

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY SIX 245

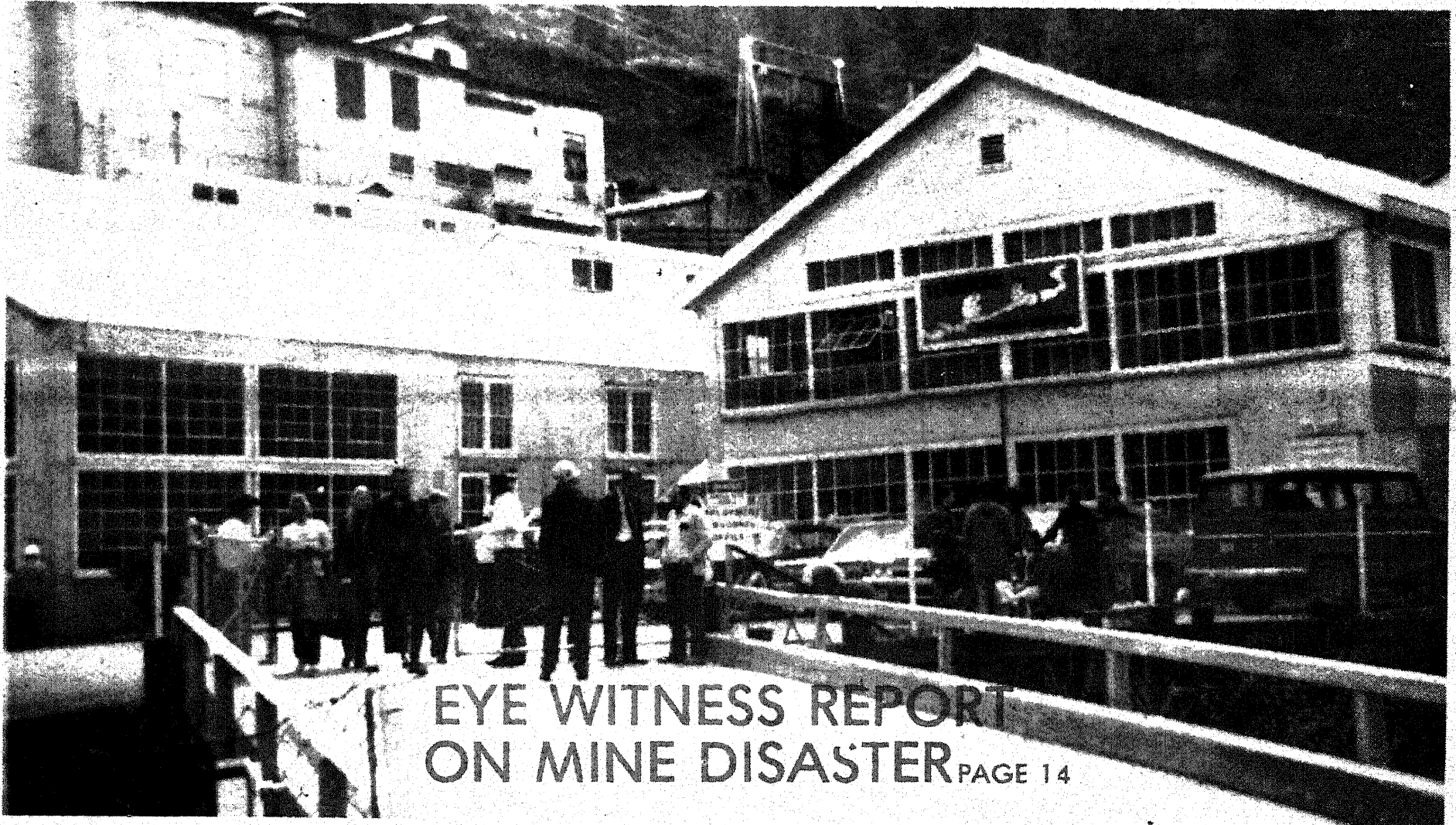
MAY 15, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

# NIXON THREATENS ALL OUT WAR

SEE PAGE 2



EYE WITNESS REPORT ON MINE DISASTER PAGE 14

## Dockers Must Shut Both Coasts!

BY THE EDITORS

The decision by Nixon and the Pay Board to trim the East Coast longshoremen's wage base from 70 to 55 cents (a 22 percent cut) once again brings the struggle of the nation's dockworkers to the forefront of the labor movement. The cut is the first of the entire labor movement. The cut is the first of the entire labor movement. The cut is the first of the entire labor movement.

That amounts to a return to both the unions and the organized labor movement, Pay Board man George Boldt that he now ex-dockworkers "to our decision, appointed and then

go along with the law of the land."

But the patience of the dockworkers is at an end. All the nation's dockworkers, on all three coasts, are now in the same boat and cannot tolerate any more delay in the nationwide strike that both Mr. Bridges of the ILWU and Mr. Gleason of the ILA have

pledged as far back as September. Gleason and Bridges have run out of excuses.

In the Port of New York, the dockworkers are up in arms over this cut which not only takes 15¢ an hour out of their pockets, but puts it into the coffers of the millionaire shippers under condi-

tions of growing unemployment and a GAI agreement hemmed in with new rules and restrictions.

BRIDGES

Following Harry Bridges' call for "general strikes" and for a nationwide dock strike against the Pay Board last week, the ILWU still has not acted. Yet, the

San Francisco dockers' mood the morning after the decision against the ILA was announced was summed up in the response of one man who said, "I think this is the time for labor to go out. This is the time to declare war."

Another ILWU member commented, "We have to save this union. The economy can't afford a strike. If we hit them now they can't hold out. They can't use troops on us in this situation."

Both the regular longshoremen and the "B" men are eager now for a strike. One "B" man angrily told the Bulletin that in his three years in the docks he worked so little that he would have made more money if he had been paid \$1.50 an hour for a 40 hour week.

The reaction of the dock

(Continued On Page 18)

INSIDE  
May Day, 1972  
Trade Unionists Speak  
At Historic Meeting

Page 15

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
TAMM HALL LIBRARY  
7 E. 15TH ST.  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

## Fascists Gain Votes In Italian Elections

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Early returns from the Italian general elections indicate that the Stalinist Communist Party has suffered a sharp setback while the neo-fascist movement increased its vote total.

For the first time since the war, the Communist Party vote actually declined. Only two weeks ago, the Stalinists called off all strikes in order to avoid "antagonizing" the public. This action, along with its campaign as a "responsible" party, more likely contributed to the Party's setback.

The gain made by the neo-fascists poses great dangers to the Italian working class. Running a campaign that adulated the memory of Mussolini, their vote rose to nearly 10 percent.

### CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

Although the Christian Democrats once again received the majority vote, the election has done nothing to resolve the parliamentary crisis. The Christian Democrats will need to form another coalition, and the break down of all combinations several months ago was what had forced the elections.

However, the elections prove that the Italian Communist Party is disarming the working class before the fascist danger with its policy of collaboration with bourgeois reformists.

# Desperate Nixon Threatens World War

BY DAVID NORTH

President Nixon's decision to mine the harbors of North Vietnam is an act of desperation. Faced with the most devastating defeat in the history of American imperialism, Nixon is driven to the point of threatening all-out war against the workers' states of China and the Soviet Union.

The mining of Haiphong harbor is an act directed primarily against the Soviet Union. Military authorities concede that the mining will not prevent the NLF offensive from continuing. This provocative act—the result of a lengthy meeting of the government's high com-

mand—showed the real thrust of imperialism in crisis: to destroy the Soviet Union.

Similarly, the character of the war now planned by Nixon against the North is one of annihilation. The intensified bombing of the population centers, as well as the irrigation system, will yield little military profit. However, it is clearly the inten-

tion of Nixon to intimidate the workers and peasants of Vietnam with the threat of mass murder.

The depth of the capitalist crisis can be gauged by the recklessness of Nixon's actions. Not even the spokesmen of his Administration are quite sure what will happen now. All of them have been saying that they are not able to predict what Nixon would do if the Soviet Union attempted to defy the blockade.

### FRENZY

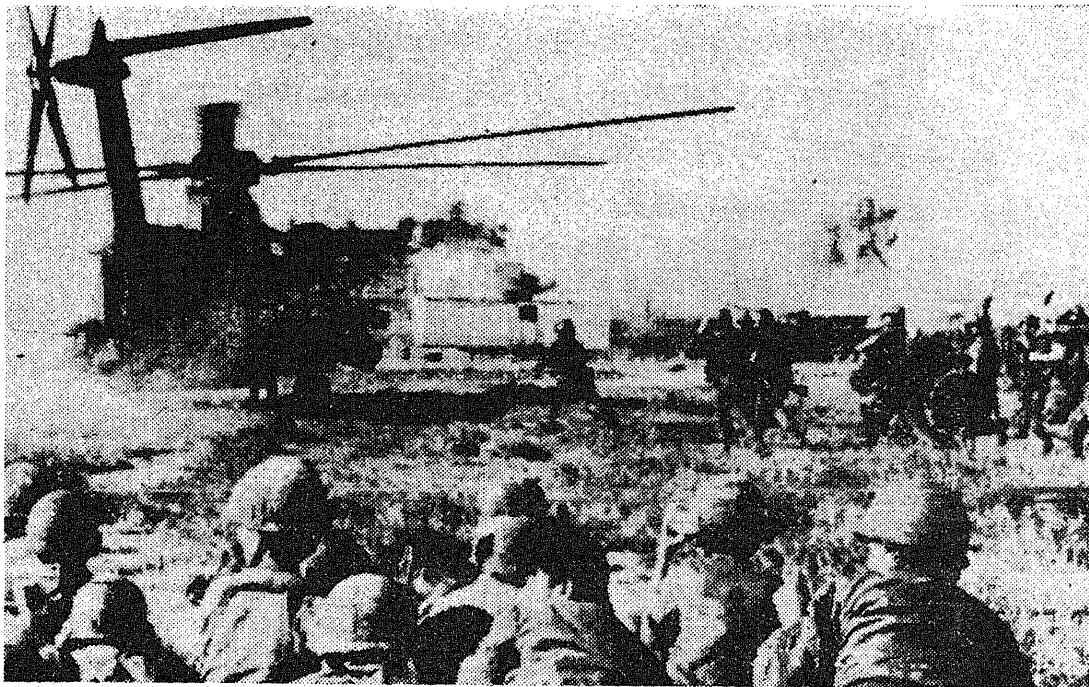
It is conditions of overwhelming defeat that have driven Nixon into a frenzy. As the eighteenth anniversary of the French collapse at Dien Bien Phu

was celebrated last week, the liberation forces were clearly the masters of the military situation in all of Indochina. The Saigon regime is politically exhausted and its armies are in flight. There is practically nothing in the way of an NLF advance through the crucial city of Hue all the way south to Saigon.

While American military spokesmen have sought to keep the full significance of the NLF advance from the public, it is clear that the fall of Hue would mean the decisive defeat of the puppet government in the South.

The Saigon regime has begun to act like a doomed go-

(Continued On Page 18)



U.S. advisors flee from Quangtri on helicopters as NLF forces liberate the city during their offensive.

## Turkey Executes Leftists

BY ED SMITH

In the early morning hours of May 6th, as hundreds of army troops spread out through the streets of the Turkish capital of Ankara to enforce an 11 PM-5 AM curfew, three young Turkish revolutionaries were hung in the city's central prison.

Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Aslan, and Husyin Inan, all in their twenties, were alleged to have been members of the Turkish People's Liberation Army. The TPLA is an urban guerrillaist group which last year carried out the kidnapping of an Israeli diplomat and three NATO technicians. The hostages were killed when the Turkish government refused to meet the guerrillaists' demands.

Instead, the government has declared martial law and a crackdown on oppositionists. Thousands of "anarchists" and "communists" have been thrown into jail. Gezmis, Aslan, and Inan were executed for attempting to "overthrow the government by force."

### FEAR

It is the fear of the working class that lies behind the brutal execution of the three young revolutionaries, the crowning point of the government's year long reign of terror.

Before his hanging, Gezmis shouted out: "Long live the great Marxist-Leninist ideology! Long live the struggle for independence!" Aslan told his executioners: "I'm dying with honor for the independence and happiness for my people. We are in the service of the Turkish people. You are serving the U.S."

While we sharply oppose the perspective of guerrillaism and terrorism, the execution of these youth is a vicious act aimed at stopping all those who fight against capitalism. Their struggle is a reflection of the movement of the working class, both of Europe and the colonial countries, coming into struggle against capitalism which is attempting to put the burden of its crisis on the shoulders of the working class.

The international labor movement must protest these barbaric executions.

## Price Of Gold Skyrockets To \$50

BY FRED MUELLER

Last month wholesale prices rose 3 percent bringing the annual increase over 6 percent. At the same time, unemployment remained at almost 6 percent with over five million workers out of work.

As prices continue to soar, unemployment has hovered at 6 percent for eighteen months. This is an unprecedented length of time in any of the postwar recessions.

The recent report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics follows the announcement by major corporations that profits have swelled. American corporations earned more money in the first quarter of 1972 than in any previous three month period in history.

In other words profits are soaring while American workers have their wages slashed by the Pay Board and inflation and are thrown onto the unemployment lines. The employers and their government are making the working class pay for the deepening crisis in their system.

Washington last week reported a trade deficit of \$584 million for March, the third highest ever. The December 18 trade agreement between the U.S., Europe and Japan has solved absolutely nothing. This is being underscored with each passing day. This crisis is neither technical nor temporary. It represents the

working out of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism and it will not be resolved short of depression, war and revolution.

The monetary crisis continues unabated. The gold price is skyrocketing on all the major exchanges.

The price of gold hit a new high of \$50.55 an ounce in London on May 2. This rose to \$51.05 on May 5. At the same time, the price reached \$51.12 in Paris, \$50.40 in Frankfurt, and \$50.55 in Zurich.

### CRISIS

The difference of over 30 percent between the free market price and the official devalued price of \$38 is a small sign of the enormous crisis facing world capitalism, with four times as many dollars circulating as the amount of gold to back them up, and with the U.S. continuing to incur more and more massive payments deficits.

The December 18 agreement was another blow following the August 15 measures, in the developing international trade war. There must and will be new pressures for a new and far larger devaluation of the dollar.

There can be no talk of recovery in this situation. The trade war has been declared and recession and monetary chaos are deepening. In every country the capitalists seek to deal with the crisis by the sharpest attacks on wages, working conditions and the fundamental rights of the trade unions.

In the U.S., this means a huge productivity drive combined with the attacks of the Pay Board at a

time of steadily rising prices and unemployment.

This is the situation which underlies the tremendous movement of the working class in Vietnam, Europe and the U.S. As the European capitalists receive hard blows from the Americans and turn around to make their working class pay for the crisis, the fight for power is on the agenda.

## Spanish Workers March On May Day

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The underground workers' movement in Spain led a whole struggle against the fascist Franco regime in the weeks leading up to May Day, the day of international solidarity of the working class. Whole sections of industry went out on strike in defense of living standards, particularly in shipbuilding and construction.

Despite police patrolling building sites with carbines and sub-machine guns, the men stayed out solid for a 400 pesetas minimum wage (at present 165 pesetas), a 40 hour week, and recognition of the workers' commissions instead of the stooge "sindicatos."

These events led to an open march on May Day itself down Atoche St., a main avenue in the southern workers' district of Madrid. The hundreds of

marchers waved red flags and shouted anti-fascist slogans. Riot police which had been patrolling the city in jeeps all day charged into the demonstration. Some marchers fought back against the police with chains. Scores were arrested and taken to prison.

But these repressive acts of the Franco regime represent its desperate fear of an aroused Spanish working class joining the international struggle against a capitalist system in crisis.



# Miners Opposition Meets To Dump Boyle

BY DAN FRIED

CHARLESTON, WEST VA., May 7—More than 100 dissident coal miners met here today under the auspices of the Miners For Democracy (MFD), the major opposition group in the United Mine Workers, to plan strategy to defeat UMW President Boyle in a new election to be scheduled by a Federal court before the end of the year.

Most of those who attended were working miners from the most important coal states: Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois.

Many of the delegates had a long history in the union and were rank and file leaders of the black lung movement and later in the campaign of Joseph Yablonski.

Yablonski was allegedly murdered in a conspiracy involving at least two top officials of the UMW, Albert Pass, known as Boyle's "enforcer," and William J. Prater. There is no doubt in the minds of rank and file miners that Tony Boyle himself ordered the bloody murder.

The conference was called following the decision by a Federal court to invalidate the election of Boyle over Yablonski in the December, 1969 election. The court charged that there was fraud in the conduct of the election.

The delegates agreed to seek a trusteeship over the union's financial affairs, which, if granted by the Federal court, would consist of three trustees: one from Miners for Democracy, one representing Boyle, and a third "neutral" party appointed by the court.

Much of the time of the conference, which was closed to reporters, was spent on working out the technical arrangements for committees and for delegate status for a rank and file nominating convention to be held in Wheeling, West Virginia, in the

heart of the coal fields on May 27-29.

## OPPOSITION

This convention will be the most important event to date in the development of the anti-Boyle opposition. Spokesmen for the MFD said that a platform would be discussed and hammered out at the conference, as well as a slate of candidates for international and district offices.

Presently, most of the district officers are appointed by the International, in violation of the UMW constitution, rather than elected by the membership.

Following the conclusion of the 5 hour meeting, the *Bulletin* asked one of the delegates from District 5 in the Pittsburgh area if he thought the conference was a big step forward in the campaign against Boyle. "I believe it's something we've been waiting for since 'Jock' (Yablonski) lost the election," he said. "We thought all the time that the election was stolen from him—there's no question about that."

When asked about the question of autonomy, he said: "The court is going to make a decision on this question. The constitution of the union guarantees autonomy but in practice it doesn't exist. We've been demanding autonomy for the past 10 or 11 years."

In discussing the need for a program, he said that they stood on the platform of the late Jock Yablonski, and his "miners bill of rights." In addition, when asked about the last UMW contract (last September), he said: "It hasn't been accepted too well in our district. We sent letters to President Boyle protesting it. You've got your wages and classifications that are really outmoded."

Another District 5 miner said: "That contract was Governor Moore's contract." Moore is the Republican Governor of West Virginia.

The *Bulletin* asked another miner from District 29, near Beckley, West Virginia, what he thought about the conference. He said: "Well that's what we were down here for. There are too many things that we're not satisfied with in our present set-up. We'd like to have a change. One of the things is the pensioner-miner. We don't like being counted as a second class citizen in our own organization."

"The day we quit work, we lost \$3000 worth of death benefits. Boyle tells the pensioners that they're giving us \$150 and we ought to be grateful."

"Just like what the coal com-  
(Continued On Page 18)

# ATU Retreat Opens Way For Massive Job Cuts

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, May 9—Bus drivers and mechanics of the Amalgamated Transit Union walked off the job after Transport of New Jersey (TNJ) laid off 800 workers on Monday, the first day after the union ratified the new contract.

The action was taken by Local 819 of Essex County, after TNJ announced it would shut down 14 bus lines in the Newark area, as well as many more throughout the state.

But the union leaders sent the men back to work again today after the Public Utilities Commission stated that TNJ could not cut any services unless they agree. Nothing is changed and TNJ has been given the green light to terminate bus routes if the amount of customers is lower than before the strike.

This vicious attack by the bus company was encouraged by the ATU leadership's role during the 10 week old strike. These leaders caved in on every major demand the union had originally made.

The workers won only 40 cents spread over a two year contract—less than 5 percent per year, and must now pay 4 percent out of their weekly salary for their pension plan.

The job security clause, which was very important, will not prevent layoffs when TNJ takes over competing bus lines, but will only establish a "formula" to distribute the job cuts between workers of both lines.

One striker told the *Bulletin* that during Sunday's ratification meeting: "The leadership held back from us. I'm not saying they knew everything TNJ had planned, but they knew something. They knew there would be cutbacks. But they just wanted the contract ratified. That was wrong."

## INFORMATION

Another picket said: "A fellow told me to bring a pencil and paper to the meeting to write down questions about the contract. He said that getting information from the leaders would be quite a job and he was right."

TNJ is determined to consolidate its lines and make them more profitable at the expense of the drivers and mechanics. New Jersey Governor Cahill intervened into the negotiations last Friday and gave political weight to TNJ's positions.

## ALTERNATIVE

The alternative to this is to extend the strike to include all drivers, including the independent lines, and the N.J. AFL-CIO in a strike to defend their jobs and union. One picket stated the problem very clearly:

"Cahill tried to change the Taft-Hartley Act to use it against us and George Wallace supports the right-to-work laws in Alabama. They are anti-union. All the politicians are. I like the idea of a labor party."

