

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY FOUR 244 352

MAY 8, 1972

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UNIONS MUST ACT TO STOP WALLACE!

See Editorial Page 8.

GARY, IND., May 3—Hubert Humphrey narrowly defeated George Wallace, winning by a 48 percent to 41 percent margin in yesterday's Indiana primary. The strong vote for Wallace in which he equalled his Florida percentage, reveals that Wallace is more than ever before, the most fundamental danger to the labor movement.

Support for Wallace was in large part the result of his demagoguery about inflation, taxes, etc.—issues which he exploits in order to turn the disgust of many working class voters with the Democrats into a reactionary, racist program to smash the unions.

The explanation of McGovern's strong showing in Ohio, where he nearly tied Humphrey, the "machine" candidate (with the count estimated at 41% for Humphrey and 38% for McGovern) also lies in the fact that in this industrial state, McGovern used "left" demagoguery to exploit the same disgust with the Democrats shown by workers.

Crucial to the election was Lake County which includes the steel towns of Gary, Hammond and East Chicago.

Many Gary workers were troubled by the vote totals, and discussed the basis of his popularity with Bulletin reporters.

The primary took place, in fact, in the middle of a teachers strike over the question of cut-backs in teaching staff due to "lack of funds." One school custodian summed up his understanding of Wallace's appeal this way:

FOOLING

"People here know they've been paying more and more money and then the City and State say they can't even keep our schools open. Can't blame them for being mad, and Wallace tells them he'll solve all those problems. But myself, I think they're fooling themselves if they fall for all that talk about the little man.

"He hasn't changed since the days he stood on those school steps. He's still a racist, plain and simple, and things would be a whole lot worse if he got in.

"I don't know. To me, it just looks like he wants to keep us split up and fighting each other so we don't ever get to changing what needs to be changed."

"There's a reason why Wallace only speaks at the airport here."

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Delegates demonstrate at UAW Convention for Jerry Whipple who was voted West Coast Regional Director.

UAW Delegates Break With Democrats

Despite the closing of the UAW Convention a day earlier than scheduled and despite every effort by the International leadership to limit discussion, a number of delegates made important contributions on questions of vital importance to the entire labor movement, that is on unemployment and political action.

The discussion on unemployment centered on the question of plant closings and transfers of operations. This has already resulted in many thousands of layoffs increasing speed-up and the loss of pensions since Nixon opened up "Phase I" on August 15, 1972.

Joe Halaby, delegate from Detroit Local 155, told the convention that his local membership was down from 10,000 to 6,500 and there are frequent pension cancellations. "We have to tell these

men, 'Sorry, write your Senator and Congressman.' That's like telling a terminal cancer patient he has one more day," said Halaby.

Another delegate reported that his plant, a subsidiary of White Motors, will close next month: "850 local members with thousands of years of seniority will have their retirement benefits cut 70-75 percent. For years

we've had resolutions on plant shutdowns. We've done a lousy job on our elected officials who don't commit themselves to programs we need. Even if we do get a law on pension insurance, it will be watered down. We need other ways."

Scores of delegates wanted to get the floor on this question but only a few got a chance to speak.

LOSS OF JOBS

Theodore Nagy, a delegate and President of Local 363 at Pesco Products, a division of Borg Warner, Cleveland, Ohio, told the convention: "Pesco Products is one of these companies being sold with a loss of over 500 jobs. On June 1, 1972, we are out! The UAW has been the leader on pensions. We fought hard in our local for 30 and out. We had a 6 month strike. Then they said 'checkmate,' we're moving. 'Just when we got gains, Nixon, with Phase I and Phase II, wiped it out.

"Have you ever had the experience of watching a man sit down and cry? One of our men came to me and said: 'We were on a six month strike for this pen-

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Bridges Calls For General Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, May 2—ILWU President Harry Bridges issued a statement last night pledging the union "to expose the Pay Board, to destroy its effectiveness by any means possible."

Any means, according to Bridges, includes: "National general strikes, refusal to cooperate in any way with the Pay Board, and efforts to unite

only behind political candidates who oppose President Nixon's wage-price controls."

Bridges said that, in his opinion, Meany would not support a national general strike now. He also said, however, that Meany will not oppose joint strike action by the West Coast ILWU and the East Coast ILA if the Pay Board trims the ILA settlement.

