

HOOVER
JUN 7 1972
INSTITUTION

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY NINE 238

MARCH 27, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS

AS AFL-CIO WALKS OFF PAY BOARD

CALL A GENERAL STRIKE

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profit for the employers.

"The Pay Board is an integral part of the administration's effort to place the burden of its failures on the backs of workers while providing favors and financial gains to those who already have too much....

"The Pay Board represents government control. It represents political and business interests....

"The AFL-CIO members therefore are immediately resigning from the Board."

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What we think

Busing Frenzy Is Cover For Fascism

The decision of Nixon, following Wallace's fascistic Florida campaign, to propose a law in effect overturning the courts and the Constitution on the busing issue, represents a fundamental turn toward dictatorship and apartheid in the United States. Let there be no mistake about it—an American apartheid could only be imposed by a fascist regime!

In 1954 the United States Supreme Court decided that "separate but equal" facilities could only be separate but unequal and therefore in violation of the Constitution. This represented the first time since the immediate Reconstruction period right after the Civil War that any attempt was made to break down even the legal structure of segregation. The decision was the product of a period of compromise with the working class. It was in fact its most progressive product.

The 1954 decision was followed by a profound movement of the Black masses first of all over integration in schools and public facilities. This was the period of "prayer pilgrimages," of Martin Luther King and, in its last stage, of SNCC. The legal concessions on integration led to a mass movement which pushed more and more beyond this legal and liberal limit raising class demands. The question, as it was posed at the time was, after having won the right to have a meal in a restaurant, where would the money come from to pay the bill?

This Civil Rights movement was an anticipation of the class movement now building up in the United States. Encouraged at first by a concession from a period of compromise, it was transitional to a period of renewed capitalist crisis in which no compromises could be made any more.

It was this, above all, which led to the destruction of the civil rights movement. All the civil rights laws in the world could not change the oppression of the Blacks as part of the working class. Liberalism and the Democratic Party could only pass

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Wallace Base Is Middle Class

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FLORIDA—With George Wallace running third among Democrats for the Presidential nomination in the latest national Gallup Poll, the significance of his overwhelming victory here has been underscored.

As much as Democratic Party leaders try to attribute his victory in the Florida primary to Southern racism and anti-busing hysteria, Wallace has clearly shaken the party to its roots.

DEMAGOGUE

It is not Wallace the Southern demagogue that the Democratic liberals really fear, but the forces set in motion by the deepening capitalist crisis which are tearing the party apart and leaving them without their liberal fig leaf.



George Wallace speaks at meeting during Florida primary where he got big support from the middle class and capitalists with his racist and anti-working class program.

The coalition of farmers, workers, minorities and middle class liberals forged 40 years ago by Franklin Roosevelt to prop up a crumbling capitalism is now being ripped apart by a new crisis which is polarizing class forces.

As the ruling class prepares to roll back the hard-won gains of workers in order to raise its sinking profits, it is also preparing to abandon its liberal cover to crush the working class movement between the pincers of Bonapartist dictatorship and fascism.

This is the "message" Wallace telegraphed to the Democratic Party with his victory here.

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U.S. Trains Fascists For Haiti Rulers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

"My father made the political revolution. I will make the economic revolution," claims Jean-Claude Duvalier.

It is becoming increasingly clear to every worker and peasant in Haiti what Duvalier's "economic revolution" means—the shameless extortion of the peasant's blood and land in the interests of foreign capitalism.

The squeeze by American imperialism and the world bourgeoisie on the international working class did not leave the "poorest country in the western hemisphere" untouched.

The U.S. imperialist Army did not intervene after the death of "Papa Doc" simply to "insure the smooth transition of power," but above all to prevent the mobilization of the workers and peasants against the hated dictatorship and to secure the further penetration of its capital.

The bourgeois press is now giving considerable publicity to reports that things have been getting more "liberal" in Haiti since the death of Papa Doc. After all, the Duvalier thugs, the Tonton Macoute, no longer are around and you can even walk the streets without being stabbed.

TIGHTENING

The reality is that the United States is tightening its grip over Haiti since Jean Claude Duvalier assumed the title of "President for Life." The United States no longer has confidence in the ability of the shaky and divided Haitian ruling clique to maintain control over the working class.

This is why the U.S. military and the Inter-American Defense Organization (OID) have replaced the Tonton Macoute with Duvalier's private army, the Leopards, specializing in anti-communist activity.

The anti-communist hysteria that is developing and the witch-hunt of militant students and youth is a reflection of the weakness, not the strength of the regime.

The only "progress" being made is the modernizing of the state machinery for the maintenance of the dynasty. The liquidation of the country's wealth is being done through the Committee for the Study of Foreign Investment (CEIE) created in June 1971 to promote new capital investment in such areas as petroleum, bauxite, construction, tourism and agriculture.

The CEIE with all its contempt for the Haitian masses stated that this committee was formed so that "firms already established abroad and who desire to benefit from our cheap labor" could do so.

RELATION

The relation between foreign capitalists and the government has been described by an American capitalist involved with the CEIE in these words:

"Our company is rigid on the matter. We have announced this policy again and again, and I repeat it to you now. We will not pay bribes to government officials unless absolutely necessary."

No stone in the country remains unturned. Not satisfied with draining the country's raw materials, they are now forced to drain the blood out of the corpses of Haitian workers, peasants and children, whose mortality rate is

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Jean-Claude Duvalier (right), dictator of Haiti, is following gruesome policies of repression of his dead father, Papa Doc (shown at left).

Canada Tries To Deport P.R. Militant

BY FRANK MARTIN

MONTREAL—Humberto Hernandez Pagan went before a Canadian immigration appeals board in Ottawa last week to appeal an earlier ruling that he be deported to Puerto Rico.

Pagan is wanted in Puerto Rico in connection with the murder of a policeman during a student riot last March. He came to Canada in August and has been held in jail ever since.

Pagan is a supporter of the movement to make Puerto Rico independent from the U.S. Already the capitalist press and police have launched a witch-hunt campaign against him, making it impossible for him to get a fair trial in Puerto Rico.

At the hearing Pagan's defense lawyer brought a whole series of witnesses from Puerto Rico to prove that he is being attacked for his political views.

During the hearing a demonstration was held outside by supporters of the Puerto Rican independence movement. They shouted "Free Humberto, right now" and "Canadian Deportation Is Murder."

Demonstrations at the same time were being held in San Juan outside the Canadian consulate. As Pagan entered the courtroom he shouted, "Puerto Rico Libre."

At the same time as Pagan's hearing was taking place, Jacques Rose was standing trial in Montreal charged with the kidnapping of Quebec Labor Minister Pierre Laporte during the October 1970 War Measures Act crisis. This is the latest in a whole series of show trials against members of the FLQ.

Hussein, Nixon Plot Deal To Halt Palestine Struggle

BY FRED MUELLER

The latest round in the diplomacy directed against the workers and peasants of the Middle East is the proposal by Jordanian King Hussein for an autonomous Palestinian state on the west bank of the Jordan River.

Hussein's plan was announced with great fanfare on March 15. It calls for a West Bank Palestinian state, linked in a federation to the east bank and perhaps in the future to the Gaza Strip. The King would retain active authority over this federation of autonomous states which will be called the United Arab Kingdom.

This state would be just as reactionary as the new federation of Egypt, Libya and the Sudan, or the short-lived United Arab Republic which linked Egypt and Syria during part of Nasser's regime.

The reaction of Palestinians now living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank was anger and disgust. In the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, King Hussein's grandfather, Abdullah, had occupied the West Bank and had carved out this section of Palestine to merge it with the state of Transjordan, creating the completely artificial imperialist puppet state of Jordan. Hussein had lost this occupied territory to the Israelis in the 1967 war. The Palestinian people had been made homeless by the Israelis

and then been subject to occupation by the Hashemite puppets of imperialism for 19 years.

Now Hussein seeks to get back this territory which the Israelis have occupied for nearly five years.

CYNICAL

Washington has been encouraging the idea of a West Bank State for some time. Hussein's plan is nothing but a cynical maneuver in conjunction with his imperialist masters to deny self-determination to the Palestinians and to bring an imperialist peace to the Middle East, with a final settlement and acceptance of the Zionist state.

Official Israeli reaction to the Hussein plan has been negative. Golda Meir said, "The King is treating as his own property territories which are not his and are not under his control." Both the Israeli imperialists and the Jordanian rulers are agreed that it is not for the Palestinians to decide their own fate.

But the Meir government is undoubtedly extremely interested in this latest feeler for a final settlement at the expense of both

the Jewish and Arab workers. It faces a growing crisis and upsurge from its own working class.

MOVEMENT

In Washington, Tel Aviv, Moscow and Cairo the desperate search for a deal to head off the upsurge of the working class goes on. The Jordanian plan is a dangerous step in this direction. But while the imperialists, Zionists and Arab bourgeoisie would like to impose it, the movement of workers and peasants stays their hand.

Gandhi Wins By Landslide Vote

BY DAVID NORTH

The New Congress Party led by Indira Gandhi won a landslide victory last week in elections held throughout the country.

Incomplete returns indicated that when all the votes are counted, they will show the New Congress Party in control of 70 percent of the assembly seats and holding the provincial leadership of 14 out of 16 states. With about 200 seats still undecided, the New Congress Party has won 1,808 out of 2,562 seats.

Basing her campaign on the tremendous popularity she enjoys as a result of the Indian defeat of Pakistan in Bangla Desh, Gandhi emerges from the vote as the most powerful political figure in India since the heyday of Mahatma Gandhi.

However, this popularity will meet a stiff challenge as the New Congress Party attempts once again to side step the pressing social problems that afflict India.

Gandhi's victory was particularly decisive in West Bengal, where the long-dominant pro-Peking Left Communist Party suffered stunning setbacks. At the inaugural ceremonies that followed the elections, the Left Communists staged protest demonstrations against Gandhi, claiming that rigged ballots were responsible for their defeat. But it is clear that their alignment with Peking caused the Bengali

voters to repudiate them.

On the other hand, the Right Communists, allied to the Moscow branch of international Stalinism, won major gains and is now the second largest political force in India. Reflecting the current honeymoon between Moscow and Gandhi, the Right Communists ran their campaign in alliance with the New Congress Party.

COOL

Following her election victory, Indira Gandhi flew to Dacca to meet with Mujibur Rahman. It was noted that her reception by the city's masses was quite cool.

Both Gandhi and Rahman agreed that the Pakistani war prisoners would not be released from captivity until Premier Ali Bhutto extends official recognition to Bangla Desh.

Faced with a growing political crisis reflected by hostile demonstrations, Bhutto flew to Moscow last week where he asked for political and economic support from the Kremlin Stalinists.

Bhutto, who was among the blood-thirstiest of those who urged Yahya Khan to invade Bangla Desh last year, declared in Moscow: "We must finally put an end to hatred and suspicions of the past, substituting trust in their place."



Israeli Premier Golda Meir rejected proposal by Jordan King Hussein to make West Bank of Jordan River autonomous.

Gleason Backs Scabbing On Rebel Dockers In Philly



Philadelphia longshoremen discuss contract outside last week's ILA meeting. They struck against ship-owners' refusal to grant full 2080-hour guarantee. International leadership is acting against strike.

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PHILADELPHIA—The dock strike here, in its second week, is now the focal point for the struggle of all East Coast dockworkers.

The Philadelphia dockworkers voted to strike after the shippers refused to raise the guaranteed income from the present 1800 hours per year to 2080 (40 hours per week).

At all points the local leadership has attempted to weaken and destroy this strike. After the membership voted to strike, the leadership called another special meeting in an attempt to get another vote which would support the rotten contract.

But the dockworkers would have none of this, rejecting a new vote and starting the strike one day before the scheduled date.

Despite his promise of no ports back until all ports back, ILA President Gleason has ordered the New York and Baltimore ports back to work in an attempt to beat the Philadelphia dockworkers into submission.

ASKEW

The local leadership of 1291, Richard Askew, has gone along completely with this betrayal. Repeatedly, he has stated that Philadelphia must go back to work because they will be isolated.

Askew stated this at the last membership meeting on March

14 even when challenged by the rank and file to make Gleason's promise good. By so doing, he is now in complete cooperation with the Philadelphia Marine Trade Association which has taken full page ads in the local papers urging Philadelphia dockers to return to work.

Many Philadelphia dockers are completely angered over Askew's role. As one dockworker stated: "Askew wants the strike isolated. He has no strategy except to sit and wait it out."

Already cargo is being diverted to New York from Philadelphia. Askew's and Gleason's policies are openly betraying the struggle.

No cargo originally bound for Philadelphia should be handled by any dockworker in any port. Philadelphia dockworkers must demand that Askew send a delegation to New York demanding that Gleason call out all the ports, as he promised.

BREAK OUT

Since the announcement of the Pay Board's attack on the West Coast contract, the men in Philadelphia now see the way to break out of the isolation imposed on them by the International.

Baltimore ILA Leaders Capitulate To Sell-Out

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE, March 19—The ILA leadership here has given its approval to the agreement negotiated this past Wednesday between ILA International president Gleason and the local Steamship Trade Association. The agreement was announced just minutes before the strike deadline.

This new agreement is nothing short of a bosses' contract. Although a good deal of militant noise had been made throughout the negotiations about a full 2080-hour guarantee for the port of Baltimore, Gleason failed to deliver.

The proposed agreement calls for a 1900-hour guarantee for those men who have been able to earn 700 hours in either of the two years preceding ratification of the new contract.

As Gleason moves to break up the unity of East Coast Dockers and isolate any strikes such as the one in Philadelphia, the Baltimore ILA leadership follows his example. The new contract is specifically aimed at splitting up the Baltimore dockers into hostile, competing categories.

For many men the 1900-hour

guarantee is completely inadequate, especially the younger men who are not covered by it and the men in the "specialty" locals.

The response from the rank and file at the hiring hall was somewhat different: "If they (the Pay Board) refuse the ILWU increase, you know what they'll do to us. What does it mean? It means strike."

"We've fought for every penny of that money. I think you're right about getting labor off the Pay Board. That would be just the first step."

"If they do that to the ILA we'll be right back out."

"We all have to strike together—both coasts and other industries."

Many longshoremen were angered over the sellout. When asked what he thought of the proposed contract, one docker

replied: "We haven't even seen the contract so far. First they said it would be ready Friday, then Saturday, now not until Monday and they expect us to vote on it Wednesday."

"They keep tooting about the 100 hours they added to the GAI when we were asking for 2080. I say vote no."

VOTE

The vote on the contract will be taken on March 22nd. Already many longshoremen are agitating for a "No" vote.

Nixon Protects Millionaire Crooks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Originally caught off guard by columnist Jack Anderson's publication of a confidential memo relating a favorable anti-trust settlement to a \$400,000 bribe paid to the Republican Party by ITT, the giant conglomerate and the Nixon Administration are now trying to dismiss the case as a hoax.

Lobbyist Dita D. Beard, whose memo revealed the manipulations of the Justice Department and ITT, issued from a hospital bed in Denver a statement that proclaimed the memo a "cruel fraud."

In language that had the flavor of a White House statement, Mrs. Beard declared: "I am ready to testify from my bedside at any time. I have done nothing to be ashamed of, and my family and—in a greater sense, the whole American Government—are victims of a cruel fraud. I only wish I could make this statement firmer and stronger and still get it printed in the public press."

Responding to Mrs. Beard's disavowal of the memo, Jack Anderson called it "about the most bizarre and blatant and incredible lie in a whole litany of lies." He pointed out that she had previously confirmed the authenticity of the memo, and had, at any rate, waited too long after the publication of the memo for any disavowal to be taken seriously.

PRESSURE

Mrs. Beard is attempting to excuse her lengthy silence on a

"mental block" that prevented her from being able to identify the memo. But it is far more likely that she has been subjected to incredible pressure to renounce the memo.

Testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee has already uncovered sufficient information to prove that the Administration and ITT are desperately attempting to cover up the whole affair.

Immediately after learning of the memo's publication, ITT senior vice-president Howard J. Aibel admitted that employees of the conglomerate were instructed to destroy all company papers that might prove embarrassing. The shredding of "many sacks of papers" took place on February 24, the day Jack Anderson informed ITT that he was about to break the story.

Although ITT officials claimed that the shredded material had nothing to do with the allegations about the deal between the Justice Department and the company, Sen. John Tunney of California stated "This looks bad on its face."

The testimony of ITT President Harold S. Geneen brought out the fact that the company had lobbied actively for a relaxation

of the anti-trust laws in the months preceding the decision of the Justice Department.

During the course of last week's testimony, former Attorney General John Mitchell's statement that he knew nothing about the ITT pledge to the Republican Party until recently was exposed as a lie. Senator Tunney reported that the Lt. Governor of California, Ed Reinecke, had spoken about the pledge with Mitchell last May.

The \$400,000 gift has ramifications that extend far beyond the sordid connections between the White House and a single conglomerate. The huge donation was part of a \$1.5 million bid by San Diego for the privilege—unwanted by most of the city's million residents—of hosting the 1972 Republican National Convention.

An investigation completed by two reporters for Life magazine has revealed that a few San Diego millionaires—who have been the financial backbone of Richard Nixon's political career—have been shielded by the Administration from legal action against their criminal dealings.

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Men Reject TNJ Offer

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, March 21—Transport of New Jersey, the nation's largest bus line, is bringing forward its final offer in an attempt to break the three week old strike of the Amalgamated Transit Union.

TNJ has been methodically preparing to make this offer by trying to put pressure on the rank and file strikers. Last week, the company stated that the longer the strike lasted, the more men will be laid off permanently once the strike is over.

On Saturday, TNJ announced that it was terminating all the medical and insurance coverage to the workers as of March 31.

One picket at the Maplewood garage told the Bulletin today: "Public Service (which controls TNJ) wants us to take a wage cut. That's what would happen if we accepted the 35 cents an hour in their offer. We need 60 cents an hour—with the cost of living clause we've had for 12 years. We can't accept their offer."

This insurance and Blue Cross business is a cover. They want to pressure us into giving in."

Another striker explained that TNJ and the state were collaborating with the various independent bus lines. These small lines, he said, were taking over a lot of TNJ's services during the strike.

He added: "Some of those lines are unionized too. And all of them will benefit by our strike. If we win, these drivers will win. If we lose, they will lose too."

"I think they should strike also. There were a lot of rumors that they might join us, but nothing happened."

A statewide bus strike would paralyze the whole state. And, as one worker stated: "The state government would step in to stop it if that happened."

Unions Back Juan Farinas

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, March 20—Juan Farinas surrendered to Federal authorities today to begin serving a two year sentence on a charge of violating the Selective Service Act.

Today a petition was also filed by Farinas' lawyers requesting a reduction of sentence. The defense motion would allow Juan either to go into the Army now or to take a job for two years which is deemed to be in "the national interest."

This petition is scheduled to be heard in Federal District Court on March 24. Further appeal may also be made to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The charges against Farinas date from the fall of 1968. In August of that year he had attempted to distribute leaflets explaining his opposition to the war in Vietnam at the time he was called for induction.

Juan is not a draft resister or

conscientious objector. He is a revolutionary opponent of imperialist war, and seeks to mobilize the working class against it. It is precisely for this reason that the government has spared no effort in its campaign to send Juan to jail.

The movement of the workers and youth is what can free Juan Farinas. Telegrams and letters demanding a reduction of sentence are being sent now to the Judge Milton Pollack in the U.S. District Court.

In the last several days new support for the motion for reduction of sentence has come from the labor movement and elsewhere.

From Baltimore new support

to this campaign includes the officers of Local 1199E, Hospital Workers; Henry Kollein, Business Agent of Local 68m, Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union; the school newspaper of Johns Hopkins University as well as the Student Council; and the University of Maryland Student Mobilization Committee at College Park.

Angela Davis is sending a telegram to Judge Pollack demanding a reduction of sentence for Farinas.

Other telegrams from the West Coast have been sent by Maxine Wolpinsky, International Representative of AFSCME; and Wayne Bradley, of the United Professors of California, San Francisco State College chapter.

In addition, telegrams have been sent by Sam Pollock, President of District Union 427 of the

Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen; the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers, Local 59; Henry Nicholas, President of Local 1199C in Philadelphia; and Service Employees International Union Local President Alpert in New Haven.

