in force for the past decade without the slightest compromise on principles. And while their revolutionary integrity has won them the support of workers throughout the country, it has earned them the hatred of all the revisionist rat groups seeking to head off the struggle of the British working class.

It is because the Young Socialists is constructing a movement within the working class to overthrow capitalism and against all middle class tendencies

seeking to divert that fight that the Socialist Labour League rejected the "support" to the Right to Work marches offered by the International Socialists.

CENTRIST

In a reply to the IS, the Political Committee of the SLL stated: "The IS, we repeat, is an opponent anti-Trotskyist organization which has consistently fought the SLL. Our Right-to-Work marches are part of the practice we engage in to expose IS as a middle class, centrist grouping reminiscent of the radical liberal traditions of the bourgeois politics in Britain."

What lies behind the support offered by the International Socialists, which holds the reactionary opinion that the Soviet Union is a "state capitalist" society and which supported the landing of British troops in Ulster, is the desire to turn the principled Right to Work marches into a cheap stunt.

DEMONSTRATION

But having overcome the proscriptions, the mountain of slanders, and the adverse climate, the marchers are now in London—ready for the most massive demonstration in the history of British Trotskyism.

Chelsea Students Face Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Mar. 3—Only last-minute action by the administration of Chelsea Vocational High School here prevented a general walkout by students today in protest against Rockefeller's budget cuts.

At Chelsea Vocational, the cuts will completely eliminate Aspira, a group involved in getting working class youth to enter college.

Realizing that there was considerable support among teachers and students for the demonstration being held against Rockefeller, the administration

ordered teachers to keep all students in their classrooms at the time of the demonstration.

This attack follows by only a few weeks an incident in which police ripped up Chelsea students' free subway passes after accusing them of "disrupting" the subway.

One Chelsea Vocational student said after the demonstra-

tion, "Rockefeller wants to take away the money from students who can't afford to go to school...We didn't have somebody to lead us—if we had somebody to lead us we'd all have walked out. This demonstration called by the Young Socialists on the 29th sounds like we can really accomplish something."



Young Socialists hold rallies (above) in New York's Lower East Side and Smith House projects to build for March 29th YS demonstration against unemployment. Right, St. Louis youth eagerly read Bulletin.

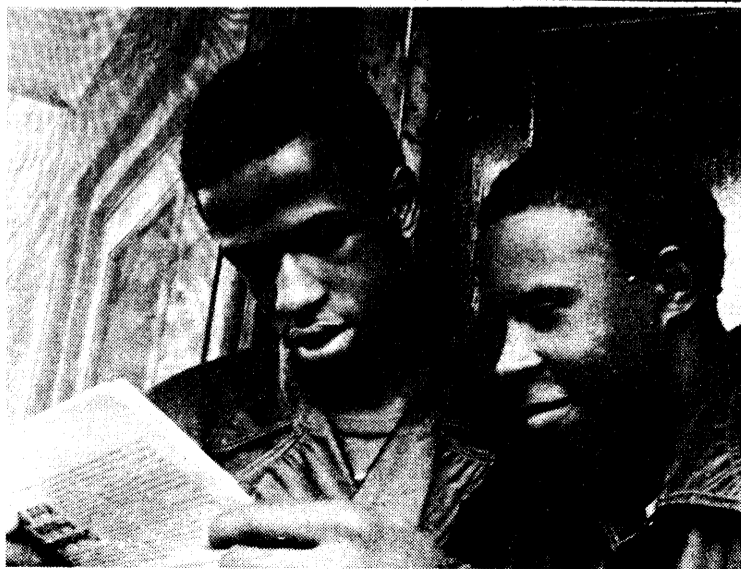
Young Socialists Call
MASS
DEMONSTRATION
OF YOUTH!

JOBS FOR ALL!
NO BUDGET CUTS!

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST ACT to put an end to unemployment and to protect and expand the education of the youth. With unemployment growing among older workers, what chance do youth have for jobs? The trade unions have the power to mobilize millions on Washington. The trade unions have the power to insist on a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to protect the jobs of older workers and open up new jobs for youth. The trade unions have the power to stop the attacks on the education of working class youth, to end the reactionary war in Vietnam, to stop the repressions of Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers and Juan Farinas. The trade unions have the power to build a labor party to replace the Democrats and Republicans who encourage unemployment to split and weaken the working class.

WE, THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH AND STUDENTS ARE DEMONSTRATING TO AWAKEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO THESE TASKS!

March on the Federal Building
 FOLEY SQUARE NEW YORK
 WEDNESDAY, For Information
 MARCH 29 Call: 924-0852
 4-6PM



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Wallace Sweep Threatens Labor

George Wallace's victory in the Florida primary is the greatest danger to the American working class. Wallace is the spokesman of big business whipping up a mass movement in the middle class based on hatred of the working class and racism. Behind Wallace's campaign are the preparations for the organization of fascist gangs to destroy the working class and preserve capitalism. Wallace's mass support came from the very same forces which mobilized in Forest Hills in Queens arming themselves against the minority people and attacking construction workers.

The Florida primary has exploded the crisis in the Democratic Party. Muskie, supported by the party machine, its hope for the 1972 elections, is finished. Its only possibility now is to try to dress up the pathetic Hubert Humphrey. Lindsay who conducted a million dollar campaign won 7% of the vote.

The middle class which has traditionally voted for the liberals was the basis for the big vote for Wallace. In St. Petersburg, a middle class city, Wallace won 8% of the vote in 1968. This year he won 30%. This is the bankruptcy of liberalism. The middle class now seeking to preserve itself from misery and ruin revolts against its leaders, rebels against the empty promises of reform and turns to the forces of "law and order" and fascism.

The Democratic Party has historically based itself on an alliance of the middle class and big business with the working class tied to it through the trade union bureaucracy. Now the crisis of capitalism is breaking this up as sections of the middle class turn away from the traditional party leaders to forces like Wallace and workers see the Democratic Party for what it is—the party of capitalism.

The break-up of the Democratic Party means one of two things. Either a labor party is going to be built of the working people for a fight against capitalism and its two parties or Wallace will grow encouraged not only by the bankruptcy of liberalism but by Nixon and the entire capitalist class.

Wallace just gives us a glimpse of the future of what capitalism is preparing so desperately to do to preserve its system against the movement of the working class.

We have only one choice in 1972 and that is the construction of a labor party based on socialist policies. This will be at the center of the demonstration of the Young Socialists on March 29 against unemployment to mobilize the unions, the youth and unemployed to build this party now.

Circulation Drive Lags

March 15—As we reach the two-thirds point in the Bulletin subscription drive, we continue to lag dangerously behind the goal. At this point 3000 of the 4000 subs should be in but only 1885 have been received. We have almost reached the one half mark when two-thirds of the time has passed.

So far this week we have received 255 subs. While this figure would be sufficient if the drive had begun properly in most areas, the present situation requires a rate of 500 for the next four weeks.

Some areas have done particularly well and most areas are now fighting to turn around the situation. Last Saturday 28 subs were gotten in one mobilization by the East New York Branch and 24 subs in a single mobilization by the Brownsville Branch. San Diego, which had been lagging behind, sent in 32 in one week. New Haven has already gotten in 129 subs on a quota of 160 while Northfield, Minnesota has gotten 100 on 175 despite extremely cold weather.

The major problem is the Bay Area branches which have sent in only 96 out of a quota of 600. They must now send in 125 subs per week. Difficult as this may seem the growth of the Young Socialists in the area can make it possible.

In the meantime the response from the branches to the \$30,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Drive has been simply tremendous. There is now every indication that we will be able to raise the goal substantially.



"I don't support Wallace—my position's the opposite of his!"

Letters to the Editor



The militant facade of Black nationalism profusely covered the Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, but its real content was expressed by its open support to various Democratic politicians.

Dear Comrades:

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Now, this impending convention does imply change because there is an effort being made to go somewhere. But is the going forward, or a backward move? In coming to a conclusion on this, we must understand the policy or strategy of those who are participating.

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Your friend,
M.W.

The reason the war keeps on, is, those crooks are afraid what would happen if all the sick and crippled come back.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Wallace Sweep Threatens Labor

George Wallace's victory in the Florida primary is the greatest danger to the American working class. Wallace is the spokesman of big business whipping up a mass movement in the middle class based on hatred of the working class and racism. Behind Wallace's campaign are the preparations for the organization of fascist gangs to destroy the working class and preserve capitalism. Wallace's mass support came from the very same forces which mobilized in Forest Hills in Queens arming themselves against the minority people and attacking construction workers.

The Florida primary has exploded the crisis in the Democratic Party. Muskie, supported by the party machine, its hope for the 1972 elections, is finished. Its only possibility now is to try to dress up the pathetic Hubert Humphrey. Lindsay who conducted a million dollar campaign won 7% of the vote.

The middle class which has traditionally voted for the liberals was the basis for the big vote for Wallace. In St. Petersburg, a middle class city, Wallace won 8% of the vote in 1968. This year he won 30%. This is the bankruptcy of liberalism. The middle class now seeking to preserve itself from misery and ruin revolts against its leaders, rebels against the empty promises of reform and turns to the forces of "law and order" and fascism.

The Democratic Party has historically based itself on an alliance of the middle class and big business with the working class tied to it through the trade union bureaucracy. Now the crisis of capitalism is breaking this up as sections of the middle class turn away from the traditional party leaders to forces like Wallace and workers see the Democratic Party for what it is—the party of capitalism.

The break-up of the Democratic Party means one of two things. Either a labor party is going to be built of the working people for a fight against capitalism and its two parties or Wallace will grow encouraged not only by the bankruptcy of liberalism but by Nixon and the entire capitalist class.

Wallace just gives us a glimpse of the future of what capitalism is preparing so desperately to do to preserve its system against the movement of the working class.

We have only one choice in 1972 and that is the construction of a labor party based on socialist policies. This will be at the center of the demonstration of the Young Socialists on March 29 against unemployment to mobilize the unions, the youth and unemployed to build this party now.

Circulation Drive Lags

March 15—As we reach the two-thirds point in the Bulletin subscription drive, we continue to lag dangerously behind the goal. At this point 3000 of the 4000 subs should be in but only 1885 have been received. We have almost reached the one half mark when two-thirds of the time has passed.

So far this week we have received 255 subs. While this figure would be sufficient if the drive had begun properly in most areas, the present situation requires a rate of 500 for the next four weeks.

Some areas have done particularly well and most areas are now fighting to turn around the situation. Last Saturday 28 subs were gotten in one mobilization by the East New York Branch and 24 subs in a single mobilization by the Brownsville Branch. San Diego, which had been lagging behind, sent in 32 in one week. New Haven has already gotten in 129 subs on a quota of 160 while Northfield, Minnesota has gotten 100 on 175 despite extremely cold weather.

The major problem is the Bay Area branches which have sent in only 96 out of a quota of 600. They must now send in 125 subs per week. Difficult as this may seem the growth of the Young Socialists in the area can make it possible.

In the meantime the response from the branches to the \$30,000 Spring Bulletin Expansion Drive has been simply tremendous. There is now every indication that we will be able to raise the goal substantially.



"I don't support Wallace—my position's the opposite of his!"

Letters to the Editor



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The Liberal Philosophy of George Novack

By Alex Steiner

2 Materialism and Idealism

THE BRIEF PERIOD of post-war working class militancy was over by 1949. The new-found prosperity of American capitalism and the onset of the cold war inaugurated a period of anti-Communist witch-hunting on the part of the bourgeoisie and the labor bureaucracy in the United States. This was to deal a heavy blow to the SWP, both in terms of its ability to intervene in the class struggle and in the morale of its members.

On top of the anti-communism and the relative quiescence of the working class, a much more significant development for the SWP was then taking place. By 1951-52, the leadership of the Fourth International had gone over to a totally revisionist perspective which threatened the very continuity of the Trotskyist movement. Pablo had then come up with his impressionist theory of a "new world reality" whereby the pressure of objective conditions was forcing Stalinists and centrists to lead revolutionary struggles and actually lead the working class to power. Pablo foresaw deformed workers states being created out of such a process that would last for centuries. Flowing out of this, Trotskyists should liquidate themselves into these mass movements in order to push them to the left and accelerate the whole process. This perspective represented an absolutely fundamental challenge to the continued existence of the Fourth International.

The SWP at first did not oppose Pablo as long as he did not meddle in the internal business of the party. But the same class pressures which motivated Pablo to try to liquidate the Trotskyist movement also had an effect inside the SWP. A faction emerged around Bert Cochran and George Clarke which took up Pablo's position against the "orthodox Trotskyism" of Cannon and the majority. Faced with this organizational challenge, the SWP finally took a stand against Pablo by issuing the Open Letter of 1953. This letter was a restatement of the fundamental principles upon which the Trotskyist movement was built and repudiation of the perspective of Pablo as a revisionist perspective with which "there can be no compromise." It initiated a fundamental and necessary split inside the Fourth International.

We find Novack, in 1953, taking the wrong side in this split. Novack's reaction to the Open Letter has been described by Gerry Healy.

"Almost immediately after the split with Pablo in 1953 George Novack (William F. Warde) announced to Cannon one day that he was in reality a supporter of Pablo's and was on his way over to join

Cochran and Clarke.

"This caused consternation in the Cannon camp because he had been boosted as their main theoretician.

"Immediately they went into action. According to Cannon, Evelyn Reed, Novack's wife, announced she was staying with the SWP and he, Cannon, arranged that they (the Novacks) were to join him in Los Angeles, California as soon as possible.

"So they did, and that silenced George Novack, at least for the time being. He didn't break from Cannon but he temporarily kept his views on Pablo to himself."

Novack's theoretical weaknesses and his removal from the day to day problems of building the party rooted in the working class led him to embrace the liquidationist conclusions of Pablo. From that point on Novack played a right wing role in the SWP. His theoretical writings of the 1950s will in turn reflect his political degeneration.

LONG VIEW

An early backhanded defense of Pabloism is found in a pamphlet called *The Long View of History*. This was originally a series of lectures given in 1955. The booklet summarizes the main stages in the evolution of man in his struggle against nature. A final section summarizes the main stages of the process of social revolution that has taken place on the North American continent.

The main defect of this work is "the long view" because it is so general it leads to a series of superficial conclusions being made from the "logic of history" as it has unfolded up till the present. We are left with the vacuous conclusion that the future will be a continuation of the past trend in history, i.e., a new social revolution is inevitable sooner or later.

We are presented with an objectivist commentary on events. Novack manages to bring the "irreversible trend toward socialism" of the Pabloites into his commentary.

"The movement for the advancement of capitalism which dominated world history from the 16th to the 19th centuries has been succeeded by the anti-capitalist movement of the socialist working class and their colonial allies on a world scale in the 20th century. This is the central line of world social development of our time."

Further on in the same vein:

"Reviewing this country's history from 1876 to 1957, together with the rate of growth of the working class movement on a world scale, the balance of forces has been steadily shifting, despite all oscillations, more and more toward the side of the working class power."

The Open Letter said the following about the Pabloite thesis of an irreversible movement to socialism:

"The principles (of Trotskyism) have been abandoned by Pablo. In place of

emphasizing the danger of a new barbarism, he sees the drive toward socialism as 'irreversible.'"

Novack's method of arriving at his conclusion is very illustrative. We first review the history of the working class movement until we find some "main trend" in it, i.e., some empirical generalization. We then note that in the past period the working class has made certain advances, i.e., it has organized itself into unions, new workers states have been created, etc. We then conclude that a shift in the balance of forces is taking place which we can then project as continuing in the future.