Bridges announced that the

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Brandt Coalition In Crisis After CDU Challenge

BY DAVID NORTH

West German Chancellor Willy Brandt survived the "no-confidence" vote introduced by the Christian-Democrats and Christian-Socialists (CDU-CSU) last Thursday, but the social-liberal coalition that has ruled Germany since October 1969 is on the verge of collapse.

Only 24 hours after the "no-confidence" vote failed, the coalition's proposed federal budget was defeated in the Bundestag. The 247-247 tie proved that the Social-Democrats and the Free-Democrats no longer have a working majority.

In order to resolve the impasse, Brandt began lengthy consultations with the CDU-CSU leadership; and a coalition spokesman later reported that: "For the time being, then, we will have what is an all-party government in everything but name."

There are indications that the

CDU-CSU will permit the controversial treaties with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to achieve ratification. While the CDU-CSU has spearheaded the fight against Brandt's Ostpolitik, it has decided to accept ratification because the treaties are in the best interests of the European capitalist class, and because there is still some division in the capitalist parties over the wisdom of throwing Brandt out immediately.

While the CDU-CSU may slow its offensive against the SPD for a few weeks to squeeze the last possible betrayal out of Brandt, it must move to wipe the reformist coalition away and install a

government that is prepared to take on the working class.

The tremendous power of the German workers was demonstrated on the day of the "no-confidence" vote. Thousands of trade unionists staged protest strikes against the CDU-CSU attempt to oust Brandt. Six thousand workers in Kiel closed down two plants for more than one hour. Two thousand workers struck in Bielefeld, and 2500 workers walked off their jobs in Gelsenkirchen.

These strikes show very concretely the new character of the class struggle in Germany, as the political intervention of the working class overshadows as



German Christian Democrat leader Barzel (left with Kosygin) is aiding Brandt's government against working class' struggles, well as determines the parliamentary maneuvers of the capitalist parties and their agents.

Even as the liberal capitalists in the FDP openly join the CDU-CSU offensive against the SPD and the working class, Brandt refuses to break with the liberals. He proceeds, instead,

to collaborate with Barzel and CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss.

Brandt fears new elections that could return the SPD to power in its own right, and seeks to contain the offensive of the working class while the CDU-CSU prepares for the attack. This has been the crux of Brandt's policies since coming to office.

Ranks Defy Tory Bill To Ban Strikes

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The reformist leadership of the Trades Union Congress has abandoned the fight against the Industrial Relations Act, which was passed last summer by the Tories in order to destroy trade unionism in England.

In flagrant violation of policies decided at the Blackpool meeting in September, the TUC has submitted to the rulings of the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC), the legal arm of the Act.

The TUC advised England's largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, to pay a \$120,000 fine imposed by the NIRC.

Sir Sidney Greene, head of the railway unions, ordered his men to obey the NIRC and end their "work-to-rule."

Victor Feather, the head of the TUC, went to 10 Downing Street to mull over the state of the capitalist economy with Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath.

At every point, the TUC avoided a direct fight against the Act, claiming that it would simply ignore the Tory law. Now that the Tories are proving that they mean to tear the unions to shreds with the Act, the TUC is in total retreat.

The reformist leaders have never had the slightest intention of fighting the government. As at

every other time of confrontation between the capitalist and working classes, the trade union bureaucracy has once again stood with the former.

RETREAT

The retreat of the TUC has angered trade unionists throughout England. Dockers have been expanding their boycott actions in spite of their leadership's call for an end to the "blackings."

London dock workers called for a policy of "total war" against employers attempting to use non-union labor to unload containers.

Representatives of 1.2 million engineering workers met Thursday to condemn the TUC's cooperation with the Industrial Relations Act. It called for an immediate recall of the Congress that met at Blackpool to discuss the new turn of events.

The Stalinists of the British Communist Party are attempting to portray the miserable surrender of the TUC as an act of great defiance. All their efforts are directed at heading off the powerful movement of



British Prime Minister Heath.

rank-and-file workers against the government and the bankrupt reformist leadership of the trade unions and Labour Party.

The Stalinists are themselves proposing not a determined fight to smash the Act by bringing down the Tory government, but rather a continuation of protests like a one day general strike on May Day.