In Philadelphia the Temple Student Council, the Young Workers Liberation League, Bernie Denkin, an officer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the American Federation of Government Employees, District 3 have sent telegrams to the Court. In Detroit John Zupan, Vice President of AFSCME Local 1497 and Milt Tambor, President of AFSCME Local 1640 and Pete Kelly, Vice President of UAW Local 160 have written to the court requesting a reduction in sentence.

Talisman President Defends Slave Labor

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

SOUTH BAY, FLORIDA—The millionaire President of the Talisman Sugar Corporation, William D. Pawley, has stepped up his efforts to divide the immigrant Jamaican cane cutters from the other workers at the mill represented by the UFWOC who are on strike against Talisman.

SCABS

From the beginning of the strike, Pawley has been able to keep the mill open only because of the use of the Jamaicans and some truck drivers as scabs.

The Jamaican cane cutters, who are imported by agreement of the U.S. and Jamaican governments, live in a "labor camp" on company property and work 80 hour weeks at little more than two dollars per hour (straight time) under conditions of virtual slavery.

UNION

But Pawley tries to tell the cutters that the union is trying to keep them from working, by striking for better wages and conditions for all workers.

At a cane cutting award ceremony held here at the end of the harvest season, Pawley stated: "There are those who would like to come in and destroy this program...I believe it would be a terrible thing to see you people not have the opportunity to return here to work. I intend to use what influence I have to see this does not happen."

Pawley is former U.S. Ambassador to Peru and undoubtedly has considerable influence with the White House and Congress.

PATRONIZED

Millionaire Pawley patronized "his" workers for producing lots of profit for him with a minimum of interruption, down on the ol' plantation. "I'm proud that in the eight year period," Pawley said, "not one of the Jamaicans working for this company has ever been arrested in the surrounding towns and not one of you has ever returned from the town intoxicated."

Pawley's hatred of the union is motivated by fear that the organization of all the workers—including the Jamaicans—will interfere with his profits. Talisman has fought tooth and nail to prevent union organizers even from talking to the Jamaicans.

Bureaucrats Witch-Hunt IUE Ranks

BY DAVID NORTH

EDISON, N.J.—A witch-hunt atmosphere is being whipped-up by the leaders of IUE Local 483 against members and sympathizers of a newly-formed rank-and-file committee which has proposed a strategy that could bring victory to the strike against Fedders.

In an attempt to block a petition circulated by the committee calling for a membership meeting of the 2600 striking workers to enlist the full support of the International in defeating a court injunction against picketing and in closing down Fedders plants throughout the country, the local leaders have told workers that signing the petition could cost them their union card.

The bureaucracy has focussed its attack on the Bulletin, which has been followed regularly by many of the workers on the picket line, including the organizers of the rank-and-file committee. When Bulletin salesmen approached the picket line Monday morning, both the president and vice-president of the Local attempted to use the lowest form of red-baiting to force them away from the picket line.

When the workers failed to take action against the salesmen, the bureaucrats called in the same police who beat up Fedders strikers three weeks ago.

While the local leadership refuses to force the International to support the strike against Fedders, it concentrates its attacks on rank-and-file militants.



Fedders strikers in Edison, N.J.



Juan Farinas surrenders at N.Y. Federal Courthouse on Monday, March 20 to serve two years in prison. He was framed up for distributing anti-war leaflets while being inducted into the U.S. Army in 1968.

FBI Frameups Hit Militants And Youth

BY MELODY FARROW

New information published in the New York Times last week has revealed that the case of the Camden New Jersey draft board raid and the trial of the Harlem Four is completely based on the lies of FBI informers and agent provocateurs.

The FBI is not spending its time fighting crime but in setting up frame-ups of anyone opposed to the government and promising freedom to the petty criminals dredged out of the jails in exchange for doing its dirty work.

In Camden, the FBI agent, Robert Hardy, did not just infiltrate the anti-war organization and gather information. After being assured by the FBI that the activists would be arrested before the raid actually took place, Hardy went ahead and supplied everything, gas, trucks, groceries to make the raid possible. He taught them how to detect burglar alarms and exactly how to break into the Camden Post Office.

As Hardy said himself, the raid "couldn't have happened if I wasn't there."

The extent that the government and the FBI are prepared to go to attack militants and Black youth is even clearer in the

case of the Harlem Four, now facing trial for the fourth time for a murder they never committed.

The four, Walter Thomas, Ronald Felder, William Craig and Wallace Baker have been in jail for eight years without bail.

Ten months after the murder and before the first trial began, a man named Ollin Roe was charged with grand larceny and faced a maximum of seven years in jail.

IDENTIFY

Suddenly, Roe "changed his mind" and told the District Attorney he could identify the killers and picked out the Harlem Four.

This little bit of help to the DA was promptly rewarded. Roe pleaded guilty to petty larceny and only served a few months in jail.

The new information published last week reveals that Herman Joseph, a senior probation officer was told by Ollin Roe that his testimony was a lie.

In the trial of the Berrigan brothers, accused of conspiring to blow up government buildings and kidnap Henry Kissinger, the only prosecution witness is once again—the FBI.

FRAUD

The myth of the FBI as a "law enforcement" agency is a fraud. The Nixon government is consciously using all its agencies and institutions as an arm of repression against youth, workers and any movement that takes up a fight against the government.

The FBI is in no way independent from the Nixon government. On the contrary this is its real face. The methods of the FBI, its persecutions, lies, provocations and terror are the methods that Nixon must bring more and more out in the open against the working class and youth.

It represents Nixon's preparation for dictatorship to hold back the struggle of workers against the attacks on wages and living conditions.

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THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$4.00; Foreign—1 year: \$5.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.

UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

Gary, Indiana

Unemployment in Gary, Indiana remained at 10% during February. 18,300 workers, and their families, are still being asked to live on promises, in hopes of a "spring thaw."

The backbone of this town—and the center of its crisis—is the sprawling U.S. Steel Gary Works, which are among the largest steel mills in the world. When the 1971 USWA contract was signed in August, the cutbacks at the Gary Works threw 43% of the city out of work.

Still out of work are 10-15% of the mill's men, in addition to construction and other seasonal workers. In addition, it was estimated that 1.5 others lost jobs for every steelworker laid off, and many of these were permanent layoffs.

"For Rent" signs everywhere tell of others not included in the figures—men recruited from as far away as Utah and W. Virginia last spring to build the stockpiles of steel, most of whom left Gary in August.

STOCKPILING

"Sure it was the stockpiling that caused the mass layoffs," Local 1014's Grievance Chairman, Estel Whitaker, told the Bulletin. "Things have picked up now that they're used up again. I think we'll hold full employment...at least through the summer."

When we asked if there shouldn't have been a ban on overtime last summer to protect the men's jobs, Whitaker replied emphatically "No." He said that all the jobs would have been given to Japan if they'd refused overtime. "Besides, the company's never given us the right to control overtime, and we haven't asked for it."

Whitaker, company officials and State Employment officials alike expect the mill to be back at full employment by April. Now, they're eager to tell everyone that the crisis is over, and anyway, it wasn't really so bad.

"We all were warned it would happen—everybody planned for it," said George Lusk, Regional Director of the Indiana Employment Service Center. How do you "plan" to support a family of 4 for an average of 11 weeks, on a maximum amount of \$152.50?

Whitaker echoed his words, and then told us he had never been laid off in 40 years as a steelworker. Later, he told us proudly that he had spent 20 years in the local headquarters, but "I still think like when I was on the job."

CLOSED DOWN

The men and women in the mills would like to believe that their return to work is secure. "But there are still whole batteries closed down tight, and a lot of us are working four days a week. That's not much security," said one of the workers.

Under the dense haze from the mills, Gary's streets are a mute testimony that official reassurances don't mean much. In the last few years, Gary has lost 8 furniture stores, 6 lumber yards, 2 of 4 theaters, 80% of its

hardware stores and innumerable corner businesses.

Also empty and boarded up are dozens of the social service offices, and job training centers. They are the most visible sign of the crisis in Mayor Richard Hatcher's city government. Gary's budget, heavily dependent on the Gary Works for property tax revenue, is deep in the red.

Vital city personnel and programs have been cut back, and the schools, stumbling from crisis to crisis since November, may close for the remainder of the school year in March.

"Nonsense," was Whitaker's reply to the Bulletin when asked about closure. "They were threaten-

ing to close this plant when I hitch-hiked up to Gary in 1932."

For proof of U.S. Steel's real intentions, he told us about the two new mills now being built at a cost of \$75-100 million each. "You just don't pack up and move out on that kind of investment."

REASSURE

This does nothing to reassure workers who have been following developments in mills across the country. The new mills, including the world's largest basic oxygen furnace, will replace all 21 of the Gary Works' open hearths by 1973.

The 40-foot blast furnace will be able to produce 7000 tons of steel per day, with a far smaller work force than is now required. President of the United Steelworkers of America, I.W. Abel's "reasonable settlement," should be kept in mind. It allows for cutting staff to increase pro-

ductivity. It is estimated that 5000-7000 Gary Works positions will be cut.

In addition, the Gary Works is a large-order plant, in contrast to Bethlehem, Inland, Youngstown, and National installations. Now construction work is slowing down, and long-range production plans are thrown out, due to Nixon's removal of the gold backing from the dollar.

The wage freeze and Phase II, along with continued inflation and growing unemployment, mean a tremendous reduction in the demand for cars and appliances. All this means that steel orders will be smaller than during the boom years. And many companies will continue to send small orders where they always have—to every plant in the area except the vital Gary Works.

What is happening to the steelworkers and their families? Many homes have been com-

pletely split up, with children sent back down south to live with grandparents.

One Bulletin reader lives in Gary, while his wife spends 5 days a week in a Chicago suburb over 100 miles away as a live-in housekeeper. Their six children are split between two sets of grandparents, in Georgia and Mississippi. "Sure I want to fight to change things," he said. "This is no way to live."

"People are always on the move now," said one woman. "They move out of the South to Gary, and they move from here down South. And most of them end up back where they started from."

"I guess there isn't anyplace good anymore. Some of the young people find jobs in Chicago, but they spend all their money getting back and forth. That's not working, that's just existing."

The crisis in Gary hits the youth the hardest. Even the grade school children told the Bulletin bitterly that they were "stuck in a big, ugly building." One said: "You can't read nothing, or learn, 'cause someone else has to have the book before you're done."

The Bulletin spoke to the wife of a steelworker, surrounded by their daughters and granddaughter. "It's really bad for the girls here. They can't work anywhere unless they know typewriting, and some of them want to do other things in school."

"So many places are closed now, and you never can get into one of them big department stores unless you got pull, 'cause they're all prejudiced. And if they do find a job, it isn't safe to go back and forth to work. Nobody goes outside their houses anymore."

STRUGGLE

"Seems like everything's a struggle. These kids are fighting just to get through school. Have to pay eight dollars book rent just to be in the school. And now they're going to close the schools in March, and they'll have to do the whole semester over. It just isn't fair."

"So many of them really fight, and don't get anywhere anyhow. I know fine boys who struggled hard to get through college and where are they now? Down in the mill. That's all there is—when that's even there."

"Hatcher, he's tried to do something, but he can't. It's gonna take all the people behind something. Maybe the labor party you talk about in your paper can do it, if you can get all the people together in it. We gotta do something, that's for sure."

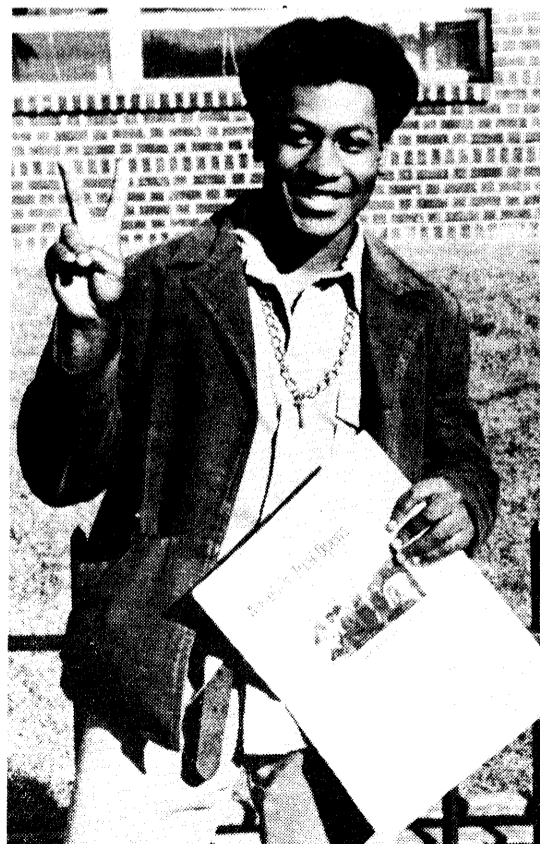
LABOR PARTY

Now is the time to take up the fight against Abel's policies and the local officials like Whitaker who smugly defend them. Beyond that, the bankruptcy of liberal and nationalist policies is revealed in the streets of the very town which will host the first Black National Political Convention on March 10-12.

Gary workers can take the lead in the fight to build a labor party for 1972. A labor party, uniting the youth, workers, and unemployed.

"I guess I've always been some kind of socialist," one young steelworker told us. "Capitalism's never done anything for me."

New Lay-offs Threaten Giant U.S. Steel Plant



Automation and cutbacks in steel production worldwide are preparing for mass layoffs for these Gary, Indiana steelworkers (top). Youth at Emerson High School in Gary face the destruction of their education as the city's school system shuts down in March until the fall because of no funds.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

Unions Rally To Support March 29 Demonstration

The Young Socialists March 29 demonstration calling on the trade unions to take up a political fight against unemployment, budget cuts and for a labor party is taking place at the time of the sharpest confrontation between the working class and the government.

The settlement which was reached by the dock workers on the West Coast has been rejected by the Pay Board. This is why the Pay Board was set up by the government, to take away the right to collective bargaining from working people, and do away with unions.

The unemployment figure has continued to increase as Nixon implements his plan to destroy the unions and as youth are denied a right to a job. Both capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, have continued their attacks on the youth. On top of this Wallace's victory and the implementation of his program by Nixon shows the dangers that the working class faces.

The whipping up of racism in order to divide the class is behind the anti-busing laws. Nixon is more and more moving to dictatorship.

It is in this situation of growing unemployment, attacks on education, and the whipping up of racism to pit Black workers against white that the YS is fighting to mobilize masses of youth to be in the forefront of the fight against the government. The trade unions must be called on to take up these questions. Only the unions have the power to confront the government.

Joe Warrant, president of Local 91 (an unaffiliated union) has given endorsement and is sending a contingent to the demonstration. Orrie Chambers of the Newark Teacher Union and the head of UAW Local 1234 in Connecticut have joined in support to the demonstration.

The call for a labor party will be the key issue raised on March 29. We urge every youth in the city to be there on that day.

CCNY Drops JDL Ban; Prosecutes YS Club

BY A CCNY STUDENT

NEW YORK—The Jewish Defense League was reinstated at the City College of New York despite evidence presented at a Monday hearing which proved that the organization's members had attacked students.

As the Young Socialists stated after their charter was revoked, the CCNY Administration was using the JDL in order to drive all left-wing groups and working class tendencies off the campus. The prompt return of the JDL to CCNY proves that their political position and activities are supported and encouraged by the Administration.

At the hearing, the JDL attempted to portray their use of brass knuckles and broken bottles as "defense" against left-wing groups. This outright lie was refuted by the witnesses at the hearing.

The CCNY Young Socialists called a meeting March 14 to discuss the revocation of its own charter and those of the YWLL and SDS.

The YS stated that it would organize the defense against the CCNY political witch-hunt through the independent mobilization of students.

The YS also informed the students that its hearing had been postponed because CCNY Dean Sohmer had been unable to formulate specific charges.

Members of the Labor Committee raised the proposal of a "united front" of the left groups, on the grounds that "the left is so weak." Because the Labor Committee bases itself on the past period of radical student

protest, it cannot see the strength of the working class.

The SDS and the YWLL, which did not attend the meeting, had a joint preliminary hearing. Two members of the SDS were suspended for using a bull horn at the hearing.

Huge London Rally Greet YS March

BY A YS REPORTER

The British Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marchers were greeted by 8,500 enthusiastic workers and youth at a mammoth rally on Sunday at the Empire Pool in London.

The rally was the climax of the historic marches that were successfully completed because of the great wave of support that the principled fight of the Young Socialists generated through the whole working class.

An example of the deep support for the marchers was the appearance at the rally of some of the leading figures of British rock music who performed between speeches by participants in the Right-to-Work marches and members of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists.

"This great rally serves notice on the Tory government and all those right wing Labour and trade union traitors who serve its purpose within the labor movement, that the working class is determined to put an end to capitalism as soon as it possibly can," declared Gerry Healy, national secretary of the SLL.

"In greeting the Right-to-Work marchers, we greet the most decisive section of the vanguard of the working class. For their courageous and determined march to London has demonstrated the power of the working class..."

POWER

Healy stated that this power had been demonstrated in four respects.

First, in the support that trade unionists had given to the marchers.

Second, in the desperate attempt of the trade union bureaucracy to destroy the marches; and the resistance those efforts met within the working class.

Third, in the defiance by local sections of the Labour Party of the proscriptions against the



marchers ordered by the Wilson leadership.

Fourth, in the defiance of the proscription by broad sections of the ranks of the Communist Party, although the leadership endorsed Wilson's effort to sabotage the march.

"The main lesson from all these experiences," declared Healy, "is that the British working class is breaking decisively from the stranglehold of bureaucracy and is striving to express itself politically as a class."

John Barrie, who led the Right-to-Work march from Glasgow, described the support that workers had given, and paid special tribute to the miners:

"These men, with little or nothing in their pockets, dug deep and gave us what they could to keep us on the road. Indeed there were occasions when, without the help of the miners, the march would have been in serious difficulties."

The forces that will fight the Tories, declared Barrie, "are here in this great rally. They are there in the artists who performed their play to the marchers, and will give their services free tonight."

"What other movement can mobilize such a galaxy of support?" he asked.

LOBBIED

The day after the Empire Pool rally, all the Right-to-Work marches demonstrated through the streets of London as supporters on the sidewalks applauded. Upon arriving at Parliament, the marchers lobbied uneasy labourites who could not answer the charges that they were betraying the working class.

Barrie said to the Labour MP's: "I for one would like to know why a man like Roy Jenkins is allowed to organize a right-wing faction in defiance of party policy while men like Philip Bond, Mayor of Skelmersdale, is expelled for taking a principled stand of support for the Right-to-Work marchers."

Barrie continued: "You talk about the Tory Party's 35 majority. We know that if it had not been for the policies of the last Labour government, the Tories would not have this majority now."

"We have come here not to hear you tell us how sympathetic you feel for the unemployed, because we are not begging for jobs."

"We want to know what program you propose to force this government to resign and to replace it with a socialist administration."

Jefferson HS Yanks Charter Fourth Time

BY KIKI MENDEZ
BROOKLYN—This

past week the Young Socialists charter at Thomas Jefferson High School was revoked. This is the fourth time the YS charter has been revoked in one month.

The chartering of the YS was gained after a long struggle with the Administration who at all times try to prevent the YS from existing in the school.

The latest revocation came at a time when the YS was building for a dance in the school gym. The purpose of the dance was to raise funds for political prisoner Juan Farinas and to mobilize for the March 29th demonstration against unemployment.

In the process of having mass distribution of leaflets on the dance, the YS charter was revoked on the basis that the advisor quit. It appears that the Administration is using a new tactic for sabotaging the YS.



East New York Young Socialists defeated Fort Greene YS in last Sunday's basketball game with a score of 60-48. Many tickets were sold for March 29th demonstration to youth who watched the game.

Over 125 Youth Vote To Launch Young Socialists In The Midwest

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS—Over 125 youth attended the Midwest Conference of Revolutionary Youth held here on March 18th at Union Hall. The Conference voted unanimously to launch the Young Socialists in the Middle West.

Youth came from St. Louis, Chicago, Madison, Bloomington, Indiana, Minneapolis and Northfield, Minn. A large number of both Black and white students came from St. Olaf High School and college students came from Metro Community College, Carleton College, University of Minnesota, Washburn, Marshall, North, and Humboldt high schools. Young workers, members of AFSCME, also attended. Many of those who attended played an important role in building the conference.