Marxists must proceed from a study of the development of the working class, not only as it appears on the surface, but of the underlying contradictory development of the economy and its effect on the political relations between classes at each point. In this way we prepare for the next upsurge of the revolution by following the objective crisis of capitalism which provides the material basis for it, but which is not always apparent on the surface.

Such a concrete analysis is liquidated by Novack into impressions of "broad historical processes." These "broad historical processes" dominate the "new world reality" and the necessity for the working class to have a Marxist leadership is rejected. The danger of betrayal by Stalinism and reformism is swept under the carpet.

Thus, Novack writes:

"The supreme merit of scientific socialism is that it enables us to participate in this process by understanding it, by striving to influence it through all its stages, by giving it proper direction and speeding it up so that its great aims can be achieved most economically and efficiently."

That is to say, a party based on Marxism is not absolutely essential, but only helpful in achieving the next stage of history most economically and efficiently. This liquidationist formulation is the logical outcome of an impressionist and objectivist method which goes hand in hand with Pabloite revisionism.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

In 1956 Novack wrote a series of articles for the British Trotskyist magazine, *Labour Review*, called *The Law of Uneven and Combined Development*. This work may have been written as a complement to *The Long View of History*. In the latter work, the main stages in the evolution of society are delineated, somewhat to the detriment of the contradictory development of these stages. *Uneven and Combined Development* tries to deal with this aspect of all historical development.

He describes the law at the beginning:

"The principle features of the law can be briefly summarized as follows. The mainspring of human progress is man's

command over the forces of production. As history advances, there occurs a faster or slower growth of the productive forces in this or that segment of society, owing to the differences in natural conditions and historical connections. These disparities give either an expanded or a compressed character to entire historical epochs and impart varying rates and extents of growth to different peoples, different branches of the economy, different classes, different social institutions and fields of culture. This is the essence of the law of uneven development.

"These variations amongst the multiple factors in history provide the basis for the emergence of exceptional phenomena in which features of a lower stage are merged with those of a superior stage of social development. These combined formations have a highly contradictory character and exhibit marked peculiarities. They may deviate so much from the rule and effect such an upheaval as to produce a qualitative leap in social evolution and enable a formerly backward people to outdistance, for a certain time, a more advanced. This is the gist of the law of combined development."

Novack proceeds to elaborate on this basically correct explanation with innumerable examples. However, it is one thing to provide descriptions of the workings of uneven and combined development in history—it is another to understand the dialectical process involved and to bring such an understanding to bear on the present historical conjuncture in order to prepare the working class for the tasks that lie ahead. For this a concrete analysis of all the factors that make for unevenness and historical leaps possible in the newly emerging situation is required.

Novack is correctly criticized in an appended commentary for not dealing with the following question:

"Will the processes at work give rise to a dialectical leap forward in history, as in the October Revolution in Russia, or will they give rise to degenerative processes, as in the bureaucratic distortions of Stalin's regime, or the destruction of the Tasmanian aborigines?"

This is by no means an academic question, for the alternative to a dialectical leap forward to socialism today is a degeneration into centuries of barbarism through fascism and nuclear war. To minimize this danger by reference to broad historical processes which have an irreversible progressive direction is a very dangerous disorientation.

Yet this is precisely what Novack does here as well as in *The Long View of History*. In reply to the above criticism, he makes certain references to the need for concrete investigation in each particular case. He tries to show that the law of uneven and combined development is simply an empirical generalization which demands concrete data in each specific application.

He writes:

"The fundamental lawfulness of phenomena theoretically expressed in the law of uneven development comes from the observed, verifiable fact, running throughout history, that disproportions of various types emerge from different rates of economic development."

But the law of uneven and combined development is not an empirical generalization from which we can project certain trends developing in the future as they have in the past. Rather, it expressed a fundamental property of dialectical development as applied to sociology. The discovery of this law is dependent on the development of dialectical materialism emerging as the culmination of all previous philosophy.

Philosophy, and scientific knowledge in general, is not derived through a series of empirical generalizations leading to certain hypotheses. This is how the empiricist sees the matter. Instead, man develops his ideas, which are abstractions, out of the struggle against nature and brings these abstractions to bear in the further course of that struggle, which in turn leads to a further development of man's ideas. These abstractions, which are the essential knowledge of past activity, come closer to reality than any set of generalizations and hypotheses based simply on the sensuous "concrete." Novack blurs over the difference between the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and the empiricist theory of knowledge.

The end result is that while he insists on a "concrete investigation" in the abstract, which in this context becomes a backhanded defense of empiricism, he completely turns his back on any concrete analysis that would shed some light on the present situation. The outcome of everything becomes determined by broad historical forces and an "irony of history" that has a life of its own. The conscious factor, the building of a new revolutionary leadership, which is absolutely decisive in the present epoch, is completely left out.

An example of this is evident when Novack outlines the main historical factors that lead the Russian working class to make the leap from semi-feudalism to the proletarian revolution. Novack does not even mention the crucial role of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

"It was easier for this energetic young class, which had so little to unlearn and so much to learn so quickly, to adopt the most advanced theory, the boldest and clearest program of action and the highest type of party organization."

Novack seems to have forgotten that if there hadn't been a conscious struggle by Lenin to turn the Bolshevik Party around in April of 1917 there would have never been an October 1917. The masses simply would not have found their way spontaneously to the "boldest and clearest program of action."

This kind of objectivist history is in complete accord with Isaac Deutscher who was an enemy of the Fourth International and thought that "broad historical processes" would insure the victory of socialism. Such an agreement doubtless helps explain how Novack could later collaborate with Deutscher on a literary venture in the early 1960s.

In this work, Novack also comes forward with another one of Deutscher's and Pablo's favorite theses, the theory of de-Stalinization or the self-reformation of the bureaucracy.

"The law of uneven and combined development is an indispensable tool for analyzing the Russian Revolution and for charting its growth and decay through all its complex phases, its triumphs, its degeneration and its prospective regeneration as the process of de-Stalinization is carried through to the end by the Soviet people."

A vague process of "de-Stalinization" to be "carried through by the Soviet people" is here substituted for the Trotskyist program of political revolution led by a party of the Fourth International to overthrow the bureaucracy.

The two works, *The Long View of History* and *The Law of Uneven and Combined Development* complement each other. The same objectivist method with its liquidationist conclusions pervades both works. Each is a defense of Pabloism

in method, and in program where that is discussed.

OPEN PABLOISM

By 1958 Novack was no longer obliged to disguise his agreement with Pablo. The leadership of the SWP had begun making overtures to the Pabloites for reunification and had finally come around to agreeing with them on their liquidationist perspective. In the summer and fall 1958 issues of *International Socialist Review* Novack wrote an article titled *The Progress of World Socialism*. This article is an outline of the major stages of the class struggles since 1848 and the history of the socialist movement as it has developed out of these struggles. The final part is a basic assessment of the prospects for socialism in the present. Here Novack makes very clear his agreement with the basic Pabloite analysis of the period.

First, we have once again a statement of the irreversible trend toward socialism:

"Despite the policies of the Communist parties which enabled capitalist rule to be reestablished in France, Italy and Greece, this world-wide assertion of labor power demonstrated that the balance of forces had shifted in favor of the working class."

This assessment runs counter to Trotsky who stated that the world balance of forces could not be said to have shifted in favor of the working class as long as capitalism remained in power in the major advanced industrial countries.

Next we have the thesis that the isolation of the Soviet Union has been broken with the emergence of workers states in Eastern Europe and China, and friendly "anti-imperialist" regimes in the colonial countries:

"...These terrible constraints (the isolation) upon the Soviet Union have been considerably broken down in the postwar period...the expansion of Soviet power into Eastern Europe coupled with the triumphs of the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions lifted the political blockade...Today it is surrounded by anti-capitalist governments from the Baltic to the Pacific and meets with growing support from the colonial lands."

Another Pabloite thesis is the falling away of the bureaucracy under the irresistible pressure of the masses:

"With Stalin gone, the dammed-up demands for an end to bureaucratic domination began to break through the iron mesh from one end of the Soviet zone to the other...The Stalinized regimes are a gross caricature of this concept of socialism—and that is why they are marked for extinction."

This represents a one-sided and therefore incorrect picture of the crisis of Stalinism. While it is certainly true that the working class in the workers states come into a sharper struggle against the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy reacts to this movement by moving even sharper to the right, bringing back the repressive methods of Stalin and moving closer and closer to accommodation with imperialism. Great opportunities coincide with great dangers. The crisis of leadership of the working class becomes even more acute than it had been previously.

Finally, Novack assesses the historical significance of the creation of the Fourth International:

"During the darkest hours of the Stalinist era, Trotsky pointed out that the world working class was most of all handicapped by the bankruptcy of its official leadership. He and his earliest associates set about to recreate that shattered leadership through the development of the Fourth International. Trotskyism represents the continuation of the work of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Luxemburg in the epoch of the decay of imperialism and the degeneration of Stalinism..."

To this general consideration we can certainly agree. But we want to know how the continuity of Marxism has been maintained. We want to know how Novack assesses the 1953 split in the Fourth International in light of the struggle for the continuity of Marxism. But Novack has not one word to say about these questions. He merely repeats certain general truths:

"When an organizational form no longer fulfills the functions which brought it into being, it is cast off by a living movement which then creates a new one in accord with the conditions and demands of this higher stage of evolution."

Contrary to Novack, the living movement does not automatically create a new form when the old organizational form no longer fulfills the functions that brought it into being. The creation of a new revolutionary leadership is brought about only through a conscious struggle against those organizations that have betrayed the working class.

It was Cannon's principled break with revisionism in 1953, which Novack opposed, that insured the continuity of the Trotskyist movement and provided the SWP with one final chance to make the theoretical leap that was necessary to become the vanguard of the American working class. To do this the SWP had to confront the theoretical roots of Pabloism and fight the Pabloite methods of thinking and practice that pervaded its own ranks.

Although Novack formally remained in the SWP after 1953, he did so as a Pabloite attacking Trotskyism and ever more removed and even hostile to the struggle of the working class. In the next few years, Novack not only tried to defend the conceptions of Pablo, as we have seen, but at the same time he became a focus of the radical American intelligentsia in the SWP. His "theoretical" endeavors took on the character of literary discussions concerning every putrid ideology that became fashionable among the middle class. Thus we see Novack writing about existentialism, "socialist humanism," alienation, Dewey's theories of education, etc. He also cultivated a close intellectual collaboration with the anti-Marxist radical, C. Wright Mills.

ON MATERIALISM

The laying bare of this political degeneration involves an understanding of Novack's pragmatic method. For this reason it is necessary to turn to Novack expressing himself on philosophy, in the book titled *The Origins of Materialism*.

This work gives an account of the first beginnings of materialist modes of thought in Greek and Roman antiquity. We are provided with a basic statement of purpose in the foreword:

"The historian of materialism should try to show the social and scientific conditions which produced these three stages (the Ionian, Epicurean and 18th century materialists—A.S.) of materialist philosophy; the historical changes which transformed, outmoded and elevated them; and the identities and differences between them. One of the objectives of scientific study is to demonstrate, contrary to the sceptics, that history, including the history of philosophy, makes sense and has positive results. Despite its aberrations, repetitions and relapses, philosophy has had a logical line of growth which has been governed by the changing conditions of social and intellectual life in the Western world. So has the history of materialism which has been the most fruitful product of that growth and provides the best guide to understanding the universe around us."

This is a mechanical way of looking at the history of philosophy. First of all, it is not possible to trace the development of philosophy in terms of the development of one of its major tendencies, materialism, for philosophy can only develop historically out of the opposition between the poles of materialism and idealism. Modern dialectical materialism is the highest stage of this process and not merely the most finished product of the materialist side alone.

Second, although philosophy has a logic of development, this logic is not that of a linear development. To pose it in those terms means that this development is seen as an evolutionary process of gradual accumulation of more and better knowledge. This denies the revolutionary aspect of all development: that qualitative leaps take place which negate the old forms and replace them with new forms. Moreover, what Novack tries to dismiss as "aberrations, repetitions, and relapses" away from the "logical line of growth" are an essential part of the entire process of contradictory development through a conflict of opposites.

In the history of philosophy, man's thought develops through revolutionary leaps as well as through gradual accumulation and neither aspect of the process can be separated out from the other. Revolutionary leaps become possible

when a dominant mode of thought comes into conflict with the conditions of life prevailing within a certain society or class at a certain stage of its development. There are thus always material premises for any great change in man's thinking. But that does not mean that the historical figures involved in these changes consciously understood their roots to be in the material world around them. On the contrary, previous thinkers, with few exceptions, saw the source of change in man's ideas within these ideas. This held true not only for the idealists, but for the bulk of materialists as well.

It was only when Marx placed materialism on a scientific basis that this situation in philosophy could be overcome. This meant that philosophy could no longer develop in the old way as one set of ideas overcoming another set of ideas, but only by the overcoming of the material conditions that give rise to our ideas.

Materialism of the ancient world, as well as the mechanical materialism of the 17th and 18th centuries could not overcome this basic limitation because of the necessary limits which scientific



knowledge could reach—which was itself a reflection of the limits of the development of the productive forces. Thus, all previous attempts to explain nature and society and man's relation to it materially had to be imbued with elements of speculation, i.e., with non-scientific, idealist explanations such as *deus ex machina*, chance, etc. Within these limits however, great advances were made which paved the way for a consistently materialist outlook. Certain aspects of the world, certain areas of inquiry, could be developed scientifically, although knowledge of the totality of phenomena could not be developed scientifically previous to Marx. It is important to remember, furthermore, that this development was not only the product of the materialist thinkers, but of the idealists as well, or rather it was out of the conflict between idealism and materialism that scientific thought developed.

Another mechanical notion that Novack develops is the tendency to see the materialists as automatically reflecting a progressive social movement and the idealists as automatically reflecting a reactionary ruling class in ancient Greece. Things were not that simple. Rather, each of the successive materialists, as well as the idealists emerged out of a conflict with the prevailing notions of their time and while reflecting the class struggle of their time, did not do so in any direct way.

To understand this, we must trace the actual history of thought in its contradictory development, and not burden it with ahistorical notions of what is progressive and what is reactionary. Novack's attempt to look at history according to this mechanical view leads him to separate out the opposites in a phenomena that could not have emerged in its real history in any other way.

Thus Novack writes in the foreword that the historian of philosophy should "show

the social and scientific conditions" that were the driving force behind particular systems of thought. This is of course essential. It is, however, not adequate. Novack says nothing about following the dialectical development of the ideas themselves as they come into conflict with other ideas. It is precisely this aspect of tracing the form of the development of ideas that Engels insisted upon in a letter to Schmidt written 1893. He wrote:

"...We all laid, and were bound to lay, the main emphasis, in the first place, on the derivation of political, juridical and other ideological notions, and of actions arising through the medium of these notions, from basic economic facts. But in so doing we neglected the formal side—the ways and means by which these notions, etc., come about—for the sake of the content...

"Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he imagines false or seeming motive

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Novack substitutes for this a method of procedure wherein the history of philosophy is seen as the progressive approximation of one of its sides, materialism, to certain basic ahistorical principles that have finally been established. This is a sterile scholastic method which uses the results of a process to distort the spontaneous motion the process undergoes. It is the same method which today is used by all the revisionists who maintain that the program of Marxism must be brought into the working class, but the theoretical source of that program and its historical development, ought to be kept at a distance. This is the trademark of a pragmatic, anti-theoretical tendency.