## Rich Fund McGovern

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

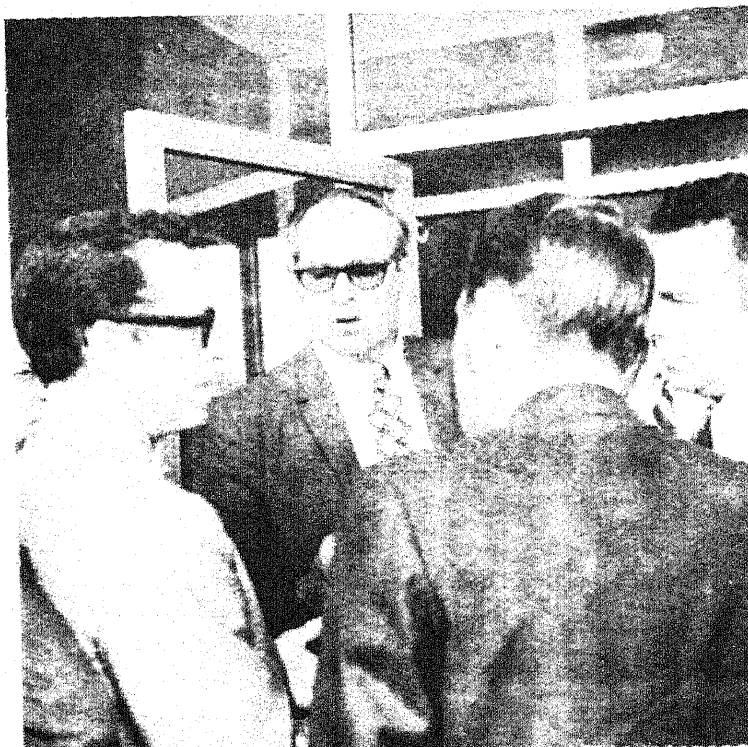
One has only to look at who is providing the rich finances for George McGovern's campaign to see where he stands. McGovern's "liberal" campaign, spiced with talk about unemployment and high taxes with which he hopes to win votes from workers and trade unionists, is a campaign for big business which both the Democratic and Republican parties represent.

Last week at a cocktail party on Park Avenue in New York, McGovern pulled in contributions from a number of those who have built their enormous fortunes off of the backs of the American working class.

Stewart Mott, the General Motors heir, gave \$300,000. Others at the party were Carl Rosen, head of a large textile and clothing business; Mrs. Charles Benton, wife of the heir to the Encyclopedia Britannica fortune; the vice president of Paramount Pictures; Alfred P. Slaner, president of Kayser-Roth Corporation, and Donald Petrie, an investment broker.

McGovern has also gotten \$72,000 from Martin Fife, a chemical executive, and \$30,000 from George Gund, whose father was one of the richest bankers in Cleveland, Ohio.

No wonder it was McGovern who was one of the first to cheer when Nixon announced the wage freeze.



Rank and file miners caucus with Miners for Democracy leader Carl Cafton outside MFD conference last week.

# Silver Miners Murdered By Bosses' Greed

BY DENNIS FULTON

KELLOGG, Idaho, May 7—"Few workers, if any, would have been killed in this fire if the company had the safety program it should have," Del Kitchen, a miner for the Sunshine Mining Company told the Bulletin. His father and brother were killed in the fire from which he had just escaped.

Almost 100 miners were trapped in the Sunshine Silver Mine a few miles outside of Kellogg, Idaho when a flash fire engulfed the mine on May 2. The official count is 35 men confirmed dead and 58 men unaccounted for with little hope that these men will be found alive.

The fire was apparently caused by the spontaneous combustion of old dry timbers in an unused corner of the mine. Company officials said it was quite possible that the fire had been burning undetected for several days before the pressure was built up and forced the collapse of a bulkhead.

When this bulkhead broke

down, deadly smoke and carbon monoxide were sent into the crucial shaft and escape route. There is widespread discontent among the surviving miners and the families of those who were killed in the fire about the unsafe conditions in the mine.

"When the fire occurred the men were not prepared to save themselves," said Kitchen. "Many didn't even know where the evacuation routes were. The mine never conducted fire drills to prepare men for a fire. There were some resuscitators located in the mine to help persons breathe if a fire broke out.

"Most of the men were never shown how to operate them. There weren't enough of them to

(Continued On Page 18)

# Machinists Conference Condemns Wage Freeze

BY AN IAM MEMBER

CHICAGO—The national tool and die conference of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) this weekend attended by some 30 delegates expressed the sharp situation now facing the union. The tool and die ranks have been hit with the wage freeze, and with plant closures and layoffs.

George Watson, General Vice President of the IAM, in his keynote speech to the conference spoke about Nixon's attacks on the unions and the plans being laid to force the unions into compulsory arbitration.

"The germ of our total destruction is contained in compulsory bargaining. There is nothing, absolutely nothing that you can do in the next four years more important than a defeat of Nixon this fall."

Watson compared Nixon to Adolf Hitler and said the country was in danger of "the same thing that happened in Germany."

While Watson condemned the wage freeze as a step towards fascism, he warned the delegates, mostly local presidents, about the ranks' resistance to the wage freeze. As he pointed out: "One of our most important tasks is to put out brush fires... This wage freeze system is pure insanity. We can't go on this way. Your members will rebel."

One of the big issues in the craft division of the IAM is that while the Pay Board has granted a seven percent increase, companies across the country are only paying five and a half percent, which has forced the unions into court and delayed the one and a half percent increase.

Watson raised the following example, "In one of our largest industries in the South we thought we had a contract in January with at least a seven percent increase. In the past four months we have been to the company, the local IRS, national IRS,

and now we're back to the local IRS.

"We have nothing to show for our efforts and moreover we are now in trouble with the members because they do not understand why we are not getting the increase that the government is supposed to have granted us."

A delegate from Lodge 688 in St. Louis said: "A few shops in our lodge got up enough courage to fight for the seven percent and they all won it. I think we should strike for the seven percent whenever we can."

A delegate from Lodge 751, Seattle, Washington, Boeing Aircraft said: "We struck a lot of plants during World War II, and I'm sure we can strike against this wage freeze."

The impact of plant closures on the tool and die members of the IAM was also brought out by some of the delegates.

A delegate from Lodge 1000, Bloomington, Illinois, General Electric said: "We are facing total liquidation of our tool shop. GE has established satellites in Texas, Florida and Arizona. We now have a wildcat strike over this issue."

A delegate from Muskegon, Michigan said that the two big plants in the city have gone into closure and that the companies were operating to keep new plants from coming in to take advantage of unemployment which is 13 percent.

The statements by Watson and the other delegates revealed the pressure of the ranks in the locals who face the vicious attacks by the government and the employers now coming down on the wages and jobs.



Baltimore Young Socialists held a May Day cake and literature sale to build for Bulletin Fund Drive.

# Miami Arms To The Teeth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MIAMI BEACH, May 4—As the Republicans prepare to bring their August convention to this ruling class playground, right-wing forces are whipping up an hysteria of fear to justify the police state measures being readied to crush the thousands of youth who plan to come here to protest Nixon and the Democrats.

The close 4-3 vote of the Miami Beach City Council to invite the Republican Convention reflected the fear of local businessmen that there will not be enough cops and troops lining the streets to maintain law and order.

With a month between the two capitalist political conventions, up to 250,000 persons are expected to converge on the area to demonstrate against Nixon's war and economic policies and the bankruptcy of the Democrats.

Miami Beach Police Chief Rocky Pomerance told the city council he wants 5,000 police on duty during the two conventions and during the intervening month.

So far, he has been able to muster about 1150, but Nixon has promised federal marshals and the Army.

The resolution to invite the Republicans passed only after the inclusion of a proposal that Nixon create an elite 1,000 member riot squad, which the resolution cynically called a "Convention

Peace Corps."

Members of this government goon squad would be carefully chosen by a computer and "rigidly selected from suitable and appropriate branches of the Armed Forces." This proposal has already received the enthusiastic blessing of the Nixon Administration, with Jerris Leonard, head of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) calling it "an exciting proposal."

The LEAA has already promised the city \$550,000 to pay for additional security forces during the Republican Convention, in addition to \$520,000 pledged for the Democratic Convention in July.

These preparations only reveal the fear not just of the protestors but of the working class which has grown increasingly hostile to these two parties of big business. To hold their conventions these parties, who represent a small minority of the population, those who own the industries and exploit labor for their profit; must use a body of armed men to

protect themselves against the masses of the people.

Thirty-two protest groups and civic organizations had formed a coalition called "Operation Snowplow" to prepare shelter, food and sanitary and medical facilities for thousands of protestors expected for the Democratic Convention.

"That's down the drain and the key problem now is we don't have enough time," said Lynn Slavitt, leader of Operation Snowplow.

"I don't care if the police were a company of angels. They couldn't handle it," she said. "If the GOP comes here it will be a paramilitary situation—a city that's a military base for six weeks."

Meanwhile, the right-wing is continuing its hate campaign, preparing the way for mass repression.

Oliver Bright, president of the 600 member Greater Miami Crime Council, said his group is worried about the "militants, demonstrators, hippies and Communists" who will come here to protest the two conventions.

# Nixon Dumps NCR Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON—National Cash Register workers of United Auto Workers Local 1616, who struck for 16 weeks last fall and winter, were told this week that the Federal Pay Board has not approved their contract.

The Pay Board approved the paltry 5.5 percent wage increase but refused to accept the equally paltry pension and insurance benefits. This means the entire contract ratified January 31st is invalid.

Since the workers returned to work, they have been subjected to unbearable speed-up, harassment, and dehumanized working conditions. Now to rub salt into an open wound their measly increases and their minimum contract are ruled invalid and too high.

The pension formula, which the Pay Board ruled too high, is less than 50 percent of the auto workers pension. This "tremendous pension" was raised to \$210 (it was \$172.50) as compared with the \$500 the auto workers receive after 30 years of wage slavery. The President of NCR's UAW Local 1616, Cecil Hampton

meekly wondered: "I'm not sure yet what the total impact (of the Pay Board veto) will be on the workers."

This government attack has been accompanied by City government attacks on garbage workers in Norwood and Middletown. In Middletown, 66 workers were fired under the Ferguson Act for striking. After refusing to sign a waiver that would have surrendered their seniority and classified them as new workers, they have been "allowed" to return to work temporarily, pending a court ruling.

Meanwhile in Dayton, the Democratic Party dominated City Commission has been slashing social services and is closing nearly a dozen parks this coming summer. There are now 500 fewer workers in the city and the City Commission is forcing welfare clients to work 60 hours every two weeks for \$30.00.

Local 1385 of the Amal-

gamated Transit workers just took a vote today to go out on strike. They voted 149 to 9 to authorize a strike.

Clearly the intervention of the Pay Board to smash NCR's contract and the City government's union-busting means all-out war by both parties against the trade unions. The only answer to this attack must be the formation of a labor party now.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried  
Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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.

# Coal Miners Vote Down Wallace In West Virginia

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

The victory of Senator Hubert Humphrey over George Wallace in the West Virginia primary by a more than 2-1 margin represents, not a victory for Humphrey, but a repudiation of Wallace by the West Virginia working class. At the heart of this were the union conscious coal miners who voted overwhelmingly against Wallace, although Wallace was still able to gain some strength from sections of the working class who are "fed up" with both parties.

Underneath the Humphrey vote (McGovern wasn't on the ballot) there is a newly found support for McGovern among the miners, reflected in the overwhelming defeat of Congressional incumbent James Kee, long identified with both the coal industry and the United Mine Workers bureaucracy, by Ken Hechler.

Hechler was associated with the mine safety law and black lung movements, and supported by the anti-Boyle forces in the UMW who also oppose Humphrey.

The disgust with both parties was reflected in the fact that less than half of West Virginia's registered voters even bothered to vote.

The results in Nebraska, where at latest report, McGovern got 41 percent to 35 percent for Humphrey and 13 percent for Wallace also show a turning away from the traditional Democratic candidacy of Humphrey by a growing section of the working class who are searching for a real alternative against Wallace and Nixon.

This alternative can only come through the formation of an independent labor party.

Following his strong showing in the Indiana primary, where he got 42 percent of the vote against 47 percent for Humphrey, Alabama Governor George Wallace overcame a revolt in his own state, winning 37 out of the

state's 45 delegates. He swept Tennessee along with an anti-busing referendum and defeated "moderate" Terry Sanford with more than 50 percent of the vote, to Sanford's 37 percent in North Carolina.

It must be remembered that although West Virginia is a "border" state, the deep traditions of trade unionism in this state where coal mining is everything, worked against Wallace in the 1968 election when he got only 10 percent of the vote in the Presidential election.

At the same time, many dissident miners are disgusted with Humphrey who has collaborated with UMW President Tony Boyle, and who was the recipient of a \$36,000 campaign contribution by the UMW, for which Boyle is being prosecuted under the union-busting Landrum-Griffin Act.

A disabled coal miner from Mingo County, West Virginia, who attended the Miners For Democracy conference in Charleston, when asked about Wallace said, "I've never thought nothin' of Wallace—but sometimes I wonder...I'd say that he'd be dangerous for the United States...but we do need a change. For myself, I support McGovern over Humphrey. They get up and they promise things that they want to do and say things that they're going to do—but actually, they've been in Congress—why haven't they done them? They had the power."

A woman newspaper striker on

the picket line against the publishers of the Charleston Gazette and Daily Mail which has been struck since November 19, 1971, when asked if she thought her experience in the strike had changed her political thinking said: "I think so. Really. I've thought that J. Rockefeller (liberal Democratic candidate for governor of West Virginia) was a pretty good guy, but then he comes up here and goes out here with Ned Chilton—our publisher—and campaigns. I feel that he is for them, and why should you put J. Rockefeller in when he is evidently against labor...As far as Wallace goes, maybe he might do a good job." When it was pointed out that Wallace was for anti-union right to work laws and

(Continued On Page 18)



Bulletin reporter discussed primary election with pickets who are in 6th month of strike against Charleston newspapers (top). Papers are using scabs to publish and support liberal McGovern. Above, George Wallace (left) and Hubert Humphrey are main Democratic contenders in West Virginia.

## DODGE WORKER DISCUSSES LABOR PARTY

The following is a discussion of the Bulletin's Open Letter to the UAW between a Bulletin reporter and Black workers at Chrysler's Dodge Main plant in Detroit.

Bulletin: You read the Bulletin's open letter to the UAW?

UAW Member: Yes. I'll just start off by saying that I can't understand why the labor movement did not organize themselves into another political party a long time ago, since Kennedy anyway. Even Kennedy himself used to say "We're losing men's minds." I interpreted that to mean that too many people are beginning to think independently and it's getting dangerous.

Bulletin: What actions should the UAW take to begin to organize the labor party?

UAW Member: Well, in the first place I think that the UAW should do something like DRUM was trying to do. DRUM was trying to get the leadership of the UAW to be more representative of the rank and file. After they get this new leadership then they ought to organize a political party to put candidates up for national and state offices.

But if they start to organize a labor party now with the leaders they have now you'll probably end up with the same kind of people

you've got in public office now. I think the UAW did a great thing in organizing itself and serving the interests of the workers, but they got too fat and they became big business themselves.

Bulletin: It's a question of the union leadership though. How should that new leadership be constructed?

UAW Member: I'll be honest with you. I lost interest in the functioning of the union a long time ago. I just found it useless to go to meetings because your presence there didn't mean anything. They would even have people spotted back throughout the audience during meetings.

Somebody would get up and ask a really important question that had to do with the average worker, and somebody else who was in with the guy on the rostrum would get up in the back and just knock the question down.

You can't even write a grievance today in any of the Big Three plants. If it costs the company money, the steward doesn't want to write the grievance. If you win, they are going to harass

you to death. You're going to have to leave that plant. The stewards can't do anything about it because they've got to do what the foreman tells them to. If they don't their heads are going to roll.

There's another thing I've noticed—racism. There isn't supposed to be any bumping in the plant, but it's like the job I have now. There's another guy that wants my job. The company wants all white back there, but they can't get me off unless I want to move. So they watch every job I do and every time they find some little thing that's done wrong they call me into the office, give me a day off and put it on the record.

I'm supposed to get the idea that unless I give the job up, I'll end up with such a bad record that they'll fire me. So I've got to give the job up. The steward might have sympathy with me.

Bulletin: Why does the company use this kind of racism?

UAW Member: It's divide and conquer. They want to get whites fighting Blacks again. A long time ago they had whites refusing to work with Blacks.

They paid the Blacks less and the whites more. Then when the employer got to a point where he wanted to reduce wages, he'd fire all the whites and hire all the Blacks at lower wages. Then the whites would have to come back at lower wages. Now the company's trying to get back to that.

Bulletin: How has this situation developed?

UAW Member: Around 1960 I noticed that people who worked in the plants were becoming less and less interested in the union activities, weren't going to meetings, and were leaving the union to just a few people. All the people who kept going became the officers and the rank and file just got into the habit of letting these people run the locals.

Now every local is run by just a few people and the conditions in the locals are pretty much decided by what the company wants. The locals just listen to what the company says and then repeat it. I've got a sneaking suspicion that even the national policy isn't really a bargaining session between the company and the union. I think the decisions are made in the White House.

Bulletin: These decisions are now being made by the Pay Board with Woodcock's cooperation.

UAW Member: Right. I think the union should come out against the Pay Board or any Pay Board that Nixon might set up, because he is not going to organize any Pay Board that he can't control. It can only be directed at taking away things from the union that it has gained in the past 40 years.

Bulletin: What is needed now is a leadership which will fight for a program which can unite Black and white workers in a struggle against capitalism and the attacks on labor which the economic crisis is causing. This means the labor party, 30 for 40, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

UAW Member: I'm for the labor party and for getting out of Vietnam. I like the idea of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay—a six hour shift for eight hours pay—plus earlier retirement to make room for the younger workers coming in every day. Chrysler had a thing going here where they wanted a four day week. But that wouldn't have been any advantage because that was for ten hours a day.

# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## Once Again- Lessons Of Kent State

Both the anger of students over Nixon's policies in Vietnam and the futility of student protest once again have found their sharpest reflection at Columbia University. Six hundred students marched down Broadway Monday night in response to the government's renewed escalation of the Vietnam War through the imposition of a blockade of North Vietnam.

The hostility of the students towards the policies of the government was expressed in their actions throughout the demonstration. At the same time, they were met with the brute force of the state, whose armed body of men carried out vicious beatings which resulted in the hospitalization of several students. The police also arrested scores of demonstrators.

At the same time two students were seriously wounded by buckshot from the guns of state troopers at the University of Mexico. How many times do we have to learn the lessons of Kent State?

While the actions of the students reveal a real hatred towards the policies of the ruling class, it is clear that the perspective of student powerism and rock throwing will not stop Nixon's attacks on the Vietnamese and on the American working class and youth. The genuine desire of the students to fight back against these attacks must now be turned from impotent protest politics toward the working class.

Today, the turning of the students towards the labor movement, in a fight to break this powerful movement from the Democrats and Republicans through the construction of a labor party, is the only alternative.

# Summer Job Cuts Send Unemployment Soaring For Youth

BY ABBY RODRIGUEZ

"I've been looking for a part-time job for 3 months. The school had sent me to several places but there were no jobs. One time they sent me to this place and when I got there, there were jobs for only 50 people and there were 300 on line."

This is what one youth, Timothy, from East New York in Brooklyn, told us when asked about the employment situation. It is a typical description of what youth are encountering as they seek jobs for the summer months. It is this situation which is turning more and more youth against the government.

When asked who he thought was to blame for the unemployment, Timothy said: "I think it is Nixon's fault

and all the rest of them. They keep slashing the budgets and we need money."

### CUTBACKS

The enormous cuts, by the Democrats and Republicans, of the City budget has eliminated many programs which provided summer jobs for youth in the past. At the same time, the programs which remain have been greatly reduced so that the amount of jobs available from these existing programs will be much less than last year. Last

year in Detroit there were only 11,000 summer jobs. This year there are expected to be considerably less jobs, while at the same time the unemployment among minority youth is at an alarming 55 percent. The youth unemployment rate is also over 50 percent in Newark, District of Columbia, Los Angeles, and many other major cities in the U.S.

### APPARENT

The inability of capitalism to provide for the millions of youth is becoming more apparent. Wallace, a new member of the East New York YS, stated:

"I think that the situation is hopeless. The school sent me to a place to be a sales clerk. It was a clothing store which sold shirts and pants. They told me that they didn't need anyone because they already had too many applications."

"I don't think it's right. I think that we should do something about it."

### DEPENDENT

Most of these youth in East New York and Brownsville are depending on poverty programs to provide jobs for the summer. Last year, hundreds of youth lined up on Sutter Avenue in Brownsville in front of an office of such a program.

One youth who was there explained what happened. "I looked for a job last year and I'm looking for a summer job this year. I went to 505 (number of the office) last year and a lot of people were turned down. At 505 there were people lined up all around the block.

"When I finally got up to the door there were no jobs. You get working papers from school but there are no jobs."

### LABOR PARTY

The fight for jobs has become an every day thing in East New York and throughout the country. Youth are beginning to understand the importance of the unions to demand jobs for all and to build a labor party to fight unemployment. On the question of the labor party, a youth from Brownsville told the YS:

"I think it's a good idea because if they (the unions) can take up a fight there can be more jobs. We have to get as many youth and workers as we can to fight for a labor party, so that the labor party can fight for jobs."

## YSA AND THE BKLYN COLLEGE ELECTION

BY DAVID WEISMAN

In the April 28 issue of the *Young Socialist Organizer*, the publication of the Young Socialist Alliance, an article was printed entitled "Building a Campus Base in Brooklyn." This article completely reveals the YSA's total hostility to Marxism and the construction of a revolutionary movement.