ST. JOHN

In the morning session Lucy St. John brought greetings from the Political Committee of the Workers League.

Comrade St. John said that this was the most timely period to launch a revolutionary youth movement, that capitalism is

beyond repair and that to preserve its profits and its system had to destroy the working class.

The Pay Board's rejection of the longshoremen's wage increase has brought the unions into direct collision with the government. At the same time the Nixon Administration is consciously using unemployment to break the back of the working class. Older workers are being thrown onto welfare and starvation. Youth are denied any future at all.

At the same time, St. John said, the capitalist class in this period is preparing for dictatorship. Wallace's victory in the Florida primary poses the greatest dangers to the working class. Only days after his victory Nixon seeks to implement Wallace's program, preparing the way for fascism.

DISCUSSION

A lively discussion followed. A youth from Chicago said that the capitalists had been killing people in Vietnam and now they were doing the same here and that they would not give up peacefully. A number of youth raised the question of the role of the Communist Party and Angela Davis' defense. A Black youth from Chicago said that he agreed with the perspective but that Black people had been tricked for a long time and asked how we know what is the correct revolutionary perspective.

Louis Ladson of the Workers League said that it was not a question of whites tricking Blacks as was clear at the recent Gary Convention in which the Black nationalists sought to tie the Black workers and youth to their enemy, the Democratic Party, but that it was a class question and the fight in the working class movement. He spoke of the betrayals of Stalinism and revisionism and their support to nationalism which paralyzes the Black workers and youth in the fight against fascism.

STALINISM

A sharp discussion broke out when some students sought to defend Stalinism, particularly Maoism, saying we could not "speculate" about the Maoists' betrayal of Vietnam. Another youth said that we should conduct the meeting like SDS to "ex-



Lucy St. John (above) greets Midwest Revolutionary Youth Conference attended by over 125 youth. Below, smaller discussion groups take on questions of Marxism and struggle against Stalinism.

change ideas." Another said that all socialists should get together. He said he was a supporter of Mandel and he had heard Mandel speak in Canada where he said a revolutionary party could not be constructed in North America. He said that Mandel was the real spokesman for Trotskyism, not the Workers League.

When a fight was taken up on these questions these forces sought to dominate the floor and refused to abide by the discipline of the conference. Abby Rodriguez pointed out that these forces intervened precisely when the youth who had come to the conference began raising the questions of constructing a revolutionary party and Marxist theory.

They sought to prevent this discussion and to defend the positions of Stalinism and revisionism. A student from Washburn High School said these forces should allow others to speak. He had not spoken and wanted to get a chance. A student from the University of Wisconsin said that the Workers League had organized the conference and that these forces should abide by the discipline of the conference. The discussion then continued.

NATIONALISM

A student from St. Olaf said he was not a nationalist but asked if it was not more feasible for Blacks to organize Blacks and whites to organize whites. A Chicano youth asked the same question.

Comrade St. John spoke on the necessity of building a youth movement to unite all youth and fighting against all concessions to separatism which accepts the racism created by capitalism. The question was the building of a leadership among the youth based on Marxist principles.

At this point the speaker was interrupted by the youth who had spoken about SDS. He was asked to leave the meeting when he refused to stop.

St. John explained that the outburst was not accidental, that we were not there for an "exchange of ideas" but to get an understanding of Marxism through a fight against bourgeois ideology. This is a conflict of opposites that reflects the opposites in class society. The outburst came from middle class radicalism which reacts with fear to the movement of the working class. It is not isolated from the whole crisis



in the middle class sections which now turn in a frenzied way to Wallace. It was no accident that it came at precisely the point when the question of the struggle for the unity of the working class was raised.

In the afternoon this youth made an apology to the conference stating he wished to return because there was no other future for the youth. He was admitted back by the vote of the body.

YOUTH

The afternoon session began with a report from Louis Ladson on the crisis facing the youth. He spoke of the cutbacks in education at the University of Minnesota, the high rate of unemployment which in cities like Duluth and Gary were denying the youth any right to a job.

"The youth in Duluth don't have anything to look forward to. The entire city is now unemployed. The youth who once took a meal for granted now understand what we mean when we say it is a life and death struggle for survival. Age old racism is being whipped up in high schools such as Washburn to divide the youth."

He said that there had to be a fight against the Stalinists and revisionists who seek to tie the youth to capitalism through reformism. He then made three proposals that the YS be launched in the Midwest, that the program be adopted and that the YS hold a demonstration in Minneapolis on April 22 against the war, unemployment and repression calling on the unions

to take up a political fight against the government.

GREETINGS

Abby Rodriguez brought greetings from the East Coast YS. He said:

"It is very significant that this conference to launch the YS in the Midwest is being held in Minneapolis. It was here that one of the greatest battles in the history of the American working class took place to win the basic right to have a union. This struggle was led by Trotskyists. Today the government is trying to take back all these rights and the youth must build the revolutionary leadership in the working class."

The proposals to launch the YS, to adopt the program and to have the demonstration were unanimously approved. A steering committee was elected. Almost everyone at the conference signed membership cards to join the YS and planned their first meetings.

In the evening the British YS film "The Year of Lenin and Trotsky" was shown. A collection of \$325 was raised for the Bulletin Fund Drive. A group from St. Olaf sang before the dance to live music in the evening.

At the first Young Socialists meeting after the Conference, the YS decided to hold their April 22 demonstration along the route of the Battle of Deputies Run.



Evening's entertainment after YS Conference included singing in which YS comrades (from St. Olaf's below) took active part.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Call General Strike!

(Continued From Page 1)

labor movement to defend their unions and their contracts against the vicious attacks of Nixon and the capitalists.

The walk-off now places the fight to shut down the docks and the entire country, coast to coast in a massive general strike, on the order of the day.

It is only this general strike and the fight for a labor party that can take forward the break with the Pay Board and guarantee the defense of the rights and conditions of the working class which are now threatened with destruction.

This is the fight for socialism—for nationalization of all the industries and resources under a workers government through a fight for a labor party.

At the same time as the Pay Board tries to slash the dock contract as a step toward destruction of the unions, the capitalists seek to weaken the working class with unemployment. They now use mass unemployment to divide the working class and smash the unions. This is the program and aim of the Wallace movement with its racist poison.

The Communist Party says that the answer to Nixon and the Pay Board, to Wallace and the fascists is—a liberal Democrat. It says that labor should walk off the Board but it is totally silent on the need for a general strike.

The Communist Party seeks to cover up for the labor bureaucracy, indeed, to divert every step forward the bureaucracy takes into liberal coalitions.

We will fight for a general strike. We will fight to turn every halting step forward of the bureaucracy into a full mobilization of the working class for a general strike and socialism.

It is on this basis that we will construct a Marxist leadership in the working class which can break the stranglehold of the labor bureaucracy over the working class. No matter how the bureaucracy tries to squeeze out of the crisis they are thrown into by the attacks on the working class, Marxists proceed with the understanding that "the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus."

The Young Socialists demonstration in New York March 29 against unemployment is now the center of the fight to take forward the movement of the working class against the Pay Board, against Nixon, against Wallace and racism, and for the construction of an alternative leadership based on the fight for a general strike and a labor party.



"You have to howl this tune just a little louder—so they can hear you all the way up on Wall Street!"

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

civil rights laws and even this can no longer be done.

The rise of Black nationalism from out of the civil rights movement was a response to this crisis. But it, too, refused to confront the cause of the class oppression and racist discrimination of the Black masses in the capitalist system itself. This is why the Black nationalist movement also went into crisis and turned sharply to the right embracing the Democratic Party in Gary, Indiana.

The significance of busing must be understood in this context. It is not a matter of whether busing in and of itself will change anything fundamental in the oppression of the

other attacks on democratic liberties, particularly the no-knock laws and preventive detention. At the same time Wallace is openly calling for the suppression of civil liberties in order to achieve "law and order." Nixon has packed the U.S. Supreme Court with men who will back up such attacks. It is revealed that the FBI has been using its power to suppress political opposition in the fashion of a secret police in a fascist state.

Hubert Humphrey now endorses Nixon's decision saying: "Thank goodness that at long last the President has been able to get his finger up in the air and sense what's going on and has decided that he would say amen to some of the things that some

to busing can have only one meaning and that is conceding to racists and reactionary fascist forces.

The SWP's position on this conference is made even clearer in its support to the conference against the Michigan delegation which walked out in protest against the busing decision and related questions. It seeks to excuse this by pointing out that the Michigan delegation was dominated by the UAW bureaucracy. It was, however, the only representative of the labor movement there and on a number of occasions the working class was directly attacked at the conference.

The importance of this busing question must be taken into the labor



Children board bus while Nixon brings in anti-busing legislation, attacking the Constitution and opening the road

of the rest of us have been trying to do." No manner of attempts now to backtrack on this statement can change Humphrey's real position of trailing after Wallace and Nixon on this issue.

This, again, underlines the significance of the change taking place under all the demagoguery over busing. Humphrey was the man who, in 1948, forced through the first strong civil rights plank in the Democratic Party and who authored the first strong Civil Rights Bill. Now he runs for the presidency on a law and order ticket chasing after Wallace on busing.

The decision of the Gary Black Convention to oppose busing was of decisive character in giving Nixon a necessary cover to circumvent the Constitution. These nationalists now support the same party that contains Wallace. Nationalism accepts capitalism and its race divisions and thus encourages the development of fascism in America.

The Socialist Workers Party continues to cover this up with their formula of supporting busing where the Black community wants it and opposing where it does not. Oppositio

This must be seen in the light of all

law to return to segregation, attacking the Constitution and opening the road to dictatorship and fascism.

movement. What is involved here is preparation of direct attacks on all workers combined with attempts to split the working class racially in order to maintain capitalism in a period of its deepest crisis. While the labor bureaucracy clings to men like Muskie and Humphrey who cling in turn to Wallace, the Nixon Administration combines its racist attacks with its action overturning the West Coast dock settlement.

The Workers League is completely hostile to every attempt to segregate and separate the races. It actively fights every and all forms of discrimination. It sees each attack on Black workers as an attack on the whole working class.

The Workers League demands the creation of a labor party NOW breaking the labor movement from the increasingly reactionary racist and anti-union Democratic Party. The Workers League will fight for such a party to take up a socialist program to end exploitation and oppression here and throughout the world. It is either this or transforming the U.S. into another South Africa ruled by a Hitlerite regime.

Set \$40,000 Fund Goal

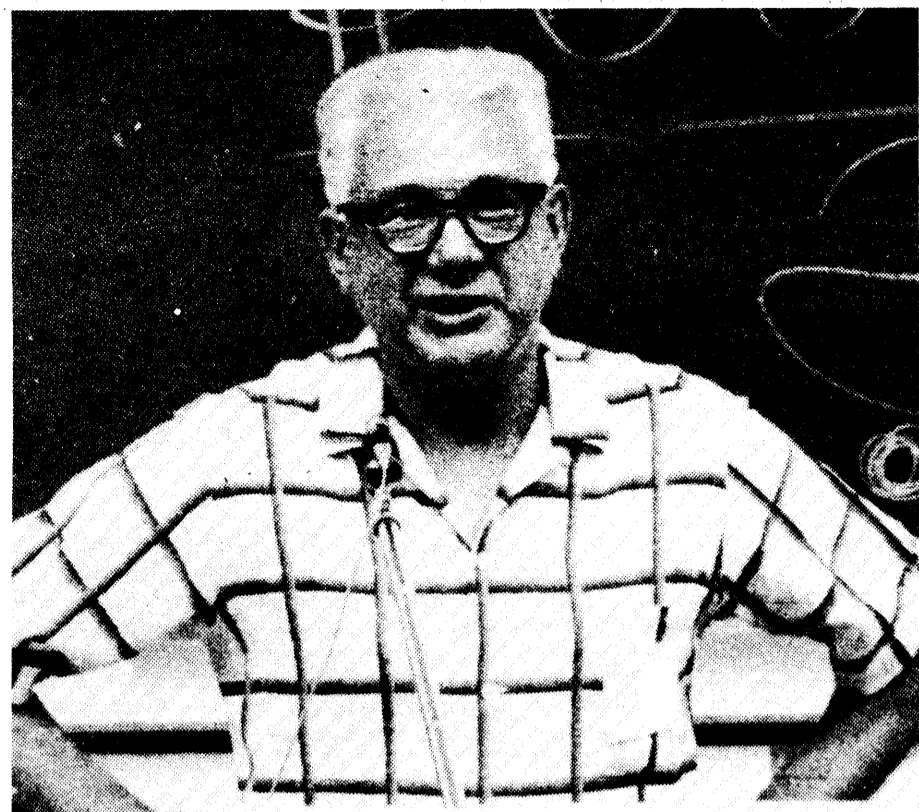
Because of the response in the branches of the Workers League and among our supporters we can now announce that we will be able to raise our Spring Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive quota from \$30,000 to \$40,000. This amount cannot be raised without a very difficult struggle and much sacrifice but it definitely can be raised.

The raising of this additional amount of \$10,000 will make it possible for us to proceed quicker in the installation of our own web press and in other ways strengthen the movement at a time when we face very heavy attacks and heavier responsibilities.

There has not yet been a serious change in the subscription drive. We have received 302 subs to date since last week, up from 255 subs the previous week. This brings the grand total to 2,187. This is still only a little over half the 4,000 figure and we have only three weeks to go.

Hartford continues to lead with 126 subs out of a quota of 90 while Fort Greene has spurred ahead getting 30 subs this last week bringing its total to 158 out of 200. The Bay Area has made only a bare beginning of a change with 50 subs in this week. It must achieve a rate of over 100 per week.

The other New York area branches have fallen back this week and this situation must be immediately turned around. We have not heard this week from the Minnesota branches which have been involved in the important Midwest Revolutionary Youth Conference.



The Liberal Philosophy of George Novack

By Alex Steiner

3 Pragmatism & Liberalism

In the course of the SWP's movement to reunify with the Pabloites in the period 1960-1963, a major fight broke out in the International Committee against the SWP's developing revisionism. The leaders of the Socialist Labour League of Britain, who led this international struggle, insisted of getting to the roots of the revisionism of the SWP by focusing discussion on the question of the Marxist method.

This the SWP refused to confront and insisted that the issues at stake were the convergence on concrete questions of their positions with those of the Pabloites, particularly their agreement on Cuba. The SWP was however forced to reveal its method.

Hansen, in his polemic, *Cuba, the Acid Test*, clearly revealed the method behind the SWP's programmatic positions. In reply to a discussion of the Marxist method written by Cliff Slaughter, which developed the sharp differences between the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and the empiricist theory of knowledge and the opposing class interests behind these philosophical methods, Hansen openly defends the empirical method as a valid method of procedure for a revolutionary movement.

Hansen maintained that the question of the class nature of Cuba simply involved an acknowledgement of the given fact that certain things had taken place in Cuba such as nationalization of industry etc., and that these "facts" suggested that Cuba was a workers state because of their apparent similarity to the development of other workers states. Such an abstract comparison of facts divorced from their historical development and context and the subsequent bowing down to the supposed reality of such "facts" is precisely the empirical method at work.

Hansen goes on to state in this article: "...Empiricism systematically carried out? This is the view that the 'genuine objective world,' the material world, takes primacy over thought and that a dialectical relationship exists between them. What is this if not dialectical materialism?"

Hansen here states that Marxism is not a negation of empiricism, as of all other previous philosophies, but that it is an ex-

pression of, a systematic refinement of, empiricism.

A reprinting of this and related documents in 1968 includes an introduction by Novack, wherein he writes:

"This collection is an instructive case-history in how Marxists apply their method of thought to a new political phenomenon of immense importance for the world revolution and defend their conclusions with convincing arguments against critics and opponents. As the tenth anniversary of the epoch-making Cuban revolution approaches, it is much easier to see which side was right and which was off base in this controversy than in the first months and years of its unfolding."

It is indeed easier today to see which side was right in this controversy as the class nature of the Castro regime breaks through to the surface in Castro's frantic efforts to buttress up the popular front regime of Allende against the working class and even openly support the military dictatorship of Peru. The main significance of these statements however, is the open defense of the empiricist method within the workers movement, under the guise of "systematically carrying it out" and reconciling it with the Marxist method.

HISTORY AND EMPIRICISM

Behind Hansen the polimicist, stands Novack the theoretician. Novack's task in the past 20 years in the SWP has been to provide a philosophical cover, under the guise of Marxism, of the SWP's capitulation to the bourgeois methods of empiricism, pragmatism and impressionism.

In his book, *Empiricism and its Evolution: A Marxist View*, Novack provides a theoretical justification for Hansen's adoption of the empiricist method and the opportunist practice that goes along with it. Novack presents his subject matter with the same method that he adopted in *The Origins of Materialism*. His attack on Marxism is however, even sharper in this book because the subject matter he is dealing with strikes much closer to home. He is forced to more openly distort and deny the real historical development and its significance than he had done previously. It is necessary at this point to jump into an examination of this work.

Novack delineates the purpose of his book in the "Foreword":

"This book aims to trace the evolution, filiations, and outcome of the empirical school from its origins in seventeenth century England to some of its contemporary manifestations in theory and practice. It will investigate the source of its strength and successes along with the reasons for its failings and enfeeblement. This survey should clarify the necessity for the replacement of empiricism by a more correct and comprehensive philosophy—dialectical materialism, which has assimilated the truths taught by empiricism

but overcome the inherent defects of its central tenets."

A number of things are revealed in this statement about Novack's method of inquiry. First of all, and this is most striking, he sees empiricism as having a good side and a bad side. That is to say, empiricism is not viewed in its historical development but is taken as an ahistorical abstraction which has certain tenets some of which are correct and some of which are not correct. We shall see how Novack develops this in the course of the book.

Second, and this is related to the first point, Novack sees replacement of empiricism by dialectical materialism, as a purely evolutionary non-revolutionary process. Marxism retains the strengths of empiricism and rejects its weaknesses. We have met up with this formulation before in relation to Novack's views of the relationship between formal and dialectical logic. What is being maintained is the non-dialectical conception that the strengths, one of the opposites, behind a historically limited system of thought can exist separated from its weaknesses, its conflicting opposite.

According to Novack, we can pick and choose certain aspects of a totality and integrate them unchanged into a different totality. Marxist theory, which was developed as a genuine synthesis of dialectical logic, political economy and socialist theory, through the negation of each of its elements, would be seen by Novack as little more than a storage bin of useful ideas, taken over ready-made from disparate schools of thought.

Thirdly, we have the statement that: "This survey should clarify the necessity for the replacement of empiricism by a more correct and comprehensive philosophy, dialectical materialism." Novack betrays a completely academic conception regarding Marxist philosophy. The fight for Marxism is not at all a matter of replacing one idea with another, but of developing theory through the construction of a revolutionary party as essential to the task of building a proletarian leadership that can transform the material world through the social revolution. Novack puts forth a contemplative view of theory, opposed to the struggle to unify theory and practice.

FRANCIS BACON

A better understanding of Novack's method is afforded if we actually turn to his conceptions on the development of empiricist thought. The first of the historical figures discussed is Francis Bacon. Bacon heralded the later development of British empiricism and materialism. He was one of the first conscious opponents against the scholastic ideology that had dominated European thought for centuries.

He himself understood his endeavour to be a complete break with the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics that had characterized scholasticism. His aim was to

free philosophy from shackles of dogmatic metaphysics so that philosophy could aid the development of man's knowledge about the material world and use that knowledge to harness nature to the ends of man. To Bacon, the development of knowledge is for the sake of man's exercising power over the world.

In this, Bacon reflected the ideology of the rising bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie had to fight against the legitimacy of the traditionally inherited privileges of the feudal aristocracy. All the elements of the traditional vestiges of the feudal order had to be fought, including the static Aristotelian view of nature and its logic, Catholic theology, etc.

Out of this struggle, a new conception developed in opposition to the passive fideism of the Middle Ages—that man is at the center of the universe, not God, and man through his power of reasoning, can master his own destiny. Bacon's separation of philosophy from theology and his new conception of knowledge reflected the new bourgeois spirit.

At the same time, Bacon had not fully assimilated in his thought all the developments that were taking place. He was ignorant of Galileo, and of the revolutionary significance his new conception of physics would have. His "new logical method" was developed in an attempt to get away from the speculative teleology of Aristotle, but it was alien to the new concepts of physics that were to demolish Aristotle.