We must follow a process in its totality, throughout all its aspects and look for the development of man's struggle against nature out of that process and in each phase of that process. This cannot be done by separating out the "aberrations, repetitions and relapses." These are an essen-

ience and idealism does not, i.e., that idealism has no epistemological roots at all. Such a conclusion flows from a metaphysical examination of idealism as some abstract ahistorical doctrine with certain fixed principles rooted in "clerical obscurantism." Novack does not see that idealism has developed one aspect of philosophy, though in a one-sided and therefore distorted manner, and that this development was necessary for materialism to come into its own. His exalting of materialism becomes a defense of practice at the expense of abstract theoretical knowledge. But a practice that is separated from theory, that does not bring abstract knowledge into continual conflict with the living present has nothing to do with Marxism. Rather, we are then talking about "practice" as the pragmatists understand it.

Thus, we are told that practice, is "the supreme test of truth." "We have come to the pragmatic theory of truth, that whatever works or is useful is true. It is this which is behind Novack's attack on idealism. He does not criticize idealism from a Marxist point of view but from the

that underlay all the phenomena of the natural world.

Novack, however, completely under-rates the fact that these "first principles" of the Milesians became more and more abstract as philosophy became more and more sophisticated. From Thales' principle of "Water" we go to Anaximander's principle of the "Boundless" to Anaximenes' principles of density and rarefaction. In this we see a movement to explain observable natural phenomena in terms of an underlying intelligible principle which is more akin to abstract reasoning than to sense perception. It is completely ahistorical and incorrect to see this side of the Milesians in negative terms. The search for abstract first principles, which characterized much of Greek philosophy, was a necessary step in the liberation of man not only from the naive subscription to religion and authority, but from the limitations of a naive empiricism which never attains the level of universal concepts.

This narrow empirical thinking characterized much of the non-religious thought of the other great civilizations of that time, such as the Babylonian. For that reason the Babylonians, though their culture was in many ways superior to the early Greeks, could never develop mathematics and science beyond the level of certain practical formulas that were useful in land measurement and commercial activities.

The next great impetus to philosophy was provided by the Pythagoreans, whom Novack only mentions in passing since they were complete idealists. The Pythagoreans developed philosophy in a contradictory way. They reverted from the natural principles of the Milesians to religious and mystical conceptions derived from the Orphean mystery cults. At the same time we find in the Pythagoreans the first conception that reason should be the guide to man's practical life. They carried this out in practice by forming quasi-Utopian communities based on their teachings. They were the first to suggest that theory had something to do with practical activity.

Their most important contribution, however, lay in their being the first to develop the demonstrative proof in mathematics. Particularly in their proof of incommensurable magnitudes, they showed that abstract logical reasoning can come closer to the truth than any impressions based on intuitive understanding. They thus further developed the distinction between appearance and essence that the Milesians had begun. Their importance in the later development of Greek philosophy is witnessed by the fact that many later philosophers continually refer to the proof of the incommensurability of magnitudes as a model of the reasoning process that finally arrives at the truth.

The next great school of Greek philosophers was the Eleatics, also idealists, represented by Parmenides and Zeno. These thinkers developed on the earlier foundations laid down by the Milesians and Pythagoreans. They developed the distinction between appearance and essence systematically and made explicit the method of abstract reasoning introduced by the Pythagoreans. They were thus the first to lay down the basic principles of formal logic. Parmenides is credited with being the first to specifically refer to the law of non-contradiction. He applied this law of non-contradiction in order to explain the essence of the world.

He maintained that Being does not admit of its opposite, non-Being. It is one and homogeneous. Since all motion and change involves a change of Being into something other than itself, i.e., an intrusion of non-Being, and since that is self-contradictory there is no motion and change in the world. This was how Parmenides saw the essence of reality. At the same time, he admitted that the world of our sense experience does admit of motion and change. But the primacy of abstract reasoning based on the law of non-contradiction led him to deny any validity to the sensuous world and handle it as an illusion.

Parmenides' first radical formulation of formal logic was a tremendous step forward in the history of philosophy and science, for as we have discussed elsewhere, the limitations of science in Greek

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forces. Because it is a process of thought he derives its form as well as its content from pure thought, either his own or that of his predecessors. He works with mere thought material, which he accepts without examination as the product of thought, and does not investigate further for a more remote source independent of thought; indeed this is a matter of course to him, because as all action is mediated by thought, it appears to him to be ultimately based upon thought."

What Engels emphasizes, and what Novack overlooks, is the manner in which ideas develop out of the appearance these ideas take on historically. The ideologist reverses the real relationship between nature and ideas, giving primacy to the latter, and sees the process of development of ideas as being purely autonomous on the level of ideas. He will therefore understand his own contribution in the same light and view his ideological adversaries in terms of the coherency or lack of it in their thought as such. It was precisely because the motive forces impelling ideology have remained hidden (and the more abstract and universal thought becomes, the more its source is hidden) that philosophy has had a relatively autonomous development from the economic base of society. This development of abstract ideas does have objective validity precisely because ideas are a reflection of the material world, whether we are conscious of it or not. For this reason we find throughout the history of man's thinking that revolutionary conceptions about science, politics, logic, etc. emerge disguised in the cloak of religion or metaphysical speculation.

A Marxist historian of philosophy should unearth this contradictory development of man's thinking wherein historically revolutionary leaps in man's understanding emerge inextricably connected with the

tial part of a contradictory process of development. It is only through a conflict against negativity, a struggle to negate the negation that any development takes place.

Novack wants to rid history of the negative and see a "logical line of growth," a progression from positive to positive. He thereby replaces the dialectical method with the metaphysical outlook of the empiricist. For the dialectician, development is a spiral process, a transformation of one stage into another through a conflict of opposites leading to the negation of the present stage. Lenin wrote on this question:

"Human knowledge is not (or does not follow) a straight line, but a curve, which endlessly approximates a series of circles, a spiral. Any fragment, segment, section of this curve can be transformed (transformed one-sidedly) into an independent, complete straight line, which then (if one does not see the wood for the trees) leads into the quagmire..."

ROLE OF IDEALISM

The most fundamental distortion of Novack is his view of the significance of materialism and idealism. He writes the following on this:

"Materialism derives its life, its meaning, its power, its validity from its inseparable connections with the habitual, inescapable, million-times-repeated practices of every member of the human race.

"Idealists, echoing the religious dogma of St. John, claim that: 'In the Beginning was the Word.' This is fundamentally false. The Word, the concept, the formulated principle, the critical understanding, and philosophy, including the philosophy of materialism, all come after the Deed. Intellectual activities and ideological products take second place in life and history to the practical actions of mankind. They are, in fact, an outgrowth of them."

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point of view of an American pragmatist who is hostile to any system of thought that maintains that there are objective laws in nature and society, that these laws may not always be apparent in the surface of things but provide a better understanding than impressions gleaned from the surface. It is the hostility of the pragmatist to abstractions, to theory as such, in favor of the immediate, "concrete fact."

Novack's defense of pragmatism under the guise of "materialism" leads him to completely distort history in his historical narrative. He tends to put a plus sign next to those philosophers whom he sees as precursors to the pragmatists' undervaluation of theory and abstractions and he puts a minus sign next to the philosophers who emphasize abstract principles of reason. He does not show the transitions that took place from materialism to idealism. Idealism is seen to have a value only insofar as it provided for a corrective to materialist thought.

Thus Novack writes:

"Although the basic premises and conclusions of idealism are wholly unscientific, this hasn't prevented the classical idealist philosophers from Socrates to Hegel from making significant contributions to one or another of the sciences."

If it is true however, that the premises and conclusions of idealism are wholly unscientific, i.e. that they have no epistemological roots, then how can the idealists have made any contributions to the development of scientific knowledge? This is never explained.

THE GREEKS

The treatment of the Milesians, the first philosophers, raises many correct points. He correctly states that they were the first to make a break from mythological and religious explanations for natural phenomena. They were the first to examine nature in terms of nature. They looked for certain natural first principles

when a dominant mode of thought comes into conflict with the conditions of life prevailing within a certain society or class at a certain stage of its development. There are thus always material premises for any great change in man's thinking. But that does not mean that the historical figures involved in these changes consciously understood their roots to be in the material world around them. On the contrary, previous thinkers, with few exceptions, saw the source of change in man's ideas within these ideas. This held true not only for the idealists, but for the bulk of materialists as well.

It was only when Marx placed materialism on a scientific basis that this situation in philosophy could be overcome. This meant that philosophy could no longer develop in the old way as one set of ideas overcoming another set of ideas, but only by the overcoming of the material conditions that give rise to our ideas.

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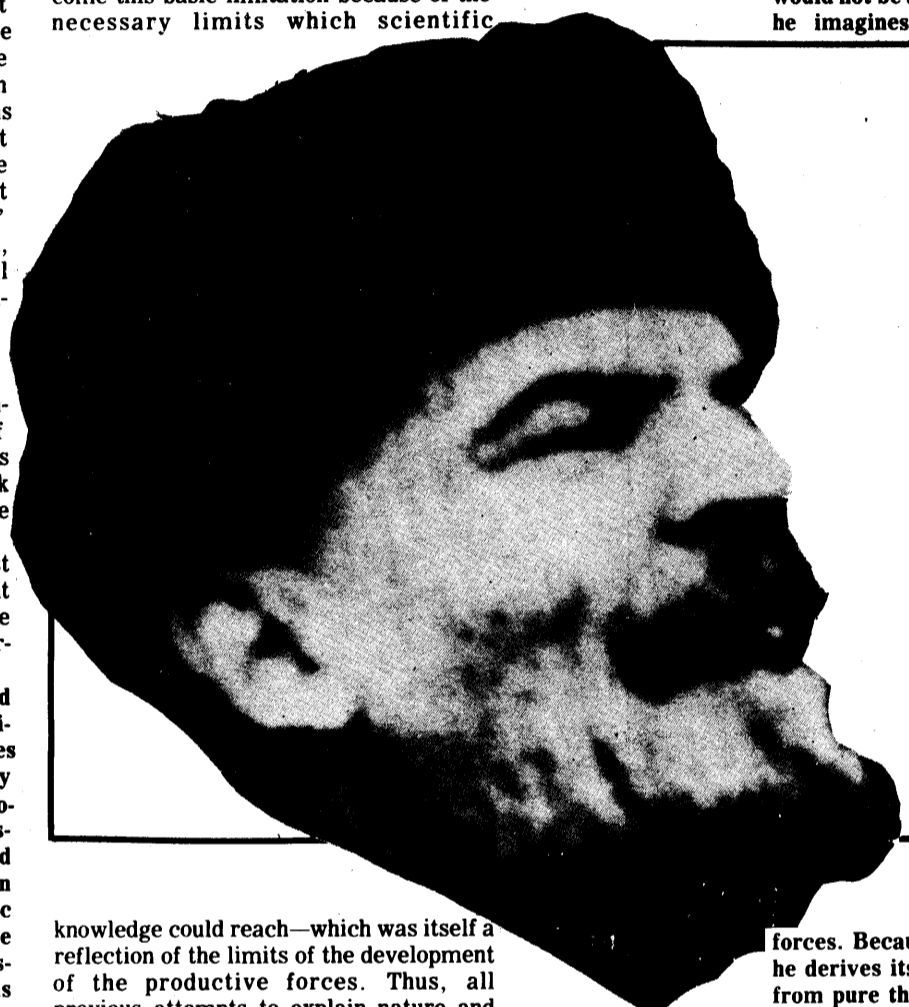
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civilization made the development of formal logic a necessary prerequisite to the development of dialectics at a much later period. Novack, however, disparages Parmenides for the limitations of his thought, completely underrating its progressive character.

He writes:

"Parmenides believed that the road of logical thought alone led to perfect truth. So he clung firmly to the law of contradiction and did not shrink from the logical consequences of its rigid application. He could not admit that a thing, in fact everything, could both be and not be at one and the same time."

The radical application of the law of non-contradiction led to a total dichotomy between appearance and essence. Parmenides and his disciple Zeno were led to deny any reality to the phenomenal world of motion and change in favor of a static, homogeneous Being which is only accessible through abstract logical reasoning. This posed a great task to the later Greek philosophers, and the further development of Greek philosophy was in many ways devoted to the overcoming of the dichotomy between phenomena and essence while at the same time maintaining the method of logical reasoning the Eleatics had developed. Thus, even this "aberration" in the early history of philosophy became a necessary aspect of its further development. This demonstrates that philosophy does not develop in a "logical line of growth."

It was to the great credit of materialism that its most profound representatives in the ancient world, the Atomists Democritus and Leucippus, took up this challenge of the idealists Parmenides and Zeno, and delineated the first solution to the problem they raised. First of all, they maintained the qualitative homogeneity of the Being of Parmenides, but they split it up into an infinity of particles called atoms.

Leucippus introduced non-Being as a constituent element of reality. Reality was composed of atoms, (Being) and the void (non-Being). The phenomenal world of motion and change is simply the interaction of atoms (Being) with the void (non-Being). Parmenides' unchangeability of Being was thus maintained while the phenomenal world of Becoming could be accounted for by introducing non-Being into reality. The atomists therefore introduced the first principle of dialectics into philosophy, that negativity (non-Being) is an essential aspect of Becoming.

Novack completely ignores the Atomists in terms of the transition they represented from the idealists, which at one and the same time maintained a continuity with the Eleatics and a negation of their one-sided development of essence vis-a-vis appearance. Novack instead tends to see the atomists as precursors of modern atomic science. He writes:

"But this does not detract from the fact that the current of thought about the structure of the material world set in motion by the Greek Atomists was one of the indispensable historical preconditions for the achievements of the present day atomic scientists. As their forerunners in the field of ideology and method, the Greek Atomists deserve a very high place in the history of science and human thought."

This is another completely fanciful and ahistorical notion. The atomic theory of the early atomists was nothing more than a brilliant speculative anticipation of modern atomic theory. Scientific knowledge had simply not developed anywhere near the point of providing firm scientific roots to ancient atomic theory. This does not deny the fact that modern atomic theory may very well have stumbled upon certain elements of ancient atomism and incorporated them in a new way into the modern atomic theory. But the statement that Greek atomism was a necessary precondition for modern atomic theory is correct only in the sense that all the previous moments in the history of knowledge were necessary to its present stage of development. Instead of the contradictory, spiral development of knowledge, Novack wants to see some kind of "logical line of growth" from ancient Atomism to modern atomic theory.

Furthermore, Novack is quite hazy about the main weakness of the Atomists, their failure to develop an adequate logic and theory of knowledge. This was the

weakness of all the ancient materialists, and was a major reason why idealism, devoting itself to logic and the theory of knowledge, could predominate over materialism in the ancient world. The Atomists held that sense perception does provide us with knowledge of reality, in opposition to the Eleatics, but they maintained that this type of knowledge was less certain than knowledge arrived at through the faculty of reason.

This position was held in common by almost all the great schools of ancient Greece, but the great failing of the Atomists was that they could not account for this disparity between the senses and reason, they could not explain the genesis of certainty in knowledge. This had a parallel in their physical theory which maintained that all natural phenomena had a necessary cause to be found in the interactions of atoms with the void, but they could provide no objective laws of nature, no actual content to nature's causality. This of course reflected the limits of a fundamentally correct conception of the natural world which could not be developed systematically given the limitations of science. It explains why the teleological conception of science found in Aristotle was able to gain the upper hand for many centuries thereafter.

THE SOPHISTS

The most blatant historical distortion engaged in by Novack is his completely false evaluation of the Sophists. First of all, he sees the Sophists, like all the materialists, mechanically reflecting a progressive social movement as opposed to the reactionary classes defended by the idealists.

"The materialist current was fed by the development of the arts, crafts and techniques, the diffusion of the money economy, the class struggles bound up with the democratic revolution and the criticism of religion. Idealism connected itself with the recasting of religion, the new mathematical discoveries, the mystical cults, and the morals, legal standards and politics of the slave-owning class."