The fundamental point to be made in the article is its total lack of a perspective. The YSA does not start with the objective tasks of the revolutionary movement, but rather with the act of building a club. "Since it is the largest and most politically significant university in Brooklyn, the YSA decided to concentrate on building a base on that campus." This clearly reveals their pragmatic approach to the work.

Flowing from this pragmatic assessment, the YSA draws two central tasks: differentiating themselves from the Workers League and Young Socialists, and replacing the Zionists as the dominant ideology on campus. The first task was particularly urgent, for as the *Organizer* observes: "The Workers League had made some headway in our absence." In addition, the Workers League and the Young Socialists had made some headway in their presence.

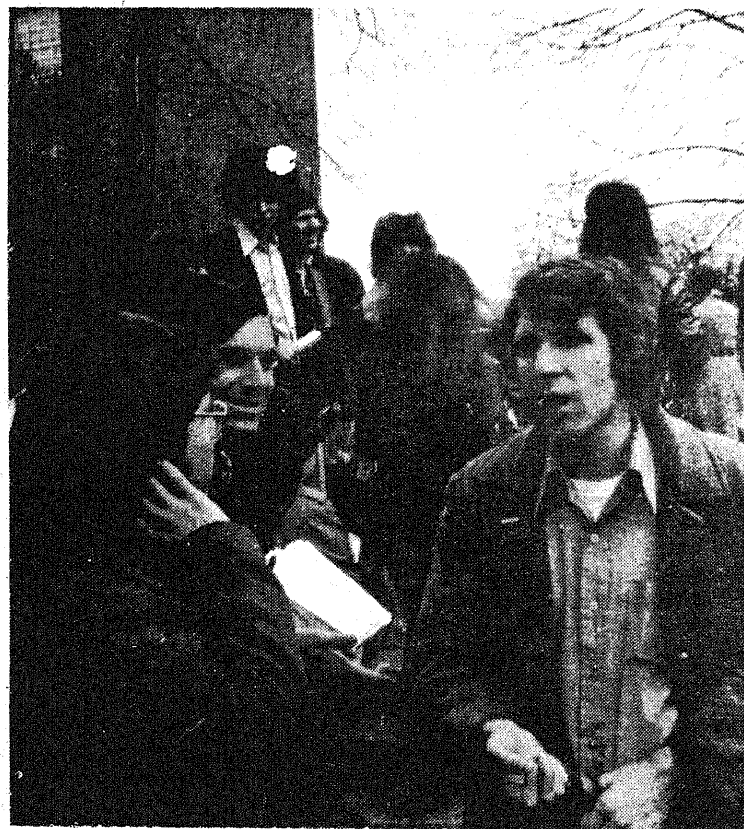
Marxists begin with an assessment of the capitalist crisis, and in particular its depth following Nixon's August 15th measures. We understand that this crisis means direct attacks on the jobs, and living standards of the working class as well as the destruction of the gains of the youth, such as free education and financial aid.

With this understanding, the YS club took up a consistent fight against the budget cuts and at the same time sought to turn the youth politically toward the working class and the construction of a labor party. At the same time, we understood that in this period, capitalism encourages reactionary forces in order to whip up a racist and right-wing hysteria to divide the working class and youth and smash their political organizations. This is the role of the Jewish Defense League, and it means a ruthless battle to smash that organization.

### REACTIONARY

We had originally assessed the JDL as fascist. It is necessary to reevaluate this. The JDL can be more accurately characterized as terrorist and reactionary. But it must be understood that these rightist forces (like Wallace) arise from the middle class and are a spearhead for fascism. YSA's position, however, flows from the revisionist conception of "neo-capitalism," in which society is seen as essentially stable and the threat of fascism is only a dream. This is used by the middle class to avoid a political struggle against such forces.

The *Organizer* states that their work "would begin to break up the stultifying political atmosphere the Zionists had cultivated." The strength of Zionism at Brooklyn College is not stultifying, but an impediment to the



YSA'ers laugh it up with Youth for McGovern during Young Socialists' rally at Brooklyn College against JDL's attempted assaults on YS'ers.

fight the youth must take up, and does not reflect that: "The vast majority of students are supporters of Israel and Zionism."

This is as ludicrous as saying that the vast majority of Blacks are nationalists, but this impressionism does serve to excuse a campaign to expose the JDL, and instead to seek only to "deepen the divisions in the Zionist camp." This is as reactionary as deepening the divisions of the capitalist camp by siding with the anti-monopolists against the monopolists.

It excludes the conscious mobilization of the youth against Zionism in a battle to expose it. It also means taking sides with Zionism against the working

class.

The lack of strategy on Brooklyn College and the retreat to pragmatic tasks meant fundamentally an abandonment of Marxism. This in turn, as will be shown, led to a bloc being formed between the YSA and the JDL against the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

In February, 1972, Student Assembly elections were being held. For a long period, the Student Government was dominated by right-wing Zionists and the JDL. The Young Socialists understood that the fight had to be taken up against the threatened budget cuts in CUNY, and in that context smashing the

(Continued On Page 18)

# Young Socialist

## Fight 'Bugging' At LA Tech

BY A YS REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Students and faculty are seeking an injunction against electronic surveillance of student group meetings here at Los Angeles Trade Tech. This move followed the discovery of microphones hidden throughout a room normally used by the Black Students Union and Mecha for their weekly meetings.

This "bugging" is only the latest attempt to harass and intimidate militants on the Trade Tech campus.

Earlier in the year, SDS was suspended from the campus and tight restrictions were placed on the activities of all student groups. As one Mecha student put it, in reference to buggings, "They are afraid of us but they won't change."

LA Trade Tech is the largest technical and trade school in Los Angeles. The students are largely minority youth trying to escape the poverty and high unemployment rates in Watts and East LA by learning skills.

During the campus rebellions of the '60s, LA Trade Tech was quiet. The past year, however, has seen the development of many campus organizations, demonstrations, and other activities expressing the students' hostility to the situation which faces them.

Unemployment is now over 50 percent in LA for minority youth.

Whole industries, such as Aerospace, are being wiped out in Southern California and there are no jobs in the skilled trades.

The eruption of political activity at Trade Tech shows that these youth will not sit idly by and be destroyed by a reactionary system. The "buggings" and other forms of harassment meted out by campus officials shows their fear and hatred of any form of rebellion or militancy.

The students at Trade Tech must join with the YS in a struggle to construct a labor party as the only way to fight for jobs and against attacks on youth.

## YWLL Leaders Attack Trotskyism At Conference

BY A YS REPORTER

CHICAGO—The Young Workers Liberation League, youth movement of the Communist Party, held its second annual convention here May 6-8.

One hundred and twenty delegates and about one hundred and fifty observers and guests attended the conference, and half of the observers left after the first half-session.

In the midst of the tremendous offensive of the NLF, including rebellions by the Vietcong in the seven POW camps, the leadership of the YWLL proposed a political sellout in Paris and an alliance with the Democratic Party in the elections here.

In the election strategy, the report on the peace movement,

the opening political report by Jarvis Tyner, and especially in the trade union report, class collaboration was the central theme. Tyner touched on the current developments in Vietnam and then told the conference that in the election "the candidates who will win are those who will fight decisively to stop the war." For the YWLL and the Communist Party this includes George McGovern.

It was the peace movement, still growing according to Tyner, which forced Nixon to withdraw the troops. This analysis was elab-

orated upon by a later speaker who told the YWLL to demonstrate militantly at the Democratic and Republican conventions to "have another Chicago '68 under Marxist-Leninist leadership."

This attempt to hold youth back into impotent protest movements is conscious on the part of the leadership who fear the sharpening of the class struggle.

Tyner then stated that sectarianism was the main problem of the YWLL and that there was an over-emphasis on the organization. "People are getting expelled right and left," said Tyner, who urged "a more useful approach, with shorter meetings and easier educational." The Stalinist leadership must openly smash attempts by the youth

to understand Marxist theory, to inquire too deeply into theory, to inquire too deeply into the history of the Communist Party, by kicking them out.

Above all, Roque Ristorucci said it was Trotskyism which was the prime obstacle. He spent

25 minutes on vicious lies and distortions of Trotskyism and referred to Ho Chi Minh's slaughter of the Trotskyist party in Vietnam as an important lesson.

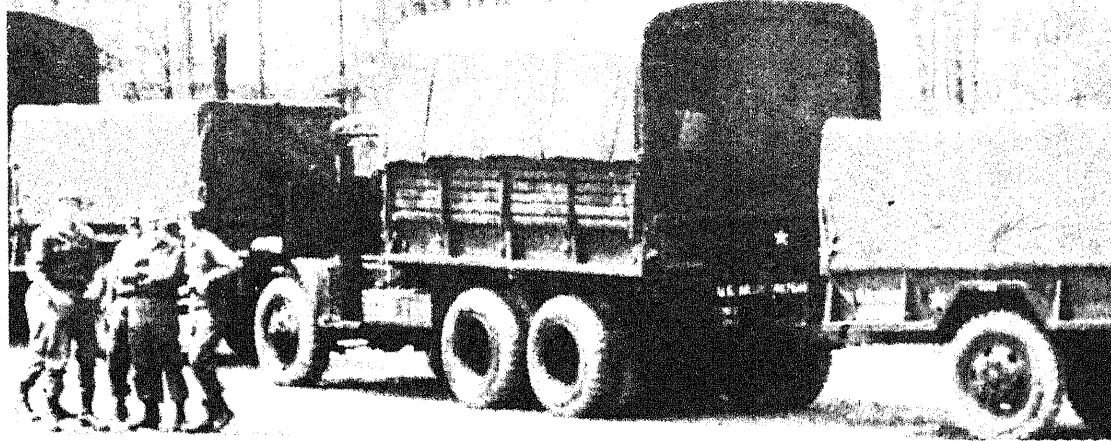
There was no floor discussion  
(Continued On Page 18)

### DETROIT CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Saturday, May 20  
10 A.M.

Hilberry Lounge  
UCB

Wayne State University Contribution: \$1.50



National Guard occupied the University of Maryland against striking anti-war students.

## New Arrests Hit Maryland U

BY G. BALDI AND T. STEVENS

COLLEGE PARK, MD., May 6—State Troopers, with the aid of members of the National Guard, swept through the University of Maryland campus at College Park this past Thursday arresting close to 40 people in the wake of continuing student protest against the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the ROTC program on campus.

This brings the number of people arrested since the protests began two weeks ago to about 200.

Acting under the authority of the state of emergency declared by Governor Mandel on April 20, Adjutant General E. T. Warfield called a curfew and ordered anyone found on campus without University of Maryland identification arrested. This was supposedly in response to "outside agitators."

The Thursday demonstration which resulted in the arrests, was called by the Strike Coalition and drew close to 1,000 people. After marching around the campus singing "give peace a chance," the crowd followed four persons chanting "Route One" onto the highway.

### PROVOCATEURS

These four persons were subsequently positively identified as police provocateurs. In the case of one of them, he had been previously identified as a cop in the now-defunct Democratic Radical Union of Maryland and is

named Hyatt or Hyde.

The blocking of Route One brought a sharp attack from the state police. Using tear gas, clubs, six-wheeled armored cars, and wire mesh enclosed jeeps, they quickly cleared the highway.

At a small 2 p.m. rally commemorating the second anniversary of the Kent State murders, Jerry Gordon, a leader of NPAC and favorite son of the SWP, spoke at the rally and called upon students to "continue the struggle."

The ranks of the Strike Coalition, whose numbers at times were quite impressive, have continued to dwindle as students become demoralized with the futility of campus protest and the inability of the Coalition to put forward any serious perspective for ending the war.

The YSA, in open collaboration with the Stalinist groups and collectives, has consistently refused to allow any political discussion at the daily meetings.

From proposing marches on the police station to begging the cops not to arrest them, to lobbying the state legislature, their distance not only from the working class but the youth has become crystal-clear.

### PERSPECTIVE

The perspective of the YSA can only lead to mass arrests and the destruction of any movement on the University of Maryland campus through the demoralization of the militant youth.

The Young Socialists have been the only tendency to fight consistently against this perspective of student power which has led the movement of the youth at Maryland into demoralization and disintegration.

The task posed today, as the Young Socialists consistently pointed out and fought for at every meeting, is to turn the students and youth towards the labor movement around the struggle to break the working class from the Republicans and Democrats and construct a labor party.

## Police Harass Youth Gangs

BY WESLEY DAVIDS

BRONX—Last Tuesday, May 2nd, there was a mass arrest of 12 youth, between the ages of 14 and 16 in the south Bronx. The 12 are suspected to be members of a street gang in the area.

They were picked up in an abandoned building at East 172 Street, and were charged with constructing incendiary bombs, molotov cocktails, and with burglary. Also, four of them were charged with possessing a rifle.

For months there has been a tremendous scare campaign whipped up by the press against the youth gangs. This has been done in an effort to give a cover for the police when they start to attack the working class youth.

Now, as the Young Socialist predicted, the ruling class has passed from words to deeds. They are now physically trying to eliminate any opposition from the youth.

Last week an 18 year old boy was shot to death in the subway by a cop, for smoking a cigarette.

### PROVOCATEURS

The same night that the 12 were arrested, members of the Young Sinners, the Royal Javelins, and the Reapers on the Dick Cavett show stated that for some time, people had been coming around offering to sell them guns and grenades.

This is not the first time that the police have used provocateurs and frame-ups against militants. The cases of Angela Davis, George Jackson, and Juan Farinas prove this point.

Another incident occurred last Thursday, May 4th, when seven members of the Young Javelins were arrested for making zip guns.

The formation of the gangs expresses the will of the youth to fight back against the wretched conditions under which they are forced to live. In the gangs are many youth who are attempting to reach a political awareness. This is what the government and the press are afraid of.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## US, Vietnam Workers Can Defeat Nixon

President Nixon, in a desperate attempt to stop the movement of the working class throughout the world, has escalated the war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and American workers at home.

In the harbors of North Vietnam, Nixon has declared that the U.S. is placing mines to blockade all supplies from reaching the Vietnamese people. While this invasion of the waters of North Vietnam will not stop the tremendous offensive of the Vietnamese people, it is an open provocation not only to North Vietnam but to the Soviet Union and China. These are preparations for a third world war.

In the harbors of the United States, Nixon's Pay Board has declared the contract won by the longshoremen after months of a strike null and void slashing their wage increase.

In his speech on Monday night, Nixon accused North Vietnam of "continued arrogance" in cynically appealing to the Soviet Union to "not slide back toward the dark shadows of a previous age." But it is Nixon arrogantly speaking for US imperialism that seeks to throw the world into the dark ages of depression, of world war, of the days when there were no unions in the US.

All of this is to defend the "right" of the profit-bloated corporations to exploit the working people in the colonial countries and in the United States.

Nixon accused the North Vietnamese of "arrogance" and appealed to the Soviet Union to peacefully accept the blockade or the destruction of their ships that supply the Vietnamese people with the food and military supplies to resist the aggression of US imperialism.

What, we ask, would Nixon do if the Soviet Union were to mine the waters of the St. Lawrence seaway?

Nixon hesitated before he announced his action in Vietnam and on the longshore settlement. This reflects the deep crisis of the capitalist class as it confronts the powerful offensive of the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the unions in the US.

US imperialism's policy is in ruins. Nixon now acts out of weakness not strength. He and his cohorts are desperate men driven by the insoluble economic crisis to desperate measures.

George Wallace who is today appealing to longshoremen and other workers demagogically talking about inflation, taxes, and unemployment is the most desperate of all. He is fully behind Nixon. In fact Wallace speaks for that section of the capitalist class that would go even further. It is Wallace who has called for a war to the victory.

Wallace completely supports the Pay Board's action. In fact he is spearheading the attack on the unions seeking to establish nation-wide the kind of right to work law and low wages that today exist in Alabama, the 48th state in per capita income.

The American working class must go on the offensive politically. The ILA and the ILWU must now take the lead and shut down both coasts to defeat the Pay Board.

In this critical election of 1972, we must smash Wallace and defeat the Democrats and Republicans who are all responsible for the Vietnam War and for the wage freeze and unemployment at home.



"...and this new uniform for the White House Guard will complete my decor..."

## What we think

### The Press And President Nixon

The statement by Nixon's White House speechwriter, Patrick J. Buchanan, last week threatening three major television networks with anti-trust action must be a sharp warning to the working class.

Buchanan, who claimed he was only speaking in a "personal" capacity, told the three major networks that if they continued to "freeze out opposing points of view and opposing information, you're going to find something done in the area of anti-trust type action."

This is the second time in three weeks that such a threat has come from the Nixon Administration. Three weeks ago the networks were threatened because the Administration claimed that they "monopolized and restrained trade in prime-time entertainment" by producing their own shows and by acquiring financial interests in programs produced by independent producers.

As all of the revelations of the ITT scandal have showed Nixon is not concerned about monopoly or corporations acquiring "financial interests." But what they are concerned about is any truth whatsoever, as much as is revealed through the capitalist media, reaching the working class.

The immediate cause of the Nixon Administration's threats as Bu-

chanan openly revealed in his statement was that film on the news broadcasts "gave the impression of a mass and uncontrolled retreat by South Vietnamese forces."

his warning of a "monopoly of ideas" he is talking about suppressing anything that does not serve the interests of the government and the employers.

Nixon's escalation of the war in Vietnam and the preparations for head on battle with the American working class mean that the facade of bourgeois democracy must be removed and all democratic rights threatened.

It is no accident that Buchanan's statements came a week after Nixon virtually accused the "American people" and sections of Congress of treason if they opposed his plans in Vietnam.

In this situation even the views of so-called "liberal" commentators become intolerable. While the immediate aim of Buchanan's remarks is to whip the networks in line, much more is involved. These are preparations for the taking away of all democratic rights the working class has won in its history.

This is not the first time in history the government has moved to attack the freedom of the press and to make it a "crime" to advocate certain views. In 1798 the Alien and Sedition Act was used to suppress support among the masses for the French Revolution. In 1917 the government used the Espionage Act and in 1940 it used the Smith Act, both in periods of upsurge of the working class internationally, to ban socialist papers from the mails and to jail trade union militants and socialists. This move against the press comes precisely at the time when the basic rights of the unions to collective bargaining and to organize in unions to defend the conditions of the workers are being attacked.

The working class can not stand back while their democratic rights are being taken away. These rights, the right to free speech, press, assembly and trade union organization, are rights gained by the working class in the long history of class struggle against the bourgeois democratic rule of the capitalist class.

These rights cannot be defended through an alliance with the liberals as the Communist Party and revisionists maintain. These liberals base themselves on the defense of this system and when push comes to shove tow the line for the interests of capitalism.

These rights can only be defended today by the independent political struggle of the working class against the government, against both its parties who rule in the interests of big business, and the formation of a labor party.



Patrick J. Buchanan

But this, of course, is exactly what is happening as U.S. imperialism faces defeat. As with his attempts through the courts to suppress the Pentagon papers, Nixon fears the exposure of the whole character of imperialism's war in Vietnam at a time when the government must confront the offensive of the American working class.

When Buchanan speaks as he did in

### Circulation Goal Won

We have successfully completed the Bulletin Spring Subscription Drive with a national total of 4,063 subs. All the New York branches fulfilled their quotas as did New Haven, Hartford, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Northfield, Bethlehem and Newark.

Special mention must be made of Hartford, which sent in 188 on a quota of 90, Brownsville with 333 on a quota of 250, Ft. Greene with 262 on a quota of 200 and New Haven with 202 on a quota of 160.

Certain branches, which did not make their quotas were able to get in a large number of subs at the end of the drive indicating what could have been achieved if they had begun their campaign the same way they ended it. This is true of Philadelphia, Detroit, and especially the Bay Area which sent in 100 subs in the last five days of the drive.

The total paid circulation of the Bulletin has now reached 15,000 and plans are being laid to bring it to 20,000 by the fall.

The next stage will be a special summer subscription drive to raise another 4,000 subs in the period of June 15th to September 15th. This drive will be geared to summer neighborhood work and to our campaign for the labor party.

All subs received from now on in will be credited to this drive giving the branches a chance to get a head start so that we will not have to extend this new drive as we did the last. This is also an excellent time to do renewal work.





# OF THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, meeting on April 10 to 15, 1972, calls upon revolutionaries in all sections of the world movement to take up with every resource they can command the great historic tasks now posed before the Fourth International.

Entirely new conditions have opened up for resolution of the crisis of revolutionary leadership which has held back the working class since the rise of Stalinism.

The struggle for working-class power, for the socialist revolution enters a new and decisive stage with the crisis of world capitalism precipitated by the August 15, 1971 measures of US President Nixon.

With the collapse of the financial agreements of Bretton Woods, the end of dollar convertibility, and the open declaration of trade war, the foundation of all economic and political relations between imperialism and the working class in the metropolitan capitalist



German workers (top) are moving onto center stage of class struggle in Europe as Bretton Woods accords (above) collapse with crisis.

countries since World War II is smashed.

In every major capitalist country, the ruling class is forced to set out to destroy all the positions won in the past by the working class, to destroy it as a class, break up its organizations, and reduce it to mass poverty. Only in this way can the capitalist class of each country hope to survive the world recession and trade war.

Above all, the conditions under which the revolutionary movement works are changed qualitatively. Trotskyism faces its greatest challenge since the formation of the Fourth International in 1938. Having successfully defended the programme of the Fourth International and the theory of Marxism against all the physical repressions and political betrayals of Stalinism and reformism and having defeated the attempts of revisionism to liquidate the Fourth International, the forces of the International Committee and its sections must now take up the challenge of fighting for leadership in the struggle for power.