Novack approvingly describes this method of Bacon's:

"Bacon projected a new logical method. This relied not upon what he called the 'vicious habit' of jumping to unverified general propositions and deducing consequences from them, but rather upon the procedure of making narrow general propositions from observed data and then, step by step, moving from these restricted rules to broader generalizations and checking them at every stage by reference to the results of experiment... This empirical and inductive method, depending upon the observation of nature, inquiry and experiment rather than upon abstract propositions, stressed workability instead of formal consistency as the test of truth."

The experimental method of Bacon that Novack describes is the method of trial and error. It calls upon us to conduct arbitrary experiments, observe the results of such experiments, and compile endless lists of such observable "facts" in order to broaden knowledge. Bacon's method ignores completely the analysis of observed phenomena aimed at discovering their underlying relations. In this sense, Bacon's method is alien to the new science.

We can say that whereas Bacon was one of the first representatives in philosophy of the new bourgeois outlook, his epistemology and scientific method lagged

behind the new conception of science and borrowed from older, outmoded ways of thinking. Novack completely misses this contradictory aspect of Bacon's thought. Instead, he sees Bacon as mechanically mirroring and even anticipating the development of the bourgeoisie.

He even says:

"His theorizing heralded the coming industrial revolution."

This is completely absurd, as the industrial revolution did not even begin for more than a century and technology had made very little progress despite the development of science on the theoretical level. Bacon reflected the ideological needs of the bourgeoisie and at the same time incorporated elements of an earlier tradition in a new way to use as weapons in this ideological struggle. His importance and significance lay in his being a pioneer of materialist thought and a determined opponent of scholasticism.

JOHN LOCKE

With Locke, we get to empiricism proper. He was the first philosopher to explicitly defend the thesis that all knowledge is founded on our sense experience. It is in his examination of Locke that Novack's ahistorical, idealist method is sharply revealed. First of all, empiricism is viewed as a kind of first imperfect attempt at materialism. Novack points out that the thesis that knowledge derives from sense perception leaves unanswered the question whether sense perception reflects an external world independent of the human mind or whether sense perceptions have their source in the mind.

While it is of course true that empiricism in non-committal on this vital question, it is entirely wrong to see empiricism divorced from its historical development and criticize Locke for it. This is to completely fail to appreciate the historically progressive development in philosophy that Locke represented. It is to view empiricism as an abstract, ahistorical entity which comes out unfavorably when compared to an abstract, ahistorical materialism. This is what Novack does when he writes:

"Empiricism came into the world with an ineradicable birthmark—an inherent ambiguity. The empiricist proceeds from the premise that all knowledge is based on experience. But he is not clear on two further questions; (a) what generates this experience? and (b) what are the things which experience informs us about?"

Novack judges all philosophy in a completely scholastic, dead manner. Everything is judged in terms of its approximation or agreement with the results of the development of philosophy, dialectical materialism. This is to completely ignore the complex, contradictory movement of philosophy. Lenin sharply castigated such a way of looking back on history when he wrote in relation to the scholastic treatment of Aristotle:

"Scholasticism and clericalism took what was dead in Aristotle, but not what was living; the inquiries, the searchings, the labyrinth, in which man lost his way."

For Novack, Locke's beginning of empiricism was like the planting of a bad seed of skepticism which would later flower as conscious skepticism. He does not see Locke in relation to the development of thought in his time, but Locke as separated out from all development beginning with inadequate premises which explain everything about the further fate of empiricism.

In fact, Locke and the British empiricists in general took a non-committal stand in relation to the external world for good historical reasons. The previous development of philosophy in Europe, particularly Descartes, had exposed a problem in accounting for the relationship between the human mind and the external world. The problem had to first be recognized before it was overcome. In this lies the historical significance of the empiricists.

GALILEO

The posing of this problem developed in close relation to the emergence of the new conception of physics pioneered by Galileo. Novack's account of this development misses what is essential. He writes:

"Unlike the science of ancient and me-

dieval times, the new science of nature was based upon the verification of physical theories by experiments."

However, the procedure of experimental verification of physical theories was only one side of the new science. It has to be recognized that idealism played a role in the development of the new science as well. For example, Kepler, one of the pioneers of the science of astronomy who discovered certain basic laws at work in the heavens, was a neo-Pythagorean who held a mystical belief that nature embodies a mathematical structure which reflects divinity. His empirical research was conducted solely in order to confirm and demonstrate this thesis.

Galileo took the important step of deriving the abstract conception of motion. That is to say, motion was no longer accounted for in terms of the qualitative properties of any particular body, as with Aristotelian science, but motion becomes a mathematical relationship of change between bodies in general. Motion is made into a quantitative relationship.

This new conception of motion (and con-

This aspect of the endeavour was the main preoccupation of the empiricists.

Neither the one nor the other philosophical school could be understood in separation from each other. They each developed a different aspect of the new world outlook. Novack, however, sees no logic or interconnection between these two schools. That is why he can in the first place write a book on empiricism which treats the rationalists in a very cursory manner. He writes of the relationship between the two schools of philosophy,

"For a long time in the bourgeois epoch, philosophy swung helplessly back and forth between these two polar opposites."

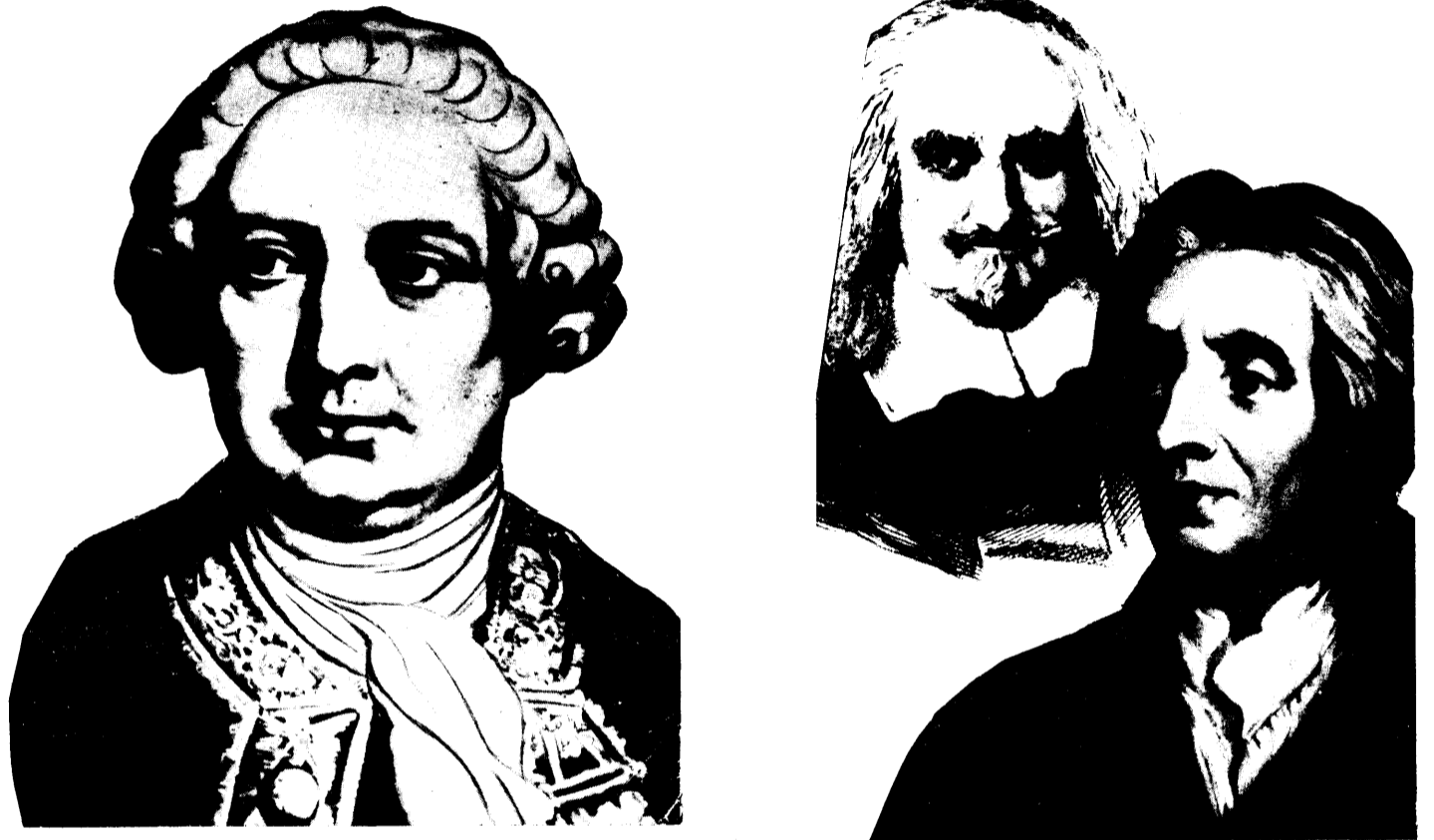
MATERIALISM AND IDEALISM

Behind this lifeless approach that is blind to the interrelationships of the philosophical movements lies another problem in Novack's presentation. We refer to Novack's view of the development of materialism, which ignores the necessary and progressive contributions of the idealists. We have already discussed this method in relation to *The Origins of Ma-*

as demonstrated by physics in the rationality of the human mind. They did not see that the only reason that mathematics is embodied in nature in the first place is because it is an abstraction out of nature of the essential relations that exist objectively and are discovered in nature through our practice. Mathematics is not an eternal innate idea implanted in the human mind by a secularized god as the rationalists maintained.

The empiricists hit out against this idealist side of the rationalists. This lay behind Locke's polemic against the existence of innate ideas and Hume's critique of the rationalist notion of causality. The empiricists struck an important blow against the thesis of the supersensible source of logic and mathematics.

Their limitations rested in their inability to give a positive account of the development of logic and mathematics. They thus wind up, as Hume did, in denying the possibility of theoretical knowledge about the world and at the same time accepting the results of physical science for practical purposes.



sequently physics) was part of the new world outlook of the rising bourgeoisie. It reflected their need to rationalize and make amenable to measurement, all aspects of reality. In all fields, the new world outlook replaced qualitative relationships with quantitative ones, the natural with the abstract. This ideological revolution corresponded to and reflected the change in the productive process with the rise and triumph of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the "natural" relations between classes under feudalism gave way to the abstract relations between classes under capitalism, whose appearance takes on the form of relations between measurable things.

RATIONALISTS

The rationalist philosophers, beginning with Descartes, saw it as their task to provide a philosophical justification for the validity of the new science begun by Galileo. The problem, as they saw it, was how could the objectivity of the external world (as delineated in the mathematical laws of physics,) be related to the subjective mind. Descartes and the other rationalists tried to legitimate the new science by grounding it in the so-called indubitable intuitions of the same mind which discovers the laws of the external world. Among these indubitable "innate ideas" is the existence of the external world and mathematics which are both necessary elements of the new science.

The rationalists' main concern was with the theoretical side of the new science, i.e., the search for the underlying laws of nature that are in harmony with mathematical reasoning and the philosophical justification for this method. This was the aspect of the scientific endeavour embodied by Kepler. The theoretical endeavour, however, could not exist divorced from the experimental validation and verification of these laws in nature.

terialism. Novack's mechanical view comes out even clearer in this work. He writes:

"Whatever ideas or knowledge we do have ultimately derives from the material world around us, through our senses...This is denied by proponents of the idealist school who teach that some, if not all of our ideas come from an immaterial source. They have used this doctrine to uphold the existence of eternal and self-evident truths in religion, morals, and logic."

Like every other historical movement he is dealing with, Novack speaks of idealism in general, as some abstract, ahistorical set of doctrines. Furthermore, while it is true that idealism has defended the existence of self-evident truths, it is also true that many who have fought against the notion of self-evident truths derived from an immaterial source were also in the camp of idealism. After all, did not Lenin consider Hume and his followers to be idealists or at best to be materialists in everyday affairs and opponents of materialism philosophically, what is called "shame-faced materialists?" The defense of self-evident truths is only one form of idealism.

The modern materialism of Marx and Engels maintains the existence of an objective material world constantly in a process of change and development. This process of motion and change is lawful, and these material laws can be known. Those who maintain the existence of an external world but are skeptical of our ability to know its laws of development make a big concession to idealism. Novack concentrates his attack on the form of idealism developed by the rationalists, because, as we shall see, he is essentially a skeptic himself.

In their historical development, the rationalists tended to idealism because they saw the source of the rationality of nature

On a more fundamental level however, both schools of philosophy developed the cause of materialism in a contradictory manner. In both schools, the task of philosophy was seen to be the legitimation and grounding of the achievements of the sciences.

This new conception of philosophy was directed against the scholastic method which saw philosophy as pure speculation about metaphysical worlds divorced from the development of our knowledge of the material universe. Modern philosophy as a whole played a progressive role in demolishing the pillars of the restrictive feudal ideology and liberating the sciences for its own free development.

The development of science, particularly physics and biology, reflected the needs of a developing capitalist economy and in turn provided it with a further impetus through the development of productive techniques. This was what was behind the materialist world outlook, more so than the development of philosophy in the official schools. This was the main source of French materialism and of Feuerbach's materialism, which were important sources in the development of Marxism.

Engels has described this contradictory development of materialism:

"But during this long period from Descartes to Hegel and from Hobbes to Feuerbach, the philosophers were by no means impelled, as they thought they were, solely by the force of pure reason. On the contrary, what really pushed them forward was the powerful and ever more rapidly onrushing progress of natural science and industry. Among the materialists this was plain on the surface, but the idealist systems also filled themselves more and more with a materialist content and attempted pantheistically to reconcile the antithesis between mind and matter..."

The problem with classical philosophy was that while it did provide this impetus to the development of a scientific, materialist world outlook through the negation of scholasticism, it failed to account theoretically for this science as the outcome of human activity in conflict with the material world. The further development of materialism demanded the discovery of historical science, the realm of conscious human activity, and the dialectical logic that reflects the processes of nature and history.

Materialist philosophy only fully develops with Marx, when it becomes a factor, a material force embodied in the minds of the masses, for the further development of man's struggle against nature. Every retreat away from this unity of theory and practice, which is consciously fought for in the struggle to build a revolutionary party based on Marxism, has in its development within the Marxist movement, meant a retreat away from the materialist outlook which the proletariat needs to the idealism of previous philosophy, which reflect the interests of the decaying capitalist system.

to know the world, to know it truly, and to transform it surely through the guidance of such knowledge."

Novack tries to find a "materialist" explanation for this development of the compromise of empiricism in the increasing need of the bourgeoisie to compromise its struggle against feudalism and its ideology. But even here, we are served up with an ahistorical abstraction.

In Locke's time, the bourgeoisie was able to compromise with feudalism out of its position of strength in relation to the latter and because it found the remnants of feudal structures useful in establishing their own authority over the masses. This was the period after the triumph of the bourgeois revolution in England under Cromwell.

By the next century and a half, the "compromises" that were made by the bourgeoisie, particularly in continental Europe but not excluding Britain, reflected the weakness and fear of the bourgeoisie in relation to the aspirations of the newly emerging proletariat, and their common bond with the aristocratic no-

Bishop Berkeley, who was more consistent than Locke, developed the thesis of sensationalism to the point of complete subjectivism. He said that all that we know is what we experience and this can only be our subjective impressions transmitted to us by the senses. Since we do not experience an objective external world, this is not real. Only our impressions are real. Berkeley, however, shied away from the subjective idealist conclusions of his philosophy by illegitimately postulating a benevolent God who makes sure that our sense impressions just happen to serve our practical needs in an objective world.

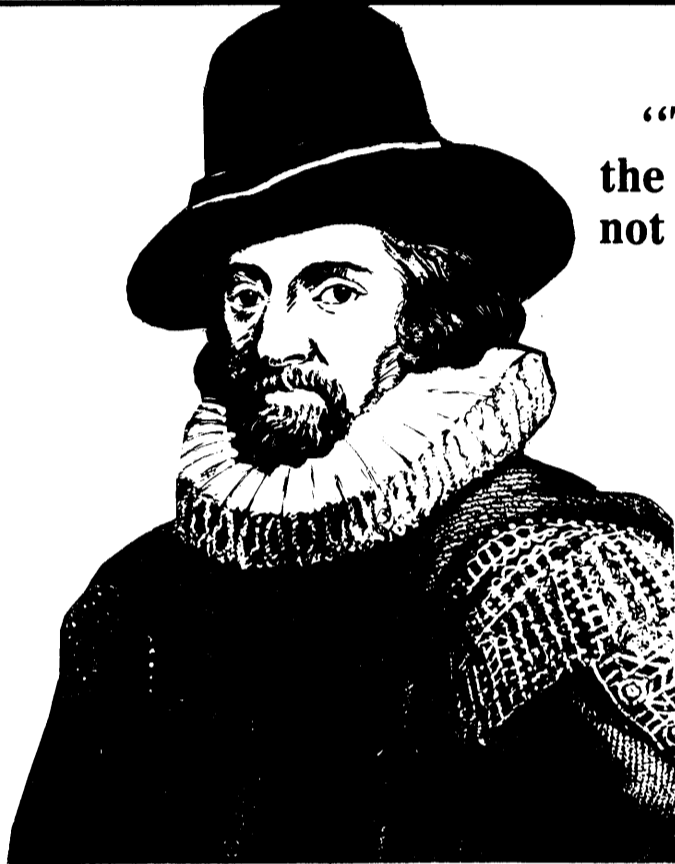
Hume did away with God in his theory of knowledge. He said that all that we know for certain are impressions given to us by the senses and ideas which are faint copies of impressions. We do not have any impression of God, nor of the laws of mathematics and physics. With one blow, Hume demolished the religious idealism of the scholastics as well as the rationalist theory of "innate ideas."

Hume maintained that all our knowledge relating to experience (such as the laws of physics) does not have the force of

templative essence of reason. By hammering away at these bulwarks of idealist error, the pragmatists helped bring philosophy closer to reality and the results of scientific discovery."

Pragmatism maintains that the only criteria for truth is whether something is useful or not. It completely denies the validity of any search for objective laws that are more real than one's subjective impressions of what will work. It is a school of thought that is hostile to philosophy, to theory as such. It represents a degeneration from empiricism because it makes a virtue out of the skepticism and subjectivism which empiricism was reluctantly constrained to grasp. Furthermore, its subjective criteria of knowledge opens the door to a virtual dung heap of "theories" rooted in prejudice, superstition and religion.

We maintain, contrary to Novack, that pragmatism has never brought philosophy "closer to reality and the results of scientific investigation." The pragmatist's attack on logic and the "contemplative essence of reason" was the attack of subjective idealism against ob-



"The materialist conception of the world is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism."

George Novack



Novack sees Hume (far left) as representing a degeneration of the early empiricist philosophers Hobbes, Locke and Bacon (2nd, 3rd and 4th from left). In actuality, Hume carried empiricism to its most consistent conclusion. Novack mechanically sees a straight line development of empiricism to materialism, instead of the role Hume played in laying the ground work for a further development of philosophy through the dualism of Kant (right) and the philosophical idealism of Hegel.

There is then, all the difference in the world between empiricism in the 18th century, which played a progressive role in the development of knowledge, to a retreat from the materialism of Marx back to empiricism, which can only play a most reactionary role in this new context. That is why it is so completely criminal to speak of empiricism in general, as Novack does, thus covering up the actual historical development of empiricism. It is the same method which does not see the progressive role of empiricism and rationalism in the period when the bourgeoisie was progressive that denies its completely reactionary role today when the bourgeoisie is completely reactionary.

HUME

Novack sees the development of empiricism in a completely idealist way. To him empiricism, divorced from other philosophical and scientific developments, can be understood in terms of the resolution of an originally ambivalent formulation about the relationship of sensory experience to the external world. He sees empiricism, as an ahistorical abstraction, as nothing more than a compromise with materialism, which he sees as another ahistorical abstraction.

The development of empiricism is then the development of this compromise to its logical conclusion in Hume's skepticism. Thus, he writes:

"This agnosticism gnawed like a worm within empiricism until it grew hollow to the core. In the voices of its pioneers like Bacon and Locke, empiricism had proclaimed confidence in the powers of the human mind to explore and know reality. Hume's skepticism corroded the internal ties of their synthesis of ideas. Thereafter empiricism doubted everything on principle, including its own value. It generated distrust of man's abili-

bility in preserving "order." This was behind the reaction, among many sections of the bourgeoisie, to the "excesses" of the French Revolution and was much more sharply expressed in the sellout of the democratic revolutions of 1848 by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, it is not possible to trace the development of any particular thinker in any direct, mechanical way, to the development of the class struggle. How else could one explain Hobbes, the pioneer British materialist and atheist, who used the new world outlook of the bourgeois and turned all their arguments against them in support of the absolute monarchy.