It is true that Socrates and Plato, to name two outstanding idealists in ancient Greece, were associated with the oligarchic class of the Athenian city-state and this was reflected in their philosophy. The Sophists on the other hand were associated with the democratic movement against the oligarchy. It is, however, completely wrong to say that the democratic movement was "progressive" in some general sense as Novack does and the Sophists therefore reflected a "progressive movement."

First of all, the democratic movement was not "progressive" in the sense that term has when employed by Marxists, i.e., meaning that it was a movement leading to the transformations of the relations of production in order to develop man's struggle against nature. Rather, the democratic movement reflected the interests of a wider circle of Athenians who were after a larger share in the consumption provided by a slave economy. It was not and could not be based on a transformation of the system of production.

In fact, the democratic movement was a major factor in the decline of the Athenian economy and therefore the decline of its political institutions. The demand for more luxuries by greater masses of citizens led to a need for more slaves and this resulted in the wars of plunder that Athens undertook in the 4th century BC. The military defeat of Athens by Sparta led to its economic impoverishment which in turn was the death blow to Athenian democracy. Shortly thereafter, Athens proved too weak to even maintain its independence and became a semi-colony first of the Macedonians and later of the Roman Empire.

Athenian democracy did however, lead to a brief flowering of political freedom previously unknown in the ancient world as a prelude to its destruction arising from its own internal contradictions. This was reflected in the Athenian conception that the individual realizes his freedom through active participation in the political life of the city. The slave economy allowed a minority of citizens to indulge in political life, cultivating it like an art. These politicians cultivated the art of rhetoric, or persuasion through forceful argumentation.

Side by side with these politicians emerged a specialized caste of advisors in rhetoric and logic. The Sophists, as well as Socrates, emerged out of this political cauldron. These thinkers tried to develop the efforts of the natural philosophers and apply them to the practical affairs of the city-state. They were thus the first political philosophers.

Novack's implication, that the Sophists represented progressive democracy and Socrates, Plato and Aristotle represented a reactionary slaveholding oligarchy is a complete oversimplification. First, all of the contending political parties in Athens stood on the basis of the slave economy.

Second of all, the democratic revolution was "progressive" in a very restricted and special sense, i.e., in that it created a political climate for a brief period which extended the political franchise to a wider number of citizens than had previously held it and demanded of all political factions that they justify their right to rule by persuading a large number of people with correct arguments, i.e., through universally communicable reason. Plato and Socrates express this political climate created by democracy as much as the Sophists. Plato's criticisms of democracy were based on his own experience of the degeneration of Athenian democracy more than on the need to defend the institution of slaveholding. On this latter question, all the political factions in Greece were agreed.

It would not automatically follow that the Sophists were a progressive philosophical movement even if they did reflect a progressive social movement. A more advanced social system only provides the material possibility for a more advanced level of thought. But the development of society is uneven. It is possible for the superstructure to lag behind the base and even to degenerate at the same time as the base develops. For instance, it is undoubtedly true that the European economy stood at a higher level in the 13th century than it did in Greece in the 4th century BC. But does anyone doubt that the petrified dogma of the Catholic Church in the 13th century was a complete degeneration from the level of philosophy and science achieved in Greece in the 4th century BC? At the same time this phenomena in no way invalidates historical materialism for the very causes for this disparity between base and superstructure can be found in the internal contradictions and needs of the feudal economy.

Novack carries out this mechanical identification of democracy with progress to the point of absurdity, where in discussing Socrates, he actually tries to separate out his democratic aspects from his slaveholding aspects.

"His rationalism, individualism, humanism and critical spirit accorded with tendencies generated by the democratic forces. On the other hand his idealist theories and aristocratic bias expressed the upper-class reaction against the levelling tendency of the urban 'rabble.'"

The reason for Novack's adulation of the Sophists is that they above all else were the ancient precursors of modern pragmatism. They held a relativistic, conventionalist theory of society. They denied any objective truth or laws inherent in nature and society. They reflected the cosmopolitanism of the Greek merchants and shippers insofar as they noted that different kinds of people have different kinds of societies, each considering its own to be the only correct one, handed down to them by the gods. They concluded from this, however, that all societies were arbitrarily created by men, that there was no lawfulness inherent in society.

They failed to give an explanation of the manifold differences among phenomena in terms of an underlying essence, a first principle which unites them on another level. They did not go beyond surface appearances. The Milesians had already begun to do this by accounting for all natural phenomena in terms of underlying principles. These were of a higher level of intelligibility than the phenomena and were therefore invisible, unlike the phenomena. The whole movement of Greek philosophy was toward the conception that abstract, logical thinking can account for the concrete. This method, a sibling of mathematical demonstrative proof, was a

great step forward in the development of the theory of knowledge. The Sophists represented a degeneration in this movement insofar as they abandoned the search for first principles. Their relativism is a precursor of modern pragmatism and all forms of subjective idealism. Novack goes so far as to label their hostility to logic a "dialectical method."

Plato and Socrates before him accepted the distinction made by the Sophists between nature and convention. Their philosophy was an attempt to discover if there were any rational principles underlying the many customs and societies of man. They tried to demonstrate that there were certain objective laws that governed society, that certain kinds of societies were inherently good, by their very nature. It is of course true that the principles Socrates and Plato discovered were teleological ones, and expressed a permanent homogeneous Being in a realm beyond everyday phenomena, and thus reflected idealist remnants from religion. But it was only in these forms that philosophy could develop. The laws of nature could not be expressed in any other way at that time because of the primitive development of science.

It may be useful to summarize our basic criticisms of Novack's history:

- 1) He represents an ahistorical view of materialism and of philosophy in general.
- 2) He puts forth a non-dialectical, evolutionary concept of development.
- 3) He makes a mechanical identification between democracy, materialism and progressive movements on the one hand, and he does the same with aristocracy, idealism, and reactionary movements on the other hand.
- 4) He picks and chooses what suits his purposes, in a completely pragmatic manner, out of the history of philosophy. In the process he skips over stages, blurs transitions, and gives a distorted evaluation to certain aspects of this history. This is done in order to justify his own view of philosophy which is that of American pragmatism.

In this way, a work on the history of philosophy, which could have been very useful in developing a better understanding of the dialectical method as it has historically come into play is turned into a defense of pragmatism. Novack here develops some of the theoretical rationale behind Hansen's open polemics against Marxism.

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BOOKS

GARY RAWLS

If They Come In The Morning

IF THEY COME IN THE MORNING. By Angela Y. Davis and others. Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company, 1971. 281 pages.

The National United Committee to Free Angela Davis (NUCFAD) controlled by the American Communist Party has carefully compiled a collection of articles on political prisoners and political repression. The Stalinists of the CP consciously seek to divert the defense of Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee and others away from any kind of independent mobilization of the working class. The CP is trying to resurrect the Popular Front in order to save the capitalist system from an onslaught by the working class.

The contributions by various politicians, Stalinists and nationalists obliterate the real nature of political repression. Furthermore, the strategy proposed by the Stalinists for the defense of political prisoners will lead to the isolation and defeat of militants who take up a fight against this system; not to mention the defeat of the entire working class.

Yet despite this attempt of NUCFAD to cover up the real needs of the working class and youth, we can gain an understanding of political repression and the fight that must be waged against it through the development of contributors such as George Jackson and Ruchell Magee.

For these reasons, *If They Come In The Morning* must be read very discriminately.

JULIAN BOND

The real popular front nature of the NUCFAD campaign is shown in the use of articles by the likes of Julian Bond, the Black Democrat. This reformist from Georgia calls for "concerted and organized action" within the capitalist system, completely contrary to the needs of political prisoners and the working class as a whole.

James Baldwin adds the nationalism question to which the CP adapts wholeheartedly. He sees the Angela Davis case as a racial, and not a class attack. Significantly, the publisher is the Joseph Okpaku press, a newly-established Black Nationalist operation.

But the question is neither moral nor national, and cannot be solved through reformist or nationalist activity. We must begin with a class analysis and proceed on a class basis. NUCFAD and the other Sta-



linist contributors completely and purposefully avoid confronting the matter of mobilizing trade unions in their own defense, which is what the defense of political prisoners means.

DISTORTION

In using essays from George Jackson, Ruchell Magee and others, the CP-NUCFAD exploits their reputation among youth. Despite the distortion of associating these heroic revolutionaries with the likes of Bond and Baldwin, some very revealing analyses can be found which are in opposition to the popular front strategy.

Jackson's article, "Towards the United Front," is undated, and is obviously one of his earlier writings. His further development and reassessment of capitalism as well as of the betrayals of the CP, would not have allowed him to expound on any "natural coalition of left wing forces." His struggle against bourgeois ideology, even though Jackson himself was isolated in prison, went way beyond the CP's capitulation to and reliance upon liberal politicians.

DRUMGO

Another Soledad Brother, Fleeta Drumgo, demonstrates through his article that his understanding goes beyond the outlook of the CP. "I am constantly thinking about unemployment, underemployment, poverty and malnutrition that are basic facts of our existence; it's this which sends persons to these concentration camps; it's this which causes so-called crime in general. We're seeing through the madness

of capitalism, class interest surplus value and imperialism. It's this which we have to look at and understand." Drumgo's short contribution screams out amidst the numerous reactionary contributions by CP hacks.

Angela Davis herself has fallen into the trap of building the Stalinist Popular Front, failing to confront the pressing need to mobilize trade unions against the

capitalist system. She calls for a mass based defense movement "with the firm resolve to lay aside sectarian differences. An effective movement cannot be an arena for ideological struggle." Her training in the CP is all too clear in this instance.

Rather than taking up an ideological struggle against nationalism and popular frontism, the Stalinists "lay aside" this struggle because they share the method of the bourgeoisie and consciously seek to prop up their system. It is not simply a matter of building a broad based movement, but rather an attempt to create an alliance with the liberal sections of the ruling class. In doing this, the CP channels militants like Angela Davis into support of capitalist politicians.

Although the book deals briefly with other political trials such as those of James Johnson, Ahmed Evans, Reies Tizerina, John Sinclair, Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, there is no mention of the case of Juan P. Farinas. Coincidentally, there is virtually no mention of the working class as a class, with one august exception.

Angela understands the need to mobilize workers "at the point of production" against this system, but only in the formal sense. She realizes the need to elevate the consciousness of the worker; yet her party, the CPUSA, opposes any mobilization of trade unions, thus sabotaging the defense. The Stalinists consciously use the reputations of George Jackson, Ruchell Magee and others to channel militants and youth into a criminal popular front. This is the purpose of the book.

The subtitle, "Voices of Resistance," is truly a deceptive epithet. For NUCFAD seeks to muffle the voices of revolutionary youth.

MUSIC American Pie

GEORGE ANDREWS

AMERICAN PIE. By Don McLean. Columbia Records.

Liberal professors and rock musicologists have spent hours and hours trying to decipher the tangled lyrics of Don McLean's long hit song, *American Pie*. They marvel at its "complexity" and revel in its inscrutable "depth" and compare it to T.S. Eliot's *Waste Land* and the poetry of Ezra Pound. No doubt we will soon see an *American Pie Handbook* of several hundred pages "analyzing" the song.

And no wonder. *Miss American Pie* is one of the most important songs of this period and deals with a most important subject: the break-up of the boom and resurgence of the working class. But it is important in that it is a sharp warning to working class youth of the dangers of the middle class in panic.

The lyrics, an eclectic mixture of styles, are reminiscent of Bob Dylan's later songs—disconnected, abstract stream-of-consciousness lyrics with bizarre and paradoxical symbolism, filled with irony, anguishing about decadence and confusion caused by the approaching catastrophe.

The lyrics are not original. McLean has borrowed from Dylan and the Beatles, from such sources as Procol Harem and the Bible, from the Jesus Freaks and from Billy Graham. This is supposed to be philosophically heavy, but is really nonsense.

The reactionary character of this song is expressed in a line from the song (words and music copied from "Whiter Shades of Pale" by Procol Harem plus words from the Bible and High Mass):

"Father, son, and Holy Ghost
took the last train for the coast
the day the music died."

This is the voice of the middle class wringing its hands in despair over the crisis. Even God can't take it. "The day the music died" repeats over and over again the longing of the middle class for the "music" of the boom period. This part of the song portrays the breakup of the prosperity and the resurgence of the working class as the work of the Devil, and as the Holy Trinity high-tails it on the last train and Satan looks on with glee, the working class is "drinking whiskey and rye."

The music, as well as the lyrics, offers not one new idea. The music of the verses is melodramatic and disconnected. The only musical entity among all the bits and pieces is the six-times-repeated chorus, which in its musical and lyrical context is a satire of the folk-rock style with the standard three chord pattern.

The mediocrity of the music and the religious symbols combine to form a picture of the crisis that makes *American Pie* one of the most reactionary recordings to come out of this period of cultural stagnation.

American Pie satirically observes the passing of the "good ole days" but behind that thin layer of satire is the deadly serious picture of religious fanaticism, mysticism and hostility for the working class.

It is the period of Charles Manson, Forest Hills, and Attica from which this song comes, and it must stand as a warning to youth and be recognized as reactionary rubbish.



Communist Party's reliance on liberals betrays youth who rally to defend Angela Davis.

France

Stalinists Move Right On The Eve Of New Explosion

BY MELODY FARROW

The murder of young Maoist Jean Pierre Overney by a private police agent of the Renault auto plant outside Paris recently has sparked the biggest movement of youth and workers against the government since the General Strike of 1968.

The murder of Overney and the mass protests all over France are the sharpest expression of the fear of the Pompidou government of the power of the French working class and of the fragility and weakness of its rule.

Overney was murdered by the Renault auto barons at the Boulogne-Billancourt plant where the Renault workers have been in the forefront of a fight to defend their jobs, working conditions and wages.

It is the Renault workers who face the most brutal rationalization and lay off schemes as the French employers desperately seek to compete on the world market.

The French bourgeoisie is being forced up against the wall by the demand of the American capitalists that Europe pay for the crisis of the dollar. The European banks have been forced to absorb huge sums of worthless dollars to support the exchange rate of the dollar while the United States seeks to dominate European industry.

The United States has demanded a curb on exports to restore its own balance of payments while the French capitalists seek new markets to increase their own profits.

The workers of the steel producing region of Lorraine are faced with destruction after the announcement last year by the government of a plan to close down virtually all the steel mills.

Entire newspapers, such as *Paris-Jour* are being shut down. Since this announcement three weeks ago, the 600 workers of the paper have occupied the plant.

Thirteen hundred press workers have been on strike since February 19th against the paper *Sud-Ouest*, which plans to lay off workers. The management of *Sud-Ouest*, in an open attempt to bust the union has now begun publishing a new paper called *Bordeaux-Gironde*.

PRESS

On March 7th, metal workers from 12 different enterprises marched through the streets of Grenoble to press their demands for higher wages, guaranteed jobs and shorter working hours.

Any of the contract struggles in Renault, Rail or Paris transport now being negotiated could lead to another wave of strikes.

As the Pompidou government moves towards a confrontation with the working class, the French Communist Party emerges more and more openly as an agent of the bourgeoisie in defense of capitalism.

Its hysterical and panicky attack on "ultralefts" following the murder of Overney was an attempt to prevent the French workers from joining the youth and precipitating another May-June strike wave.

George Seguy, General Secretary of the Stalinist labor federation, CGT, declared: "The commandos of *Ordre Nouveau* (a fascist organization) can take a vacation, the ultraleft commandos have taken over their pathetic anti-working class task."

The Stalinists took their slander a step further by calling on the government to arrest leftist militants while they had nothing to say about the man who shot Overney.

The statement of the Stalinist controlled CGT at the Renault-Mans plant said:

"The real question is to know why people, who openly and publicly call for murder and sabotage in the factories are still allowed to go free."