Beneath the 'liquidity' and currency crises of the late 1960s

lay the ever-deepening contradiction between the productive forces—first and foremost among these the working class itself and the system of monopoly capitalism. Concentration of these historical contradictions in the crisis of the dominant world currency—the dollar—gives a universal character to the economic and political character of the effects of the crisis. Trade war is only the foretaste of international slumps, collapse of great monopolies and banks, even of national economies, revolutions and counter-revolutions, and the ever-growing threat of world war.

As Marx explained: capitalist production moves in contradictions which are constantly overcome, only to be, again, constantly re-established. Still more so. The universality towards which it is perpetually driving finds limitations in its own nature, which at a certain stage of its development will make it appear as itself the greatest barrier to this tendency, leading thus to its own self-destruction.' (Grunderisse pp. 313-314.)

Mass unemployment; attacks by the state machine and fascist

mobs on the organizations of the proletariat... colonial oppression and conquest; war with other powers; military attack on the deformed and degenerated workers' states; these are the 'solutions' to which capitalism in decay always turns in crisis.

Only the Fourth International can arm the working class against the Stalinist bureaucracy, the principal counter-revolutionary force in the world. The Stalinists work consciously to repair those defences which they built jointly with the imperialists in 1944-1945.

Nowhere will the working class be able to defend itself except by the building of revolutionary parties for the conquest of power. The final blow was struck against all reformist solutions by the August 15 measures. For the first time since the early 1920s, the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries are driven to confront the ruling class face to face, class against class, in a struggle for power. The most basic needs of the masses can be defended only by revolutionary methods.

THE CRISIS MAKES ITS IMPACT

When Nixon announced the decisions of August 15, the basic contradictions of capitalism burst asunder the compromise relations established in 1944-1945. For hundreds of millions of workers the basic conditions of life are now thrown into question, and the established relations for dealing with these problems are suddenly without foundation. Here is the basis for the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, for the development of Marxist theory.

They will aim to bloody suppress the political revolution in the USSR and the deformed workers' states, as well as the relations established in the capitalist countries. They will strive to repeat in every country the role of the Polish Stalinist strike-breakers in Spain and the Maoist bureaucracy in Bangla Desh.

As the capitalist class moves to impose new totalitarian forms of rule, it does not confront a defeated working class. On the contrary, the first outbreaks of the economic crisis—1967 devaluation of sterling and the 1968 gold crisis—were answered by the action of the French working class in May-June 1968.

Since then, the metal-workers' strikes in Germany, the general strikes and political crisis in Italy, the upsurge of the Spanish working class, and the radicalization of the working class in Britain and Ireland, have shown that the workers of the advanced capitalist countries are undergoing a fundamental development as the crisis makes its impact, and this strength reveals itself as the main source of its extension and development.

Nixon's measures of August 15 were made absolutely unavoidable by the wage settlement in the US steel strike and the other impending wage battles. It became impossible both to contain the strength of the US working class and to continue with the international role of the dollar. This is the very heart of the crisis.

Nixon's international measures were, therefore, linked with new preparations against the US working class. The institution of the Pay Board, the rejection of the longshoremen's settlement, preparations for anti-strike legislation, combined with Nixon's conscious unemployment policy have brought the trade unions into direct collision with the government.

This crisis is shaking all the old relationships of class collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy, the government and its two parties. This is what forced Meany to walk off the Pay Board.

Every struggle of the American working class... at first, in a spontaneous way, through its traditional organizations and takes the old forms. The reformist and Stalinist leaderships strive everywhere to prevent it coming forward as an independent force.

The task of the Fourth International sections is to establish leadership in the working class and to expose and drive out the treacherous bureaucracies. Only in this way can the working class take the power.

An alternative leadership must be established on the programme and with the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. There is no other way. Failure to resolve the crisis of leadership in the present period will mean defeats for the working class which will throw mankind back into a new era of barbarism.

The economic situation of European capitalism since August 15 has become truly desperate and the bourgeoisie itself has not fully grasped the depth of its crisis. But, in the political as well as in the economic sphere, it has not been slow to demonstrate its reaction. In every country it shows that it understands that it must defeat its

own working class and impose more authoritarian forms of rule. This means that all the democratic rights and conquests of the working class come under intensified attack as the bourgeoisie takes up stations for a decisive round of class battles.

It was a question of method which left the OCI unarmed and carried it through the events with a series of empirical adaptations which never, at any time, permitted it to call upon the Communist Party to take the power. This demand is the essential path to their exposure before the working class and the establishment of Trotskyist leadership.

Although the French bourgeoisie was able to retain power with the help of the Stalinists and reformists, the foundations of its rule were irrevocably shaken by the power of the working class and nothing in the relations between the classes has been the same since. The defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum in 1969 struck a further blow. The French bourgeoisie hangs on grimly behind Pompidou in an atmosphere of scandal and corruption which recalls the worst days of the Third Republic.

German capitalism was rebuilt after the war as the spearhead of imperialism against the Eastern European countries and the October Revolution. Today the role of the Social-Democratic-

working class for wage increases, against speed-up and unemployment must now be a political struggle, a struggle for power. American workers built the most powerful trade unions in the world but these unions have been tied politically to the Democratic Party through the trade union bureaucracy's collaboration with the aid of Stalinism. The only way the American working class can defeat the attacks of the employers and the government is through the break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and the formation of a labour party based on the unions and on socialist policies.

The 1972 elections now take place in an entirely new period since August 15, which places the labour party immediately on the agenda now. The emergence of Wallace raises the greatest dangers to the labour movement. Behind the racialist and populist demagoguery of his campaign is Wallace's real programme—the destruction of the unions, the destruction of every right and gain the unions have won.

Wallace is the right-wing spokesman for the capitalist class that now must above all destroy the unions if their system is to be preserved. Behind Wallace are gathering all the racialist and fascist forces.

Nixon and the Republican and Democratic Parties stand with him. Wallace is putting forward today what the capitalist class as a whole is preparing for the working class in the future. Wallace cannot be defeated today, as the trade union bureaucracy claims, by supporting politicians in the Democratic Party.

The only way that Wallace can be defeated is through the construction of this labour party, through the break with the two capitalist parties.

The fight for the labour party is the central responsibility of the Workers League. This must be fought for in the unions with the call for a congress of labour to establish this party on a socialist programme. It is to this struggle that the youth and the students must be turned in a fight against the Stalinists, who openly support capitalist parties, and revisionists who seek to sidetrack the struggle for a labour party, proposing Black and Chicano capitalist parties.

Only through the building of the labour party can the American working class be broken from the reformist illusions built up in the past and the road prepared for power.

The Nixon measures have confronted the ruling class of the European capitalist states with the inescapable necessity of going to war on their own working class. By thrusting the burden of the dollar crisis on to these countries, Nixon imposes the need for the break up of the compromise relationships and unstable equilibrium which have prevailed since 1945. This blow comes just at a time when, following the events of 1968 in France, the working class enters the scene, strong and undefeated, in a combative way with its own demand.

The new militancy of the working class party at first, in a spontaneous way, through its traditional organizations and takes the old forms. The reformist and Stalinist leaderships strive everywhere to prevent it coming forward as an independent force.

The task of the Fourth International sections is to establish leadership in the working class and to expose and drive out the treacherous bureaucracies. Only in this way can the working class take the power.

An alternative leadership must be established on the programme and with the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. There is no other way. Failure to resolve the crisis of leadership in the present period will mean defeats for the working class which will throw mankind back into a new era of barbarism.

The economic situation of European capitalism since August 15 has become truly desperate and the bourgeoisie itself has not fully grasped the depth of its crisis. But, in the political as well as in the economic sphere, it has not been slow to demonstrate its reaction. In every country it shows that it understands that it must defeat its

own working class and impose more authoritarian forms of rule. This means that all the democratic rights and conquests of the working class come under intensified attack as the bourgeoisie takes up stations for a decisive round of class battles.



Top, Czechoslovak workers and youth in August 1968 struggled against Stalinist bureaucracy. Above, Kremlin leaders Brezhnev and Kosygin.

presented themselves. The situation in May-June 1968 caught it by surprise and unprepared. This was no accident; nor was it a question merely of numerical strength—the smallness of the vanguard, as the rationalization went.

It was a question of method which left the OCI unarmed and carried it through the events with a series of empirical adaptations which never, at any time, permitted it to call upon the Communist Party to take the power. This demand is the essential path to their exposure before the working class and the establishment of Trotskyist leadership.

Although the French bourgeoisie was able to retain power with the help of the Stalinists and reformists, the foundations of its rule were irrevocably shaken by the power of the working class and nothing in the relations between the classes has been the same since. The defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum in 1969 struck a further blow.

The French bourgeoisie hangs on grimly behind Pompidou in an atmosphere of scandal and corruption which recalls the worst days of the Third Republic.

German capitalism was rebuilt after the war as the spearhead of imperialism against the Eastern European countries and the October Revolution. Today the role of the Social-Democratic-

Liberal coalition is to help the bourgeoisie prepare the reconquest of East Germany and the Eastern European countries and to pave the way in West Germany for a reactionary CDU/CSU government to tie the unions to the state.

This is where the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism comes out most clearly. Within the radicalization of the working class they try to subordinate this movement to the coalition government.

Just as the German working class remained relatively isolated from the world class struggle even after the defeat of fascism and in the period of the post-war boom, so the collapse of German capitalism after the Nixon measures opens the way for the German working class to find its way back to its revolutionary traditions.

This requires establishment of the independence of the working class through a consistent struggle against Stalinism and revisionism, through the building of the revolutionary party. This resurgence of the German working class opens the door for a reawakening of the Soviet proletariat's hopes for world revolution and for the political revolution against the parasitic Krem-

lin bureaucracy. The break-up of reformism after the Nixon measures is throwing social-democracy into a deep crisis. The task of the German Trotskyist movement is to establish the independence of the German working class in a fight for Marxism and in a struggle to break the German working class from the control of reformism by exposing it in the fight for the demand that the SPD breaks with the Liberals in the coalition and forms an exclusively Social-Democratic government, based on the trade unions with a socialist programme.

In Italy the boom showed itself to be even more fragile. Since the 'hot autumn' of 1969, which was a direct continuation of the 1968 May-June events in France, the country has been in the grip of an economic, social and political crisis unprecedented since the pre-Mussolini years.

Only the heavy weight of Italian Stalinism's apparatus has prevented the working class from asserting its claim to power in opposition to the debile Italian bourgeoisie and its main political expression Christian Democracy.

The betrayals of Togliatti's heirs have given the bourgeoisie

time to prepare new attacks which will be struck after the forthcoming elections, whatever their outcome. The panic-stricken petty bourgeoisie are attracted into the orbit of the neo-fascists to whom the monopolists are now turning as an alternative to the increasingly-discredited and impotent parliamentary regime.

The Stalinists are the last line of defence for this rotten political system. It is absolutely necessary to place the demand on the Italian Communist Party: break from all forms of coalition with the bourgeoisie parties; take the power. Along this road, the Stalinist hold on the working class will be broken.

The bonapartist dictatorship in Greece is a regime of crisis which is an expression of the world crisis of the capitalist system. It portrays the future that capitalism has in store for the working class in this period of its death agony, where the bourgeoisie is forced everywhere to pass to the most severe forms of state repression, having no other way to defend its rule.

At the same time, the seizure of power by the Colonels was the advance warning of the fact that the class struggle, in the

whole capitalist world, has developed to its most crucial point, posing on the agenda the proletarian revolution for the overthrow of the capitalist system. The colonels cannot solve the problems of Greek capitalism. They are unable to gain popular support or to stabilize their power. On the contrary, their regime is constantly undermined by the deepening crisis of imperialism. Particularly since Nixon's measures on the dollar and the declaration of trade war with Europe, an explosive charge has been placed under the foundations of the dictatorial regime.

The closure of a series of basic industries, which employed thousands of workers, and the last big increases on the basic price of food are the first products of the crisis in its new stage. Similarly, the split inside the junta which came into the open with the sacking of the Regent Zoiatakis and the taking of his post by the arch-dictator Papadopoulos, is the manifestation of this crisis in another sphere.

Intensification of the crisis following the August 15 measures has created conditions for a confrontation between the working class and the dictatorial regime. The Greek Trotskyists fight for independence of the working class, opposing the Stalinists who would drag it behind the liberal bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary party to lead the struggle of the working class for power.

In the epoch of imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most elementary demands for national independence and democratic rights can only be granted if the struggle in these countries is carried over into the socialist phase. We warn the workers and peasants of these countries not to put any confidence in bourgeois nationalist leaderships. The experience of Bangla Desh demonstrates the danger of such a step. With the suspension of the Constituent Assembly on April 11, the ruling bourgeois nationalist Awami League has demonstrated that it is an obstacle to the granting of full democratic rights, and the voluntary and revolutionary reunification of India on a socialist basis. In Ireland bourgeois nationalism expresses itself through IRA terrorism. Far from leading to real independence and liberation, their exclusive reliance on terror, and opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary party, have now resulted in a compromise with imperialism, reminiscent of the 1921 agreement. The imposition of direct rule from Westminster, welcomed by a section of the IRA leaders, threatens the rights of Protestant and Catholic workers alike. Partition, religious divisions, low wages and unemployment will remain, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalism, backed by the Tory government at Westminster. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as in all other countries, the only guarantee of success for the masses in their struggles for national independence and democratic rights is the building in these countries of sections of the International Committee, dedicated to the central strategy of establishment of political independence of the working class, and the overthrow of imperialism. In this period of unprecedented crisis for European capitalism the European Common Market takes on a new meaning. Its extension to include Britain and those countries grouped with her in the European Free Trade Area emphasizes its character as a counter-revolutionary coalition aimed at the working class and intended to create conditions in which European capitalism can find a basis for survival in conflict with the United States and Japan. The Heath government in Britain, supported by a section of the Labour Party, has hastened to join the Common Market in preparation for civil war and in the hope that ailing British capitalism will be given an injection of strength. Competition and rivalry between the European capitalist states will not disappear with the entry of Britain but will only reach a new pitch of intensity, driving each government to strike even more aggressively against the working class. In Britain, the Industrial Relations Act, the strengthening of

mobs on the organizations of the proletariat; colonial repression and conquest; war with other powers; military attack on the deformed and degenerated workers' states; these are the 'solutions' to which capitalism in decay always turns in crisis.

Nowhere will the working class be able to defend itself except by the building of revolutionary parties for the conquest of power. The final blow was struck against all reformist solutions by the August 15 measures. For the first time since the early 1920s, the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries are driven to confront the ruling class face to face, class against class, in a struggle for power. The most basic needs of the masses can be defended only by revolutionary methods.

When Nixon announced the decisions of August 15, the basic contradictions of capitalism burst asunder the compromise relations established in 1944-1945. For hundreds of millions of workers the basic conditions of life are now thrown into question, and the established relations for dealing with these problems are suddenly without foundation. Here is the basis for the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, for the development of Marxist theory.

However, the post-war economic settlement was a result not of any strength of capitalism but a decision by a capitalist class weakened by depression and war to attempt to contain the strength of the working class rather than to enter upon a decisive confrontation.

Keynesian inflationary policies were built into the international monetary settlement. The relative stabilization and expansion of capitalism which followed was made possible only by the treacherous class-collaboration of international reformism and of the Stalinist and reformist parties all over the world.

The collapse of the gold-dollar standard and the fixed parities of Bretton Woods; and the new stage of class war opened up in each country are therefore blows just as mortal for the Stalinist bureaucracy as they are for the imperialists.

Stalinist and reformist parties still dominate the consciousness and organization of the working class in each country, but the foundation of this domination has now been removed. No longer will capitalism rule through the ability of these apparatuses to impose treacherous partial concessions in response to the strength of the working class; it will require the destruction of that strength.

This brings the working class, in the essential fight for its political independence, into life and death conflict with the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies. The Trotskyist movement must take up its responsibility of building an alternative leadership, the only alternative to bloody defeat through the class-collaboration of the traditional leaderships.

## THE CRISIS MAKES ITS IMPACT

They will aim to bloodily suppress the political revolution in the USSR and the deformed workers' states, as well as the revolutionary workers in the capitalist countries. They will strive to repeat in every country the role of the Polish Stalinist strike-breakers in Spain and the Maoist bureaucracy in Bangla Desh.

As the capitalist class moves to impose new totalitarian forms of rule, it does not confront a defeated working class. On the contrary, the first outbreaks of the economic crisis—1967 devaluation of sterling and the 1968 gold crisis—were answered by the action of the French working class in May-June 1968.

Since then, the metal-workers' strike in Germany, the general strikes and political crisis in Italy, the upsurge of the Spanish working class, and the radicalization of the working class in Britain and Ireland, have shown that the workers of the advanced capitalist countries are undergoing a fundamental development as the crisis makes its impact, and this strength reveals itself as the main source of its extension and development.

Nixon's measures of August 15 were made absolutely unavoidable by the wage settlement in the US steel strike and the other impending wage battles. It became impossible both to contain the strength of the US working class and to continue with the international role of the dollar. This is the very heart of the crisis.

Nixon's international measures were, therefore, linked with new preparations against the US working class.

The institution of the Pay Board, the rejection of the longshoremen's settlement, preparations for anti-strike legislation, combined with Nixon's conscious unemployment policy have brought the trade unions into direct collision with the government.

This crisis is shaking all the old relationships of class collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy, the government and its two parties. This is what forced Meany to walk off the Pay Board.

Every struggle of the American

working class for wage increases, against speed-up and unemployment must now be a political struggle, a struggle for power.

American workers built the most powerful trade unions in the world but these unions have been tied politically to the Democratic Party through the trade union bureaucracy's collaboration with the aid of Stalinism.

The only way the American working class can defeat the attacks of the employers and the government is through the break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and the formation of a labour party based on the unions and on socialist policies.

The 1972 elections now take place in an entirely new period since August 15, which places the labour party immediately on the agenda now. The emergence of Wallace raises the greatest dangers to the labour movement. Behind the racist and populist demagoguery of his campaign is Wallace's real programme—the destruction of the unions, the destruction of every right and gain the unions have won.

Wallace is the right-wing spokesman for the capitalist class that now must above all destroy the unions if their system is to be preserved. Behind Wallace are gathering all the racist and fascist forces.

Nixon and the Republican and Democratic Parties stand with him. Wallace is putting forward today what the capitalist class as a whole is preparing for the working class in the future. Wallace cannot be defeated today, as the trade union bureaucracy claims, by supporting politicians in the Democratic Party.

The only way that Wallace can be defeated is through the construction of this labour party, through the break with the two capitalist parties.

The fight for the labour party is the central responsibility of the Workers League. This must be fought for in the unions with the call for a congress of labour to establish this party on a socialist programme. It is to this struggle that the youth and the students must be turned in a fight against the Stalinists, who openly support capitalist parties, and revisionists who seek to sidetrack the struggle for a labour party, proposing Black and Chicano capitalist parties.

Only through the building of the labour party can the American working class be broken from the reformist illusions built up in the past and the road prepared for power.

The Nixon measures have confronted the ruling class of the European capitalist states with the inescapable necessity of going to war on their own working class. By thrusting the burden of the dollar crisis on to these countries, Nixon imposes the need for the break up of the compromise relationships and unstable equilibrium which have prevailed since 1945. This blow comes just at a time when, following the events of 1968 in France, the working class enters the scene, strong and undefeated, in a combative way with its own demand.

The new militancy of the working class passes at first, in a spontaneous way, through its traditional organizations and takes the old forms. The reformist and Stalinist leaderships strive everywhere to prevent it coming forward as an independent force. The task of the Fourth International sections is to establish leadership in the working class and to expose and drive out the treacherous bureaucracies. Only in this way can the working class take the power.

This alternative leadership must be established on the programme and with the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. There is no other way. Failure to resolve the crisis of leadership in the present period will mean defeats for the working class which will throw mankind back into a new era of barbarism.

The economic situation of European capitalism since August 15 has become truly desperate and the bourgeoisie itself has not fully grasped, even eight months later, the full depths of its crisis. But, in the political as well as in the economic sphere, it has not been slow to demonstrate its reaction. In every country it shows that it understands that it must defeat its



own working class and impose more authoritarian forms of rule. This means that all the democratic rights and conquests of the working class come under intensified attack as the bourgeoisie takes up stations for a decisive round of class battles.

A ruling class with its back to the wall, pressed into desperate measures by the weight of US imperialism; a working class staking out claims of its own which challenge the bourgeoisie's right to rule; leaders who combine to break up and betray the struggles of the working class; this has now become the rule in every European country.

First France, where the storm-signals of the European revolution appeared in 1968. In the General Strike of May-June 1968. The mobilization of the entire working class threatened the bourgeois social order. The grip of the Stalinists was weakening day by day as workers manifested their determination to go beyond the limits imposed by the bureaucracy and demand a workers' government.

The Trotskyist movement in France, the OCI, at that time a section of the International Committee, was unable to grasp the revolutionary opportunities which

presented themselves. The situation in May-June 1968 caught it by surprise and unprepared. This was no accident; nor was it a question merely of numerical strength—the smallness of the vanguard, as the rationalization went.