What the ideologist does inherit is the general world outlook that has arisen out of the social relationships of his time. Within the framework of this general world outlook, ideology has a relatively autonomous development. It is, of course, not possible to transcend the general world outlook in any fundamental sense without a previous negation of the relationship between classes in the process of production.

Thus it is that Novack's abstract mechanical presentation of the history of empiricism leads him to a completely incorrect assessment of Hume. Novack sees Hume as a consummation of the original skepticism latent in Locke, as representing the nadir of empiricist thought.

Actually, quite the opposite was the case. Hume developed empiricism consistently out of its basic methodological premises. Locke has inconsistently allowed elements of the new science (expressed in his atomistic psychology of simple and complex ideas which reflected the influence of mechanical physics) to enter into his theory of knowledge which supposedly accounted for the objective world and legitimated the new science. He did not consistently develop the premises of sensationalism.

necessity or universality that is found in mathematics, which to Hume was a formal system relating only to itself and completely divorced from experience. Hume attributes our belief in the existence of an objective world with causal laws to a conditioning of the mind caused by our past experience. His attitude toward knowledge is therefore one of complete skepticism.

By consistently developing the premises of empiricism, Hume set the stage for the next great development of philosophical thought. No further advance was possible through empirical philosophy. All the attempts to refine Hume in the 19th and 20th centuries proved to be absolute retrogressions in thought.

Philosophy could only develop through the negation of empiricism itself. This necessarily took the form of a return to idealism in the line of development from Kant to Hegel. Idealism, however, was renewed on a higher level, enriched by the empiricist's critique of rationalism. This final flowering of idealist philosophy set the stage for the negation of all bourgeois philosophy by dialectical materialism. Such is the spiral development of knowledge.

PRAGMATISM

Novack's metaphysical, ahistorical method leads him to view dialectical materialism as coming out of a linear development from empiricism. For this reason, Novack views pragmatism, which is a degenerate outgrowth of empiricism on American soil, as some kind of imperfect cousin to dialectical materialism. Thus, he writes of the pragmatists:

"On one side they took up the cudgels against the idealists who refused to admit the natural origins and practical functions of the thought processes and who defended unchanging principles and the purely speculative, logical, and con-

jectivity idealism. Its intent, which Novack sees as being progressive, was a completely reactionary opposition to theory as such.

Pragmatism is the theory of expediency, of opportunism. It relates truth to action and action to the criteria of expediency. The problem is that what is expedient to the capitalist class is not expedient to the working class. The pragmatist may recognize this "fact" of class antagonism as it appears on the surface. However, since expediency is the only criteria for truth and both the capitalist class and the working class have the justification of expediency, then the "truth" of the situation lies in neither the one nor the other exclusively, but both classes are partly correct. The thing to do then is to get the two classes together on the basis of some kind of compromise.

Pragmatism is the philosophy of class collaboration, of middle class muddle-headedness, of liberalism. It is the philosophy of the trade union bureaucracy and all the reformists and revisionists in the labor movement. Novack's method of picking and choosing in an eclectic manner certain good aspects and bad aspects from history divorced from its objective development and then abstractly comparing them to a timeless set of materialist doctrines leads him to see a bit of good and bad in everything. This pragmatic method leads him to the liberal conclusion that there are no mutually irreconcilable opposites in conflict that are the basis of all historical development. Instead, everything can be reconciled with everything else, including the capitalist class and the working class.

Thus, Novack can write, paraphrasing Hansen:

"The materialist conception of the world is squarely opposed not to empiricism, but to idealism."

Novack is saying that the revisionists

such as Bernstein, who replaced the Marxist theory of knowledge with empiricism in order to turn the movement away from the revolutionary struggle against capitalism to reforms within capitalism were not squarely opposed to Marxism. The logic of Novack's method is the compromise of the struggle between classes, just as he wishes to compromise the struggle between Marxism, the philosophy of the working class movement, and empiricism, the philosophy of the bourgeoisie.

THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

One other point should be mentioned about Novack's treatment of empiricism which is related to his treatment of ancient materialism. We refer to Novack's attack on thought as the process of bringing abstract concepts into conflict with living reality in the course of human practice. Novack attacks the notion that abstractions, preconceived ideas if you will, are closer to reality than our immediate impressions because they constitute the essential knowledge derived from previous practice.

Novack defends the empiricist theory of knowledge that reduces objective laws, the abstractions with which we approach all new phenomena, to the status of tentative hypotheses based on a collection of immediate experience. In this schema, immediate experience is simply given to us as a pure concrete "fact" divorced from any abstraction. Marx had called this empirical notion of the concrete "the imaginary concrete."

The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge sees thought developing through a collision of the abstract with the concrete. Man takes his theoretical understanding of the world, which is historically developed and at any point is abstracted from the developing world and thus dead, into the immediate and concrete changing world. He does this as a struggle with nature itself seeking to bring about a change in nature which in modern society takes on the social form of productive relations and class struggle. This conflict of opposites—abstract theory and concrete reality—leads to a development of thought as part of a struggle to change reality.

Marx noted that in this whole cognition process it is necessary to proceed from the concrete appearance, which is actually an extremely complex number of abstractions called "facts," to simple essential abstractions. On this fundamental basis more and more complex abstractions can be built until it encompasses as best as our thinking can all the complexity of appearance enriched now with an understanding of its essential character. That is why Marx began *Capital* with the simple commodity and its opposites of value and use value. To isolate one opposite, the concrete fact, from this whole cognition process is the most one-sided and abstract way to proceed.

Novack's agreement with the empiricist theory of knowledge is the real reason why, for instance, he attacks Kant's notion of the a priori. He writes, "Although Kant started with the attempt to validate empirical knowledge, he landed in the idealist heaven of a priori notions. In trying to go beyond Hume, Kant actually fell behind Locke who denied all innate ideas."

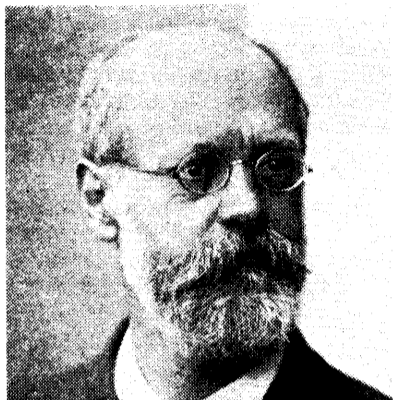
Novack's attack on the notion of the a priori and innate ideas is not the criticism of a materialist against the idealist notions of an immaterial source for our ideas, but it is the attack of an empiricist and a skeptic against the objectivity of knowledge. While Kant's notion of the a priori was idealist, it does attempt to account for abstractions, categories, as a necessary element of knowledge. Kant did not succeed in this task because of the limitations of his method, but it is absurd to view him as falling behind Locke.

It is this skepticism in regard to our ability to know and act upon the objective laws of social development that led Novack to state that Marx's scientific socialism was only a hypothesis until it was empirically confirmed in the October Revolution.⁵¹ This skepticism, this denial of the materiality of theory is behind the empiricist's and pragmatist's adaptation to the surface appearances, to the "facts" and his abandonment of objective prin-

ciples. Instead, "theory" becomes merely a reflection of surface appearances. Thus, the revisionists develop the "theory" of Jacobin sui generis leadership to explain the "fact" of Castro. They completely adapted to the surface appearance of the Cuban revolution, replacing the Marxist strategy of permanent revolution and resulting in the physical liquidation of the Marxist movement throughout Latin America.

NOVACK'S LIBERALISM

Today, the SWP's theoretical degeneration goes hand in hand with their political capitulation to the pressures of imperialism and their headlong rush toward all the counterrevolutionary poli-



German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky

cies of Stalinism internationally. It is in this context that Novack emerges playing a particularly dangerous right wing role within the SWP. Novack's whole history in the SWP prepares him for the job of the chief theoretician of the SWP's movement toward liberalism, and a final break with any links to Trotskyism.

This is the meaning of Novack's most recent book, *Democracy and Revolution*. This book is a vicious attack against every fundamental principle that has been fought for within the Marxist movement. The theoretical capital that has been paid for by the blood of the working class is abandoned in favor of the pious phrasemongering about "democracy" that is characteristic of liberalism.

Like his treatment of empiricism, Novack provides us with an abstract, ahistorical notion of democracy. He stresses the advantages of ancient democracy against ancient tyranny, the bourgeois democracy of the 18th and 19th centuries against the feudal institutions it replaced, and modern bourgeois democracy against fascism.

Novack views the coming struggle in America as being a continuation of the previous bourgeois revolutions of 1776 and 1861. The main issue will not be the right of the working class to survive which the capitalist class is already challenging internationally, but whether there will be a restriction of democratic rights. Thus, he writes,

"They, (the Marxists) predict that the harder the masses press and the more concessions they exact, the more obdurate and tyrannical the financial oligarchy will become. The sharpening of their differences will ultimately force a showdown on the issue of democracy (our emphasis AS) in a revolutionary way, as happened in 1776 and 1861."⁵²

Novack wants to pick and choose certain "progressive" aspects of bourgeois democracy such as trial by jury, universal suffrage, etc., and rid democracy of its bad aspects, such as class exploitation, imperialist wars, etc. He concludes that what is necessary is not the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism which every day is sharpening its brutal attacks against the exploited masses of the world and threatens the very survival of the working class as the economic crisis sharpens, but the fight for "democracy" purged of its bad aspects.

This road has, however, been travelled before within the socialist movement. Karl Kautsky, the theoretical leader of the Second International before 1914, also spoke about "democracy" in reaction to the imperialist conspiracy against the Soviet Union in its first years. Lenin had the following to say about Kautsky's motivations:

"'Pure democracy' is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy

which takes the place of bourgeois democracy.

"When Kautsky devotes dozens of pages to 'proving' the truth that bourgeois democracy is progressive compared with medievalism, and that the proletariat must unfailingly utilize it in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, that in fact is just liberal twaddle intended to fool the workers. This is a truism not only for educated Germany, but also for uneducated Russia. Kautsky is simply throwing 'learned' dust in the eyes of the workers when, with a pompous mien, he talks about Weitling and the Jesuits of Paraguay and many other things, in order to avoid telling about the bourgeois essence



American Pragmatist John Dewey

of modern, i.e., capitalist democracy.

"Kautsky takes from Marxism what is acceptable to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie (the criticism of the Middle Ages, and the progressive historical role of capitalism in general and of capitalist democracy in particular), and discards, passes over in silence, glosses over all that in Marxism which is unacceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespective of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably proves to be a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

"Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor. It is this truth which forms a most essential part of Marx's teaching, that Kautsky the 'Marxist' has failed to understand."⁵³

Lenin's scathing attack can apply to Novack almost word for word. Such has been the depth and enormity of his turn away from Marxism.

The important sections of *Democracy and Revolution* launch a systematic attack on all the principles of the Marxist movement, the entire strategy of the Transitional Program, and a return to the positions of social democracy and Stalinism.

First, Novack attacks the Marxist theory of the state. He denies that the working class has to completely smash the old state machinery in order to come to power, as Lenin had maintained in *State and Revolution*. Novack writes:

"Lenin proposed to curb the repressive and reactionary role of these parasitic organs of the old state by handing over their functions to the people themselves, or at least for the interim period, placing them under the unremitting surveillance of the masses..."

"The police were to be stripped of all political functions and made responsible for their conduct to the workers' councils."⁵⁴

Novack's formulation makes it clear that he is of the opinion that the bourgeois state apparatus can be appropriated by the working class to serve its purposes. He completely denies the necessity to smash the state apparatus and build a new state consisting of the armed masses of the proletariat. He opens up the door to the parliamentary road to socialism, thereby spreading dangerous reformist illusions.

If this wasn't enough, Novack also openly endorses the Stalinist popular front. He writes:

"In case of civil war it is imperative to distinguish between the camp of overt counterrevolution and any section of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which actually take the field to fight the fascists. It is permissible and may be imperative to effect a practical alliance with

such elements."⁵⁵

Novack, however, feels uncomfortable with this openly Stalinist position and tries to immediately cover it over by listing certain conditions for the implementation of such a "united front." He writes:

"It has to be made without confusing the political programs and aims of the different classes, without entering any political coalitions with the liberals which subordinate the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions and without teaching the workers to trust in the reliability of their temporary ally."⁵⁶

It is significant that Novack does not rule out entering a political coalition with the bourgeoisie, but only one "which does not subordinate the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions." It is a dangerous reformist pipe dream to think that a political coalition with the bourgeoisie could exist which does not subordinate the interests of the working class. The betrayal of the LSSP in Ceylon had been prepared by the leadership of the United Secretariat with exactly such compromising statements which served to disorient the ranks of the party.

This is the final logic of Novack's turn away from Marxist theory toward the liberal philosophy of pragmatism. He is led today to defend in the SWP all the old reformist positions that have been traditionally championed by social democracy and Stalinism. Novack tries to reconcile the reformist content of *Democracy and Revolution* with some revolutionary phrasemongering. He tries to obscure the difference between reform and revolution, between transitional demands and democratic demands, between Marxism and liberalism.

At the same time, Novack's defense of liberalism neatly dovetails with the revisionists' theories of new radicalization and neocapitalism. These theories write off the revolutionary role of the working class and turn their backs on the fight to provide the working class with a conscious leadership. Such a leadership will be built if the fight that Trotsky once urged upon Novack is seriously taken up by the new generation of youth—the development of Marxist theory in opposition to pragmatism.

FOOTNOTES

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TELEVISION

JOANINA diMARCO

6th Sense



THE SIXTH SENSE. Starring Gary Collins. Saturday, 10:00 P.M. ABC.

The Sixth Sense is a new television series aimed at youth. Its opening scene is a modern California college campus where we find Dr. Michael Rhodes, young, sophisticated and a full professor of "Psychic Phenomena."

Dr. Rhodes is summoned by doctors, scientists and professional

people to deal with forces beyond the control of modern science and the human mind. These forces come from a "sixth sense" beyond the five senses commonly known to man. It can't be pinpointed but it takes control over the minds of his patients because they have developed a certain "receptivity" to it.

Rhodes' adventures include uncovering murders committed in the past when his patient is seized with visions of the murder scene. This leads him to look for clues shown in the vision, like a lady's shoe or a black limousine.

But the special sense also has other

functions. It can be concentrated to release man's "primitive instincts" which are still buried under the civilized mind. According to Rhodes, these instincts are terror, hate, and chaos, and they can be released at the touch of a psychic button.

Throughout the four series presented so far the viewers have been treated to an absurd attempt to find a material basis for a nonexistent force. The murders turn out to be committed for reasons of greed or jealousy, and the murderers try not to be captured and sent to jail. The clues of detective Rhodes are the same as those used by Sherlock Holmes but are discovered in a process void of Holmes' intelligence.

Dr. Rhodes has a young female assistant whose job it is to piece together his visions and present a solution. Generally she is valuable for the wet cloth which she applies to his head after his overpowering seizures. She is the only refreshing breeze in this series, because try as she might she can't find her sixth sense.

At one point the viewers and the assistant saw the ghost of a dead man walk into the room in pajamas to give a message. The assistant fainted. Ten minutes later we were informed that not only the pajamas but the dead man himself was real.

The only unusual force used in this series is a cameraman turning and whirling the scene during the "visions."

The significance of this series is that it is deliberately brought forward at this time to divert the militancy of youth. Along with the Jesus Freaks and "avant-garde" youth culture, it seeks to convince us that the human mind is divorced from material reality and that understanding of this reality must come from another world, a non-material sixth sense.

It goes beyond this to suggest that the understanding of the world and its social crisis today is beyond human capacity, that we cannot be conscious of social forces and fight to change them. It teaches us that there is a new reality in another world which must occupy our minds.

From its well-built college campus to its script writers' incompetence, this series is an affront to youth today. At a time when the right to education itself is being threatened by the capitalist crisis, we are shown "visions" of a future—in another world, with another sense. At a time when the crisis of capitalism raises the question of the very survival of civilized mankind, we are told that man's development of science and intelligence means nothing. We see man's struggle against nature for human progress negated by a new reality over which we have no control.

The Sixth Sense is a "vision" indeed—of capitalism's contempt for mankind, and of the illusions it would have us accept.

THEATRE

HELEN BAILEY

TO BE YOUNG, GIFTED AND BLACK—PORTRAIT OF LORRAINE HANSBERRY (In Her Own Words). Presented by Lugoff, Ray Larsen, and Robert Nemiroff.

The portrait of Lorraine Hansberry is presented in two parts, the first dealing with her life in high school and college, the second with the writing of her play, *A Raisin in the Sun*. The acting of the play is done extremely well and has great strength.

Lorraine came from a middle class family in Chicago and considered herself to be an offspring of racist and political hysteria. She attended high school on the south side of Chicago where there were many race riots and gang fights. From high school she went to a middle class college where she developed some of her literary

talents.

Upon graduation from college she became a writer and critic for *Freedom Newspaper*. Her first play *A Raisin in the Sun* received excellent reviews and played off Broadway for over a year. A scene from the play is presented when the Black family decides to take a home in the white neighborhood. The essential factor of this scene is to show that Blacks should not be separated from whites, which is contradictory to the way Lorraine really felt.

Racism is portrayed throughout the play in most of the major scenes. For instance some of the remarks made were that hatred of all white men would make things infinitely easier.

Lorraine did not see herself involved in the fight that has to be waged against racism and separatism but instead saw the struggle of the Black middle class.

This is still being used by the Black intellectuals and poverty pimps to keep the working class separate and for their own personal interests. This is one of capitalism's greatest supports, to use racism and separatism to keep the working class divided. The youth are becoming conscious of this and are now waging a very sharp fight against it.

To Be Young, Gifted And Black



Recent Black Expo (left) shows Black middle class using nationalism and separatism for its own purposes while ignoring youth (right) who fight against budget cuts.

BOOKS

STEVE GRANT

Being There

BEING THERE, by Jerzy Kosinski. Harcourt Brace Javonovich, 1971, 142 pages.

Jerzy Kosinski's third novel shows us that he has not only absorbed the English language, but that he has also adopted America's guiding philosophy: pragmatism.

After his emigration from Poland in 1957, Kosinski's academic life did not interfere with the creation of two pseudonymous volumes on collective behavior, in which he expounds on the sanctity of the individual over any collective body.

In the tradition of *Brave New World* and *1984*, *Being There* comments through satire and through the author's personal crystal ball on our nearness to totalitarianism. The protagonist is Chance, who has lived his entire life within the grounds of his wealthy guardian's home.

LIMOUSINE

Chance's encounters with the outside world are freakish. A limousine that bruises his leg is occupied by the wife of rich American financier, Benjamin Rand. Mrs. Rand misinterprets his identifying words: "I'm Chance, the gardener," replying, "Chauncey Gardiner? Are you any relation to..." In conversation with Mr. Rand, Chance's simple vocabulary and botanical analogies are taken for pithiness

and down-to-earth philosophy.

A few more accidental but influential contacts catapult him into the public eye. The gullible and lifeless populace is completely taken in. The odyssey ends with Chance being considered for nomination as vice-president; he is the perfect candidate with no past for scrutinization.

CIVILIZATION

Author Kosinski has stated his viewpoint more clearly in an interview: "Human kind moves in some direction, and one has to accept that movement. I don't think we are in any position to alter it. I don't think Western civilization was ever able to alter its own course."

Kosinski's novel deals with the "trend" toward totalitarianism, the everything-from-above situation of control. His advice is that we should confront this reality

and transcend it rather than be seduced by it.

Kosinski accepts capitalism and inevitable barbarism, and sees change in man as a psychological matter. There is no material base for the "trend" of fascism, nor for the change that must take place in society.

His cynicism is an appendage of his pragmatism, his acceptance of what is, and this is his starting point for his projection into the future. Jerzy Kosinski has been thoroughly absorbed into the middle class that eagerly awaits his next book.