Answering this blue print for betrayal, the Socialist Labour League stated in the Workers Press of April 27:

"We have said over and over again: This government must be brought down. The decision of the engineers at Eastbourne to back a strike on May 1 reflects the explosive feeling of the rank and file against the Act and against the Tories.

"But a one day strike will not get rid of the Act or the Tories. May 1 must be the start of a General Strike to force this government to resign so that a Labour government can be returned and made to carry out socialist policies."

Stalinists' No-Strike Pledge Strengthens Italian Fascists

BY FRED MUELLER

Italy's three major trade union organizations have decreed a no-strike period lasting from April 24th to the general elections of May 7-8.

This is a dangerous attempt on the part of the union leaders to appease the capitalists. It can only strengthen the neo-Fascists as the voting approaches.

The CGT led by the Italian Communist Party has taken the lead in this maneuver, with the agreement of the Social Democratic and Catholic unions. The no-strike policy is part of the Stalinists' demonstration of their respectability to the capitalists. Another part is their insistence

on the right of free speech for the neo-Fascists.

Groveling before the liberal capitalists will no more succeed in defeating the Fascists than it did in Germany, Italy and France in the 1920's and 1930's. In response to the upsurge of struggle, the capitalist parties are now proposing national anti-strike legislation for the first time.

The New York Times correspondent writes sarcastically from Rome:

"In Italy, where strikes have long been a way of life, an unusual two week experiment started today: Almost every man is doing his job...While the no-strike period lasts, Italians are witnessing the rare spectacle of

sanitation men sweeping the streets, trains and buses running on schedule, mailmen delivering letters and workers going to their factories...frequent walkouts have caused such disruption in industry and public services recently that many people have taken to consulting the daily strike schedule in the newspapers as routinely as they look up television programs."

OFFENSIVE

The working class offensive is continuing. It has not been stopped by the deepest recession of the postwar period in Italy. There are wildcat strikes taking place in defiance of the union leaders' policies.

Pompidou Wins Empty Victory In Referendum

BY MELODY FARROW

The results of the April 23rd referendum in France on the Common Market has dealt the Pompidou regime a major blow. Three years after his election, Pompidou has lost virtually all popular support.

While a little over 67 percent of those who went to the polls voted Yes to 32 percent No, 40 percent of those eligible to vote abstained or cast blank ballots. This was the highest rate of abstention on any referendum in French history.

In the 1969 elections, Pompidou and Poher together won 15 million votes on the first round, while in the Common Market referendum their support was reduced to 10 million.

The entire capitalist press has openly called the whole referendum a mistake. *Le Monde* stated in their editorial: "The regime was dealt a defeat on Sunday" and continued,

"The referendum is an exceptional procedure for exceptional times, it cannot be a habitual way of legislating."

Workers belonging to the Communist Party, the only major working class party to call for a No vote, solidly voted No.

But 20 percent of Socialist Party voters, expressing their rejection not only of Pompidou

but of the Common Market joined CP workers in voting No.

The referendum also revealed a tremendous turn by whole layers of the petty bourgeoisie away from Pompidou.

Huge numbers of exploited agricultural workers, small shopkeepers and sections of the urban middle classes refused to vote. Small businessmen organized by the Cid Unati movement also abstained.

On the eve of the referendum, a railway worker and member of the Communist Party was deliberately run down and killed while pasting up CP posters for a No vote. The driver of the car was a member of the Gaullist party and an officer in the French Army. The same night forty thugs attacked a group of workers. Four of them are now hospitalized in serious condition.

These attacks reveal that behind the referendum, the French ruling class is preparing a vicious offensive against the working class, to drive it down and crush it under the heel of the European monopolies.



Pompidou (left) desperately canvassed France to win Common Market referendum but 40% of workers abstained and many voted no.

Key Towns Fall To NLF As Saigon Troops Collapse

BY DAVID NORTH

With the capture of the provincial capital of Quang Tri, the National Liberation Front is on the verge of the greatest victory since the fall of Dien Bien Phu.

The powerful thrust of the NLF offensive has now destroyed the fighting capacity of the ARVN. Among scenes of panic and disorder, Saigon officers and infantrymen are fleeing from the battle zones along those roads not yet controlled by the NLF.

Sensing that the end is near, the wealthy inhabitants of the besieged provinces have swamped air fields, bribing helicopter pilots to fly them to safety.