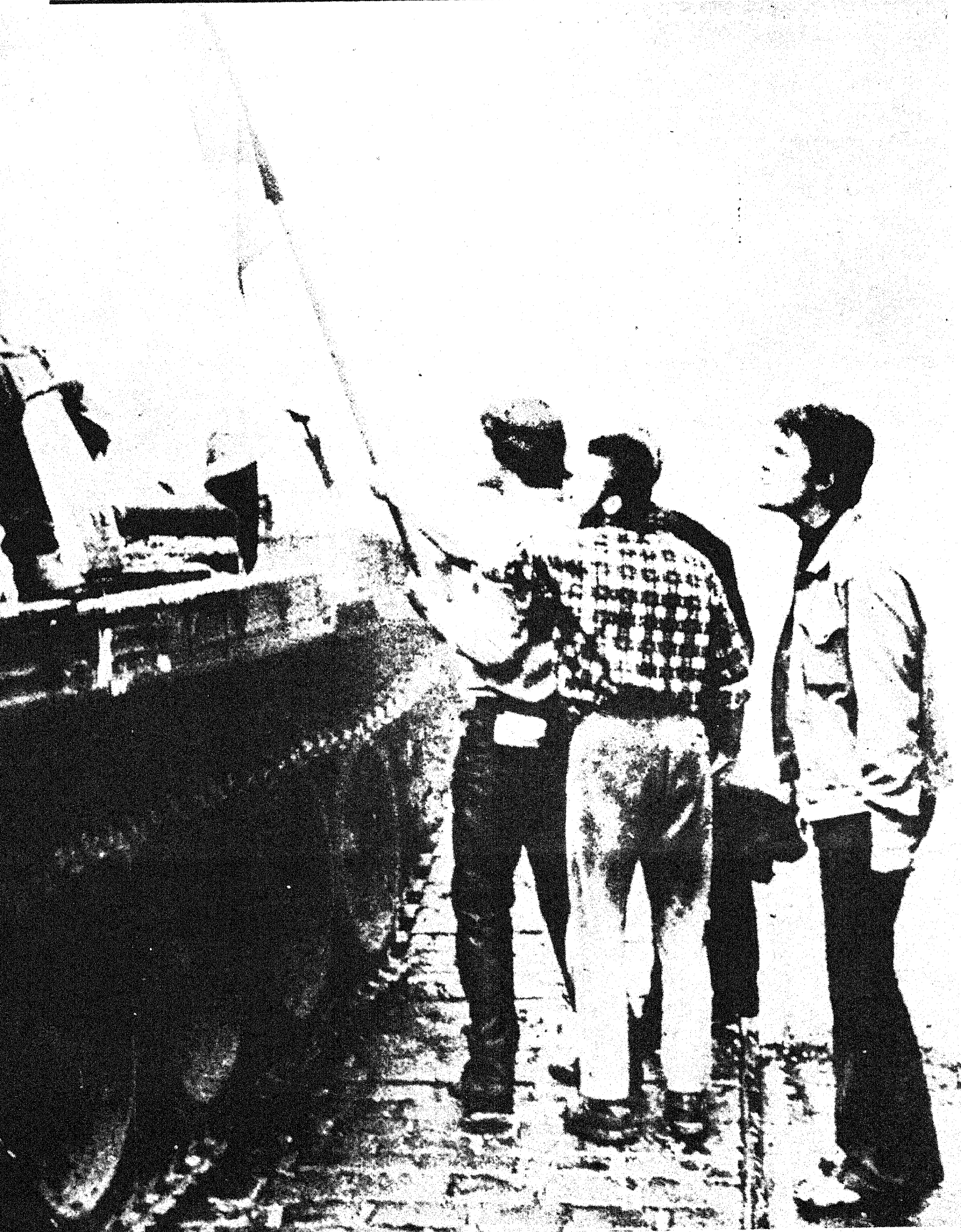
It was a question of method which left the OCI unarmed and carried it through the events

with a series of empirical adaptations which never, at any time, permitted it to call upon the Communist Party to take the power. This demand is the essential path to their exposure before the working class and the establishment of Trotskyist leadership.

Although the French bourgeoisie was able to retain power with the help of the Stalinists and the reformists, the foundations of its rule were irrevocably shaken by the power of the working class and nothing in the relations between the classes has been the same since. The defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum in 1969 struck a further blow. The French bourgeoisie hangs on grimly behind Pompidou in an atmosphere of scandal and corruption which recalls the worst days of the Third Republic.



Top, Czechoslovak workers and youth in August 1968 struggled against Stalinist bureaucracy. Above, Kremlin leaders Brezhnev and Kosygin.



The German working class, written off by the revisionists as 'integrated' or 'reformist', emerges as the major factor in the crisis of German capitalism. The 1969 movement could still be contained through formation of a Social-Democratic-Liberal coalition and big concessions in wages. This revived reformist illusions in the working class and in particular the youth but the metal workers' strike of December 1971, after Nixon's measures, spelt the end of reformism, which is now breaking up.

The working class has been able to build up an unprecedented strength within the unions in West Germany and within the framework of the deformed workers' states of the Democratic Republic. It is this strength which the bourgeoisie has now to confront with the help of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies and all the old relations have to be changed.

German capitalism was rebuilt after the war as the spearhead of imperialism against the Eastern European countries and the October Revolution. Today the role of the Social-Democratic-

Liberal coalition is to help the bourgeoisie prepare the reconquest of East Germany and the Eastern European countries and to pave the way in West Germany for a reactionary CDU/CSU government to tie the unions to the state.

This is where the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism comes out most clearly. Within the radicalization of the working class they try to subordinate this movement to the coalition government.

Just as the German working class remained relatively isolated from the world class struggle even after the defeat of fascism and in the period of the post-war boom, so the collapse of German capitalism after the Nixon measures opens the way for the German working class to find its way back to its revolutionary traditions.

This requires establishment of the independence of the working class through a consistent struggle against Stalinism and revisionism, through the building of the revolutionary party. This resurgence of the German working class opens the door for a reawakening of the Soviet proletariat's hopes for world revolution and for the political revolution against the parasitic Krem-

lin bureaucracy.

The break-up of reformism after the Nixon measures is throwing social-democracy into a deep crisis. The task of the German Trotskyist movement is to establish the independence of the German working class in a fight for Marxism and in a struggle to break the German working class from the control of reformism by exposing it in the fight for the demand that the SPD breaks with the Liberals in the coalition and forms an exclusively Social-Democratic government, based on the trade unions with a socialist programme.

In Italy the boom showed itself to be even more fragile. Since the 'hot autumn' of 1969, which was a direct continuation of the 1968 May-June events in France, the country has been in the grip of an economic, social and political crisis unprecedented since the pre-Mussolini years.

Only the heavy weight of Italian Stalinism's apparatus has prevented the working class from asserting its claim to power in opposition to the debile Italian bourgeoisie and its main political expression Christian Democracy. The betrayals of Togliatti's heirs have given the bourgeoisie

whole capitalist world, has developed to its most crucial point, posing on the agenda the proletarian revolution for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The colonels cannot solve the problems of Greek capitalism. They are unable to gain popular support or to stabilize their power. On the contrary, their regime is constantly undermined by the deepening crisis of imperialism. Particularly since Nixon's measures on the dollar and the declaration of trade war with Europe, an explosive charge has been placed under the foundations of the dictatorial regime.

The closure of a series of basic industries, which employed thousands of workers, and the last big increases on the basic price of food are the first products of the crisis in its new stage.

Similarly, the split inside the junta which came into the open with the sacking of the Regent Zoitakis and the taking of his post by the arch-dictator Papadopoulos, is the manifestation of this crisis in another sphere.

Intensification of the crisis following the August 15 measures has created conditions for a confrontation between the working class and the dictatorial regime. The Greek Trotskyists fight for independence of the working class, opposing the Stalinists who would drag it behind the liberal bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary party to lead the struggle of the working class for power.

In the epoch of imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most elementary demands for national independence and democratic rights can only be granted if the struggle in these countries is carried over into the socialist phase.

We warn the workers and peasants of these countries not to put any confidence in bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

The experience of Bangla Dosh demonstrates the danger of such a step. With the suspension of the Constituent Assembly on April 11, the ruling bourgeois nationalist Awami League has demonstrated that it is an obstacle to the granting of full democratic rights, and the voluntary and revolutionary reunification of India on a socialist basis.

In Ireland bourgeois nationalism expresses itself through IRA terrorism. Far from leading to real independence and liberation, their exclusive reliance on terror, and opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary party, have now resulted in a compromise with imperialism, reminiscent of the 1921 agreement.

The imposition of direct rule from Westminster, welcomed by a section of the IRA leaders, threatens the rights of Protestant and Catholic workers alike.

Partition, religious divisions, low wages and unemployment will remain, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalism, backed by the Tory government at Westminster.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as in all other countries, the only guarantee of success for the masses in their struggles for national independence and democratic rights is the building in these countries of sections of the International Committee, dedicated to the central strategy of establishment of political independence of the working class, and the overthrow of imperialism.

In this period of unprecedented crisis for European capitalism the European Common Market takes on a new meaning. Its extension to include Britain and those countries grouped with her in the European Free Trade Area emphasizes its character as a counter-revolutionary coalition aimed at the working class and intended to create conditions in which European capitalism can find a basis for survival in conflict with the United States and Japan.

The Heath government in Britain, supported by a section of the Labour Party, has hastened to join the Common Market in preparation for civil war and in the hope that ailing British capitalism will be given an injection of strength. Competition and rivalry between the European capitalist states will not disappear with the entry of Britain but will only reach a new pitch of intensity, driving each government to strike even more decisively against the working class.

In Britain, the Industrial Relations Act, the strengthening of

time to prepare new attacks which will be struck after the forthcoming elections, whatever their outcome. The panic-stricken petty bourgeoisie are attracted into the orbit of the neo-fascists to whom the monopolists are now turning as an alternative to the increasingly-discredited and impotent parliamentary regime.

The Stalinists are the last line of defence for this rotten political system. It is absolutely necessary to place the demand on the Italian Communist Party: break from all forms of coalition with the bourgeoisie parties; take the power. Along this road, the Stalinist hold on the working class will be broken.

The bonapartist dictatorship in Greece is a regime of crisis which is an expression of the world crisis of the capitalist system. It portrays the future that capitalism has in store for the working class in this period of its death agony, where the bourgeoisie is forced everywhere to pass to the most severe forms of state repression, having no other way to defend its rule.

At the same time, the seizure of power by the Colonels was the advance warning of the fact that the class struggle, in the

police forces and changes in the law affecting legal rights are part of this preparation.

At the same time, British finance capital prepares to take advantage of the new opportunities for profit which it hopes to find within the Common Market. Whole sections of industry in Britain which can no longer be competitive when tariff barriers come down will either be closed down or production will be shifted to the continent. Speculators and financiers are eagerly looking for fresh pickings, regardless of the long-term consequences. In the Common Market, as in the whole market, it is capitalist anarchy which prevails.

In its own way, through the Common Market, capitalism tries to overcome the contradiction between the productive forces and the constricting limits of the historic national states within which bourgeois rule expresses itself. But the Common Market does not in fact transcend these limits of result in any merging of interests of the European ruling classes. It opens up a more bitter struggle for hegemony inside the so-called European Community in which the weakest will go to the wall.

The revolutionary movement opposes and fights in every way the sinister 'new order' represented by the European Common Market, which constitutes the main counter-revolutionary strategy of European capital against the working class, aiming to destroy its conquests. Brezhnev's declaration that the Soviet bureaucracy will modify its attitude to the EEC is a declaration of willingness to collaborate in this counter-revolutionary strategy.

Against the capitalist Common Market, the Fourth International calls for the taking of power by the working class in the perspective of the United Socialist States of Europe. That is the only answer which accords with the historic interests of the working class.

The upsurge of the workers' movement in the advanced capitalist countries now joins with the revolutionary struggles of workers and peasants in the colonial countries. In Vietnam, US imperialism is fought to a standstill, despite the international betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution; and in Bangladesh the masses herald an entirely new stage of the revolution in South-East Asia, despite the blows struck against them by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Peking.

Mao Tse-tung's approach to Nixon is the desperate response of imperialism and the bureaucracy to these revolutionary struggles.

The IC of the Fourth International affirms its solidarity with the national liberation struggles of the Arab people against world imperialism and its agents in the Middle East—the state of Israel. It warns, at the same time against the perfidious policy of the Soviet bureaucracy which is using the situation to bring about a deal with imperialism to crush the revolution.

These are the transformed conditions in which Trotskyism fights for revolutionary leadership. The starting point for every Fourth International section can now only be this: after August 1971 we work in qualitatively transformed conditions which hold out the highest possibilities, and at the same time the greatest dangers, the most intense struggle; conditions in which the political decisions of revolutionaries involve the whole future of the working class.

## WINNING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS

The nature of the crisis in the relationship between the classes means that the task now before the revolutionary movement becomes that of winning the leadership of the working class

and taking it to power. The International Committee has fought a tenacious and thoroughgoing theoretical struggle against all conceptions that the political consciousness of the working class can be developed spontaneously out of the experience of the class itself, or out of the struggle only for its immediate demands.

In every country, the capitalist state aims to destroy the trade unions. It is possible to defend the unions only by fighting for revolutionary leadership of the unions, based on a struggle for Marxist theory against trade-union consciousness.

The urgency of the preparations now required could not be understood just from bringing together the struggles and experience of the working class itself. It is necessary to make a Marxist analysis of the developing crisis of the capitalist economy and its penetration into the objective relations between the classes at the level of state power and politics, as well as economically, and in the relations within the ruling class itself.

Such an analysis is inseparable from a struggle for Marxist theory, of dialectical materialism, against all conceptions of spontaneous development of revolutionary consciousness, against all propaganda conceptions of simply

fighting on a programme of demands. In every country, the sections of the Fourth International fight above all to develop the political independence of the working class, to intervene in every partial struggle in order to bring the class face to face with this question of its own power, which involves a complete break with the Stalinists and reformists, and the building of mass revolutionary parties.

### SECTION II

The Fourth International exists only through a continuous and uncompromising struggle against every misleadership of the working class and, in particular, the Stalinist bureaucracy and its agencies throughout the world.

Stalinism as always plays a doubly reactionary role. It holds back the harmonious development of the productive forces in the workers' states through its greed, corruption and parasitism. At the same time it disarms the working class in the capitalist countries and facilitates betrayal by its reactionary brainchild of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'peaceful transition' to socialism.

Stalinism is counter-revolutionary through and through. By its brutal intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and suppression of the Gdansk uprising in December 1970, Stalinism demonstrates its mortal fear and hatred of the working class fighting against bureaucratic privilege and dictatorship. The continued harassment, exile and torture of Soviet intellectuals, scientists and writers is a grim reminder of the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy, to preserve its usurpatory regime, must repress every expression of artistic and literary dissidence. In doing so it stimulates new expressions of anti-bureaucratic revolt in the youth and the working class.

The International Committee of the Fourth International fights for the unconditional release of these dissidents as an integral part of the fight to construct a Trotskyist party which alone can carry out the political expropriation of the bureaucracy and restore proletarian democracy and intellectual freedom in the USSR.

At the same time the International Committee of the Fourth International will fight to combat Stalinism's treachery — Peking and Moscow alike — which has condemned entire communist parties and hundreds and thousands of workers in Indonesia, Sudan, Iran and other countries to extinction.

The collapse of the French General Strike of May-June 1968 constitutes the most decisive test to date of the correctness of the Trotskyist characterization of Stalinism as counter-revolutionary. Initially opposing the students' struggle, the CP leaders suddenly switched their line in order to more effectively control the General Strike and — in the absence of a revolutionary leadership—steered the movement back to 'normality and order'.

The Fifth Republic and French capitalism were saved, not because of any intrinsic strength

of the regime, but because of the Stalinist collaboration. Refusal of the revisionists of the OCI and the Ligue Communiste to raise political demands and post the question of power before the Stalinist bureaucracy contributed powerfully to the subsequent betrayal of the Stalinists and the retreat of the masses. As in the Belgian General Strike of 1961, revisionism played an important role in preserving the grip of Stalinism on the European working class.

The reformist counter-revolutionary policies of international Stalinism not only help perpetuate imperialism, but by the same token accentuate the isolation of the USSR and China and intensify the social contradictions within them.

Stalinism cannot be reformed. It must be smashed, overthrown

through the mobilization of the working class under the leadership of parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

But this struggle requires patience, tactical resourcefulness and a clear dialectical understanding of the present crisis and the nature and origins of Stalinism.

No successful struggle can be carried out against the Stalinist leadership outside the USSR, Eastern Europe and China by groups or individuals who base themselves on a one-sided analysis and preconceived ideas.

Stalinism is the political expression of the interests of a bureaucracy transmitting the pressures of world imperialism on the working class. But the interests of the working class which supports the Stalinist parties, thrown into ever more violent struggle by the crisis of imperialism, demands that these parties go forward for power.

In the epoch of the intensified crisis of imperialism these conflicting interests and mutually exclusive aspirations of the working class and the bureaucracy come into conflict and precipitate crisis after crisis in the Stalinist movement.

The Stalinist-imperialist collaboration after World War II was part and parcel of the monetary arrangements which permitted inflationary policies to be pursued by the capitalist powers; now however the termination of the Bretton Woods agreement disrupts completely this relationship. This provides the Trotskyist movement with unparalleled opportunities to recruit from the Stalinist parties and destroy the political credibility of their leaders.

To ignore these opportunities is to condemn the working class to defeats greater than those of the 1930s. The International Committee of the Fourth International urges all its sections to engage in this task with revolutionary optimism and audacity. Every blow struck against Stalinism intensifies the death agony of the imperialist system.

The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, by turning the working class away from its revolutionary tasks and exposing it to the imperialist drive towards counter-revolutionary dictatorships, constitute the gravest danger to the conquests of the October Revolution itself. As the crisis deepens, imperialism is inexorably driven to seek ways of reconquering the areas lost in the Russian Revolution and after World War II.

The danger of a third world war threatens the working class more menacingly with every step towards reaction by the imperialists. The only answer to the threat of war is the united struggle of the working class for its own power, achieved through the building of revolutionary parties.

The International Committee stands for the unconditional defence of the USSR and the other workers' states in a war against imperialism. Preparation for the proletarian revolution in every capitalist country is the only effective road to such defence.

The crisis of imperialism affects every section of society and, in particular, compounds the agitation and insecurity of the petty bourgeoisie in the developed and colonial countries alike. Unable to express their hatred of capitalism in a really revolutionary way, these social groups express their despair and political impotency by individual

terror as well as by pacifist non-violence.

The International Committee of the Fourth International warns the working class against the dangers of petty-bourgeois adventurism which leads to the blind alley of terrorism and the diversion of the working class from its historic goal — the

seizure of state power and the replacing of private property by social property. None of these aims can be achieved by the methods of the 'urban guerrilla' — revisionist or anarchist — or the rural 'foco' of the Guevarists and Maoists.

The Pabloite revisionists, by encouraging this trend as well as by their adventurist attacks on the traditional parties of the working class, display, in the most criminal way, their contempt and hatred for the working class and Marxism. The International Committee of the Fourth International will continue its irreconcilable struggle against this reactionary tendency.

## MOBILIZATION OF THE WORKING MASSES

Only the mobilization of the working masses, in independent actions, under the leadership of parties of the Fourth International based on Marxist theory, can win workers' power. This has been the consistent stand of the International Committee against all revisionism in the Fourth International.

The struggle to found the Fourth International against Stalinism and its betrayals was at the same time the struggle to construct new revolutionary parties on the basis of Marxism. Since 1953, the International Committee has constantly fought the tendency, originally led by Michel Pablo, which declared that the working class was no longer capable of independent struggle, and that therefore the construction of Marxist parties must be abandoned in favour of pressurizing Stalinism.

This adaptation to Stalinism was the result of abandonment of the Marxist method and thus capitulation to the pressures of the capitalist class. In 1963, the US Socialist Workers' Party, which originally supported the formation of the International Committee, broke from the International Committee to support a reunification with the Pabloites, forming what is known as the Unified Secretariat.

This reunification took place without any discussion or assessment of the fundamental questions involved in the original 1953 split. Instead the Castro regime was uncritically supported as the new way to make revolutions without constructing Marxist parties, the opportunist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) of Ceylon was held up as a model Trotskyist organization, and the programme of political revolution was completely thrown out for China.

The SWP, having always refused to take up a struggle for the Marxist method, ended up supporting what it broke from in 1953. The Unified Secretariat stands today in complete opposition to everything Trotsky stood for.

The fruits of the reunification of these revisionists was soon expressed in Ceylon, where a party calling itself Trotskyist, the LSSP, actually entered a bourgeois coalition government, accepting cabinet posts. The unprincipled nature of the reunification was the political preparation for this betrayal in Ceylon. In 1971, the LSSP again entered the government, this time to participate in a bloody campaign against rebellious youth, ending up jailing Trotskyists and banning the press of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, Ceylon Section of the International Committee. This is the real expression of the role of revisionism in this period of the sharp capitalist crisis.