The CGT of Renault-Billancourt lectured the Boulogne Church for allowing the Maoists to use the premises for a press conference:

"We protest against the fact that in a sacred place, where you preach freedom of others, you allow agitators and proponents of violence, which is contrary to the laws of your Church."

Only after the massive demonstration in Paris, which the CP press called "an indecent demonstration against the CGT and the CP," was it forced to propose a "mass reply" against repression.

This step is undoubtedly only a pale reflection of the revulsion of the Renault workers to the killing of Overney, their desire to fight the repression and their refusal to accept the lies of the CP.



Jean Pierre Overney (above pictures) was murdered by a Renault company cop. Thousands of workers and students protested in biggest marches since May-June 1968.

The danger now is that, as the French workers move once again in a revolutionary direction, the Communist Party seeks to revive the Popular Front to divert the struggle for power. The new upheavals developing in France will not be a simple repetition of 1968.

The Stalinists are now preparing to save French capitalism by forming a new government coalition with the liberal bourgeoisie around Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, of the Radical Party.

Servan-Schreiber has outlined seven major points of a political program which he hopes the Convention of the Socialist Party will agree to as a basis for a common declaration in the 1973 elections. This deliberately vague program is nothing but a defense of the bourgeois order.

The program of the Radical Party is to drive back the class struggle and whip up nationalism in order to strengthen the economic and political power of the French bourgeoisie in relation to the United States.

This move takes place after Francois Mitterand, a bourgeois politician, has taken over the leadership of the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party which gives itself a left cover by participating in the Overney demonstrations and denouncing the CP for its position, is actually in a right wing move towards open collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

While the Stalinists have made no direct overtures to the Radicals, they are involved in discussions with the Socialist Party. The Stalinists are making it clear that such an alliance will only be possible if the Socialist Party drops its flirtation with left wing groups.

The Communist Party views a new union of "democratic forces" in fundamentally the same way as the Radicals. George Marchais, speaking at the Conference of Communist mayors and Parliamentary deputies, said:

"The state has become a monstrous-bureaucratic machine, dispensable and inefficient for the nation. We need a state which carries out a policy of social

progress which is used to democratize every aspect of life, which assures and preserves the indispensable national independence."

Thus a new coalition is developing that seeks to head off a struggle by the working class that can topple capitalism. Behind a barrage of demagoguery about "social progress" and "democratic forces," the Stalinists are preparing to police the working class for the big monopolists and industrialists.

The Maoists around *La Cause du Peuple*, to which Overney belonged, are thrown into crisis by these events. A few days after Overney's murder the Maoist New Popular Resistance kidnapped Robert

and AJS replied:

"Tens of thousands of workers and especially youth demonstrated from Clichy Square to Pere-Lachaise under a forest of red flags, rejecting anti-working class and anti-communist slogans..."

"The proof is there. The masses of youth desire unity. Youth like the working class is ready to unite against the armed bands of capital. AJS and OCI point out that they favorably answered the proposals for unity offered by the leadership of the CGT against repression."

The OCI accepts the domination of the Stalinists over the French working class and has abandoned the difficult struggle to penetrate the Stalinist stronghold. Instead its orientation is more and more towards the rank and file of the Socialist Party which is more "open" to the OCI.

But no matter where the OCI functions, its role is to prop up the present reformist leaderships of the working class. Within the Socialist Party the OCI does not fight to expose its reformism and destroy the Socialist Party as a backward influence on workers. Rather, it proposes that Mitterand be defeated so that the Socialist Party can once again be a "true working class party."

The whole aim of the OCI sponsored "Conference for a Workers Government" on February 5th and 6th was to regroup militants from these tendencies who claimed verbal agreement "to desire to defeat the bourgeoisie and its state." Its purpose was to throw Trotskyism out the window and establish some new "workers party."

The very first paragraph of excerpts from the Conference's Political Report states:

"Every working class organization concerned with defending the interests of workers and youth cannot simply criticize other workers parties and oppose its demands to theirs.

"We must immediately kick out bourgeois governments and bourgeois ministers. The unity of all workers who seek to fight capitalism, the organizations that represent them and the leaders who speak in their name must impose the workers government.

"Of course we cannot predict measures before they come about within the consciousness of the masses as well as in political reality..."

The OCI consciously refuses to formulate a socialist program for a workers government because this would alienate its Stalinist and Social Democratic friends whom they seek to ally with. Its rationalization that first the working class must develop these demands spontaneously is a cover for its liquidation of the party.

At all costs the OCI seeks to avoid a confrontation with the Stalinists. Instead it is attempting to set up "committees for workers unity" at the rank and file level which will unite workers of different parties around minimal demands on concrete strikes and other struggles.

The meaning of the statement of OCI leader Stephan Just that "the working class cannot wait for the revolutionary party to be constructed" is now clear. It means that the working class does not need a revolutionary party to come to power. The Stalinists can be forced under pressure of the masses to "impose" socialism.

The abandonment of the Marxist method is leading the OCI back into the camp of Pabloism. The OCI represents the panic of the petty bourgeoisie before the class struggle.

The French working class now moves more cautiously than it did in 1968 but under the surface a new explosion is developing.

The French workers cannot break with Stalinism without the construction of an alternative party based on Trotskyism.

The key to this is a strategy which demands that the Communist Party form its own government in connection with a campaign for a clear socialist program. Only through this struggle to expose the Communist Party will a Trotskyist movement be built.

UNITED FRONT

The struggle to build a revolutionary party, for the Transitional Program, for socialism which can only be fought for in bitter battle against the Communist Party is being liquidated into a bogus United Front with anyone who will have them.

This capitulation to the Stalinists was sharply revealed at the Overney demonstration. When the CP denounced the slogan "Marchais liar, CGT accomplice," as anti-communist, the OCI

The Naugatuck River runs steadily through the industrial towns of the Naugatuck Valley. The towns of Seymour, Ansonia, Derby and Shelton are being pulled back to conditions worse than the 1930's.

Unemployment in the Naugatuck Valley is the second highest in Connecticut. It has tripled since 1969. The monthly average for 1971 was 13.9%.

It was the river which drew industry to this valley more than a century ago. It was only in 1949 after World War II that the Valley towns began to recover from the "Great Depression." But in 1955 a hurricane caused the Naugatuck River to flood, bringing millions of dollars of damage and destroying large sections of the business districts of the towns.

Now a deeper crisis is ripping through this area—the crisis of the capitalist system itself.

1930's

Could the 1930's happen here again? A man who has worked in these Valley towns for over 50 years said:

"I think it's on the way. I remember the Depression. I

worked for American Brass—a one day week and that was only a 6 hour day! We just hung around, there was no place to go because it was the same everywhere. We old workers we can't do anything, but it's the younger ones who want to fight."

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment threatens to destroy the very fabric of life of the 74,000 people that reside in these towns.

RIVER

The ruthless development of industry is shown in the destruction of the Naugatuck River. The industrial waste dumped from the plants have produced the most polluted river in the state of Connecticut. It is rated 'E' on a pollution scale that goes from 'A' to 'D'.

First, rubber and acids are dumped into the river from UniRoyal, then acids and heavy metal deposits from copper and brass processing, more chemicals from 3M, thermal pollution from Farrel, dye from Hull Print & Dye, more rubber and chemicals from B.F. Good-

rich, and finally, an assortment of chemicals and fertilizers from the many small fertilizer plants.

Neither fish nor plant life can survive here; even the bacteria which decomposes raw sewage cannot exist.

The chaotic and unplanned exploitation for easy profits turned this once lovely river into a deadly cesspool. Now that those profits are threatened, the capitalists turn with the same brutality towards the destruction of the working class itself.

As a Farrel worker stated:

"Farrel and B.F. Goodrich are holding up these communities now. If they fold there will be a lot of sick people. These towns will be dead!"

SEYMOUR

The town of Seymour is situated at the northern end of the Valley. Although employment has been stable for the last few years, the outlook for this year is dominated by a real uncertainty.

The main employers in the town are Bridgeport Brass and Kerite Co., a manufacturer of insulated cable and wire products. Both companies have abandoned any plans for expansion.

A little further south is Ansonia. The largest employers here are Anaconda, American Brass and Farrel Co.

FARREL

Farrel was once owned by a local family and is now a division of USM Corp., an international giant. It produces heavy

machinery for the plastics and rubber industry.

During its best years, Farrel employed 2200 workers. Now, for the second time since 1958-59, workers there are on a staggered 32 hour week. This affects 1000 of the 1300 remaining workers at the two plants in Ansonia and Derby. Over 200 men work only every other week.

"This is the beginning of the end," said a man who has spent 32 years of his life at Farrel. "We're finished; there's no use kidding ourselves. They had a plant in Rochester, N.Y. which they shut down. They took all the machinery out and are setting it up in the plant where I work, but it isn't being used here either; there isn't any work.

"We make heavy machinery and it's guaranteed to last a lifetime. If that's not bad enough, we can now produce a machine that does the work of what five could do."

This short-time comes after a period of vicious speedup through the bonus system and when that wasn't sufficient, time studies were utilized.

A company spokesman said that the company realized the individual hardships the short-time will cause, but that Farrel feels these measures are necessary for the survival of both the company and the people.

But it is the workers and their families who are threatened. A housewife who lives in the public housing project built across the river from Farrel said:

"My husband only works at Farrel every other week. It is dif-

ficult to feed the children properly in between. He can collect unemployment for those weeks, but we're worried—the state unemployment funds will be used up by March.

"I don't know what we're going to do. You can't ask children to fast, but you can't feed them if you don't have a job."

The men at Farrel know the situation is serious, but they cling to the hope that it will improve, because the future of their families hinges on this. There are no young workers left at Farrel anymore.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

With 13.9% out of work in the Valley, no factory has any room for the youth. One youth said he had not had a decent job in two years. A young woman with a baby said her husband is working for the first time in one year.

Another youth said: "I went to college for two years and quit. It would be a waste of money to spend the time and then not be able to get a job." There is no future for the youth in these towns.

USWA

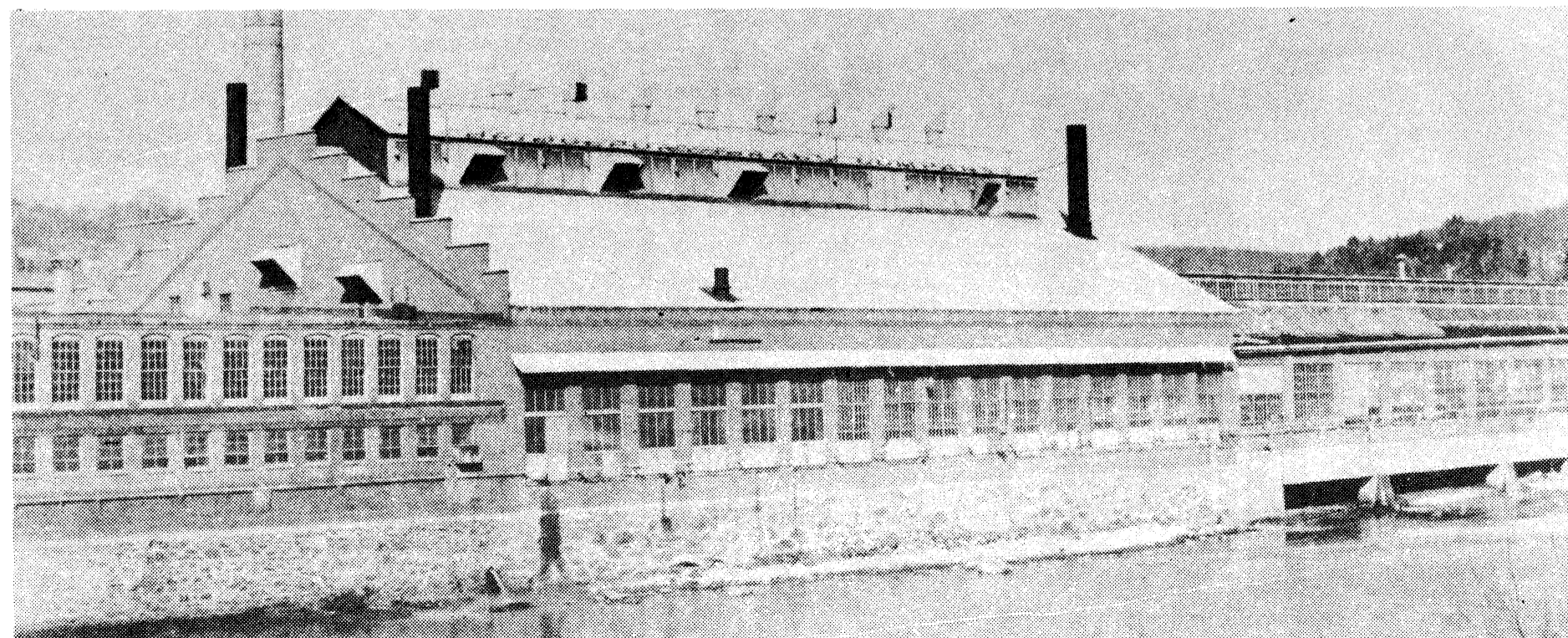
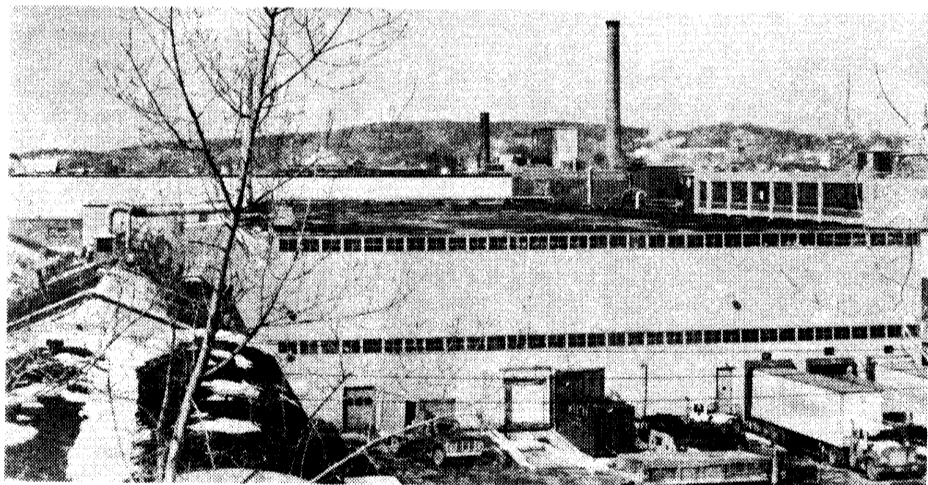
The leadership of Local 3557 of the United Steel Workers of America Farrel has played a treacherous role. As worker after worker said:

"They haven't done a thing to stop these cutbacks; they are working hand in hand with the company."

There is growing dissatisfaction with this kind of leadership among unionists throughout the Valley.

UNEMPLOYMENT, USA Naugatuck Valley, Conn.

It's Worse Than The 30's For 74,000



Major companies such as Farrel Corp. (top right) and B.F. Goodrich (top left) whose plants wander across rivers and town lines in Shelton, Derby and Ansonia are the back-

bone of the lower valley's industries. Further north, Bridgeport Brass Co. in Seymour (above, on Naugatuck River) and UniRoyal in Naugatuck are typical riverside scenery.