As we go to press, it seems likely that the NLF drive in the Central Highlands will soon cut South Vietnam in two. The strategic city of Kontum is under heavy assault. Pleiku, the main military base of the United States in the Central Highlands, is threatened with capture.

Further south, Anloc is still trapped and the NLF tightened its control of Route 1, which connects Saigon and Phnom-penh. Along the coastal areas, more than half of Binh Dinh Province is under NLF control, and Bongson and Tamquam have already fallen.

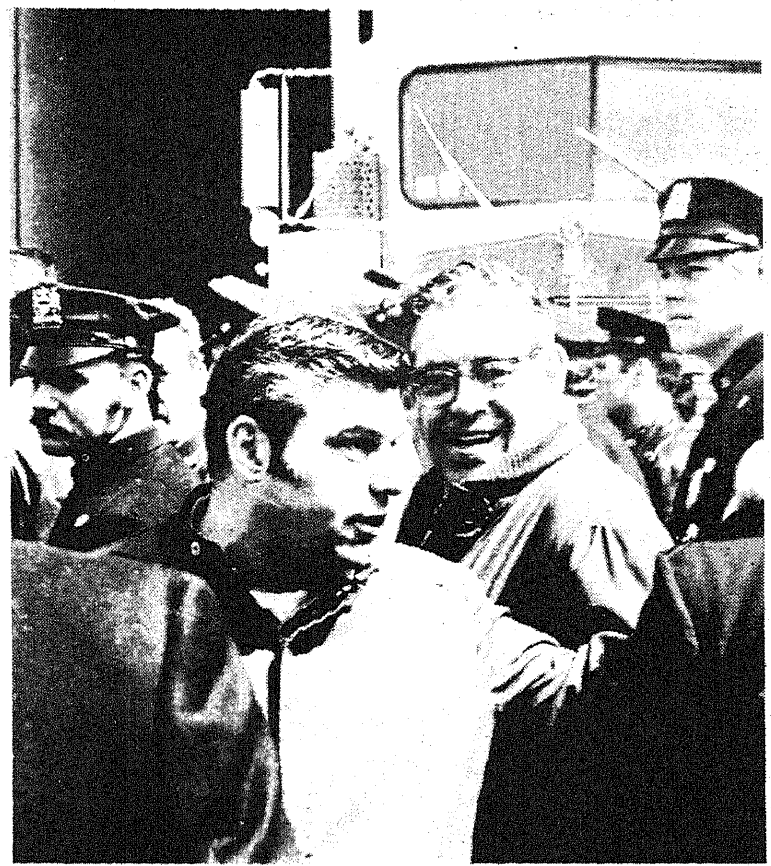
The old imperial city of Hue is virtually open to the NLF, as the capture of Fire Base Bastogne eliminated the main strategic obstacle.

INSURRECTIONARY

The fighting in the South has begun to take on an insurrectionary character. A report released by American intelligence agencies noted the increased activities of the Vietcong in those areas held by the ARVN. The report expressed the fear of an uprising in Danang.

The official North Vietnamese radio declared Monday that, "South and North Vietnam are simply two zones of a unified Vietnam territory. There is no international border between them and all Vietnamese have the duty and right to defend Vietnam against the aggressor who came 10,000 miles across the ocean to invade our land."

Only one week ago, in his television speech, Richard Nixon boasted that "Vietnamization (Continued On Page 18)



Longshoremen picketing against Manhattan pier closure confront cops who tried to break up their picket line.

Dockers Ready For Strike After Board Rejects Pay

BY DAN FRIED

The Pay Board has decided to reject the East Coast Longshoremen (ILA) wage increase which was ratified last month in New York and other East and Gulf Coast ports.

The decision to reduce the estimated 14.9 percent wage-fringe package by an unannounced amount follows the slashing of the West Coast (ILWU) wage package from 16 percent to 10 percent by the "old" Pay Board, which included Meany and the other labor leaders.

The Pay Board's decision to call the bluff of Gleason and Bridges, thereby risking a strike, is made out of the necessity of the ruling class to drive back the wages and conditions of the entire labor movement.

Now, the ruling of the Pay Board is clear—the mailed fist comes down on all dockers with equal weight! There is a danger that Gleason and Bridges are still looking for a way out, offering as a possible excuse the threat of renewed government intervention in the event of a strike.