The Unified Secretariat today is racked by a fundamental internal crisis, being torn apart by the movement forward of the working class internationally. All the questions it refused to face in 1963 now come up—but no

section is capable of providing any answers. The majority faction preaches 'neo-capitalism' and 'structural reforms' in the advanced countries, while encouraging the wildest guerrilla adventures in colonial countries.

It bears political responsibility for the assassinations by the ERP which occur precisely at the moment when the Argentine working class is going into decisive battles. The minority, supported by the SWP, collaborates with Stalinism in the anti-war movement, basing itself on all manner of middle-class protests when the American working class is forced to confront Nixon and the Democratic Party is being ripped apart in the process.

After a long struggle within the International Committee to change its course, the French OCI has decided to follow the path of the SWP by breaking from the International Committee. The break has taken place over the most fundamental issue of all. What was at the root of the degeneration of Pabloism—the Marxist method.

## TRAINING YOUTH IN THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM

At the Essen conference in the spring of 1971, the OCI and its youth organization, the AJS, voted down an amendment, put forward by the majority of the International Committee. This amendment stated that the struggle against bourgeois ideology among the youth was central to the construction of the international Trotskyist youth movement. This struggle required a study of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the actual training of the youth cadres in the struggle for this understanding.

Following this action the OCI openly supported Lora's POR which contributed to the defeat of the Bolivian revolution, by forming a broad front with Stalinism and the bourgeois nationalist regime of Torres and refusing to call upon the working class independently to arm itself against counter-revolution. Lora has since entered a popular front formation with Torres, the Stalinists and the Pabloites while the OCI remains silent.

This political course, which duplicates the Ceylonese events, is the direct result of the refusal of the OCI to take up the struggle to educate its members in the Marxist method and in this way to be able to develop a real orientation towards the working class in France and towards the construction of the Fourth International.

There is only one revolutionary tendency in the world and that is the International Committee of the Fourth International, fighting for independent revolutionary parties in every country. What Trotsky said of the Fourth International in 1938 has even greater force today: **The Fourth International exists; it has neither to be proclaimed, nor created, nor reconstructed.**

What must now be done in each country is to develop the cadres of the movement through a serious struggle for dialectical materialism as in each country the Trotskyist movement takes up the fight for the political independence of the working class, its preparation for taking the power.

It is in this way that revolutionary parties will be built and the world socialist revolution prepared. The Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International calls upon working-class revolutionaries everywhere to accept the challenge of the crisis opened up since August 15, 1971, to rally to the banner of the Fourth International in every country, and build the revolutionary parties which will lead the working class to the conquest of power.

Adopted unanimously by the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International.  
April 14, 1972.

## Making A Mint With Religion



L. Ron Hubbard

**SCIENTOLOGY: THE NOW RELIGION.** By George Malko. Delta Books, 1971.

**THE SCANDAL OF SCIENTOLOGY.** By Paulette Cooper. Tower Books, 1971.

Scientology is being billed as "the fastest growing religion in the world." There is no doubt that its founder L. Ron Hubbard's fortune is one of the fastest growing in the world. Figures quoted by Malko

(which he thinks are modest) are a worldwide membership of 15,000,000—with a membership of 250,000 in California alone—and an estimated weekly gross of \$1.4 million. When Hubbard is not residing in his castle headquarters at Saint Hill, England, being served Coca-Cola in champagne classes by a butler, he is skippering Scientology from aboard one of the enormous

yachts which comprise the "Sea Org."

This charlatan has made his millions by sucking in a good portion of the frightened middle class into his 20-year-old cult.

Both of these books are adequate informative exposes of Scientology's history and rigamories, but do not go any further than the facts and scandals. In that sense they are on the superficial level of Time, Life, or Newsweek.

What is missed is the reason why, since 1950, larger and larger sections of the middle class have been drifting into Scientology and its predecessor, Dianetics. Why would anybody be attracted to a cult that stated that all "primary goals" were implanted in the "Thetan" (fancy word for Soul) as far back as 70 trillion trillion trillion trillion trillion years ago on other planets.

### GOALS

Among these goals are The Aircraft Door Implants, The Bear Goals, The Gorilla Goals, and The Invisible Picture Goals. One Scientologist claimed to have seen the image of a gorilla flash before him several times when he had a toothache. This verified to him the validity of The Gorilla Goals. Scientology is filled with nothing but this kind of nonsense.

Scientology is one of a number of religions and "sciences" that a section of the middle class are joining in droves. Panicking at the threat to their so-called individuality posed by the sharpening of the class struggle, they flock to movements like Scientology—which promises them "the world of the totally free." Charles Manson hung around Scientology as well as around the Process, a devil-worship splinter group of Scientology which worships Hitler as well.

A few months ago in England, in reaction to the tremendous movement of the British working class, the Festival of Light brought together under one roof Tories, Jesus Freaks, swastika-adorned Hell's Angels, the fascist National Front, and assorted mystics. In Weimar

Germany and pre-Mussolini Italy, mystical cults blossomed among the middle class and played a vital part in the building of the fascist movements. They talked incessantly about "freedom" and the "power of the imagination."

### RACIST

Scientology itself, while promising absolute freedom is run from the top by Hubbard in complete totalitarian fashion. Its political outlook is clearly elitist, anti-communist, and anti-working class. Hubbard, to the dismay of the few Black Scientologists, several years back started making laudatory remarks about the racist regime of Ian Smith in order to expedite the setting up of a branch in Rhodesia.

What is attractive to many who join Scientology is the way in which all of this hokum is given a scientific veneer. New scientific sounding words have been coined—such as "engram," "thetan," "clear," "preclear," etc. In Scientology "auditing" an "E-meter" is used, which is nothing but a cheap resistance meter attached to two tin cans. The basic premise of Scientology is that the "analytical mind" is like a computer. What gets in the way of freedom or using one's "analytical mind" to its full are the "engrams" introduced into it by the "reactive mind" and so on and so forth. Flowing from this "scientific" sounding basis we get all the rest about reincarnation, the ability to levitate, the ability to travel anywhere instantaneously.

### "CLEAR"

And what caps it all for those who go into it, the most convincing argument for the middle class, is the phrase offered you by every Scientologist who tries to shove a leaflet into your hand: "It works!"

What this really means—and here the basic pragmatic method of the middle class expresses itself clearly—was stated in 1968 in a speech by John McMaster, the world's first "clear" (one free of "engrams", a Superman): "Reality is agreement...the basic human right is the right to be you."

## Nancy Vasquez TV

**THE FBI.** Starring Efrem Zimbalist Jr. Sunday, 8:00 PM. ABC.

This serial desperately attempts to present the F.B.I. as a tolerant, benevolent group of people whose only duty is to protect the public. This is the fraudulent face the F.B.I. wants the working class and youth to know. Historically the role of the F.B.I. has been to act as the political police of the government.

The F.B.I. was formed just at the period when the conflict between the workers and state began to sharpen. Its role since then has been to break up and infiltrate political groups and subversive people. They have lead the massive witchhunt of communist, socialist and anarchist since 1917 when the first socialist state was established in Russia. Its true role has been portrayed clearly in the hounding of the Communist Party and recently of the Panther Party in which they infiltrated their agents so as to know exactly what was going on.

They try to sabotage any political movement at every point by handing over all information they get and by framing up the

party and its members. This is the history of the F.B.I. which this serial is trying to cover with these fictitious dramatizations.

In one such dramatization the complete fraudulent conception of the F.B.I. was pushed. The situation here was the search for five men first suspected of robbing a bank. Throughout the entire episode the complacency and docile atmosphere which was presented between the suspects and the F.B.I. agents was unbelievable. On several occasions the F.B.I. agents approached the suspects for questioning. After two or three questions the suspects broke and told everything they knew.

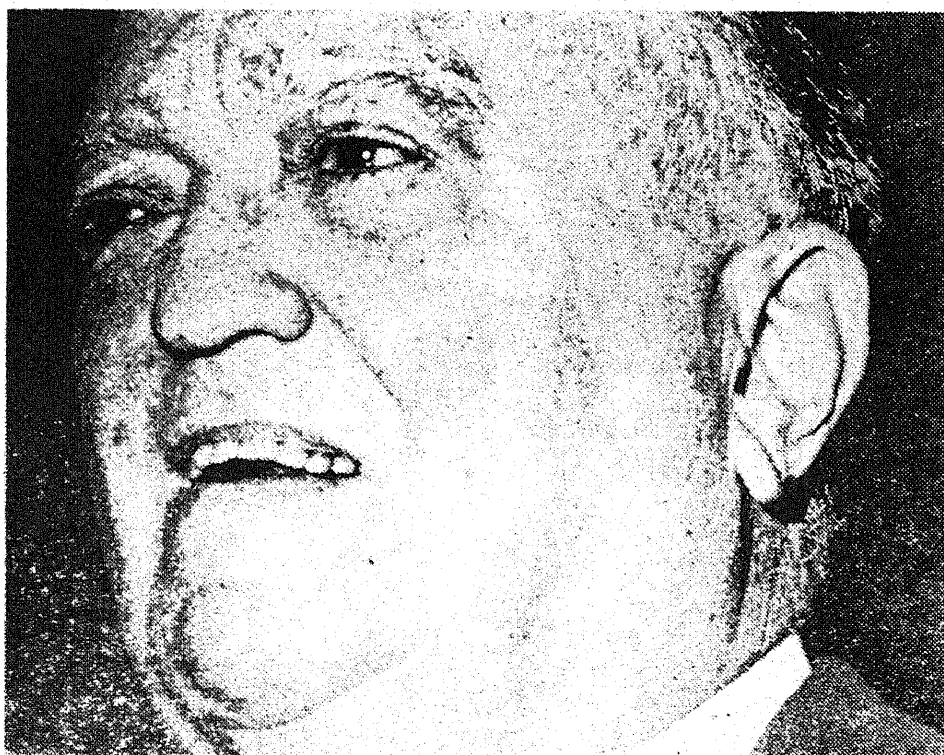
In one scene an ex-con, who was sent to prison, asks Efrem Zimbalist (who plays an FBI sargeant) why, when being arrested, he didn't kill him. The agen's reply is "because I had the chance not to."

### LIE

This is a complete lie. It is known that the F.B.I. doesn't stop to give "chances." The history of the F.B.I. has been of brutal, inhuman treatment of all their suspects. This serial does everything to hide this fact.

The government has to do this now. It has to present its forces as humanitarian simply because the true political character of the F.B.I., police and other special forces have been coming out clearly with the recent Knapp Commission and the movement of the working class. The

## Television Praises Political Police



J. Edgar Hoover

failure to convince these workers that the government is truly for the public has now forced the television media to put on similar serials all on the most valuable spots forcing the majority of the workers and youth to watch it.

The F.B.I. ends the show with Efrem Zimbalist Jr. appealing to the viewers to

give in any and all information regarding the capture of the "hard core, dangerous and armed criminals" who threaten the public. It is no accident that these "criminals" on the F.B.I.'s list are almost always political figures. This completely exposes the purpose of this serial. That is to justify the actions of the F.B.I.

# From Haymarket To The Labor Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

"The history of the American working class proves that the leap to political consciousness, to an American labor party, will not take place automatically, but only through the conscious intervention of the socialist movement," declared Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, in a speech at the May Day '72 rally.

He said that this fact is extremely significant in light of the developments coinciding with the May Day '72 meeting:

"We are meeting today in the most critical period in the history of the working class. We are celebrating May Day in the United States at a time when the world capitalist system is in bankruptcy. The decision of Nixon in August 1971 to remove gold backing from the dollar was an admission of bankruptcy.

"It was a political decision to break up all the relationships that had existed in the post-war period, in order to defend the profits of the large corporations by beating back and destroying the gains of the working class in the United States and every country of the world."

## STRUGGLE

Examining the development of the labor movement over the last century, Wohlforth emphasized that all the gains of the American working class had been achieved only through bitter struggle. He said that at critical points in the history of its development, the working class was forced to break sharply with old methods in order to survive and advance.

"The development of the CIO and the union movement of today, with its 20 million members, was not peaceful," stated Wohlforth. "It was not a quantitative matter of just increasing the members of the old craft unions. It was not just a matter of a little more bread and a little more butter. But over and over again, the industrial workers of America exploded with leadership or without, and sought to take forward a qualitative leap; or, as we say in dialectics, from nothing into something. From a working class that had no organization into a working class that was organized in unions."

Wohlforth pointed out that leadership had been a critical factor in all the struggles of the American working class which "constructed its own unions with its own strength, and at every point searching out for a socialist and revolutionary leadership."

He said that it was vital to understand why a leap is necessary today: "The trade union movement can no longer defend itself quantitatively; that is, by doing what it is used to doing. For unions to survive, confronted with bosses and a government out to destroy them, it cannot fight back the old way.

"The situation requires going beyond the old trade unionism. It requires more than militancy. It requires the actual construction of a conscious leadership in the working class as part of the international movement, and also understanding theory to build such a movement to prepare for the leap."

Stating that the preparation for a leap requires the understanding that such leaps by the labor movement have taken place before, Wohlforth went over the crucial struggles of the working class since the Civil War. He said that an analysis of

these developments was particularly important on May Day, for it is in the United States that the international holiday of the working class originated.

## TRADITIONS

"We today are entering into a period when the American working class will live up to the traditions it began," he said, noting that May Day had not been observed in the United States on a mass scale for several decades.

Wohlforth explained that the Civil War had been fought to permit the capitalist system to extend across the entire continent. It was only after the destruction of the South, he said, that the great capitalist fortunes that exist to this day were made.

"But shortly after the Civil War took place between the North and the South," he declared, "the first beginnings of a civil war between capital and labor took place in the United States, and that was the national railway strike of 1877."

The strike broke out after company owners attempted to enforce a 10 percent pay cut on



Gil Gonzalez

workers already on poverty wages. Wohlforth detailed the critical developments in the strike:

"The place where this strike reached its greatest height was in the city where last week George Wallace almost won a majority: the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Steelworkers, in a completely disoriented way without any leadership from the union, seeing no alternative, voted for the reactionary Wallace. They would be best reminded what their grandparents did in Pittsburgh."

## BATTLES

Pitched battles against the police took place in the city, and Wohlforth read from contemporary accounts which described Pittsburgh while the workers controlled it for two days. Thousands of federal troops were brought in to smash the strike.

"That is the so-called peaceful relations between classes upon which our country has been based," asserted Wohlforth. He explained that the next decade was a period of deep turmoil as the working class struggled to achieve basic rights, and especially the eight-hour day. The



Molly Maguire movement that developed among the miners was among the most explosive of the working class struggles after the defeat of the railway strike.

Conditions facing workers in that period were terrible. Wohlforth noted that Karl Marx's daughter, who visited the United States in 1886, claimed that living and working conditions were like those of England in the 1840's.

"In 1886," stated Wohlforth, "All these developments came to



Tim Wohlforth

a head, and the American working class went through one of the great leaps in its development. It was the year of the first serious workers party in New York, where Henry George ran for Mayor and received 67,000 votes. It was also the year when 700,000 workers joined an organization called the Knights of Labor."

Wohlforth told the trade unionists and youth that the high point of the year was the drive for an eight-hour day. Thousands of workers set May 1st as the day when workers would strike in support of the eight-hour day. Chicago was the focal point of the movement.

## REVOLUTIONARIES

In the city of Chicago, he explained, the main organization of the workers was the Central Labor Union which was led by anarchists and revolutionaries. They were in opposition to the reformist positions take by the official trade union movement of the day.

"But they didn't have a theoretical understanding of the alternative to the bureaucratic reformist positions which the socialists of their day held," stated

Wohlforth. "And at the same time they were militant trade unionists who felt that they didn't need their own party; that if there was just a large trade union with a lot of workers, one would just need a few big strikes to destroy capitalism. This is what we call syndicalism: the idea that the workers just with their trade unions but without their own party would come to power."

The strike took place on May 1st without violence. Two days later more than 6000 lumber workers gathered for a rally demanding the eight-hour day. The workers were addressed by August Spies, a German. The rally took place outside the McCormick-Harvester plant where scabs were working in the place of strikers. When the lumber workers confronted the scabs, cops moved in and murdered four workers with bullets.

"August Spies witnessed this, and he ran back to his office and wrote a leaflet. And the leaflet called all the workers of Chicago to come, and to bear arms in case they were attacked again by the police, and to rally at Haymarket Square to protest the killing of their brothers. Three thousand workers showed up and were addressed by Spies, Albert Parsons and other labor leaders.

"The mayor of Chicago showed up, and he left because it was a peaceful rally. And when the rally of 3000 broke up, and a small group of 200 were still having a discussion, more than 200 police poured into the rally and started smashing people's heads. And at that point, someone through a bomb and killed one policeman."

## HYSTERIA

Wohlforth stated that this incident was used as an excuse to whip up public hysteria against the working class leaders. After a rigged trial in a kangaroo court in which no evidence was produced and in which the judge demanded a verdict of guilty, four leaders of the eight-hour day movement were executed: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer and George Engel. Twenty-five thousand workers demonstrated in Chicago on the day they were hanged.

Pitched battles occurred in Homestead, Pennsylvania, during the 1892 strike against

Carnegie, Wohlforth said. The most furious gun fights since the Civil War took place between workers and armed Pinkertons. The workers defeated Carnegie's private army, but 6000 Federal troops were sent in to crush the strike.

Wohlforth then described the national Pullman strike of 1894, led by Eugene V. Debs, which was lost because of the treacherous role of Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. For the first time, the courts issued injunctions against the strike. After the defeat, Debs concluded that workers could not just fight with their unions but that they needed a socialist political party. "That's what Eugene V. Debs learned from the not-so-peaceful history of the American working class," said Wohlforth.

## LAWRENCE

But the 1905 strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts ended in victory. Among the 20,000 workers on strike, more than 20 languages were spoken. But with the revolutionary leadership of the IWW, the strike was won.

"For the first time in this country, the workers forced the large corporations to their knees, showing what could be done with a revolutionary leadership and solidarity," said Wohlforth.

Summing up these past struggles, Wohlforth stated that: "To say that socialism is alien to the American working class or that radicalism is alien to the American working class is to be unable to explain Pullman, Homestead, Lawrence and the building of the CIO itself."

"The building of the CIO, said Wohlforth, "was a qualitative leap and it didn't come about peacefully. It came first of all through a break with the American Federation of Labor. It was organized by communists and socialists. They were the ones who led the Flint sit-down which laid the basis for the UAW.

"The American working class went through a bitter struggle preparing for the qualitative leap that took place in the 1930s when it went from nothing into something. From a number of individual workers in a plant to a strong organized trade union movement that laid the basis for the living conditions that exist in America today."

Wohlforth stated that in order

(Continued On Page 16)



# May Day: Trade Unionists Speak At Historic Meeting

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—Pledging to carry forward the historic traditions of the American working class through the struggle for a labor party, more than 300 trade unionists and youth attended the May Day '72 rally held Friday evening May 5th by the Workers League and the Young Socialists.

Militants from different sections of industry who are engaged in bitter battles against the corporations and the government were applauded enthusiastically as they called for a political break with the Democrats and Republicans.

On a stage flanked by huge banners that recalled the past historic conquests of the American labor movement—the struggle for the eight-hour day and the Haymarket Massacre of 1886, the Battle of Deputies Run in 1934, the Flint sit-down strike of 1937—the speakers declared that another task stood before the American working class: the building of its own political party.

How the struggles of the past and the present have prepared the American working class for this important development was the subject not only of the speeches of the trade union speakers and Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth, but also of a musical presentation entitled "100 Years of Labor's Struggles."

All the trade union speakers are currently involved in class battles that reflect the difficult period that American workers now confront. Tom Pearson of UAW Local 25, GMAD, St. Louis, is a member of the Black Caucus that is leading the fight against

the murderous conditions that the auto company is attempting to impose upon workers.

He has worked in the St. Louis plant for eight years. "Working conditions there have always been hard," Pearson said, "but I learned right from the start that no matter how hard you work, the company always wants you to do more."

After having participated in the 1971 wildcat strike, Pearson was "earmarked" as a militant. With no support from the leadership of the UAW, he and other militants were regularly suspended or laid off. He was suspended once for taking a day off to change apartments. The UAW bureaucracy did nothing to stop the victimization.

"The fight to build a new leadership in the local and the whole UAW must continue," declared Pearson. "However, the fight becomes political at this point because each strike by the UAW takes on the government through the wage board. It is clear that the Democrats and the Republicans are looking out for the interests of big business. The fight against the wage freeze and all the attacks of Nixon and the ruling class requires that the unions and the working people form their own party—a labor party."

Tom Miller is the district committeeman of IUE Local 801 in Dayton, Ohio, whose membership was forced last winter by

(Continued On Page 16)



Speakers: Top, Tom Pearson (l.), Pedro Lorenzo. Below, Tom Miller (l.), Arnold Marshall.





# UNIONISTS SPEAK AT MEETING...



Workers League and Young Socialists held first pageant on "100 Years of Labor's Struggle" at historic May Day '72 meeting. Entertainers used music and quotes from speeches and articles contemporary to historic struggles of working class since the Civil War and the fight for the Eight-hour day in 1886 which May Day commemorates. Above, band and players. Right, Mario Rojas impersonates Nixon.

(Continued From Page 15)

Frigidaire to accept a pay cut. "They told the workers in the plant that if they didn't take the cut, the company would move out of Dayton," Miller said. He pointed out that the union leadership offered no resistance. "At a union meeting, the leadership told the men: 'This is it—take it or leave it.'"