St. Louis Salesmen Strike For Union

BY JIM HAYS

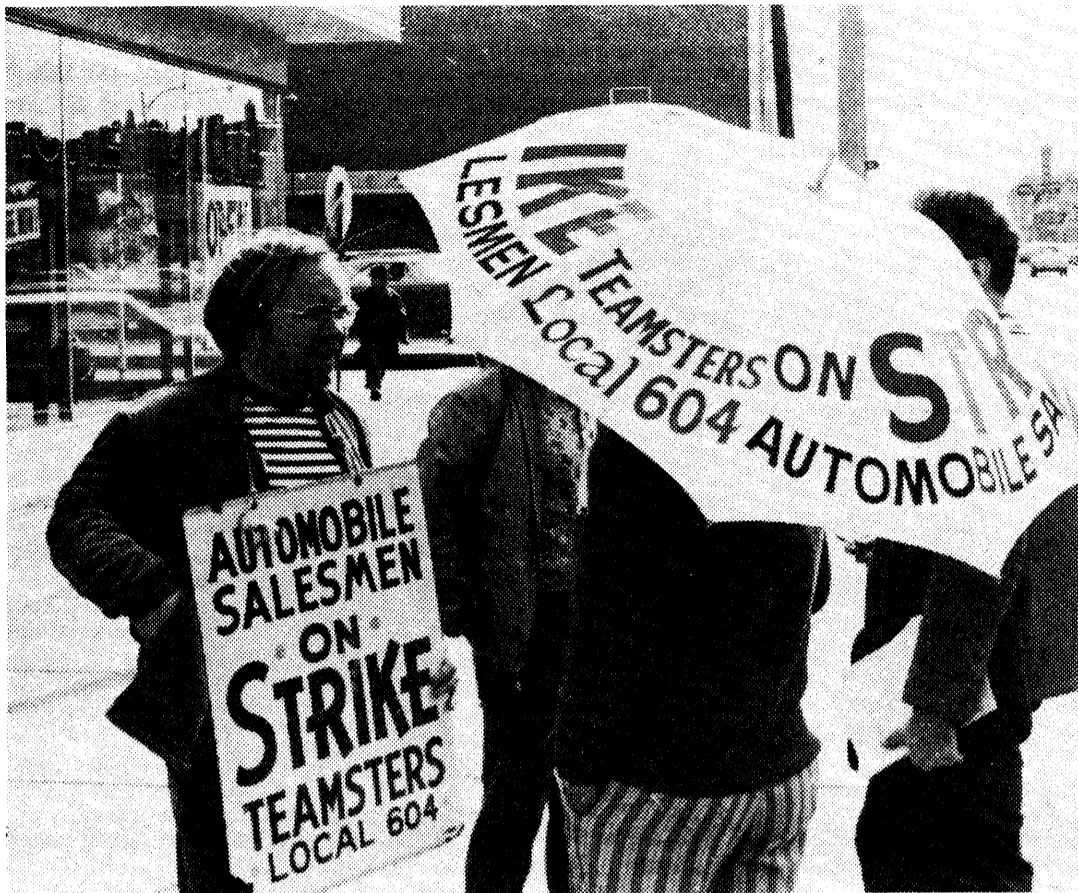
ST. LOUIS—"O.K." Placke, who for years has been insulting the St. Louis working class with inane T.V. commercials, is now faced directly with the class struggle.

Automobile salesmen have joined Teamsters Local 604 and are engaged in a bitter strike against Placke Chevrolet and Toyota for recognition of their newly formed union. The salesmen complained that they rarely receive their standard one third commission and often are required to work sixty hours a week. They also receive no retirement benefits.

One of the salesmen told the Bulletin that Placke said, "I'll see you in May or June," indicating the amount of time he thinks that it will take to break the strike.

Leaders of the Teamsters Union are using legal technicalities in not giving the salesmen strike benefits.

However, truckers, members of 604, and mechanics of Teamsters Local 618, are honoring the picket lines and are not delivering new cars or parts and are not working at the Placke Chevrolet division.



Auto salesmen in St. Louis are striking for union recognition of their new Teamsters Local 604.

S&S Men Demand 20% Hike

BY STEVE LIGHT

BROOKLYN—Battle lines are being drawn for a decisive strike in May when the contract expires at S&S Paper Corrugating Machinery.

In the strike of 1960 the workers of Lodge 295 of the International Association of Machinists won only a few cents more than the company offer and now the company will settle for nothing less than a total defeat and the destruction of the union.

The bosses of S&S, one of whom drives to work in a Jaguar, are preparing for a strike by importing machinery from its overseas plants to fill orders as fast as possible.

At the recent IAM shop meeting on contract demands, the ranks voted for a 20% increase for one year, with a cost of living clause if the contract is more than one year.

As one worker stated: "What we want is money according to the cost of living." And, as if to emphasize the economic squeeze, the membership voted to have wages paid in cash.

The militancy of the workers was expressed by a young worker over the pension demand. He said: "Is this union going to fight? Then ask for 50 cents, not 15 cents." The meeting voted to fight for the full \$500 that the retirement trust fund could provide.

At this point the bankruptcy of the International's leadership was exposed by the business representative present at the meeting. He asked the workers who wanted to fight if they were trying to make the negotiating committee "look ridiculous."

Precisely on the question of unemployment being used as a threat against the unions, the IAM bureaucrat's position exposed clearly that what is required is an alternative leadership built by the rank and file.

A worker stated at the meeting:

"I have been an employee of S&S for two years. If the negotiating committee came back with the \$20 and all the other provisions, it would mean nothing if the shop is closed.

"I've been through that and so have other men. What is the future of S&S in Brooklyn?"

Penn Central Crash Kills 4

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

HERNDON, Pa., March 13—Three men were killed and one was missing presumed dead in the wreckage of what many railroad workers described as the worst pile-up they had ever seen.

Yesterday morning two freight trains from the bankrupt Penn Central railroad collided in this small town near Harrisburg. Four crewmen who were in the cabooses of both trains were unhurt.

Penn Central blamed yesterday's crash on "the failure of the crew on the southbound coal

train." According to a railroad spokesman, "The crew on the Southbound coal train moving from Buffalo to Harrisburg failed to stop at a signal that was displaying a stop indication. The coal train ran through a switch which was properly set against this movement and entered the main track where it collided with the northbound freight train

moving from Harrisburg to Wilkes-Barre."

Another Penn Central official said the coal train "was supposed to wait on the sidings in the area." He said that the railroad had not found out why the train edged back on to the main track.

Nowhere, however, does the railroad's official statement on the cause of the accident mention a fire that was reportedly seen on the engine of the southbound coal train just before the accident occurred.

FIRE

Some railway workers had their own theory on the cause of the accident. They said that the engineer and brakeman on the southbound train could have been trying to put out a fire on the engine. The brakes failed and the train left the siding where it was supposed to be until the northbound train passed with the preoccupied crew members unaware of the course of its travel.

Whatever the findings of the federal investigation nothing can hide the callous way in which the railroad is trying to absolve itself of any possible responsibility by trying to foist off the entire blame onto the crew of the southbound coal train.

the mill open.

At the same time, the UFWOC leadership under Cesar Chavez refuses to take up a fight to mobilize the mass strength of the entire labor movement against this sort of capitalist "justice." They continue to confine themselves primarily to a boycott.

The rank and file strikers must demand that those labor leaders like Leonard Woodcock of the UAW back up his words of support with real action for mass picketing supported by all unions to stop the scabs.

Courts Limit UFW Pickets

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SOUTH BAY, Fla.—The capitalist sugar growers in this area are having another good harvest this year, with the profits continuing to roll in.

Meanwhile, with the help of the Florida State Legislature and the courts, they are stepping up their pressure to break the strike against the Talisman Sugar Company by the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee here.

The leadership of the UFWOC

is fighting a losing battle in the courts against these attempts. In response to a suit by the company to limit the number of pickets at gates and stop alleged threats against scabs by pickets, Circuit Court Judge Hugh MacMillan limited pickets to 10 at each gate and enjoined "both sides" from "attacking, assaulting, intimidating, interfering, etc."

The union attorney apparently went along with this "compromise" behind which the police continue to allow scabs to keep

Crisis

Revisionism in

**NOW
BACK
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An analysis of the 1969 International Conference of the "United Secretariat" forces which call themselves the Fourth International. Wohlforth outlines the struggles which took place and traces the political issues wracking this formation to their roots historically in the original Pablo split and methodologically in an abandonment of dialectics. New edition.

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

by Tim Wohlforth
Including: The Crisis Deepens 1969-1972

Thermo-King Welders Face Productivity Drive

BY AN

INDUSTRIAL REPORTER
MINNEAPOLIS—Nixon's

drive to increase productivity in order to restore value to the dollar is now moving into all plants and industries, even those with what seemed to have the best and most secure of working conditions.

On March 10, shortly before 10 PM, all welders on the second shift of Westinghouse's Thermo-King plant here were marched up to the front office to hear a harangue by the night shift general foreman on the need to put out more work.

The men, members of United Steelworkers Local 2175, were told that more production was expected of them by June of this

year. This despite the fact that they already produce more than the first shift, with fewer welders.

This is part of the crackdown throughout the plant on conditions won years before, especially before Westinghouse bought the plant in 1961. Conditions of work speed, absenteeism and even minor things like reading on the job are being attacked. A week before the welders were herded up to the front office when a blanket order went out to the second shift to cut out reading during working hours.

Despite illusions by many union members as to the nature of these attacks, they are not the same as before, when other foremen have tried similar tactics.



3,000 Hit The Streets

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEWARK, N.J.—Three thousand workers at the huge Ballantine Brewery here will be out of a job at the end of the month when the plant closes its doors.

The workers are represented by a number of unions including the Brewery Workers, the Teamsters and the International Association of Machinists. The ranks are skeptical about the efforts and negotiations by Mayor Gibson and the union leaders with Falstaff beer which bought out Ballantine and several other brewers, including Schlitz and Miller's, to keep the plant open.

While the men at Ballantine who were interviewed by the *Bulletin* seemed resigned to the loss of their jobs, the mood of resignation was giving way to bitter anger. Only a short time ago the unions, with the exception of the machinists (IAM) and the engineers, all agreed to a 5% pay cut.

GIVE UP

Further, they agreed to give up a scheduled \$9.00 weekly raise and the dropping of three weeks of vacation as the price Ballantine was demanding to keep the plant there. Like scores of other corporations owned by millionaires in the U.S. who are now making similar demands on the workers, Ballantine claimed that they "were losing money."

"Sure, I lost \$18.00 a week" one older worker, who still hoped he might get a job with Falstaff, told the *Bulletin*. "But if we had known they were going to do this, we never would have accepted the cut."

The workers were angry over what they considered a "double cross" and angry over being the victims of a system which throws

them out on the streets if the owner is not making enough profit.

"Thirty-seven years down the drain," said one man angrily when leaving at the end of this shift. "We took less money. We took a 5% cut and gave up our increase. We gave up three weeks vacation. For what? What did they give us? Crap."

Another worker told the *Bulletin*: "It's a shame. What future is there for young kids who are looking for jobs? The workers are taking a beating with all this unemployment. Automation. Thousands of men have lost their jobs at Ballantine in the last 11 years. Other breweries have closed—Ruppert, Kruegers, Trommers. They closed National Biscuit down. Now they're talking about closing the American Can Co. plant in Hillside.

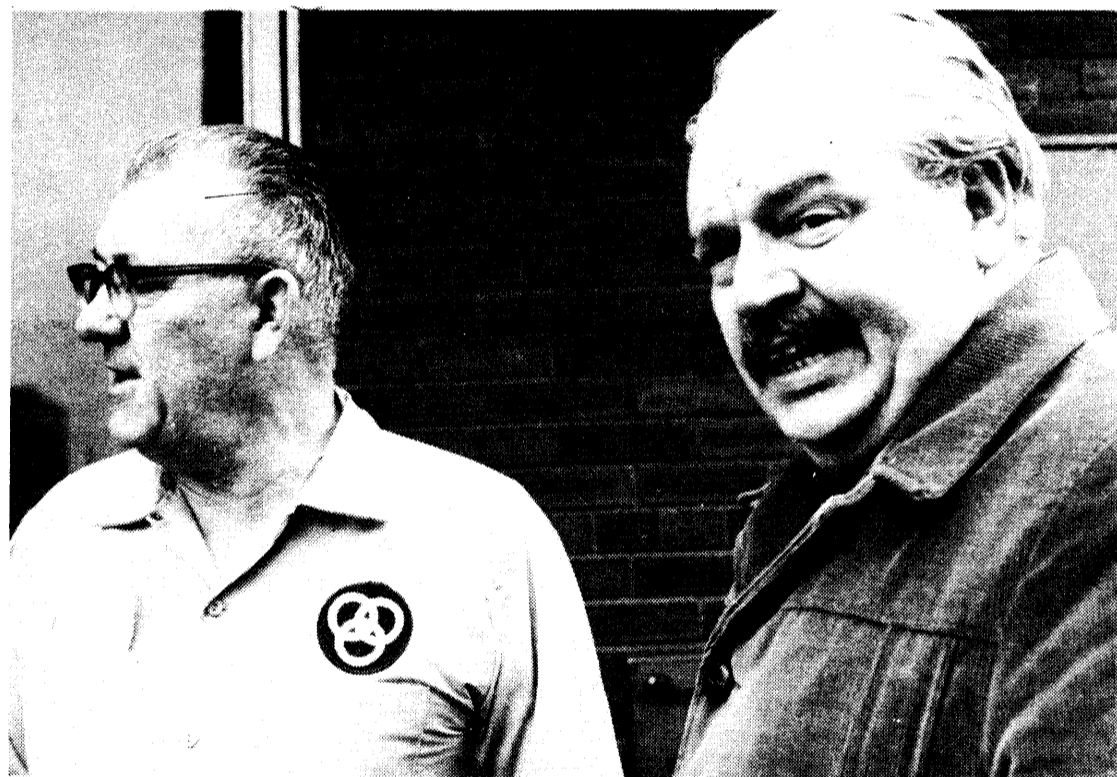
"All we want is a job. But the government doesn't even lower the age for social security. Instead they keep raising taxes. They are on the side of the rich. Look at that ITT business. Do you think that's right?"

"Look at Newark. You can't even park your car here any more. The housing projects are falling apart and they are not building any schools. Prudential and Bambergers got rich off the people here and then branched out all over the country.

"They jailed the teachers for striking. Did you ever see any politician go on strike? The Congressmen never went on strike but they raised their own salaries \$20,000."

FROZEN

Workers we spoke to told us they do not know if they are going to get any more than unemployment insurance after the plant closes. "Our pensions are frozen," one man told the *Bulletin*. "I'm 55 years old. I've got two brothers here also. One has been at Ballantine for 35



Ballantine brewery (top) is closing down March 31, ending over a century of brewing beer and exploiting New Jersey workers. Now that profits are down, workers such as those above are thrown onto the rubbish heap by the capitalists who think their money could make better profits elsewhere.

years, the other 38 years and he's 57 years old.

"What is the government going to do? Put us all on the dole? How are they going to support all of us?"

"I was in the Navy during the war, and my son is in the Navy now. But I'm being thrown out. I'll have to go on welfare. That is what we get.

"It's all the fault of big business. We ought to kick them out. We all have to have bread on our tables, don't we? And they are taking it away.

"Nixon is in with the millionaires. But you are right. The Democrats are no better. You ask about a labor party set up by the unions? I'm 100% for it."

We asked another older worker about the right to make a living wage—a right which these companies like Ballantine were taking away. "Oh, we're supposed to. That's right. I was hoping to retire when I'm 65 with \$300 a month from this company. Now I get nothing.

"I'm 62 years old. So what am I going to do? I'll have to go out and get a job. Who is going to hire me? I'll have to get a

watchman's job or a porter's job or something. I've been a truck driver all my life. Nobody is going to hire me—I'll be 62 years old soon.