Fifteen years ago Kosinski considered flight to Argentina or Brazil upon leaving his native Poland. But those governments denied him entry because of his "Marxist background." Jerzy Kosinski today has moved far, far away from any connection with Marxism.

Back To Weimar

Political Crisis Erupts In Germany

BY DAVID NORTH

Against the background of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, the most serious political crisis since the defeat of Hitler is now developing in Germany.

The bourgeois coalition government of Willy Brandt's Social-Democrats and Walter Scheel's Free-Democrats is now threatened by a powerful challenge from the reactionary Christian-Democratic Union that could force elections this spring.

While the CDU challenge is explicitly over the up-coming vote on the ratification of Brandt's controversial treaty with the Soviet Union, it is actually the movement of the powerful German working class and the breakup of the post-war "economic miracle" that is wrecking the fabric of the country's political stability.

Although the leader of the CDU, Rainer Barzel, harps on the "Ostpolitik" of the SPD in order to whip up all the nationalist hysteria latent in Germany, it is no secret that behind his drive for new elections is the determination of the bourgeoisie to go on the offensive against the trade unions.

INEVITABLE

These developments have been inevitable since the August 15 speech of Richard Nixon, which ended the economic era of artificial boom of which the German economic recovery was the highest expression. The August 15 measures had the greatest significance for Germany; for it is there that billions of inflated dollars were pumped.

Upon these inflated—and now worthless—billions were built not only the post-war German economy but also 25 years of stability.

Within eight months of Nixon's speech, the stunning reversal of Germany's economic situation has revived the historical spectre of the doomed Weimar regime.

And within the framework of that analogy, Willy Brandt is playing a role similar to that of the last Social-Democratic chancellor before the establishment of several Bonapartist regimes that paved the way to the Third Reich.

It was the leader of the Social-Democrats, Hermann Muller, who in 1929 formed a coalition with bourgeois parties in order to divert the struggle of the German working class for power. His policies of treachery gave the bourgeoisie



Willy Brandt

time to mobilize for a devastating assault upon the workers.

UNPRINCIPLED

For the past two years, the Brandt regime has played the same role. It came to power in October 1969 upon the crest of a tremendous wage offensive by the working class that sent the CDU reeling. In establishing his unprincipled alliance with the liberal Free-Democrats, Brandt assumed the responsibility of taming the workers.

His inability to accomplish this and the pressing needs of the bourgeoisie faced with the August 15 catastrophe is what stands behind the political maneuvering in Bonn.

The seriousness of the economic crisis cannot be exaggerated. While the Germans accustomed themselves long ago to inflation as the price of the boom, they are now confronted with a recession that has already surpassed the darkest days of the 1966-67 crisis.

In every section of heavy industry—steel, automobile, and construction—the rate of unemployment is rising at a tremendous tempo. The threat of

bankruptcy hangs over even the most powerful concerns. It was announced last week that auto production this year will be 10 percent less than the figure for 1971.

Karl Schiller, Finance Minister of the SPD, lashed out recently against the "panic-mongers" in the CDU who are predicting a worsening of the economic conditions. But Schiller's jaw-boning could not relieve the panic setting in among German businessmen and speculators. The lack of confidence overtaking the bourgeoisie is reflected in an unstable stock market.

COLLAPSE

At the very heart of the uncertainty is the fear of the collapse of the international monetary system. A leading German newspaper, Die Welt, reported last week:

"Theme number one in stock market circles is the sharpening of the international monetary situation. What specially worries Germany is...that no one knows what our economic policy would be in case of a run on the dollar...What really is going to happen, no one can tell.

"But it is precisely this uncertainty and the fear of pressures, as we have pointed out, that is dampening the spirit of business enterprise."

Helpless against the economic might of the United States which refuses to give gold backing to the billions it has poured into Germany, the capitalists are forced to move against the working class. The leader of the Christian Socialist Union (the even more right-wing partner of the CDU), Franz-Josef Strauss, referred to the wave of layoffs as part of the campaign "to tame the trade unions."

Strauss, who would assume the position of finance minister if the CDU comes to power, has stated that the thrust of the new government would be to halt inflation.

BOLTED

The latest stage of the crisis broke out with full fury two weeks ago when two Social-Democrats bolted their party, announcing that for reasons of conscience they could not support the treaties negotiated by Brandt with the Soviet Union. These defections threw the entire "Ostpolitik" into doubt as well as the future of the coalition, because Brandt holds power with a paper-thin majority.

The SPD's future was given another jolt when a deputy in the FDP declared that he might vote against the coalition when the treaties are brought before the German parliament.

These defections opened the way for CDU leader Rainer Barzel to declare that the Brandt regime "has lost the trust of the nation" and demand new elections.

But although there are elements within the CDU-CSU that are opposed to any settlement that accept the division of Germany, the vigor with which Barzel is pressing the offensive flows from the conviction that the SPD no longer can serve the interests of German capitalism in the position of the governing party.

This decision was confirmed by the December strike of metal workers against unemployment, in which the Brandt government found it impossible to intervene. In spite of the drastic retaliatory measures taken by the employers—the lock-out of 600,000 workers throughout the automobile industry—they were forced to make big concessions in order to end the strike.

SHARPENING

The sharpening battle between the SPD and the CDU is supplemented by bitter factional struggles within the ruling coalition. The FDP has complained bitterly about the alleged influence of the left-wing inside Brandt's party and has come into conflict with the SPD over tax reform policy.

At this point, Brandt is denying that his coalition can be forced to call elections. What he opposes above all else is breaking with his liberal partners and holding an election that could bring the Social-Democrats to power in their own right.

While it may be possible for Brandt to forestall a decision to call elections for the next few weeks, it is likely that regional elections in Baden-Wuerttemberg on April 23 will result in new setbacks that will force Brandt's hand.

But whatever the decision, it has become impossible to hide the fact that the political climate in Germany is becoming explosive.

As the leading liberal German weekly newspaper stated last week, in the coming confrontation between the SPD and the CDU, "The comforting phrase, Bonn is not Weimar, will no longer be appropriate."

HAITI . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

the highest in the world, for sale abroad.

It is no accident that the Dupont Corporation which faces the deepest financial crisis since the boom is involved in purchasing the Isle de la Tortue, a beautiful unspoiled island off the north coast of Haiti, at the cost of two dollars an acre.

The corruption, which under Papa Doc reached a new level in the history of Haitian tyrannies, has gone even further under Baby Doc. Huge marijuana fields are being cultivated by cabinet ministers in collaboration with the Mafia.

This bloody and fascist regime has been praised by none other than Roy Innis, President of the Congress on Racial Equality.

Innis spent four days as the guest of Duvalier and the American ambassador Clinton Knox. At a dinner in his honor, Innis paid homage "to the pride and courage of the Haitian people and government who are heroically fighting a battle for development, with limited means.

"My first step, on returning to the United States will be to change the image that Haiti has in my country. My second step will aim at promoting the aid of the American government..."

Not only in the United States but all over the world, Black nationalism plays a counter-revolutionary role. CORE which now boasts of being Black nationalist united together with ultra-reactionaries like Chiang Kai Chek in support of Duvalier in order to preserve the privileges of the Black bourgeoisie against the working class.

It does not matter to Innis if the Haitian people live in poverty, illiteracy and terror because Duvalier is "Black."

FASCISTS

Fascists and pro-imperialist agents such as MRIZN and Rassemblement Democratique are busy at work within the middle class section of the traditional opposition. It would be suicidal to be complacent towards such tendencies.

As the crisis deepens, whole sections of the middle class and the right wing of the working class movement will swing into the ranks of the fascists.

The Stalinists and Maoists are incapable of fighting either of these tendencies or imperialism itself. Both are at each other's throats to capture leadership of the young and rising opposition.

While the pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists (PUCH) are pushing the murderous class collaborationist policies of the Kremlin, the pro-Peking Maoists of the Haitian Workers Party (PTH) are pushing a no less suicidal and adventurist policy of guerilla struggle in isolation from the masses.

Despite the noisy rhetoric of the Maoists and their verbal attacks on peaceful

co-existence, they end up with the same position of the Popular Front as the Stalinists. They call for an "anti-dictatorial, anti-imperialist and anti-opportunist" struggle by all "patriots," that is, for a coalition of a section of the Haitian bourgeoisie with the working class. This is why they can peacefully co-exist inside the Haitian Movement for Patriotic Action (MHAP).

MHAP which originally developed as an expression of the growing militancy of young Haitian workers and students, has been transformed by its leadership into a cesspool of petty bourgeois revolutionism.

The fight of young militants to broaden the political struggle among the masses against the old conception of exile circle politics, is being strangled by its leadership. Ideological discussions are suppressed with the most bureaucratic means. Any opposition is expelled and labeled either Tonton Macoute or opportunist.

The refusal of the leadership to discuss questions of Marxist theory and Stalinism reveals not only their contempt for theory and history but above all their fear that the youth will come into contact with Trotskyism.

The only way forward for Haitian militants and workers is a turn towards Marxism and dialectics. This can only be done through the construction of a Trotskyist party rooted in the struggle of the international working class against capitalism as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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FORT PIERCE, FLA.—The abominable housing conditions in this southern Florida agricultural area express all the misery and poverty that capitalism forces on the agricultural and migrant farm laborer.

A recent report by the Rural Housing Alliance correctly exposed the fraudulent character of the so-called Farmers Home Administration, a federal agency which is supposed to provide loans for the building of houses by farm workers. But the FmHA works hand in glove with the large growers and discriminates against "seasonal" farm workers, which of course means against most farm workers.

The FmHA refused a loan to 3 Florida families employed by a large grower after the grower complained that a decent permanent home would prevent the families from working during another season at the grower's Michigan fields.

SUBVERTS

While the FmHA consistently subverts its alleged aim of providing decent housing for rural workers in Palm Beach County and surrounding areas, the building industry continues to construct lux-

ury apartments for the middle class and wealthy.

The housing situation is even more serious than the report indicates for rural workers who live either in company housing or town ghettos. The situation in the towns is little better than that on the growers' property.

CRITICAL

This can be seen in the picture shown here of the interior of Lesly Eddins' \$6 a week room. The housing shortage is so critical that when hundreds of workers came to Fort Pierce in the early fall because work had run out up North, many were sleeping in the streets.

Unlike other towns, Ft. Pierce does have a sizeable low-income project.

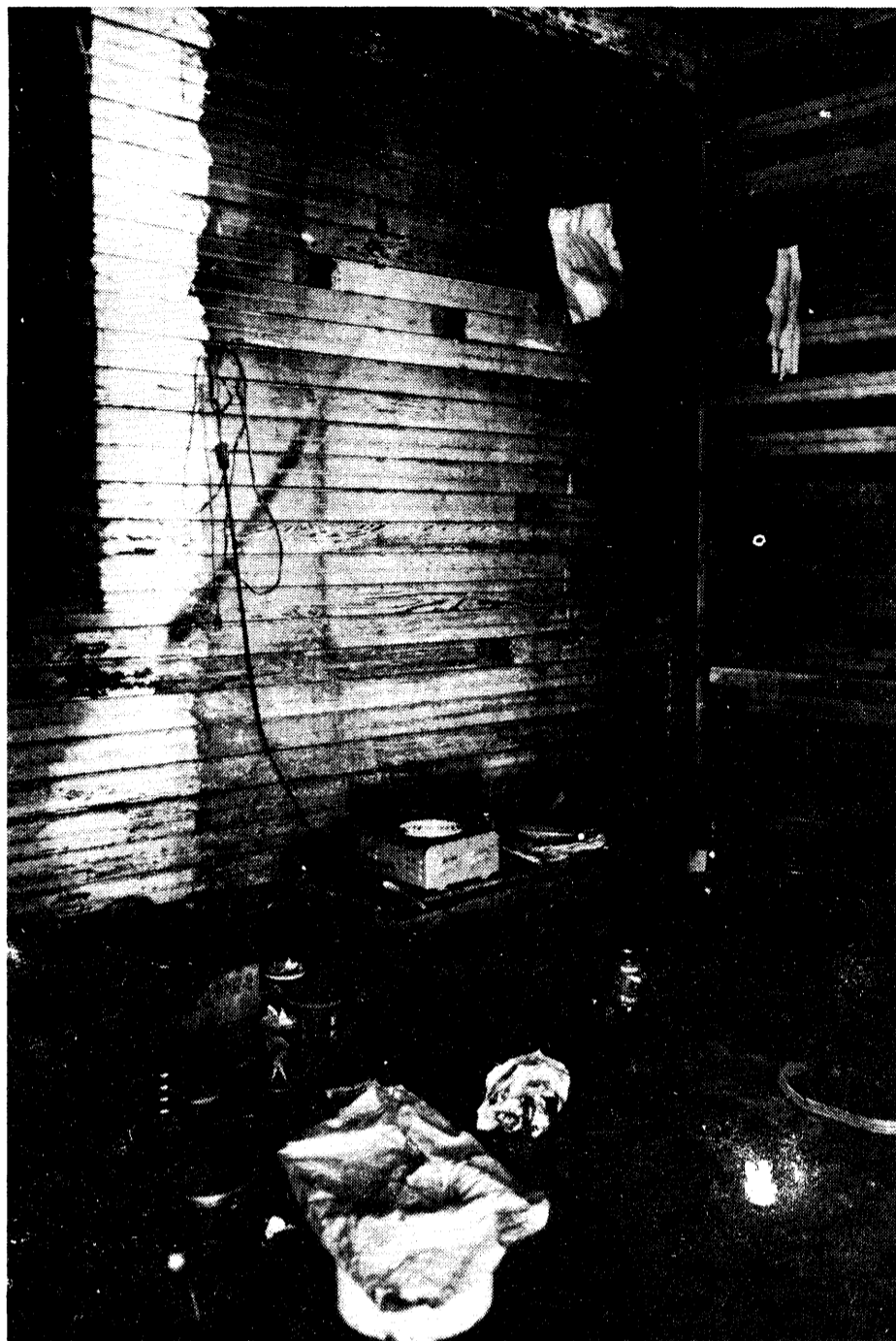
However, it is unlikely that there will be any more federal projects built in this area in the near future.

PERPETUATE

The situation in housing reflects the needs of capitalist agricultural industry to perpetuate the misery of the farmworkers in order to exploit them. This was expressed in the words of a Black farmworker from Pahokee, Fla., Elijah Boone, in testimony before a Senate sub-committee:

"Thousands of agricultural workers in Florida labor their entire lives with no hope of promotion, higher wages or better working conditions.

"In the glades area of Florida, the power structure refuses to sell land to agricultural labor, especially Black people, for use as homesites. They wish, by this and other means, to perpetuate the down-trodden condition of our people and maintain the present economic and power gap in order to insure a captive work force."



Leslie Eddins (above) rents a room outside Okeechobee, Florida (top) for \$6 a week. Top, Leslie's "kitchen" shown in one corner. An ancient cot lay in the other corner. Top left, a farmworker and left, a typical farmworker's "home" in Okeechobee.

Report Exposes Migrant Housing



The following is a description of only one incident in the prison life of Comrade Brother Norman Peter Davis presently an inmate in the Tombs. In the course of his struggle Comrade Davis has been forced to teach himself law and to help other inmates with their legal problems.

This revolutionary communication is in reply to your letter. First of all, I would sincerely like to express my appreciation for being accepted as a member in the Young Socialists Party, and to demonstrate my appreciation, I am enclosing all of my past and present experiences in which I have lived ever since I've been a Political Prisoner. Now my autobiography.

Yeah, on August 5, 1970 I arrived at Dannemora State Prison as a "trouble maker" and the first thing I heard while awaiting to deport from the Bus was, "By God, that Boy ain't never had no hair cut." This came from one of the two receiving officers that were standing on the prison steps awaiting me and other inmates to leave the Bus.

The statement that was made in regards to my Afro told me that I was in the midst of the fascist, racist all American Ku Klux Klan.

So when I got off the Bus, the pigs marked me by saying they "had never in all their days, seen a nigger with hair as long as mine." I looked at the pigs because I had never been called a nigger or a Boy to my face before, by a white man, and I just couldn't believe that this was happening to me.

However, as they were taking me from the Bus, to a cell, one of the pigs asked me was I a homosexual and I said no, I'm not a homosexual, and why would you ask me something like that! So then the pig replied by saying, "Cause I ain't never seen a nigger with hair that long, unless he was crazy or a fag."

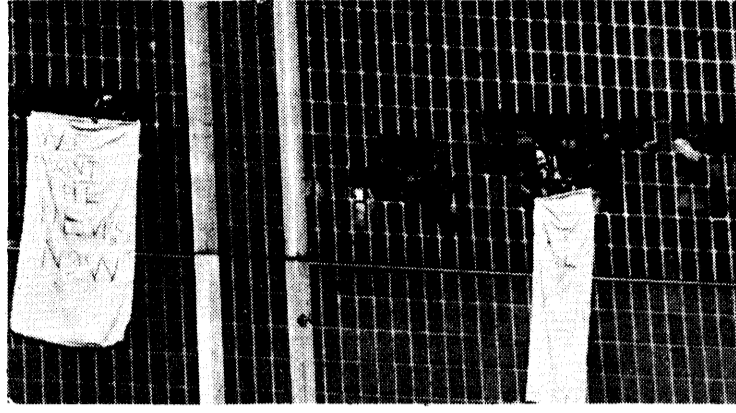
At this time, we had arrived at B. Block so I didn't say anything further, I just went to the cell that had been assigned to me. The next morning I awoke and went to the mess hall. Just as I had walked in the inmates of Dannemora Prison stood up and started throwing things at me, and yelling, "Revolutionary, go back to Rikers Island, cause we don't want you here."

The pigs then took me from the mess hall to the Barber Shop to get my hair cut off. However, I just couldn't bring myself to believe that all of this was really happening to me. Black and Puerto Rican inmates were against me, especially when I had come as their revolutionary vanguard. Well, a few days later I was let out into the yard and found there were a few Black Panthers, but they were working underground and I could understand as to why.

PANTHERS

I attended their P.E. meetings and shortly after, I became a full fledged member of the Black Panther Party. At first after joining things were moving very slow for us. But then after two or three weeks, things began to pick up for us and I became an active member of the Dannemora Chapter of the Black Panther Party giving rallies in the yard and talk with all inmates to explain the true nature of the socialist party. We had gotten about one hundred members and were moving toward getting all of the inmates to join us in our revolutionary movement.

However, one Saturday afternoon the Party called a mass meeting and when all the people had gotten there, the pigs closed in on us and just about everyone was caught, but me and a few others. Most of the people that



were captured by the pigs were taken back to Rikers Island. Out of about one hundred (100) people, maybe more, I don't recall, but I do know 78 or more were captured. 36 people went to the Box. So I didn't hear any more about anything because the party had gone completely underground.

Two weeks later the pigs came to the shop where I was working and placed me under house arrest. I protested but it did no good, and I was taken to my cell and was locked up awaiting court.

The next morning I went to court to answer charges of being a Black Panther member. But the charge, they couldn't prove, so they had to let me go. But I was told to get a hair cut. However, that same day, I made up a writ titled Motion of Show Cause, supported by Art. 78 of the Civil Practice Act.

This was made up to protest the fact that Black people could not wear their Afro's. So a few weeks passed by before I heard anything about the issue, and one night, I received a letter from the Clinton County Supreme Court

"Yes I'm a revolutionary, and I follow the Marx, Lenin and Engels philosophy for the good of society..."

signed by Judge Harold R. Soden, (he is a pig racist too) saying that my writ had been denied because I had failed to demonstrate that I had exhausted my available administrative remedies. That's junk, that was a farce, because there was no need in going through the racist administration because this case was a civil rights case, and actually what Judge Soden was telling me was that I am Black, and because of that there was no civil rights.

Now a week or more had gone by and I hadn't heard anymore about the writ that I had filed against fascist Warden J. E. Lavallo, and one day, one of his pigs came back to the shop that I was working in, and he said, "Boy, didn't somebody tell you to get your damn hair cut?"

And I replied: "Yes, Lieutenant Keys told me to get a hair cut but I'm not getting one because this is my hair and it's my hereditary rights as an Afro-American to wear my Afro as long as I please." Then the pig said, "You're locked up, nigger, for being a wise guy." And I said back to him, "Right On."