Miller stated that the retreat by the IUE did not stop Frigidaire from going ahead with mass layoffs and suspensions of militant rank-and-filers. "They are now engaged in speedups. I've been there for 27 years and I know how it works. They've got the poor devils running around."

Miller described the brutal disciplinary measures that are being introduced into the Frigidaire plant. The company, he said, is suspending men for the most outrageous reasons. He told of one worker who was suspended for "distracting at-

tention." It turned out that the foreman was a young lady who wore short skirts.

"I told the management," Miller said, "that there would be something wrong with the worker if he wouldn't be distracted."

## CHALLENGES

He concluded his remarks by warning of the challenges that workers must meet:

"They're defying us, and we're going to have to find some way to fight back. I am personally of the opinion that labor will have to become politically involved.

"I don't think we can offer anything to Americans unless we have something better, and that I think we're prepared to give them. So let's move, and let's move now—together. Let's permeate the trade union movement. Let's permeate it nationally and internationally. Let's fight big business, and let's

fight it with what we've got—power."

Pedro Lorenzo, a shop steward of IUE Local 483 which has been on strike for 10 weeks against the Fedders Corporation described the attacks which have been levelled against the 2700 workers in the Edison, New Jersey plant.

"As everybody knows, Nixon and the Pay Board said that every contract could not have more than a 5.5 percent increase," he began. "It seems that the Fedders management took this very seriously because they are offering us even less."

Fedders is seeking to impose a contract to replace the one that expired in February that would cut wages by 50 cents. The company has also moved to cut paid holidays in half.

Referring to a court injunction that was issued soon after the strike began and which led to the arrest of several workers attempting to picket the plant, Lo-

renzo stated, "We have our hands tied because the political situation in this country is like this: It is against the poor people, against the working class, and against the youth."

He said that it was impossible for trade unionists to avoid a political fight. Lorenzo concluded: "I have been an American citizen many years, and I thought that the system we have in this country was a good system. But President Nixon has declared war on the working class here like in Vietnam. But there his troops are losing and running like rabbits.

"There is one thing I want to say. I think we have to do something for the working class. We have to get together all the working people in this country with the youth, and we have to make a labor party."

Arnold Marshall, who recently won a large opposition vote as the Rank & File candidate for Organizer of Hospital Local 1199, warned that "Nixon, McGovern, Rockefeller, Wallace—anyone you can name—are out to destroy the greatest power in the world: the power of the working class."

Marshall stated that the union leadership was unwilling to fight any of the city's attacks on hospital workers. He noted that it was Leon Davis, president of 1199, who had suggested that every worker make a donation of \$500 out of their own pockets to keep Knickerbocker Hospital open.

## SUBSIDIZE

"With all the financial difficulties that workers already face, the union bureaucracy expects us to subsidize the city hospitals," he said.

He said that the attitude of the employers and the government toward the crisis of hospital care was "Damn the hospitals, damn the workers—if it don't make much, it ain't no good."

Discussing his own campaign and that of Fred Mazelis for the presidency of 1199, Marshall stated that "It wasn't just a fight in the union but a fight against the Nixon Administration itself. We campaigned for a labor party against the Republicans and the Democrats."

Gil Gonzalez, secretary of the Young Socialists, stated that

"The youth faces today what the working class as a whole will face in the very near future. As unemployment is already up to six percent of the work force, that rate is 19 percent for youth and 35 percent for minority youth. In Detroit, 55 percent of the youth are unemployed. When you don't have the right to work, you don't have the right to live."

The history of May Day shows, said Gonzalez, that all the gains of the working class came through struggle. "It is very important to understand this, because on August 15th, by breaking gold from the dollar, Nixon decided to go to war against the working class and to take all its gains away."

## MARXISM

Referring to the student strikes that have recently occurred, Gonzalez declared that the youth cannot struggle on its own against capitalism. "Today, with the attacks on the youth and the working class, the youth is obligated to fight for the labor party and fight for Marxism."

Following the major speeches and the presentation of "100 Years of Labor's Struggles," there was the premiere showing of the American Young Socialists film. The audience responded to the 15 minute black-and-white film with great enthusiasm.

At the close of the meeting, \$1200 was raised for the Bulletin expansion drive. Editor Lucy St. John, who made the appeal for contributions, told of plans for more intensive news coverages and for a powerful campaign against George Wallace and for a labor party.

St. John stated that the Bulletin is the most important instrument of the Workers League and Young Socialists in leading forward the struggle for socialism.

She said that the Bulletin had warned the working class of the attacks planned by Nixon, and had helped to prepare the working class for this difficult period.

"We're going to take this Bulletin into every factory, every plant, every campus, every high school, in this country, and we're going to take that paper to construct this labor party now."

## HAYMARKET TO LABOR PARTY...

(Continued From Page 14)

for the working class to defend those gains, it must make another leap. He said that the attempt of the government to rip up contracts won by workers through the use of the Pay Board threatens the very existence of the trade union movement.

## EXPOSED

Although the working class internationally and in this country has displayed tremendous power in the past period, Wohlforth asserted that: "The labor movement stands naked and exposed politically so that Wallace is able to get the support of workers who have had it with the Democrats and the Republicans.

"You can't fight a Wallace with a Humphrey or a McGovern. What is required is a leap. The conditions for such a leap are here for smashing the Democrats, for forging the unity of the working class—Black and white, and the unity of the American workers with those of Vietnam, France and England."

In conclusion, Wohlforth discussed the significance of the Pay Board. "The union contract," he stated, "has been a very conservative thing in the period of the boom. Between

contracts it limits to a great degree what workers can do. But it is also the product of the strength of the working class, the formation of great industrial unions through the bitter struggle we have just discussed. The contract is based on the organization of masses of workers into single bargaining units.

"Now the Pay Board rips up these contracts and in one stroke takes from the American working class this strength. We do not have a strong shop stewards movement in this country nor a political party. We only have the contract. Once this is ripped up there is nothing left, no purpose for a union.

## LABOR PARTY

"This is the significance of the confrontation now developing between the Pay Board and the longshoremen. There must be a showdown between the labor movement and the capitalist government over the Pay Board. It can be postponed but it must take place. This is why conditions are now present for a general strike right in the middle of an election year.

"Let us also note that Nixon hesitates and postpones for a few days a decision on the East Coast ILA contract right at the moment

when the workers and peasants of Vietnam have taken Quangtri and defeated the imperialists.

## BLOW

The taking of Quangtri aided the longshoremen in their battle and a nation-wide dock strike would be a direct blow against the enemy of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. This is the real meaning of internationalism in this new period. The American working class moves forward under conditions of civil war throughout the world.

"Any nation-wide or general strike in this period is a strike against the government and therefore political in character requiring that it be seen as part of a struggle to construct a labor party. Everything constructed in the past period by American labor is now threatened.

"However, these conquests cannot be defended quantitatively, that is, by more trade union activity, militancy, solidarity. All this is necessary but what must now take place is a qualitative leap to political consciousness through the struggle for a labor party. This requires our leadership, the construction of the Workers League and Young Socialists."

Below we reprint the full texts of statements made on the floor of the recent UAW convention in Atlantic City by Ann LeFebvre, former Region 6 (Western states) Director Paul Schrade, and UAW President Leonard Woodcock, on the final day of the convention.

The eruption of this discussion onto the floor, touched off by Miss LeFebvre's statement of resignation, revealed, even if only for a brief moment, all the dirt of bureaucratic backstabbing and unprincipled alliances that the UAW leadership could no longer keep bottled up.

Ostensibly as a discussion over whether Woodcock did, didn't, should, or shouldn't have supported Schrade who was challenged and defeated by Jerry Whipple for Regional Director, delegates began to take the floor to expose the hypocrisy of Woodcock and his Executive Board. The skeletons in the bureaucracy's closet were coming to life!

The antagonisms and squabbles within the UAW bureaucracy could no longer be resolved behind the scenes as in the 1960's under Walter Reuther. It is not simply a matter that Woodcock is more inept, less skillful, etc. than Reuther, but that the crisis of the system now coming down on the heads of the UAW rank and file, has forced the bureaucracy into a crisis. At every point, all factions of this bureaucracy—Schrade, Woodcock, Whipple—pull back from the leap to independent labor politics—formation of a labor party and socialist policies.

The frustration and resistance of the ranks to the attacks of Nixon and the employers is what lay behind the revolt against Schrade—a struggle over so-called "bread and butter" issues. Important as it was, the battle of Whipple against Schrade was a surface expression of the far more fundamental movement toward a labor party which was expressed at the convention as reported in last week's Bulletin.

## International Trustee

### Ann LeFebvre

Thank you. I have been trying to get on a mike since nine o'clock this morning, and I'm sure it isn't because I'm not recognized. I am Ann LeFebvre, an elected trustee on President Woodcock's team.

For 22 years I have served on the Reuther team and I have joined shoulder to shoulder in solidarity. I recognize the sign we have in the back: teamwork in leadership, solidarity in the ranks. Because I believe in this and because I know that in Region 6 we had some very serious problems; I must come on this mike and resign as Trustee. I feel I have to give my reason; because I want it recorded as to why I did it.

There were people that were pledged with their mouths; but not with their hearts; to our Regional Director Paul Schrade. In fact, the entire Executive Board was pledged. Three of these people sat on their hands and did nothing, and because of this we lost a great man, a man that's a national figure. (Applause)

He was the type of man that truly believes in social conscience. He was the type of man that while Watts was burning he was telling whitey, listen to his grievance. See what he has to say. And they were hollering "Burn, baby burn," and Paul was saying "Build, baby, build." And he turned this Watts riot around and for this he gets kicked in the pants.

Now, I just don't understand this kind of unionism. I stood shoulder to shoulder all this time and I thought we had a great team. But when we have a leader, President Woodcock, and a Vice President, Ken Bannon, and a Vice President, Pat Greathouse that sit by and allow him to be destroyed without any recognition from them, I say shame; shame on you. You lost a great man and the people gained a great leader. (Applause)

### President Woodcock

It is, of course, the sister's privilege to resign as an International Trustee. It is the first time that I have known that it's a high crime for the President of this union not to twist arms and push people

around.

I think the delegates in Region 6 were perfectly competent to make up their decisions. (Applause)

Two years ago in this convention, an incumbent Regional Director was defeated. Two years ago in this convention, in another regional election, the margin was the difference of two delegates, and that election was protested.

In that particular situation in Region 1A that burden fell upon me upon the point that I became the President of this union, and I am glad to have this opportunity of saying thank you to Buddy Battle and to Walter Dorosh, the President of Local 600. Buddy Battle is the candidate who was narrowly defeated. There were strong technical problems involved in the conduct of the election, and he readily made an agreement with me not to take that matter into the courts, but to pursue the matter to the Public Review Board. Then we worked in endless meetings and in political caucuses to correct the problem in Region 1A.

The other region to which I had reference is Region 2. And Region 1A and Region 2 sit in this convention completely united because we were able to work with them and because they wanted to work with us and work for themselves.

I made a similar effort in Region 6 and my efforts were not taken up.

I was not the one who took the so-called problems of this union to the Wall Street Journal. I was not the one who said to the world I was opposed to Paul Schrade. I didn't say that to a single soul.

The International Executive Board, meeting as a political group made a unanimous decision to support Paul Schrade. I was part of that unanimous decision. But I told Paul then, and I told my colleagues, I am not going to be involved in this on one side or the other, and I had good and compelling reasons for that. But I wasn't going to make those public to the world.

Brother Mazey sent a letter to local unions in California who had asked that the Board keep hands off and that there be an open convention, and he sent a copy of that to the Regional Director. The statement was made to the press, and printed in the Los Angeles Times, that the whole Board was supporting Paul Schrade and specifically mentioning that President Leonard Woodcock was supporting Paul



# The Skeletons In Woodcock's Closet

Schrade. Then somebody for some political, tactical reason that I failed then to understand, still fail to understand, fed it out to the press that I was opposed to Paul Schrade. That didn't come from me. I didn't say that to any member of the press. I didn't say that to any member of this union. I resent being dragged through the capitalist press on the internal affairs of this union. (Applause)

There is a problem in Region 6. There was a problem in Region 6 two years ago, and that problem was brought to our Executive Board by my predecessor, President Walter Reuther

But I repeat, I do not consider it a high crime that I am content to accept the workings of the democratic process.

There are men sitting down here in Region 2. Two years ago I tried to get them to change their minds and I didn't change a single vote. Men whom I had worked with a long time in this union, men who would reasonably do anything I would have asked said, they looked me in the eye and said, "Leonard, on this one you are wrong. We've made up our minds what we think is good for our union in that area."

I was branded in the Wall Street Journal as being a traitor because I had said to the world that Henry Lacayo is my friend. Well, Henry Lacayo is the President of Local 887 on the West Coast. I worked in negotiations with Henry Lacayo in several rounds of bargaining. He has never once done anything against me as a person. He has never once done anything against this union.

And where was the cry for democracy then, in the summer of 1970, the regional office in California was tying up with the right-to-work people to destroy Henry Lacayo? Where was the voice for democracy then? (Applause)

And why is it that only in this one, every other region tries to involve itself? If Region 6 would be left alone to solve its own problems, then they can solve their own problems. But everybody is always running out from Detroit to tell them what they should do. As far as I am concerned, they are grown-up men and women and they can make up

their own minds what they want to do. (Applause)

And those who were on the other side of this question, those who were on the other side of this question are just as good union members as those who were supporting Paul Schrade. It does this union no good to put it on the basis that on the one side they are all liberals and the only ones who believe in social causes, and on the other side are the rank reactionaries. That wasn't what the issue was all about at all.

I regret having to say these words to this convention, but I felt under the circumstances I had to do it.

## Former Regional Director Schrade



I want to say to you some of the things I said to the Region 6 meeting of the delegates last night.

I'm very sorry that this convention is being exposed to the kind of diatribe against me that it was just exposed to by the President of the union, because nothing in Ann LeFebvre's remarks called for that kind of response. Ann LeFebvre has given her life to this union and done a great job in her local union in California. I was just accused of setting this up. As far as I know, Ann LeFebvre decided what she had to do and did it herself. I did not enter that decision. What she said, she said herself and I didn't put those words in her mouth, because, if you know Ann LeFebvre, nobody does that.

I was accused of working with right-to-work people. I have never worked with right-to-work people in my life. We fought

them in California where we have a hell of a battle every day, and to be accused of doing that is the worst kind of McCarthysim I have heard in this union.

I'm really very sad today, not so much for myself because I lost an election, an election that was hard fought, but we handled ourselves, I think, with dignity and the people that were associated with me in the region should be proud of the role that we played in his convention.

The UAW has been good to me. I have worked for the union for 24 years in California. Four of those years, though, were spent as Administrative Assistant to Walter Reuther and a year of that in Leonard Woodcock's Aerospace Staff. Today, even though I'm defeated and I'm a rank-and-filer, I know that the UAW owes me nothing. I have done what I wanted to do as a member, as a committeeman, as a local union president and as a Regional Director and as a member of the International Executive Board, because, as Walter Reuther used to put it, in the UAW you can live your beliefs. I have lived my beliefs and I have acted upon them, and those who have called upon people in this union to charge me with spending too much time on other causes, well, we put that big lie to rest in the campaign, because I showed every day, every hour that I spent on the campuses and the high schools, every day that I spent in the anti-war activities with the Farm Workers Union and the community growths in Watts and East L.A., that amounted to less than two percent of my time. I'm ashamed to say that I should have been spending more, because I think those programs, which are always UAW endorsed, deserve more from us.

So I know that this union has been good to me, because I have been able to live my beliefs.

I feel no defeat in that election, because I'm a free man today. I feel very liberated, and I intend, when I leave Atlantic City, to go back to California, to go back to work in my plant, my local union, and do what I have to do to build this union better than it is today.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

## IDAHO MINERS . . .

(Continued From Page 4)

go around and some were inoperable. I was lucky enough to figure out how to work one which helped me to get out. But others weren't so lucky. Some of the resuscitators would not operate.

"There were no breathing apparatuses for the men who were operating the hoist elevators inside the mine which were bringing men up from the lower part of the mine during the fire. Almost every hoist operator died from smoke inhalation. Had the hoist operators had breathing apparatuses, they could have brought nearly everyone out of the mine alive."

Ira Sliger, a hoist operator who survived, said that: "Oxygen was the one thing we didn't have. If we had air running into that cab where the hoist controls are located, those men would be alive yet."

Byron L. Schulz, 21 year old miner employed at the Sunshine Mine for the last three years said: "If they had been more organized there wouldn't be any men down there. There was no organization. Nobody knew what to do or how to do it. They should have drilled on it and there should be something better than those little respirators for men."

"There is no way you can get everybody out of the mine in ten minutes. That's how long the respirators work. The resuscitators they had were no good at all. They last 10, maybe 20 minutes at the most."

He said the "squack box" connecting the cage he operated and the "skip" which lifted men

to the top "didn't work half the time."

The company is concerned with "too many accidents" cutting into the profits of the company. Also, of course, the company worries about too much money for safety protection in the mine that would further cut into profits.

The United Steel Workers Union of America which represents these miners, sent a task force, including safety men and attorneys, to Kellogg to investigate the mine disaster. A meeting May 7 of this task force and local union officials decided to ask USW President I.W. Abel to press for an immediate Congressional investigation, because the Interior Department is "not probing deep enough" into the safety issues.

Frank McKee the director of USW District 38, covering 14 Western states, said: "The steelworkers are not satisfied with the Interior Department's investigation." In an interview before this meeting, McKee told the **Bulletin** that:

"There has to be laws written to give greater protection to the workers. There's no question about it. There has to be a greater involvement by the union, a greater place for the union to participate in the inspection of these mines. There have to be stronger laws, more meaningful laws."

R.M. Helm, a Federal Bureau of Mines official, said of previous inspections of the Sunshine Silver Mines that: "There was no indication that it was an unsafe mine." He said the safety

programs of the Sunshine mines are "about average, perhaps a little better than average, than those offered by most mines."

This shows the criminal collaboration of the government with the mining bosses whose greed has resulted in the brutal death of close to 100 workers.

Only the fight by the unions to build a labor party which will nationalize the mines under workers control and run them in the interests of the working class can put an end to this.

The answer the company, which is responsible for the deaths, gives is that none of these safety measures are required by state or federal law. Robert Launhardt said, concerning these individual resuscitators, that:

"We haven't tried to teach our hourly employees how to use them but if we did we would have to train them again a couple of months later."

Launhardt expressed the arrogant hatred of the company for the miners when he said that: "The only thing we propose in the line of safety laws is that they provide penalties for employees. I don't believe it is fair to industry to put all the burden on management and nothing directed to the individual."

Carl Burke, a Sunshine Mining Company official, revealed the real concern of the company boss. "Unfortunately, this fire was totally unexpected. In any case, our company is deeply interested in the safety of its employees. We don't like to see persons injured, besides, a mine can't operate effectively with too many accidents."

Humphrey, and some workers support McGovern, the strike-breaking newspaper publishers urged a vote for Humphrey in the primary and earlier endorsed McGovern on the front page of the **Charleston Gazette**.

Discussions with workers in Charleston reflected the growing turmoil in the thinking of more and more workers who are being forced by the attacks of the ruling class to confront politics in a new way. In this groping and grasping for a change, for a real alternative, the preparation for a leap in consciousness and a mass movement for a labor party is taking place. Support for Wallace and McGovern arising from being "fed up" with the Democrats, of whom Humphrey is a symbol, can be cracked wide open by an aggressive campaign for the labor party.

know who to vote for. I'm serious. I mean, both sides are hurting. We need a change."

The contradictory reaction to Wallace on the part of some workers who are bitter over the Democrats but are suspicious of Wallace's attacks on the unions, was sharply expressed in the reactions of the strikers. In discussing the strike with a group of four pickets, a **Bulletin** reporter asked who the millionaire publishers were supporting:

"I don't know—probably Wallace," remarked one of the men, bitterly. Another one of the group jumped in and said, "Don't say that—he's my man." These same workers all felt that a labor party would be good.

The crisis of the labor bureaucracy is most sharply expressed in the fact that while the state AFL-CIO has endorsed

On the West Coast, the most dangerous idea, which has been encouraged by the leadership despite their militant statements is that the West Coast must wait for joint agreement with the ILA.

The time is past for talking, or waiting. The truth is that unilateral action now, by either the ILWU or ILA will immediately bring out the other coast, and pose the most powerful movement for support from the rest of the labor movement, placing a general strike on the order of the day.

Nixon has acted not out of strength, but under the most difficult situation for the bosses which are faced with the offensive of the working class both here and in Vietnam. Nixon is desperately counting on the inaction of the dock unions. But the longshoremen now can drive him up against the wall, win their full demands and send the Pay Board packing through a nationwide dock shutdown.

of the MFD, told the **Bulletin** that the meeting went a lot more smoothly than he had expected. It was apparent that the initiators of the meeting were apprehensive that there would be a lot of dissension at the meeting, and this is the main reason given for barring reporters.

The meeting, however, did not discuss a program. The convention on May 27, which opens up a tremendous possibility for genuine rank and file control of the union must confront the basic questions facing the entire labor movement—in particular the need to fight the government, to break with the Democrats and form a labor party.