"If Falstaff does take any drivers from here at all, they'll hire young guys 21 years old, so that they can work them for 40 years and they will not have to give them any pension."

We asked him what he thought of "a system that tells a guy who is 62 years old and has been working for 30 years, that he does not have anything more than a social security check."

ROTTEN

"I think it's very bad," he answered, "I think it is rotten. I think it stinks, that's what I think—I think it stinks," he answered.

When asked what kind of system he thought was needed to change things around, he answered, "Socialist. A socialist government. I always agreed with that...Yes, that is what I mean. A labor party to control everything, with the working man getting the benefit from it."

A machinist at the plant said

that his union, the IAM, refused to accept the "offer" to reduce wages 5%. Even after the machinists said they would take their back vacation to avoid the lay off of seven men, the company threatened to lay off 15 machinists and then actually did lay off 10 men.

The Ballantine closing is a warning to the working class of Newark and the northern New Jersey area.

More closings and layoffs are now threatened as the economic crisis deepens. Singer has just announced that it will close its Somerville plant and transfer only 200 out of the 400 jobs to its Elizabeth plant.

The policy of concessions—of accepting wage cuts, speedup and worse conditions, in order to help the employers out—is completely bankrupt as a means of fighting unemployment. This has been shown at Ballantine just as at GM's Frigidaire plant in Dayton, Ohio where the IUE leaders accepted a vicious pay cut which has now led to speedup and continual harassment by the management.

FLORIDA PRIMARY...

(Continued From Page 1)

liberal college youth and the minority vote.

Lindsay cynically portrayed himself as the liberal savior of unemployed Black youth in Miami, while his cops in New York conducted a witchhunt of Black youth in their search for the "Black Liberation Army."

But Lindsay was seriously hurt among minorities and workers because his reputation in New York followed him here, and an election eve speech in Miami's Black community drew only 50 people.

Chisholm, by appealing to

Black nationalism, tries to channel the growing hostility among Black youth and workers towards the Democratic Party back into that same reactionary party.

NEW DEAL

The traditional party leaders are now desperately trying to down play the significance of the Florida primary. They are trying to prevent the forces unleashed by the capitalist crisis from tearing apart the coalition welded together by the capitalist New Deal.

But workers have become increasingly disillusioned by

capitalist politics.

"I don't know who I'll vote for," said one construction worker. "All I know is I'm fed up to here with the whole lousy bunch."

"Maybe I'll vote for Wallace just to give them a scare, but what we really need in this country is a new system, from the White House on down."

"I don't know about a labor party. Sounds like a good idea, but I'd have to think about it. We need something new, that's for sure."

Tearing the Democratic Party apart in the other direction is Wallace, who is setting the stage

for the emergence of an independent fascist movement.

Wallace cynically courts the backward sections of the working class with rhetoric and campaign gimmicks like the "Wallace Hard Hats" his supporters sell. He seeks to deepen the divisions in the working class. As one campaign poster put it, "George Wallace is the best thing since Archie Bunker."

Wallace roots himself in the tradition of Southern populism with his blasts against the "big campaigns, the liberal snobs and the thousands of bureaucrats up in Washington." In spite of scattered phrases about the working people his real message is for the "average man," the middle class.

"We are talking about free enterprise, the profit system and individual freedom," he tells his largely middle class audiences. "I say that the average man is being taxed to death and the

middle class is going to be obliterated."

"The average man is going to tell them to listen to us for awhile."

Wallace's only promise to workers about their jobs is that they'd better have one.

"I don't want my taxes going to professionals who don't want to work and won't work and who want to loaf under the sun," he tells the unemployed.

His warning to working class militants and "communists" is even sharper, when he tells the cheering crowds that "law and order must be preserved, and if it isn't, many civil liberties will have to be abrogated in order to get it back."

The task for the working class has been posed clearly here. The Democratic Party is a trap. The only resolution to the crisis, the only answer to the ruling class and the threat represented by Wallace, is to build a labor party in '72.

BLACK CAUCUS...

(Continued From Page 1)

the bankruptcy of nationalism, might turn elsewhere for leadership.

For instance, Jackson's "Nation Time" speech stated clearly that the problem is all in the minds of the Black community and "if your body is here and your mind is in some white camp you are a schizophrenic—check out your mind." Reference to "irrelevant European philosophies" warned young Blacks not to seek a Marxist understanding in their fight for leadership.

WORKERS

Extreme nationalist groups in the crowd lashed out at everyone who attempted to bring in, not even the class struggle, but merely the fight of workers. When Hatcher's key note speech predicted that the struggle would alternately take along the best of white America there were cheers as he listed the youth, the poor, the ex-GI, but loud boos also went up, especially from the N.Y. delegation, when he mentioned the white working class.

Similarly Hatcher omitted the next line of his written speech: "We don't for a moment accept the movie character Joe or his television counterpart Bunker as the prototype of the white man with the blue collar."

There were also boos when the Illinois delegation angrily demanded that organized and unorganized Black workers be considered as important a grouping as youth, women, elected officials and other interest groups already given quotas in the on-going political assembly.

HOSTILITY

It was during the fight which led to a walkout of the Michigan delegation that this sharp hostility was expressed most clearly. The majority of the Michigan delegation mindful of the tenuous coalition it had built at home, objected to adopting the conveners' Black Political Agenda without any discussion. When the issue was forced 248 out of 254 left the convention.

They were taunted as they left by a minority delegate who said that the convention was about Black political power not allegiance to "the UAW and other organizations which narrow the outlook of their members."

There was a heated discussion after the walkout with Illinois defending the Michigan majority and several references to the "confusion" of some Blacks who belong to unions. Mean while a Michigan delegate told listeners as she left the hall, "Brother, if you don't know you've been screwed in there today I feel sorry for you."

SUPPRESSION

This bitter statement reflects the feelings of many delegates because the need to push through the nationalist concepts that

formed the basis of the convention required the sharpest suppression of discussion. In fact, the convention scheduled to start on Friday was not convened until 2:30 Saturday.

It was 4:00 o'clock Sunday and several delegations had already left town when the political questions of endorsement, the third party and the platform or Agenda came up for the first time. "I drove 1000 miles and it started a day and a half late" one girl said angrily. "They charged me a fortune to walk in the door and now they won't let us speak. I'm damn mad, that's what I am."

While the bourgeois press is playing up the bitter squabbling and "opposition" at the convention the reality is that no opposition was put forward at any time to the nationalist perspective that had built the convention. The so-called split between Jackson and Hatcher over the third party question was nothing more than a carefully executed division of labor.

Neither one ever wavered from his assignment—Jackson to give voice to and appease the very real hatred for the two capitalist parties, Hatcher to neatly execute the return to the Democratic Party for "one last chance" before probing the possibility of a third party movement.

NEW YORK

The New York delegation was the sharpest example of this kind of "opposition" that posed no alternative. Divided between Chisholm supporters and a large group of nationalist youth under the influence of LeRoi Jones (Imamu Baraka) and Les Campbell their fight over delegate credentials almost broke up the convention soon after it finally got underway Saturday afternoon.

But when the \$25 delegate fee was waived for them and all the youth were seated, New York united to back the conference leadership in every reactionary move. It was New York which forced through the adoption of the Agenda and the much publicized anti-busing resolution, later revised at the insistence of the Virginia delegation.

Starting from the same nationalist perspective no one at the conference was able to offer any alternative or even to bring the resolutions and Agenda out of the realm of the utopian dream.

DESPERATION

Thus the convention, developed out of the desperation of nationalist leaders watching their influence slip away, confirmed the reasons for nationalism's impotence. Today when vast sections of workers are under attack and fighting the government, nationalism reemphasizes, even glorifies the divisions that can prevent a serious fight back.

In fact Jackson stated that

"...oppression has strengthened our extended Black family." Youth fight in vast numbers for an understanding of reality in order to survive while the nationalists blur the issues—saying for instance that "the central question is still the question of land. We want our 40 acres."

DAVIS

Gary faces the closure of its schools this month in continuation of a devastating financial crisis, but convention speakers hailed the town as "a real example of what can happen when Black people begin to seize control of their own lives." The government steps up its attacks, Meir Kahane brings his neo-fascist filth to the convention, the convention is disrupted by a bomb threat, and yet Hatcher can barely choke out that even Angela Davis and Bobby Seale are welcome here. In spite of the leadership, defense of Davis and all political prisoners was one of the few resolutions to be received with real enthusiasm.

AKRON...

(Continued From Page 1)

workers at all three companies began secret negotiations with management early this year. Firestone Local 7 was the first to reach an agreement.

By a vote of 2,356 to 977, the Company has been able to force through a deal which will extend the work week from 36 to 40 hours, eliminate one entire six hour shift of workers, expand the areas of work to be covered on a piecework basis, and force the men to take their vacations during the same two week period in the summer when the plant will close. This plan was not even revealed to the men until Sunday, March 4, when the union leadership attempted to force a vote at the same meeting.

In a Local 7 meeting with a turnout of 2500 members, larger than the attendance at the meeting when the present contract was ratified in 1967 after a 100 day strike, the ranks demanded a vote later in the week at the plant gate. This would allow the entire work force of 2900 to vote and give them time to study the proposals.

OPPOSITION

Opposition to the whole negotiations procedure and the agreement exists even on the Executive Board of the Local, where a minority report given on Sunday by Rudy Didonato challenged the legality of entering formal negotiations with the company management without the consent of the ranks. Didonato and three other board members had voted Saturday in an Executive Board meeting against recommending adoption of the proposals.

The Bulletin talked with workers at Firestone Friday

NEW YORK ILA...

(Continued From Page 4)

up from the workers. The attack on the dockworkers is part of this.

These attacks are only a small taste of what the U.S. capitalists will resort to under fascism in order to smash the unions and put millions of people in concentration camps on a greater scale even than did Hitler in his drive to maintain profits for the industrialists and bankers of Germany.

This is why the need for the working class to establish socialism—to abolish private ownership of the industries, the banks, the docks and all transportation through nationalization under workers control—is an absolute necessity. The workers

are faced only with two alternatives—the destruction of civilization under fascism, or a new era for mankind under socialism.

That is why the question of Marxism—of the construction of a leadership that can bring the working class to power must be central. While Gleason and the labor bureaucracy attempt to force through a contract which will strengthen Nixon and the shipowners, the fight against the contract, the fight to throw out Gleason and the bureaucrats' grip on the union is at the same time a fight to create a labor party to do away with the Pay Board, to nationalize the docks, shipping and all basic industry under a workers government.

morning during the voting. Although there was widespread opposition, many of the men felt that the only way to save jobs in Akron was to vote for the contract.

TREACHERY

Many workers are totally fed up with the International and Local leadership. One worker said: "They're all a bunch of crooks and because of the secret ballot, they'll put it through no matter what the vote is."

The men pointed out the treachery of the International leadership. In earlier disputes, especially the 1967 contract, the Local at Goodyear pulled the men back to work after only two

weeks, openly scabbing on Goodrich and Firestone, who stayed out for two and three months.

In a discussion about the British miners' strike, one worker said: "Those miners got all the people behind them. The Teamsters and the dockworkers, when they go out, everybody goes out. That's what we need."

Concerning the layoffs, which have been averaging 1,000 a year, and speedup, one worker told the Bulletin that: "Even guys with 10 years seniority are out on the streets. They're working us until we drop now. I wouldn't work eight hours a day making tires for them. I have to go in Sunday night with no double overtime as it is."

CHINA...

(Continued From Page 3)

Norodom Sihanouk, the deposed prince of Cambodia now residing in Peking, stated last week that the Chinese rebuffed all of Nixon's efforts to arrange a settlement in Vietnam. He went on to say that China is committed to the victory of the NLF.

But the uneasiness of Hanoi is demonstrated by the fact that Pham Van Dong, foreign minister of North Vietnam, and seven members of the politburo met with Chou En-lai to discuss the negotiations with Nixon.

However, all the efforts to reassure Hanoi are exposed by the decision of Peking and Washington to resume contacts in Paris, the site of the defunct peace talks. This openly reveals the determination of Peking to assume control over the negotiation of a settlement of the Indochina war. The independent claims of Hanoi are to be shunted into the background.

After conferring with Marshall Green, Premier Eisako Sato of Japan stated: "I think that the Chinese Communist regime will now draw a line, perhaps as expected by the United States, and will voluntarily limit its support to the Vietnamese communists."

This is not idle speculation on Sato's part. He understands that Peking is prepared to make many concessions in order to enlist the support of the United States against the wider penetration of Japanese influence throughout Asia.

Acting in the pragmatic character that reflects the class nature of the Maoist bureaucracy, its leading spokesman Chou En-lai is attempting to exploit the competition between the United States and Japan in order to relax the pressures the bureaucracy feels from the industrial and potential military might of its traditional island enemy.

Big Business Subsidizes Racist Prof

BY ALAN KEARNY

STANFORD—"Professor Shockley's research activities have met all the objective criteria required by the Academic Council and the Administration of the University."

His proposed research has been approved as to form by the School of Engineering and the Research Administration Office.

What "objective criteria" has Professor William Shockley met which deserves the approval of Stanford University? Shockley is a clear-cut racist.

To the middle class in despair, his theories of the genetic inferiority of Blacks offer a final solution to its problems; that is, the destruction of the working class, in particular Black people.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Shockley's research in eugenics has been funded by various foundations and individuals. This year alone he has received \$35,000 in "gift" contributions.

John B. D. Saunders, former dean of the University of California Medical Center, is one donor. He is also a director of Shockley's group, the Foundation for Research and Education on Eugenics and Dysgenics (FREED).

Philip Sporn, another of Shockley's backers, sits as director and consultant for the American Electric Power Company. This executive was formerly president of the Ohio Valley Electric Corp. and the Indiana-Kentucky Electric Corp.

Most financial support comes from two organizations, the Pioneer Fund of Massachusetts and the Cook Foundation of Connecticut. The stated purpose

of the Pioneer Fund is the advancement of eugenics.

Its secretary and treasurer, Henry R. Guild is a member of the executive committee and director of the Boston Edison Company. Among other positions, he is chairman of the board of the Massachusetts Company, a director of Fiduciary Funds and General Life Insurance Company.

Assets for the Pioneer Fund were reported to have been \$275,074 in 1962.

Shockley's other major contributor, the Cook Foundation was established by companies such as Reliable Electric Company of Illinois and the Whitney Black Company, dominated by the Cook family. John Brown Cook, president of both of these companies, is a member of the New Haven Chamber of Commerce and past board director of the National Electrical Manufacturing Association.

The Cook Foundations have \$735,524 in assets.

CRITERIA

Shockley undoubtedly meets the criteria of the capitalist class. The gifts he receives from big business through their foundations attest to this.

Stanford Graduate Dean Lincoln Moses appointed a committee to review a graduate special to be taught by Shockley. The course, entitled "The Dysgenics Question: New Research Methodology on Human Behavior Genetics and Racial Differences," would allow Shockley to teach his racist theories.

West Coast News



Drawings of trial show Angela Davis (left) and her attorney, Moore addressing jury.

DAVIS...

(Continued From Page 20) charges against Miss Davis. To prove the charges of kidnapping and murder, it is not sufficient to show that the guns used were purchased by Davis, for this would be simply aiding in the crime. What must also be proved is abetting, that is that there was a state of mind of criminal intent, which also involves circumstantial evidence.

Harris has also revealed that he intends to bring in photographs of the "victims" of the shootout. This can only be intended to help produce an atmosphere of hysteria.

Twice this week, after questioning by the defense, Branton asked Judge Arnason to dismiss jurors for "cause"—for

biases that would prevent them from making an impartial judgment in the case.