BRUTAL

So he took me to my cell and there I awaited Lavallo's killers to come get me, and that's just what those sadistic, brutal, ruthless fascist racist degenerates did, came and got me. It was three of them, one of them opened my cell while the other two stood in front of my cell saying: "Nigger, we don't care who you are or what you are, but you're going to get that hair cut off your head one way or the other. Now are you going to get it cut willingly or will we have to use force?" I then replied "I'm not cutting off my hair because it's mine."

So they beat me very badly with their sticks and took me to

the hospital where seven other pigs were waiting for me. Now they saw that I was going to put up a fight, so the pigs called two of their House Nigger inmates.

One inmate was named Lucky, he was the hospital barber, and when he came into the room that the pigs had brought me to, in the hospital, Lucky put a towel around my neck and twisted it until I could hardly move. He was doing this while the pigs were holding me in the barber chair, and then I started to kicking and an inmate named Wheelan ran into the same room and he started to holding my legs so I couldn't move at all.

MORGUE

Then Lucky started to cutting my hair and for spite, he cut patches in my head so I would serve as an example for all Blacks that wanted to wear Afro's. Well after my hair was messed up, the pigs beat me again, but this time they beat me very severely and took me downstairs to the Morgue and a sergeant told me to go inside, and when I did, he then told me to

look at the tag that was on the coffin which was directly in front of me. So I did as I was ordered to do. And when he saw that I was holding the tag in my hand, he said, "Boy, do you see the name that's on that tag?" I then replied, yes I do.

Then the sergeant said read it aloud and I did it by saying this tag reads Norman Peter Davis 2470. He then answered by saying, "That's right, Boy, and the next time you refuse you will be living in that Box forever, because we have been killing niggers like you for years and getting away with it. Now what made you think we can't kill your Black ass and not get away with it?" I didn't answer to that and pigs started beating me again and again until we arrived at administration segregation.

For a few days the pigs didn't let me come out of my cell because I was still suffering from being beaten very badly, nor did they let anyone come near me. However, there was one brother whom I shall never forget, his name is Rabbi. Yes, comrade Rabb would slip me smokes and other little things that a Brother in my shape would really appreciate.

Then one day when I had recovered from being beaten almost to death, I was let out into the segregation yard and me and comrade Rabb really got involved in some serious revolutionary Socialist talk, and from talking to comrade Rabb, I also learned that this was where 36 people were being kept that had attended that last rally.

Then he went on to also explain the fact that I shouldn't feel bad because of what happened to me. Because I am only one man and I couldn't fight the fascist racist capitalist pigs all alone. But everyone did admire me and respect me very highly for trying.

Letters from Prison

Because if the people can be awakened by what has happened to me, and also taught that my autobiography on what jail has been like since 1970, could have just as easily been their autobiography as it's mine now. Yes, I lived it, but if there had been a socialist society, then none of which I spoke of could have been a reality. Yes, I'm a revolutionary, and I follow the Marx, Lenin and Engels philosophy for the good of society.

Now the fascist pigs might kill me because of my political belief, but they'll never be able to kill the socialist revolutionary spirit of hope that I have given to so many people.

Comrades and Friends:

The author of this letter is presently confined in the Manhattan House of Detention for Men (The Tombs).

In November, 1971 we established a Marxist study group which consisted of four men. At the time of this writing our group has expanded to over two hundred (200) men and women in the various prisons in and around the City of New York. We call ourselves the "Isabelle Auerbach Collective." As one of the original founders I have the honor and privilege of serving as co-ordinator and instructor.

In an attempt to get a broader understanding of Marxism we need the support of those who are in the "minimum security prison" (this society). Through your letters and communications we who are in these maximum security prisons can not only get a broader understanding of the problems of the day, but what led up to them.

CLASS

Most of us are Black, Puerto Rican and oppressed whites. However, our level of con-

"...after all, we too are an integral part of the industrial reserve army..."

sciousness has been raised to the point where we can now recognize the struggle as being a clash between classes of people. That race is merely used as a means to cover up the economic inadequacies extant.

Many of us, because of our class backgrounds, have little or no formal education (this writer included). However, we are determined to resolve this contradiction through study. Our present situation provides us with the time that is necessary for hard, consistent study.

Since we do not have a teacher, an instructor, this creates many pitfalls which we must learn to avoid. As an example, many of us have only recently been exposed to the tenets of Marxism. In order to avoid distortion, misinterpretation, or revision, we need outside guidance. This can come in the form of letters from readers of the subjects in which we, too are interested. And, in the light of Nixon's trip to China (and other recent events) we are even more hungry for expla-

nations.

RECONNECT

Some of us have been involved in the prison struggle, which is receiving prominence (Attica, Tombs, Rahway, etc.) We wish not only to heighten the prison struggle (through a greater understanding of Socialism,) but to reconnect it with the working class movement; after all, we too are an integral part of the industrial reserve army.

The history of man has been a history of struggle. And struggle is necessary if there is to be change. And, although prison is a social aberration it is still a part of this society. Since all of the parts together are equal to the whole, what is reflected in the whole (society) will also be manifested in its parts (prison). This is why the prison struggle must be coupled with the struggle of the working class movement, the women's struggle for liberation, and every struggle that involves human fulfillment, freedom.

To fragmentize the struggle is self-defeating and plays into the hands of the enemy. What better example is there than racism? We were actually convinced through white chauvinism, Black chauvinism (and other kinds of chauvinism) that our fellow brothers and sisters are the enemy, and not our common oppressor. Little does he indicate that he is oppressing all of us. This is a feat that calls for genius and determination. He is determined to remain the dominant, the ruling class. And we must match him in determination.

History is on our side. But even more than that we have a profound philosophy (truth) that is now taking root in fertile soil (the people). And it is growing to the point where it will soon smother the stinkweeds of capitalism, of imperialism, and its running dogs (racism, exploitation, injustice), the way it manifests itself. Whatever blows we who are in the maximum security section of this vast prison (society) can strike, we will not hesitate to do so. Our fear is not for our lives, for "punitive reaction," but that opportunists will use our efforts to protect themselves, at our expense.

LUMPEN

Many of us in prison have gone beyond the reactionary concept of the lumpen. Our struggle is no longer confined to the physical; it has become ideological as well. Although we struggle against

"iron and concrete," the obvious, we are now aware of the cause, its origin. So, for the many groups and organizations on the "outside" who wish to contribute to the prison struggle we say this: the best contribution you can make is to spare us your false concepts, to get out of our way, in order that we may more readily get at the enemy.

We now know who the enemy is and we know how to defeat him. We do not need your soothsayers (liberals). Because we have picked up the superior weapon (dialectical materialism) and we have coupled theory with practice!

Should anyone be interested in contributing to our development, through correspondence, please contact us at these modern-day Bastilles. We will be glad to forward to you the names of men and women who are interested in questions of knowledge and theory.

In solidarity,
Hap, Co-ordinator
Isabelle Auerbach Collective

Hill Slams Crisis Facing SSEU Ranks At CNL Meeting

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—A public meeting called by the Social Service Employees Union Local 371 Committee for a New Leadership to take up the questions of the April 28 officers election and the pressing workload and job security crisis was addressed Thursday, March 15 by Dennis Cribben for the CNL and Stan Hill, president of the SSEU.

This meeting took place within days of an attack on a supervisor in the Boro Hall Center in which the worker's face was sliced open when a hole puncher was thrown at him by a client. It occurred within two weeks of an incident in which lye was thrown in the face of a Bergen supervisor.

Today, the number of physical attacks on union members is mounting steadily as a result of intolerable overwork and understaffed conditions in the centers. In addition, even graver threats are posed to staff by a Community Service scheme which will force workers out of the centers to displace poverty workers already holding jobs in the community.

Cribben pointed out that the background to this crisis was the all-out drive by Nixon and the employers to smash up the American trade union movement.

The reality of Meany's warning that Phase II was the first step towards fascism is now sharply underlined by the huge Wallace vote in the Florida Democratic primary.

This drive to break the labor movement as a whole is now finding its sharpest expression, Cribben stated, in the moves by Rockefeller and Lindsay to crush the municipal labor movement through the most brutal attack on civil service in 30 years.

The desire to virtually eliminate civil service has been openly expressed both by Police Commissioner Murphy and by Human Resources Administration head Sugarman.

In his remarks, Stan Hill further corroborated this fact by pointing out that the SSEU and DC 37 have now learned of the existence of a so-called "master plan" drawn up by the New York Bar Association which, through recommendations involving complex schemes for reorganization and decentralization, aims directly at the elimination of civil service in New York City.

At the same time, the drive to break civil service through schemes such as these is being buttressed to the hilt by the threat of mass layoffs. Lindsay is now threatening to lay off 40,000 city workers in the latest budget dispute with Albany unless a budget gap of some 800 million dollars is filled for the fiscal year

beginning July 1.

Stan Hill further revealed that, irrespective of the threat of 40,000 layoffs, 2072 municipal workers are now scheduled to be laid off in the immediate period.

Hill indicated that 458 layoffs are slated for the Housing Development Administration, 600 in the Health Services Agency and some 1000 in the Board of Education. There were still no projections, he stated, for the Human Resources Administration or the Department of Social Services.

In light of the sharp crisis facing the union, the CNL proposed specifically that Hill throw his support to a series of action proposals that the CNL is mobilizing members around in preparation for the March 23 meeting of the General Membership.

These proposals include:

- A dump of Income Maintenance cases down to 750 per unit from 1100 to force more staff and reduced workloads in the centers,
- A boycott of the City's community service program until all aspects of the plan are negotiated,
- A ban on all farming out of work to private agencies,



Stan Hill, president of SSEU Local 371, speaks at meeting of SSEU rank and file Committee for a New Leadership on March 15. He denounced Cohen forces as spreading racism in the union.

• A commitment to strike action in the event of layoffs of any SSEU members and a series of political proposals.

In response to these proposals, Hill stated that he was seriously concerned about the way in which the Cohen slate was basing its campaign on personal slander and its attempts to bring about a racial polarization in the election.

At the same time, Hill stated that in his opinion what staff wanted was to be moved out of IM as quickly as possible. The problem, he felt, was that there was resistance from clerks to transferring into IM to replace the SSEU members.

He was pressed from the floor in this question as one after another in the audience stated that the first question was getting additional staff to alleviate the overload which was not only creating intolerable working conditions but placed a tremendous burden on the clients and was leading to conflicts between the workers and clients. It was pointed out that clerks were refusing to transfer into IM precisely because of the chaotic conditions there.

Hill stated he would consider the staffing question and would discuss with the rest of his slate and let the CNL know his position before the next membership meeting.

Opposition Starts Drive For 1199 Office

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The refusal of the Local 1199 leadership to allow discussion on contract demands at the last delegates meeting is a vicious attack on the rank and file as the contract deadline approaches.

Two years ago discussion was begun at the February meeting. This time it has been postponed until April at the earliest. And at the March meeting President Leon Davis made a rambling speech which committed him to absolutely nothing, and then refused to allow rank and file opposition candidate Fred Mazelis to speak.

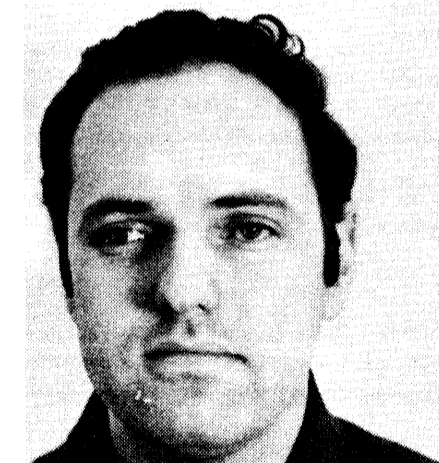
Davis' speech was nothing less than an attempt to confuse and mislead the delegates. His talk of non-money demands is a cover under which he is prepared to ditch the fight for a big wage increase. His talk about ignoring the Pay Board is a desperate attempt to evade the crucial fight facing the union this year as Nixon stands openly behind the bosses' attack.

At the same time, the refusal to allow discussion is a turn by the Davis leadership against all

the basic rights of union members. The leadership is preparing a vicious witch-hunt and slander campaign against those who expose their collaboration with the bosses. They are so desperately afraid of the ranks and of the fight for this contract that they seek to openly squash union democracy.

The seriousness of the situation is shown in the city hospitals. In these hospitals, which have been run in affiliation with such non-profit institutions as Mount Sinai and Montefiore, the City Hospitals Corporation is now set to transfer several thousand clerical workers out of 1199 and into Local 420 of the District Council 37, the city employees' union.

The members of Local 420 in the city hospitals are earning less than those in 1199. The city intends to pit one group of workers against the other, cutting wages and laying off thousands. It has just been an-



Fred Mazelis is the Rank and File Committee's candidate for president of 1199.

nounced that the city hospitals will be receiving one-sixth of the amount requested in next year's budget for emergency repairs.

STRIKE

At the last delegates meeting the members voted unanimously to recommend strike action against this "rollback," scheduled to take final effect on July 1st. This is the same date as the contract expiration in the voluntary hospitals. The ranks must hold the leadership to this strike demand as the only answer to the vicious and provocative union-busting of the city. At the same time this fight must be linked to the citywide contract in the voluntary hospitals and the attacks on all city workers.

Just last week the Kingsbrook Administration called an unprecedented emergency meeting of union delegates along with department heads and supervisors to reveal the supposed facts and figures of the hospital's financial plight and to appeal to



Arnold Marshall is running on Rank and File Committee slate for 1199 Guild Organizer.

the workers for support and "understanding" in the weeks and months ahead as jobs, vacation relief and overtime are eliminated.

At Beth Israel Hospital the engineering department has been completely reorganized, with the same number of workers covering additional buildings. In the operating room the hospital would like to eliminate an entire shift and is threatening not to pay the overtime rate.

At local chapter meetings the ranks are beginning to present their demands for the contract. At Kingsbrook, workers at the Hospital Division chapter meeting demanded a discussion on the contract and the union election campaign. Speakers insisted that the opposition candidacy of Fred Mazelis for union President should be given serious consideration by every worker, and that to call it anti-union was a slander.

The desire of the ranks to fight back against the vicious Nixon-

employer attack is behind the tremendous response to the rank and file election campaign. Two weeks ago Fred Mazelis and Arnold Marshall, running for Organizer, each filed many more signatures than the minimum required to secure a place on the ballot.

The Rank and File Committee program for the contract includes a 50% increase over 2 years, a full cost of living clause, a 35 hour week and 4 weeks vacation after one year for all workers, a guarantee of no layoffs, an end to the job freeze and union control over working conditions.

This is the only answer to the attacks of the hospital bosses which are growing every day. The way to take forward this fight and to prevent a sellout by the 1199 leadership in the coming contract is to support the campaign of Mazelis and Marshall in the elections scheduled for April 24 to 28.

WALLACE . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

Under cover of a legitimate electoral campaign, Wallace is laying the foundation for the emergence of a genuine fascist movement among the traditional fascist rank and file—the lower middle class.

When in 1968 Wallace made a good showing in some Northern cities as a third party candidate, the capitalist press was quick to seize the opportunity to deepen the divisions within the working class by attributing it to racism among white ethnic workers.

WEAKEN

This is the meaning of Wallace's portrayal of himself not only as the spokesman for the "average man" but as the friend of the "working people." The ruling class uses Wallace not only to ready the fascist armies but also to weaken the ranks of the working class.

But it does not appear that many workers here fell into this ruling class trap.

SUPPORT

Wallace's support outside the rural "Old South" areas, where he piled up two-thirds of the vote, came from those sections of the middle class increasingly angered and frustrated by the growing social and economic crisis.

What threw Democratic liberals into a panic was that his victory here could not be explained entirely by conjuring up Southern racists.

Florida's white urban neighborhoods are primarily middle class, and a great many of the residents came here from the North to retire, to work here while enjoying the year-round summer or simply to capitalize on the profitable tourist trade.

AGRICULTURE

The largest industry is agriculture, and Florida's 170,000 seasonal farmworkers have been largely disenfranchised through one device or another.

In the urban areas of Central Florida and along both coasts,

workers are to a great extent employed in small manufacture and the service and distribution trades. The small industrial working class is mostly concentrated around the port cities of Miami, Jacksonville and Tampa. Disney World is now one of the largest employers.

CRISIS

The economic crisis has only begun to affect white workers here who still face a much lower unemployment rate than experienced by workers in other parts of the country.

But the working class has caught a glimpse of their future when RCA shut down its huge computer plant in Palm Beach Gardens, throwing 2,000 workers out on to the streets between September and Christmas last year, with 1,400 more soon to go.

While the working class is largely unorganized and the union movement weak, organized labor actively opposed Wallace, at the same time not lending support to the other candidates.

Workers in urban areas split their vote among the liberal candidates, with the heavy favorite being Hubert Humphrey, who concentrated his campaign on working class areas.

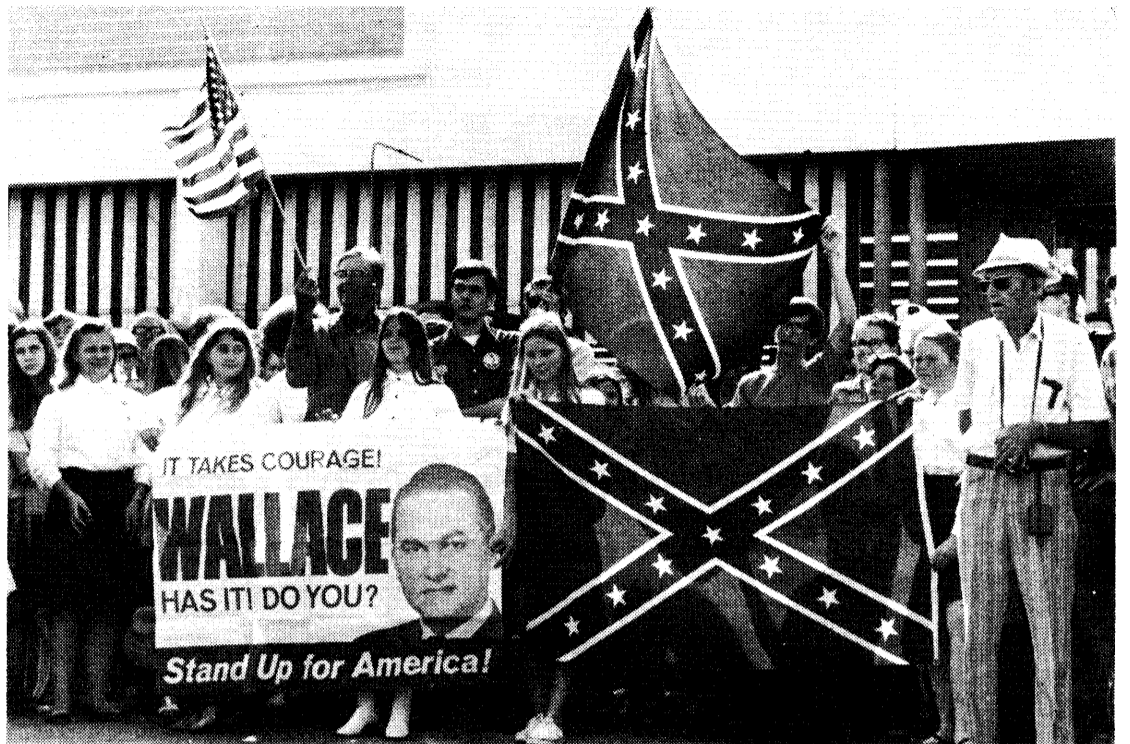
REACTIONARY

Henry Jackson, whose home state of Washington faces a Depression-like unemployment crisis, tried to win workers' votes by promising jobs. But a survey of voters shows he grabbed the third place spot on the votes of the affluent upper middle class, who can easily identify with Jackson's reactionary ruling class program.

Wallace took the votes of much of the rest of the middle class, although there is still a solid core of affluent middle class liberals.

It was Wallace's appeal to the average man and his class fears and hatred of the working class that gave him his extra margin of victory.

In the 10th Congressional District, which includes Fort



Middle class rallies to support Wallace in Florida primary.

Lauderdale and is one of the most thoroughly middle class resort areas in the state, Wallace polled over 30 percent of the vote. Just to the north in Palm Beach County, he took almost 40 percent.

PORT ST. LUCIE

In Port St. Lucie, a small "planned community" of middle class Northerners about 120 miles north of Miami, Wallace won by the same 42 percent he received statewide.