## PRIMARIES . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

against the labor movement she said, "Yes, but then again, look at Rockefeller—he's supposed to be the labor man but he's not."

## WELFARE

After some discussion on the questions of Wallace and the attacks on the unions, she said, "They told us we were permanently replaced, but they won't even give us unemployment compensation. We had to get on welfare—my husband has worked here since he was 17 years old—and we had to get on welfare, and you know that's terrible.... We need something desperately bad. Something has to be done. You know, people are confused. They don't know what to do. Now right now, I don't

## ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

leaders in the ILA is still to look for a way out of a necessary confrontation. The rank and file are knocking on the door of the ILA leadership which fears wild-cat action. This is the meaning of

## UMW . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

panies used to say—you ought to be grateful that you're living in my house and eating out of my store. The last year that I worked I made over \$10,000. Why shouldn't I be entitled to over half of my salary?"

There was a feeling among the delegates that Boyle's days as President are indeed numbered. One delegate, from the Anthracite region of Eastern Pennsylvania predicted that when the election is held, Boyle would not be able to get more than a quarter of the votes, provided it is an honest election.

Mike Trbovich, Co-Chairman

## VIETNAM . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

vernment, resorting to deportations of suspected Vietcong sympathizers and to open murder. On Saturday, 13 prisoners of war were gunned down during a political demonstration.

"This is it," stated an American officer. "Sure, the North Vietnamese have options to break it off or to fall back. But this time they can go all the way to Saigon."

## DEATH AGONIES

The puppet governments of Cambodia and Laos are also in their death agonies. In addition to the military gains of the NLF, the Laotian regime of Prince Souvanna Phouma is racked by a political and economic crisis. Thousands of students mobbed the streets of Vientiane as the government announced a drastic devaluation of the currency.

In Cambodia, the Lon Nol regime is virtually unable to resist NLF attacks even in the city of Phnom Penh, where a major attack took place several days ago.

The tone of Nixon's nationwide speech reflected his de-

termination to take even more drastic actions. He referred to the North Vietnamese as "international outlaws" and warned: "Do not compound your agony with continued arrogance." These are the words of a man considering the use of nuclear bombs against the North.

The bankruptcy of the Stalinist conception of "peaceful co-existence" is exposed as Nixon threatens a third world war against the U.S.S.R. in order to stop the offensive of the international working class. Only yesterday, the Kremlin was eagerly preparing to greet Nixon in Moscow and sign trade and disarmament treaties. The imperialists now are prepared to throw all this out the window, as Nixon declares: "We simply face a new situation."

While Nixon is demanding that the Kremlin Stalinists move to end the war in Vietnam, the collapse of the Paris negotiations indicate that Brezhnev is not in a position to grant Nixon's wishes. Although the talks were resumed at Moscow's request, Hanoi and Washington had nothing to say to each other.

## BROOKLYN COLLEGE . . .

(Continued From Page 6)

JDL which sought to divide students and even encourage cuts that would deny minority entrance onto campus.

The Young Socialists approached members of the Revolutionary Slate, led by Paul Massas, and the members of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSA), offering critical support to both on a program to fight the cuts and the JDL. Despite some political differences, we reached agreement with the Revolutionary Slate.

But the YSA proceeded from the task of differentiating themselves from the YS and, in a sectarian and factional manner, refused. When the YS issued a leaflet urging a vote for both slates, the YSA demanded that a member of the Elections Commission (and the JDL) ban our leaflets. They proceeded to carry out a campaign based on a completely bankrupt perspective of student powerism.

Despite this, the YS sought to act objectively and fought with the membership of the Third World Federation to vote for all slates.

## BLOW

The result of this campaign was the first blow against the JDL. Despite harassment, and an invasion of a YS meeting by the JDL, two members of the

Revolutionary Slate won seats although one was subsequently removed.

The Organizer of March 3, 1972, stated: "Our sectarian opponents, the Workers League, ran in a block (sic) with a group called the Revolution (sic) Slate, but since their campaign was relatively insignificant, we directed most of our attention at the two other major slates."

The truth was that the YSA was sectarian, and they directed no attention to the other major slates: that is, the candidacy of the JDL. In addition the "insignificance" of the Workers League was shown by the results in which the YSA received 135 votes and the Workers League received 190. The YSA's votes included those the Workers League had campaigned for through the critical support to their candidates.

What was revealed in the elections was that the YSA, proceeding pragmatically from particular tasks, and not with the objective needs of the youth, moved in the most subjective manner.

Proceeding from differentiating themselves from the YS, they began to move in collaboration with right-wing forces against the development of the revolutionary party. This was only the beginning.

TO BE CONTINUED

## YWLL . . .

(Continued From Page 7)

at the conference. The only speakers were pre-selected delegates. But the fact that the needs of the youth were being betrayed came out from campus and working class youth. The most consistent critical remark was on the need for more literature, because of the inability of the youth to deal with other ideological trends, especially Trotskyism, and on the history of the trade unions.

One worker commented on Trade Unions for Action and Democracy (TUAD) that: "The fight against unemployment didn't make any headway because we don't have a concrete program."

Another said: "TUAD has been accused of lack of militancy." A Philadelphia delegate said on Wallace: "Frankly, I

don't think we're doing the job. Like busing, we don't even have a stand on it." None of these questions were ever even addressed and for that reason at least half the observers had left by the afternoon session on the first day.

**Bulletin** salesmen sold almost a hundred papers to delegates and observers and another 100 in street sales. It was on Sunday that the leadership of the YWLL was forced to implement their lies and slanders on the inside of the convention while sending out members to provoke the **Bulletin** salesmen by shouting vicious anti-Trotskyist slogans in the streets.

The Stalinists fear above all the movement of the working class and youth and the development of a revolutionary, a Trotskyist leadership, among the youth and in the unions.

## West Coast News

# U California Uses Scabs, Injunction To Break Strike

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—University of California employees entered their fourth week of a strike against UC's attempts at union breaking.

Throughout the week, there has been an apparent change in University strike tactics. On Tuesday, in an extremely ambiguous decision, the court threw out all contempt of court citations at Berkeley, except the one against Building Trades leader, Lamar Childers. They were thrown out on the grounds that they had been improperly served.

On Thursday, 16 contempt citations at UC Medical Center were thrown out of court because the University had shown insufficient evidence to press charges. In both courts, the judges' statements declared that the injunctions against any strike activities were still in effect, but to confuse the issue both judges declared that employees had the right to protest and withdraw their services.

This decision has been played up by union leaders and the Strike Action Group, an amalgamation of Progressive Labor Party and the International Socialists, as a temporary victory. In fact it is nothing of the sort. Neither court decided on whether or not the strike is a strike or a protest, leaving open all options, including the re-issuing of contempt citations.

### TALKS

The reason for these actions on the part of the courts could be readily seen on Thursday when union leaders engaged in "talks" with university officials. Although nothing official resulted from these talks, it is rumored that negotiations will re-open next week.

Every attempt is being made by the courts and the University to make it appear that Groulx's "strategy" of dependence on the courts is winning. The University police, conspicuous in large numbers at the beginning of the strike, have suddenly disappeared. But this new "softness" by the University and the courts is a deception.

### DANGER

This is the most dangerous period of the strike. Everything is being done to tie the hands of the unions, while the University is allowed free rein to fire strikers and hire scabs.



1500 San Francisco teachers packed last week's meeting at which leaders delayed any decisions for a week.

# SF Teachers Postpone Strike Against Attacks

BY FRED CARSON

SAN FRANCISCO—The leaders of San Francisco's AFT local called a mammoth strike meeting here on Thursday night, only to send everyone home. Over 1500 teachers and para-professionals eventually accepted a motion delaying any action for a week.

The San Francisco Federation of Teachers is under heavy attack by a city council and a school board that are crying bankruptcy in order to take away from teachers and other workers what they have already negotiated. As teachers' local president Jim Ballard stated: "We are fighting to stand still."

When the union put forth a list of demands a short time ago, which asked only for such "defensive" demands as maintenance of normally scheduled pay increments, no increase in classroom size, and no layoffs for teacher aides, the city replied that this would exceed the budget and could not be granted.

Faced with the decimation of their ranks by layoffs and a huge drop in their standard of living, teachers called on the union leadership to move for strike action.

But at the strike meeting, president Ballard announced that the city had made a last minute offer, having mysteriously found the money necessary for maintaining the pay increments which it had previously said it could not afford.

However, the essence of the "offer" was that it guaranteed nothing at all about layoffs or class size.

The impossibility of selling this unacceptable offer to the ranks has made Ballard play for time by moving for a one week recess. He justified this with the false argument that it was the mere calling of a meeting, rather than the threat of imminent strike, that forced the city to make a new offer.

### HESITANCY

This one-week delay which the teachers accepted, can only weaken their position by showing

# Teamsters Call Support For Five-Month Strike

BY BARRY GRAY

HAYWOOD—The five-month old Teamster bottler's strike has reached a critical point at which the very existence of the six striking locals is at stake. The militancy of the ranks is rapidly coming into an explosive collision with the treachery of the local and international leadership.

While Fitzsimmons continues to sit on Nixon's Pay Board and Jack Goldberger refuses to make good his call for a general strike of Bay Area Teamsters, the employers' trucks continue to roll into the scab-manned plants, protected by armed guards and backed by court injunctions and fines which outlaw effective picketing and strike action.

Every striking Teamster knows that the employers have banded together to break the bottler's unions. The strike and lockout which began on December 9 are over the fundamental question of the union shop. The employers are demanding the right to hire at the

door and put supervisors to work on union jobs.

What is posed in this strike is the complete bankruptcy of trade union militancy in the face of a political assault by every agency of the capitalist state on one of the strongest sections of organized labor.

The ranks are daily demonstrating their determination to defend their rights but are being betrayed by a leadership which will sooner oversee defeat than spread the strike and take up the political struggle against the bosses, the courts, and Nixon.

### DIVERT

Desperately seeking for ways to divert the anger of the ranks, the Teamster leadership has turned to liberal protest tactics of con-

sumer boycotts and picketing outside of supermarkets which handle scab products.

### GENERAL STRIKE

On May 6 over 200 bottlers picketed the Southland Shopping Mall in Hayward. *Bulletin* salesmen found that the overwhelming sentiment of the pickets was for general strike action in defiance of the court injunctions. At the same time almost no one expressed any confidence in the effectiveness of the protest.

One worker posed the seriousness of the situation when he told us that: "They offered us the 5½ percent increase in a contract that denies seniority rights. If we accept that we might as well go down and cross the picket lines and go to work for nothing right now. Without seniority I've been working 30 years for nothing."

### BITTERNESS

There was a tremendous feeling of bitterness among the pickets toward the leadership. Many saw the attacks by the employers and the state as part of a national strategy to break the unions. One picket said:

"They're trying to break the unions. And not just here. All of labor should be called out. It looks like there's going to have to be a revolution to settle things."

Many of the pickets agreed that the only way to fight back was through the construction of a labor party. An older worker, in the Teamsters since 1938, said he'd never seen a situation like the one confronting the bottlers.

"I've always been for a labor party," he told us. "Labor has to have its own man to represent it."

## PORTLAND TEACHERS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

The *Journal* asserts that "the issue in the campaign is whether the hand picked PFT candidates should be able to dictate School Board policy through their direct representatives on the board."

The *Oregonian* notes that the School Board elections "for the first time puts incumbents against a slate of candidates endorsed by organized labor and more specifically by the PFT."

The *Oregonian* editorial laments that: "the union's obvious purpose is to gain a grip on top jobs in the Portland School District and eventually put teachers in command of school policy. The general public which the Board should represent and has represented should take serious note of this threat to its traditional authority."

The Rank and File Committee, a caucus of PFT members, is supporting the union slate in the school election as a step towards labor running political candidates and building a political party of the trade union movement.

Since last fall the RAFC has called for the present leadership of the PFT to take

the fight for a labor party into the 21 other unions in the District Council that represents non-classified employees in the Portland School District and into the entire trade union movement.

A leaflet this caucus put out a month ago stated that: "A teacher's strike is not so much a strike against the School Board as a strike against the State government and this means a strike against the Democratic and Republican parties that hold the State offices. These twin parties are financed and dominated by big business and the banks."

"Even more a strike now to win salary demands in the union package is a strike against the federal Pay Board that was established and administered by these parties."

The RAFC slate in the May elections for PFT offices calls for a political offensive in the trade unions to build a labor party in 1972.

The PFT election campaign gives a lead to the entire labor movement. The capitalist press is all too well aware of the danger that millions of workers will take the same road and construct a labor party that will take up the fight for power.

# West Coast News

EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3005 18TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

## Portland Teachers Run Labor Candidates

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PORTLAND—The Political Action Committee of the Portland Federation of Teachers AFL-CIO has instituted a campaign of three candidates for election May 23 to the Board of Education.

PFT is calling this campaign "the major hope for Portland teachers" who face another year of cutbacks and layoffs. Also confronting the union are two State statutes that outlaw public employee strikes and restrict negotiations to "economic" matters.

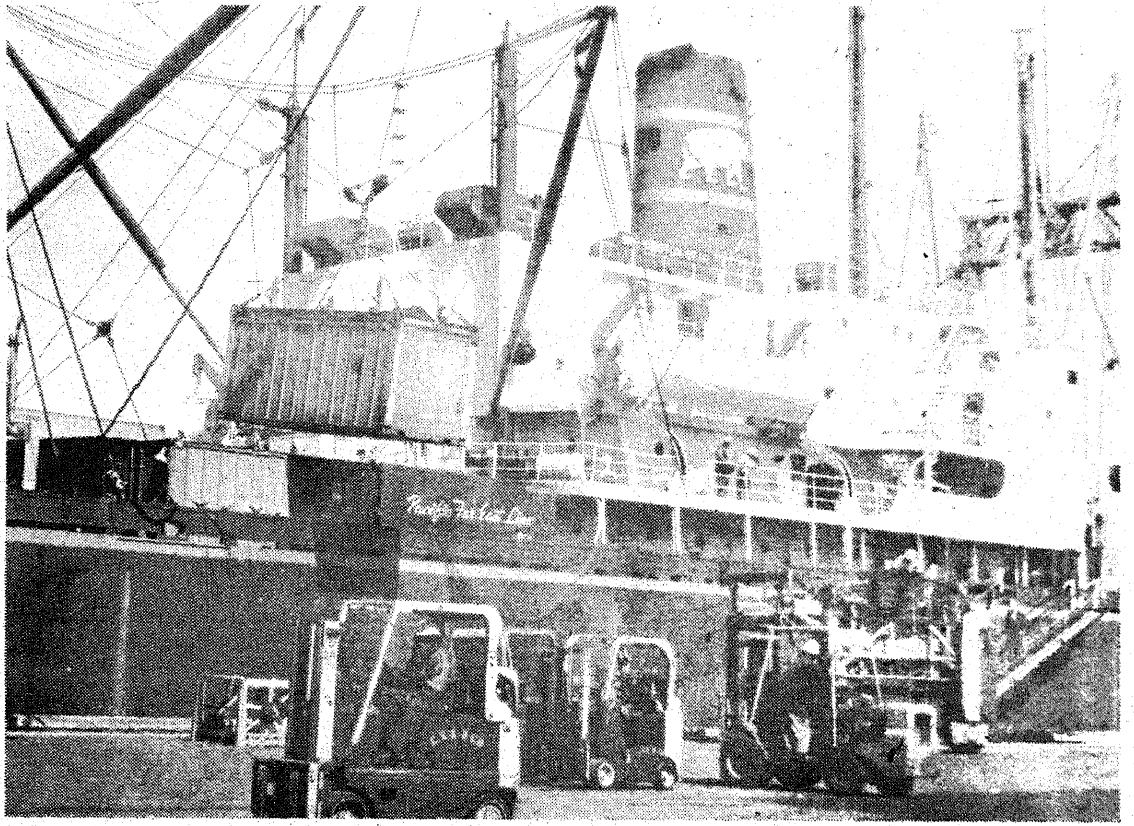
The slate of union candidates is committed to "full bargaining rights for teachers, the right to strike and negotiate non-economic items." It is also committed to "reductions in class sizes" and "reform in financing schools so that lower and middle income people don't carry the bulk of the tax load."

The COPE of the Multnomah County Labor Council, with delegates representing 140 trade unions, has endorsed the PFT candidates who according to the Oregon Labor Press "are running as a team."

In a May 5 editorial entitled "Its Time for a Change," the Labor Council newspaper attacks the "elitist contempt of the school board." The editorial charges that "for years the Portland School Board has been dominated in self-perpetuating fashion by the city's establishment, which takes the view that only members of the elite should serve on the board and that when they have nobly performed their stint of public service they should be succeeded by another of their kind."

The Labor Council unanimously endorsed the PFT slate which includes the wife of the regional director of the AFT. The big business newspapers in Portland have responded to the PFT political initiative with vehement attacks. An editorial in the Oregon Journal declares that the PFT has "declared war."

(Continued On Page 19)



Container ships like this one in San Francisco are cutting jobs on docks under new contract.

## Prosecution Desperate To Keep Politics Out Of Angela Trial

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—The prosecution moved swiftly this week to the completion of its case in the Angela Davis murder, conspiracy trial. Harris tried to follow a careful chronology of events of the days prior to August 7 which would link Davis to a conspiracy with Jonathan Jackson.

It is the State's contention that Davis provided the guns and plotted the escape attempt at the Marin County Courthouse on August 7, 1970.

From the beginning, this trial has been marked by a very conscious and skillful avoidance by the prosecution of every political question raised in this case. To this end, Harris stated that none of Davis' political activities or beliefs would be brought into this case.

The main vehicle for this political cover-up is the motive which he has ascribed to Davis—an unbounded passion for one man—George Jackson, which, according to the prosecution, led Angela to "plot the ingenious escape attempt" to exchange hostages for Jackson. Critical to Harris' case, therefore, is the diary written by Angela to George Jackson nearly a year after the events concerned in this trial.

Judge Arnason has not made his decision yet on whether he will admit a seven-page edited version to the jury. In a closed debate over this document, later made public, Harris pleaded that "without this diary I might as well pack up and go home."

But Harris fears most of all that the political questions will enter the courtroom, that a lead might be given to the thousands of workers experiencing the same attacks. Today, whole sections of workers can be rallied around Davis because they are prepared to see the identity of their struggles with the fight of militants against the capitalist system. It means bringing the

question of socialism into the working class.

For it is not just Angela Davis or isolated militants who are the victims of the courts, but workers all over the country who are coming under attack as fundamental battles break out in the labor movement.

Whether it is the Teamsters who face injunctions and heavy fines because they defend their picket lines or Building Tradesmen at U.C. Berkeley who were hit with 2000 restraining orders because they went out on strike, the intent is to smash the working class, by removing its militants and destroying its trade unions.

The defense has very carefully conducted its case within the limits proscribed by the prosecution; they could not be further removed from the working class. They say at every point that Harris has no case and therefore imply that it is correct in this period to rely on the courts to grant a fair trial.

In the eyes of the capitalist class, Davis is guilty whether she was actually involved or not, and the capitalist press is doing its part to complete for Harris in the press what he cannot accomplish in the courtroom.

There are tremendous dangers posed to Davis and to the working class as a whole by this kind of defense which labels Harris "obscene" and is shocked by the "sick game" he is playing.

The Bulletin warned before that this is no game and the Communist Party knows it. The state is determined to carry its conspiracy frame-up all the way to a conviction.

## Rebel G.I. Faces Death Sentence

BY A CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO—"I am calling on the people all over the world to help me and my family fight for my life."

These are the words of Pvt. Billy Dean Smith who is the first GI to stand trial in the U. S. on a charge of fraging two army officers.

According to Smith's sister, Mildred Randolph, the trial is expected to begin in August and he has been held in solitary for over a year.

Billy Smith is on trial for his life because he is a militant who fought racism and repression in the Army and opposed the imperialist war in Vietnam. His Army career was marked by harassment, continual punishment for minor infractions and

shortly before the murder charges, he was being processed for discharge as unsuitable and unfit. His commanding officer, Captain Rigby, claimed that he was unenthusiastic about "closing with the enemy."

An explosion of a fragmentation grenade in Bien Hoa, Vietnam killed two officers and wounded a third. Smith the "troublemaker" was immediately charged. The only evidence against Smith is a grenade pin found in his pocket at the time of his arrest. Nothing links this pin with the grenade that

killed the officers.

His sister pointed out that he was seen playing with a ball shaped grenade on the day of the explosion and the grenade that caused the deaths was pear shaped. She also says that soil on his shoes did not match that around the explosion area and that there is no match with the grenade pin found in his possession.

There is not a scrap of evidence against Smith. He is facing the death penalty as a warning to the hundreds of GI's who have thrown grenades or taken shots at their officers and to the thousands more who are refusing to obey orders as mutiny grows in the demoralized American Army.

### CALLEY

While mass murderer Calley is treated as a hero and preparations are made for his early release, Smith is a symbol of resistance that must be destroyed. The fear of every officer of a bullet in the back and the hysteria of a ruling class on the brink of defeat in Vietnam is directed at Billy Smith.

Smith faces a military court determined to destroy him. Only the action of the working class can free him.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers' movement

## Subscribe Now!

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

\$1.00 FOR A 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB  
 \$2.00 FOR 6 MONTHS  \$4.00 FOR A FULL YEAR  
135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011