The first juror involved was James Messer, a former naval officer, who admitted that the military teachings included a description of "a great red wave sweeping across the world." He also admitted to a "possibility" that he might be prejudiced against the defendant because of her membership in the Communist Party.

However, when Mr. Messer was questioned by the prosecution, he insisted he would be an impartial juror after Harris assured him that the Communist Party's aim to overthrow the government is "totally irrelevant to this case." It has been Harris'

line all along that there is absolutely nothing political involved in this case. Judge Arnason sided with the prosecution again and denied the defense challenge.

Even more outrageous was the attitude expressed by potential juror, William Hoteling, an IBM engineering executive and the subsequent action by Judge Arnason.

In his questioning, Branton went back to Mr. Hoteling's previous responses during the preliminary voir dire where he had expressed open prejudice against the Communist Party. Immediately, the prosecution objected, saying it has all been covered earlier. Judge Arnason allowed it to continue, but added that he would like to see things speeded up a bit, "We've got to make some progress here."

Mr. Hoteling stated that he was opposed to Communists overthrowing the government either by peaceful or violent means, for as he stated, it would not be a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government by the state."

The questioning then shifted to the topic of white racism, which he believed existed in this country, "but none that I know of in California." Asked if he ever had contact with Black people, he replied, "Yes, in New York, we had a Black woman who came in to clean our house once every two weeks and she would sit down and eat lunch with my wife."

Trying to deal with the political movements happening in prisons throughout the country, Branton mentioned Attica. Judge Arnason immediately objected to this topic and suggested that Branton should "confine himself to California."

Branton immediately challenged for cause. At this time Judge Arnason intervened, saying to Mr. Hoteling: "I learned long ago that no amount of questioning can determine what is really in the mind of the juror. Do you, in your heart, feel that you can be objective...if in fact it is disclosed that Angela Davis is a Communist?" Mr. Hoteling, looking intensely serious answered yes and the challenge was overruled.

Rail Workers Fight Layoffs

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO, MARCH 9—A strike of the United Transportation Union gripped the entire rail line of the Southern Pacific Railroad today. Within hours the government, through a court restraining order, forced the strikers back to work.

At the center of the walk-out was the vicious attempt by the SP to lay off 270 men. Over 20 men were already laid off with more to follow when the union called for a strike.

It was clear from the beginning that the union leadership feared the possible independence of the ranks around a fight against government intervention. The strike was not announced to the rank and file until minutes before the deadline.

At every point the union leadership made it clear that they had no perspective to fight to defeat an injunction, even though every UTU strike has been met with government strike-breaking.

UTU Vice President George Lechner announced, after the injunction was served, that the UTU welcomes the chance to discuss the differences with the SP in the same court that issued the restraining order. With this he ordered his men back to work.

"This is just the beginning," said one picket, "if we let them lay off 20, they'll take 1,020 off work. This is happening everywhere—layoffs and speedup.

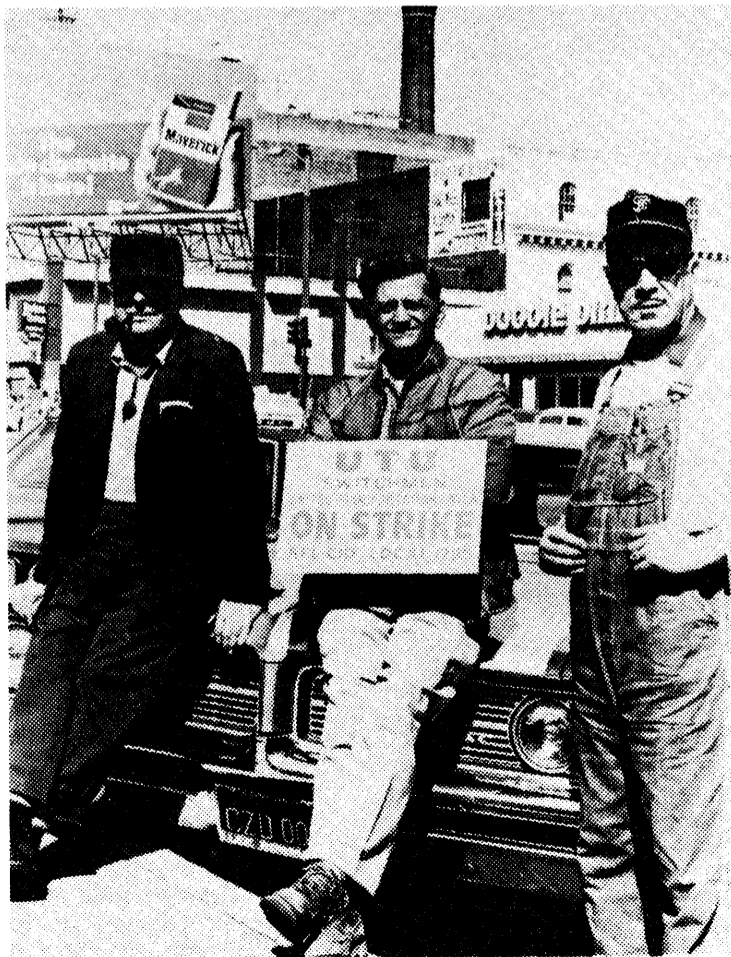
"If I'm laid off I won't be able to find another job. I'm too old to start all over again."

This attack by the employer was opened up with the acceptance of work rule changes allowed by the UTU. Another picket with six years at SP told the Bulletin;

"We changed the work rules the first of the year, but we thought we had a guarantee that no one would be laid off. We shouldn't have changed those rules, but we could not see the handwriting on the wall.

"Now we see the result—20 men laid off and the SP wants more. But we have a problem here. With the longshoremen's strike people were hurting, but with us nobody knows about our strike. Everytime we go out, Nixon slaps an injunction on us."

The representatives for the Southern Pacific felt that the 42% wage increase over 42 months won last August by the UTU gave the SP open hands to lay off as many workers as they wanted. Wages were granted only because layoffs were to accompany increased work loads, or so the SP said.



Striking railroad workers of UTU who closed down Southern Pacific Railroad in struggle against the laying off of 270 men by company.

West Coast News

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S.F. Workers Face Layoffs

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—While the San Francisco Board of Supervisors are split over how to divide a wage decrease among city workers, Bernard Orsi, head of Civil Service is unequivocal about his plans saying "layoffs represent a serious, serious threat."

Already one city hospital, Hassler, has been closed down and now there are rumors that San Francisco General Hospital may either be shut down or turned over to private hands. Neither of these alternatives provide any job security for hundreds of Civil Servants, who once believed the myth that permanent Civil Service re-

presents a life-time secure job.

One worker told the *Bulletin* that: "We just got transferred out here and now they're talking about closing the place down. They dropped Ward 45 last week. With the hiring freeze on, we can't even get transferred back to our old jobs."

"And I'm too old to be able to get another job. We don't even get unemployment. What are we

going to do?"

In Social Services, in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, workers with 170 cases will be expected to take over Food Stamp budgeting, which will double their work load. One Supervisor said:

"We had a four hour training session last week for the Supervisors and some of the extremely bright old-timers couldn't get it. I don't know how we could teach it to our workers. It is too much work anyway. The Supervisors are calling an emergency meeting with Trudy (head of AFDC) to protest the whole thing."

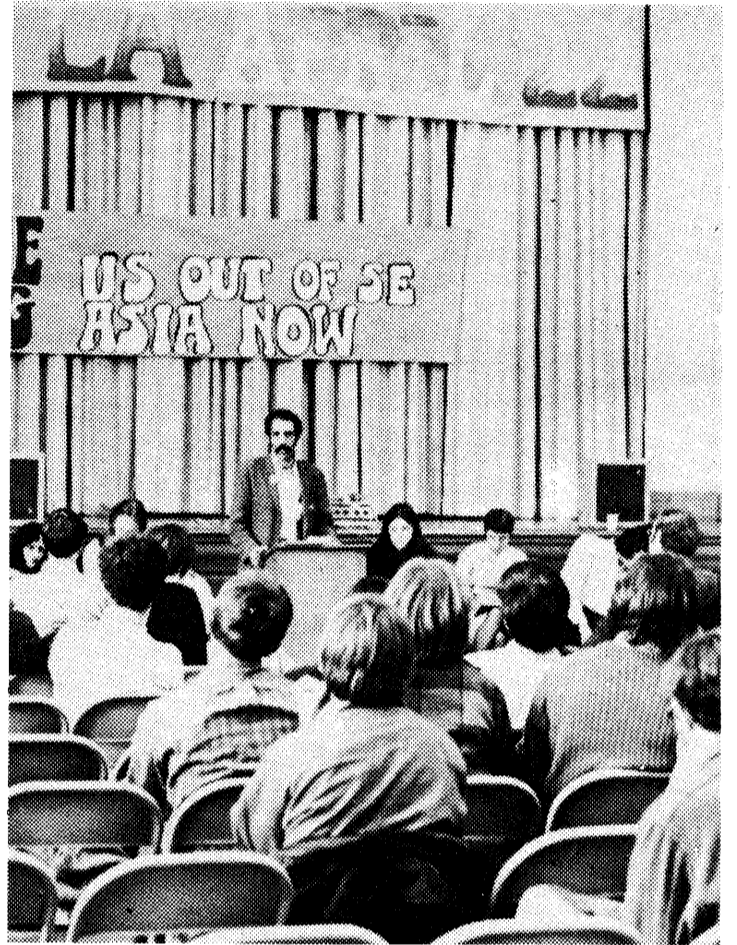
REPRESSIVE

Nurses and teachers are being threatened by repressive state legislation designed to remove the nurses' credentials and the teachers' tenure. At the same time the City eliminated 213 bus runs, drastically reducing hours for the Muni bus drivers.

Every attempt by City Hall to solve its economic problems results in slashing services to the public, particularly in the working class sections like Hunters Point, and in speedup and deteriorating working conditions for city employees, always with the possibility of layoffs.

The jobs and working conditions of all city workers are under attack from one source—City Hall, the Democratic and Republican politicians who are financed by downtown big business, the Ben Swigs and Louis Louries.

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This "workfare" program has been approved by HEW Secretary Eliot Richardson as a three year experiment. Approximately 58,000 recipients will be affected.

They will be required to work as janitors, hospital aids, watchmen, crossing guards and a number of other unskilled jobs or be dropped from the rolls.

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This is nothing but a vicious scheme sanctioned by the highest levels of government to undermine wages and weaken the trade union movement with the introduction of virtual slave labor.

Reagan has obtained permission for this policy precisely at a time when thousands of municipal workers across the state are threatened with layoffs.

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Angela Davis Defense Accepts Stacked Jury With No Blacks

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—An all-white jury has been seated for the Angela Davis trial which now is expected to begin next week.

The jury was seated through a surprise move as Angela Davis rose to address the court for the first time herself. She addressed the hushed court after the one Black prospective juror had been removed by a prosecution preemptory challenge.

She stated that in her opinion the jury did reflect Santa Clara County and was about as best as could be expected from that county. She emphasized the defense's position that the trial should be held elsewhere.

While it is clear that Davis and her attorneys correctly have fought to move the trial to a more representative area, it is simply not true that the present jury reflects accurately Santa Clara County which includes the large city of San Jose. San Jose has a very large Chicano population, a large Black population

and is overwhelmingly a working class city. It contains important colleges. The panel excluded all Blacks, has only one Chicano on it, no students and youth, and virtually no workers. In particular there are no unemployed workers on the jury while the unemployed represent a sizable section of this crisis-ridden aerospace city.

What makes this state of affairs even more criminal is that the defense has agreed to the present jury after having used only two of 20 preemptory challenges and after an agreement with the prosecution which had used four challenges, which removed students and the Black woman.

In addition to questioning to determine prejudice, both the prosecutor and defense counsel have used this period to explain the law involved in this case, particularly around the issue of

conspiracy. The prosecution is limited to circumstantial evidence for proof of conspiracy.

Chief prosecutor, Albert Harris, Jr. said: "If two persons conspire and one is deceased (Jonathan Jackson), then we are forced to draw inferences from facts." The example used over and over by Harris was the pitcher and cup on his table and the "reasonable inference" that he was drinking water.

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West Coast News

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S.F. Workers Face Layoffs

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—While the San Francisco Board of Supervisors are split over how to divide a wage decrease among city workers, Bernard Orsi, head of Civil Service is unequivocal about his plans saying "layoffs represent a serious, serious threat."

Already one city hospital, Hassler, has been closed down and now there are rumors that San Francisco General Hospital may either be shut down or turned over to private hands. Neither of these alternatives provide any job security for hundreds of Civil Servants, who once believed the myth that permanent Civil Service re-

presents a life-time secure job.

One worker told the *Bulletin* that: "We just got transferred out here and now they're talking about closing the place down. They dropped Ward 45 last week. With the hiring freeze on, we can't even get transferred back to our old jobs."

"And I'm too old to be able to get another job. We don't even get unemployment. What are we

going to do?"

In Social Services, in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, workers with 170 cases will be expected to take over Food Stamp budgeting, which will double their work load. One Supervisor said:

"We had a four hour training session last week for the Supervisors and some of the extremely bright old-timers couldn't get it. I don't know how we could teach it to our workers. It is too much work anyway. The Supervisors are calling an emergency meeting with Trudy (head of AFDC) to protest the whole thing."

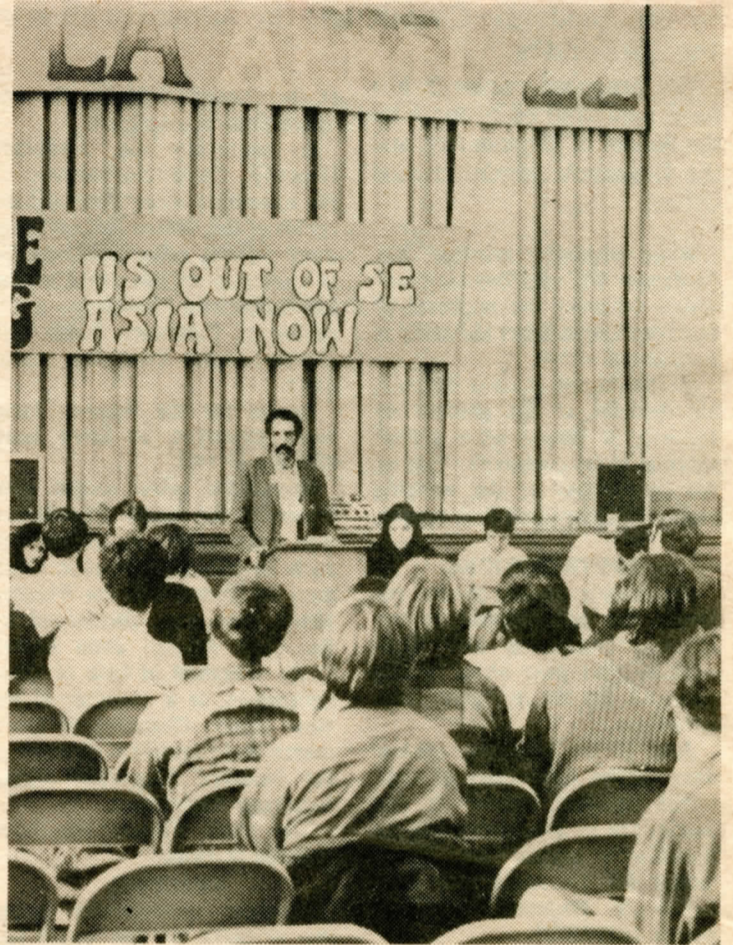
REPRESSIVE

Nurses and teachers are being threatened by repressive state legislation designed to remove the nurses' credentials and the teachers' tenure. At the same time the City eliminated 213 bus runs, drastically reducing hours for the Muni bus drivers.

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