The same pattern was repeated everywhere in the state, with Wallace doing poorest in those areas with the largest working class population, losing only in Miami, where the votes of Blacks, Jews and workers gave six delegates to Humphrey.

While busing was clearly an important issue here, it has been used to hide the real content of Wallace's campaign.

UNLOCK

Busing is the key Wallace uses to unlock the fears and anger of his middle class supporters and a reflection of a growing hostility among sections of the middle

class toward democratic guarantees for the working class.

While almost 80% of the electorate voted against busing, the busing opponents who supported Wallace were middle class parents like those in Palm Beach County who last fall staged mass rallies and threatened violence to end busing. Wallace's position appealed to them because it ignored Congress and the court system, calling for an end to busing by Presidential decree.

BREAKDOWN

But while Wallace opportunistically exploits the busing issue, what he talked about to the enthusiastic crowds, as he crisscrossed this state, was the growing plight of the lower middle class and the breakdown of the capitalist social order.

A barbershop owner who moved here from Pennsylvania was a typical Wallace supporter. For him, the busing issue was secondary but it showed Wallace as a man of action.

"I've worked hard for a living," he said. "Now I can hardly pay the bills. These taxes is something else! And inflation. This Phase II stuff is a farce. I'm really glad Wallace got it."

LITTLE MAN

"You know, what we need up in

Washington is someone who cares about the little man, who'll give us a chance once in a while. We need a whole new set of faces up there. These guys we got in there now—look at how they take my taxes to build houses for the colored people out there.

"Don't get me wrong. I don't have anything against the colored people. I don't care what color you are as long as you do the job."

"I'm just sick and tired of all these people who just want to get on the gravy train and get a free ride off of my taxes. I worked hard for that money. Why doesn't somebody give me some welfare?"

"Look. You want to know something? I'll tell you what's wrong with this country. Everybody wants something for nothing, that's what it is. It's just like the labor unions, and every time there's a strike, I have to pay for it."

"I'll tell you, you may not like Wallace, but there's a guy who has the guts to straighten this country out. None of this fancy talking stuff."

"You say law and order and everybody starts calling you a racist, but that's what we need, I tell you. What we need in this country is some law and order and a little more respect for authority."

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I.T.T. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

In the current issue dated March 24, *Life* reports that a federal investigation into a fund-raising conspiracy masterminded by C. Arnholt Smith, a rich Nixon-backer, was sabotaged by the Administration.

Smith, who controls the U.S. National Bank with assets of \$746 million and Westgate California Corporation with assets of \$215 million, used one of his companies, according to *Life*, as a "conduit for many thousands of illegal dollars used to defray the expenses of political candidates, and that Nixon's 1968 campaign had been a principle beneficiary of this."

Another crucial figure in the massive swindle is millionaire John Alessio, who began to contribute heavily to Nixon in 1968, after having been a life-long Democrat, in order to escape an indictment on income tax evasion. Although Alessio finally went to prison (where he is allowed freedom to come and go as he pleases, take overnight trips to motels with girlfriends, etc.), the Nixon Administration attempted to block any charge

against Alessio.

With the active intervention of the White House, Smith has gone scot-free. Nixon's handpicked attorney for the Southern District of California, Harry Steward, overruled FBI investigators and squelched the subpoenas against the principal figures in the conspiracy.

Steward's actions, which made a mockery of all legal procedures, were upheld by Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst. Questioned about the charges made by *Life*, Kleindienst stated in a television interview: "I'm no penny-ante two-bit little crook."

Kleindienst is right about one thing—he deals in more than penny-antes and two-bits. His role in the ITT affair and in the coverup job for the San Diego conspiracy required the juggling of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Even more important than the issue of Kleindienst's involvement is the light that the ITT and San Diego conspiracies shed on the career of Richard Nixon. The President of the United States is the tool of the giant corporations that run this country.

West Coast News

Angela Embraces Newton Reformism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—In an important interview in the Black Panther paper, Angela Davis discusses at great length the perspectives that lie behind the conduct of her defense.

What her contribution reveals is that she remains tied in all essentials to the outlook of Black nationalism. She sees the struggle for Black liberation as isolated from the fight of the working class.

From there it is but a short step to the perspectives of Stalinism and the complete acceptance of the Popular Front, Black Democratic politicians, and the reformist survival program of the Panthers.

Socialism remains for Angela Davis an idealist goal completely removed from the immediate struggle. She stated that: "As has been continually pointed out and is expressed in the concept of a survival program, if we're ever going to make a revolution, we have to be able to survive."

She turns to the Black worker in an idealist way not as a member of the working class and the organized labor movement but as a resident in the community. "When we talk about the Black worker, we tend to fail to see the Black worker as a live force in our community, but rather as someone who is hidden away on the assembly line, hidden away in the factory."

REFORM

Thus she turns away from the fight to develop a revolutionary leadership in the unions to a community perspective of reform and a call for nationalist formations within the unions. "Organizations of Black workers have seen the need to form outside of the structure of the traditional labor unions."

Rather than seeing the rebellions and the turn towards Marxist theory in the jails as reflections of the strength of the working class and anticipations of developments taking place outside the jails among the youth and in the labor movement itself, she sees the prisoners simply becoming conscious as revolutionaries because they are exploited as laborers in the jails.

It is no wonder that precisely at the time that thousands of

Black youth are prepared to take up the fight for Marxist theory Angela Davis can state that she supports Ron Dellums as one who reflects "the stage that the Black mass movement has reached."

PANTHERS

In the same way she adapts completely to the reformism of the Black Panthers. "The recent development of the Black Panther Party has evinced a very profound attempt to seek out new means of involving the community, new methods of bringing the community, the Black community onto the continuum of Black liberation and revolution."

Davis can make this statement in the middle of a Tammany Hall type campaign by the Panthers to register 10,000 voters into the Democratic Party with a rally to give away 10,000 bags of groceries (chicken in every bag). This rally will feature Black Democrats from all over the

YOUTH MURDER...

(Continued From Page 20)
of race. When a Black member of the Young Socialists defended the comrade he too was threatened with exclusion. Later in the rally all whites were excluded.

All the nationalists could pose at the rally was another futile protest, this time at the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors. Later on in the evening there was a repeat performance of Monday night's meeting, this time at the Menlo Park City Council.

Hundreds of youth and community people went into the meeting fighting mad only to hear members of the Ad Hoc Committee and Venceremos call for a speedy investigation by the City Council.

On Thursday evening a preliminary meeting of the "People's Tribunal," presided over by Venceremos, was held in East Palo Alto. About eighty community people and youth attended.

Charges were levied, ranging from murder in the first degree against Bringhurst, to "conspiracy to commit genocide against Third World Peoples by the White capitalist ruling class of the Western World."

AVENGE

Nobody gave any indication how the People's Tribunal could avenge Gregory White and end the attacks on youth in the community.

A member of the Young Socialists pointed out that no amount of pressure could stop the determination of the capitalists to impose slavery and mass destruction on workers and youth. He urged the youth to take up the fight of the Young Socialists to unite all sections of the working class against the government and the capitalist system.

Members of the YSA present at the meeting played the most criminal role, refusing to say a word against the death trap being set for the youth by the na-

country around the slogan of a "vote for survival."

These perspectives make crystal clear the conduct of the defense in the Davis trial. This is why Angela can proclaim a white overwhelmingly middle class jury as reflecting the composition of Santa Clara County. She virtually identifies the trade unionists and unemployed workers and youth who find no representatives on this panel with the crisis-ridden middle class.

JURORS

Indeed she goes so far as to expect that this jury will give her a "fair" trial and is echoed by the People's World which hails the jurors as "relatively willing to be objective about the case."

All of this can only mean that they intend to rely entirely on the evidence for Angela's innocence ignoring completely the class basis for the trial.

tionalists with the aid of the Maoists. By their silence, they participated in dividing up the youth and fostering reformist illusions.

But the youth who were at this meeting and the hundreds who came out to fight against the murder of Gregory White will not buy empty fantasies like the People's Tribunal. Most of the youth expressed their frustration by leaving.

Davis Trial Set To Begin

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—The trial of Angela Davis which every one had predicted would last up to four to six months was speeded up enormously this week by the acceptance of a jury on Tuesday morning and the seating of four alternates early Friday afternoon.

Opening statements will be made on March 27, following a week recess granted the prosecution by Judge Arnaason. The prosecution then intends to call 104 witnesses to testify.

The remainder of the week was spent in the selection of four alternates to sit in the jury box who will serve on the jury in case a regular juror must be excused for illness. In relative time, the defense actually spent more time and effort in getting four alternates to their liking than they did in picking a jury.

REMARKS

Assistant Attorney General Harris explained to the jury that since the events which took place in the Marin County courthouse are now one-and-a-half years old, they should not expect complete certainty to come out of this trial. These remarks are coming just days before Harris must begin calling witnesses.



United Farmworkers Union held rally outside Republican Party headquarters to protest bill which would make secondary boycotts illegal.

Wallacite Leads Anti-Union Drive

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—A coalition of right wing groups headed by various growers' organizations has begun a drive for a proposition that would outlaw all boycotts of products during a strike or organizing drive.

The sponsors originally intended to outlaw the boycott and legalize the open shop as part of the state constitution. They backed off from this fearing an all-out labor fight.

This attack is led by Bob Walters, head of the 1968 ballot drive for Wallace. He estimated that the present drive would cost about one million dollars to qualify for the ballot. The growers are not stingy.

Walters said: "Chavez is putting on a drive for complete monopoly of farm workers and many of our people feel he is a communist type individual."

Walters is getting assistance

from the National Labor Relations Board which also demands an end to boycotts on the grounds that the union covers some workers in wineries who do no field work.

Chavez has taken up no real fight against Walters and the NLRB. He states that since farm workers have been denied the advantages of coverage under labor laws they should be "allowed" to use the boycott.

Fairness is not the question. The only justice farm workers can expect is class justice—and this means a fight against the growers, their agent Walters and the NLRB with a fight to build a labor party in 1972.

La Raza Nationalists Turn To Democrats

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—The La Raza Unida Party, a Chicano nationalist political party, has been actively organizing among Chicano students in the East Side Chicano community.

This weekend the La Raza Unida Party will be holding its fourth convention in San Jose. The perspectives of Raza Unida for changing the rotten conditions Chicano workers and youth are forced to live in is to register thousands of Chicano voters into Raza Unida voting blocks.

These voting blocks could then be swung in the direction of either the Republican or Democratic Party, if a candidate gave assurances as to his preferential treatment to Chicano demands.

What lies behind the phrases of "political power" and "Chicano power" is the acceptance of the capitalist system of poverty, racism and war. When we look at

the plight of the minority EOP students at San Jose State and other state colleges the deadend policies become absolutely clear.

Because of the bankruptcy of capitalism, last year virtually all funds for EOP students were slashed to pieces.

FUTILE

The response to this attack on students by the Chicano nationalist leadership was a futile protest march by many Chicano EOP students and supporters to the state capital in Sacramento. No fight was made to involve the Black EOP students, not to mention the thousands of other working class youth, in a fight for free educa-

tion for all students.

After the protest march, fund raising dances were held which collected very little money compared to what Reagan had taken away.

What is clear is that their fight against the government's policies has been given up. Now the leader is calling for government loans.

Although the nationalist leadership has given up the fight against the cutbacks and now calls "mandatory EOP rallies" to discuss the need for a Chicano section in the school paper, the EOP students have not forgotten or given up the fight to halt the cutbacks and the high cost of an education.

West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN, WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313, 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103, PHONE 415-621-1310

Nixon Pay Board Slashes ILWU Settlement To 15%

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The decision of the Pay Board to cut West Coast longshoremen's wage settlement to 15 percent from the original 21 percent is a declaration by the Nixon government that they will stop at nothing in their effort to break the labor movement, and to press ahead with their anti-labor legislation.

Not only did Nixon's intervention force a dock contract which is the worst in the history of the West Coast and threatens unemployment for thousands of longshoremen, but now even the wage settlement is cut to ribbons.

Harry Bridges has vowed that the ILWU would strike again if the Board so much as cut the settlement by a single penny. He agreed not to take any action until 30 days after submitting the contract to the Board.

That grace period ends on March 25. So far there has not

been so much as a word from the Bridges' leadership on this policy.

There can be no doubt that the Pay Board decided to take on the dockers, encouraged by the retreats of the labor bureaucracy on the aero-space contract and its refusal to lift a finger against Nixon's compulsory arbitration bill. If this decision is allowed to go through, the Pay Board will be ready to act against the East Coast dock contract in the same way.

The emergency meeting called by the AFL-CIO, UAW, Teamsters and ILWU is a sign of

the mounting pressure in the ranks to take on Nixon and smash his strike-breaking offensive. Floyd Smith of the machinists union has already declared his willingness to leave the Pay Board.

Woodcock and Fitzsimmons continue to back a policy of remaining on the Board. These developing rifts within the labor bureaucracy reflect a breakdown of all old relations and compromises, as they are exposed before millions of workers as unable to win a single concession from the government.

A strike now by the ILWU can mean the breakup of the Pay Board and an all-out confrontation with Nixon that will give a fighting lead to the entire working class. Every one of the labor leaders knows that this is the case and they are determined to hold the struggle back.

They are particularly fearful that a fight now will lead to a breakup of their relationship to the liberal Democrats whom they are depending on to stop Wallace. Thus Gleason refuses to commit himself to joining a West Coast strike by shutting down all ports, and Bridges, rather than calling out the ranks and fighting for labor support, refuses to comment and closets himself for the last week with his friends in the PMA.

West Coast dockers are furious at the Pay Board action and

more than willing to fight.

Many dockers that this reporter spoke with indicated their fears about going into a strike alone and their understanding that a defeat of Nixon will require the action of the entire labor movement. It is the strategy of the bureaucracy to play on these fears and reinforce the idea that the ILWU will stand alone.

There is extreme bitterness here towards Gleason's refusal to commit the ILA to a fight.

The decisive question is what action is taken by the West Coast longshoremen. A strike now that shuts down West Coast ports and appeals to East Coast dockers to rally to their support can bring out the ILA despite Gleason's intentions.

It is the ILA contract which is next to be cut.

Editorial

CP Revives Stalinist Slander Against Juan

The March 18 issue of the People's World features an editorial by Ellis Goldberg. Mr. Goldberg while correctly defending Angela Davis from the calculated hysteria of the bourgeois press gets into deep water near the end.

He is filled with righteous indignation at the accusation of the San Francisco Examiner that Stalin pioneered the show trial. "The USSR under Stalin's leadership despite certain distortions, which nobody in the USSR today denies, pioneered socialism. They didn't however, pioneer the show trial."

We don't intend to quibble with Mr. Goldberg as to the dubious distinction of who first pioneered such trials. We simply point out that Stalin raised them to a level unheard of in human history—liquidating almost the entire membership of Lenin's central committee and wiping out devoted Bolsheviks on completely trumped up charges.

Certainly these are facts nobody today denies, unless it is Mr. Goldberg and his comrade Jarvis Tyner, CP candidate for Vice President.

Mr. Tyner was present when members of the Workers League were requesting support for Juan Farinas from Angela Davis supporters. We were attempting to get a telegram in support of Farinas sent by Davis to the court in New York.

Mr. Tyner intervened to make it clear that he understood that Juan Farinas was a Trotskyite and that he could not be sure he was not a member of the FBI. He went on to state that members of the MPI youth felt that Juan was a provocateur and had attempted to pass himself off as a Puerto Rican. He also referred vaguely to rumors of violence launched by the Workers League against the MPI.

These are all accusations straight from the Stalin school of show trials and lies of which Mr. Tyner is an accomplished graduate.

We would point out to Tyner that members of the FBI are not usually imprisoned for two years for their principled opposition to the war. A glance at our defense material will quickly enlighten him: that Farinas is clearly identified as a Cuban national and as for the violence we have clearly documented that Bulletin salesmen were set upon by MPI members and nearly killed.

Tyner is determined to revive all the discredited methods of Stalinist slander to prevent the principled defense of a political prisoner.

These methods are not, however, universally accepted. We are pleased to report that members of the defense committee have informed us that Angela Davis will send a telegram in defense of Farinas to the court.



Angela Davis asks questions of a prospective juror at trial in Calif. See article on page 19.

Nationalists Call On FBI In Palo Alto Murder

BY ALAN KEARNEY

EAST PALO ALTO—On Monday the East Palo Alto Municipal Council was the scene of a community meeting with the recent killing of Gregory White on the agenda.

The Ad Hoc Committee for Gregory White presented to the Council a petition protesting the murder and advanced several demands such as: an investigating and review committee to be set up, the courts bring criminal charges against Deputy Sheriff Larry Bringhurst, and community participation in the policies of police.

With the experience of the police killings in San Francisco and San Jose in mind, some people charged that a whitewash was being committed and investigation would follow in-

vestigation with nothing at all being done.

The nationalists proved their bankruptcy by requesting that the F.B.I. make an "independent" investigation. For all their clamor about community control, the logic of the nationalists is that they depend upon the government and its repressive arms.

It was the East Palo Alto Municipal Council with the support of the administration of Nairobi College that brought in Bringhurst and additional police in the first place in order to

"combat crime." This was done in the name of the Black community but in reality it was the middle class forces in East Palo Alto who are implementing the logic of community control.

DEMAGOGY

Now these same nationalists try to hide their bloody hands behind anti-white demagoguery. At a rally on Tuesday afternoon called by the student council of Nairobi College, a Bulletin salesman was excluded on the grounds

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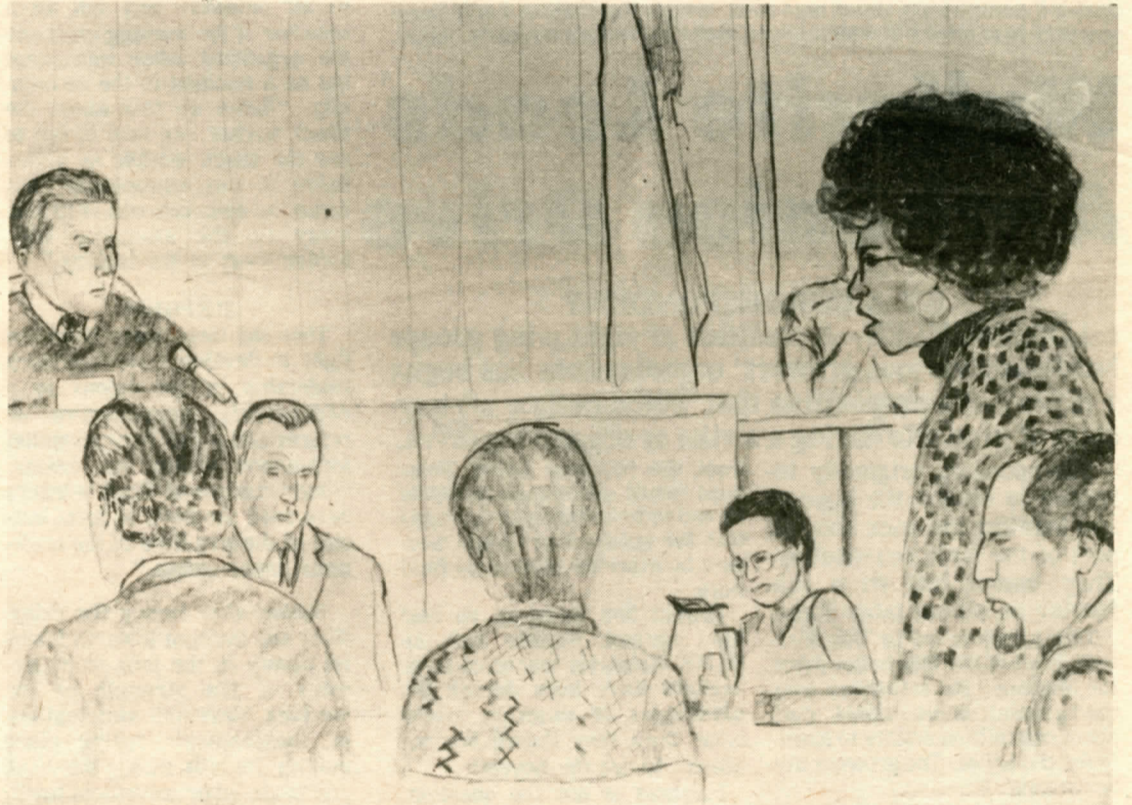
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