But they still must reckon with the fact that, after months and months of delay, followed by the East Coast reduction, the nation's longshoremen may take matters into their own hands.

ANGER

The reaction of rank and file Checkers, at New York's Greenwich Street hiring hall, was anger at both Gleason and Nixon. One docker said: "We have to go on strike. I think everybody should go out, both the West and the East. By ourselves we don't have the power." "Yes, tie up the whole country," added another.

Most of the Checkers felt strongly that united action was needed, recalling how the leadership of both unions allowed scabbing against each other during last fall's strikes and allowed the diversion of cargo

through Canada to weaken the strikes.

The point was raised that neither the government nor the Shippers wanted a strike, but were counting on the leadership to prevent it. "There's going to be a lot of trouble," said one of the men, when asked if he thought the men would allow the Pay Board to get away with this.

He stated that: "The working man—and I'm not talking about the leaders, or the representatives—is going to say something if this Pay Board makes a cut."

SOLD OUT

A younger man was angry over the leadership and the contract. He said: "I feel they sold us out in the first place. The Checkers especially—we never went for this."

"They took the travelling time away from us. The tolls in Jersey are supposed to go up now. The men didn't want the PDO and they told Gleason they didn't want it but he still shoved it down our throats. We're puppets."

Another Checker told the Bulletin, in regard to the Pay Board decision, that: "I think it stinks. Want me to tell you another thing? The only way you are going to get anything in this country is a complete revolution—all labor has got to go out."

"A general strike like they had in other countries. You got to balance the cost of living with the wage, and that's the only way!"

"We're getting a decent wage here, but you have to hold a side job to get by," another worker joined in.

The next man said: "But who's going to fight it? That's the

problem on the waterfront." When the Bulletin reporter spoke about about the need for a new union leadership he said: "Yeah. We need a new leadership. How do we get it? I think we need a new leadership against the government because all these parties are full of it. You need a new party."

What was expressed in discussion with the Checkers was a growing political awareness, in which the fight for a new leadership in the ILA raises a tremendous interest in the labor party and socialism.

ILA Pickets Pier Closing

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
NEW YORK—State Supreme Court Justice Manuel A. Gomez has signed an order against ILA Local 791 in Manhattan prohibiting longshoremen from "intimidating" Transit Authority crews from turning Pier 57 into a bus garage.

Gomez also ordered three Local 791 officers, President Martin Delany, William Lynch and William Hogan, to show cause why they should not be held in contempt for violating a previous anti-picketing order.

The ILA is fighting a plan to turn the former Grace Line piers into a shelter for city busses. This plan is part of the general policy of running down the docks and destroying longshore jobs.

The Supreme Court judge said the ILA could conduct "informational" picketing, in other words, stand by and let the Transit Authority, the shippers, and Rockefeller and Lindsay turn the docks into a wasteland. The capitalist court system is being used to destroy the livelihoods of thousands of longshoremen.

Nixon's Vietnam Speech: A Web Of Lies To Cover Imperialist Slaughter

The speech delivered Wednesday evening by President Richard Nixon had one main purpose: to try to deceive the American working class about the history and current developments of the Vietnamese War. Few speeches by an American president within recent memory have been filled with so many out-and-out lies. The fundamental issue raised in this speech is not Mr. Nixon's personal honesty. His own disregard for the truth has been noted many times before, even in the capitalist press.

Rather, it is the character of the regime that is exposed by Nixon's speech. A government in crisis is represented, of necessity, by demagogues and liars. Therefore, as the principal spokesman of a crisis-ridden international system, President Nixon's deceitfulness reflects not personal shortcomings but the needs of the capitalist class.

Nixon opened his speech with a recitation of his moves toward ending the war since assuming office in 1969. He did not mention that the war was actually expanded during his Administration. Both Cambodia and Laos became new theaters of war as American troops financed and armed by this government launched naked invasions.

Nixon went on to describe how he "patiently continued with the Paris Talks" but failed to say that he recalled the American delegation from the negotiations last month before the NLF offensive began.



DISTORTION

The principal distortion of history then followed: "Finally, three weeks ago, on Easter weekend, they mounted their massive invasion of South Vietnam—in violation of the treaties they had signed in 1954, and in violation of the understanding they had reached with President Johnson in 1968, when he stopped the bombing of North Vietnam in return for arrangements which included their pledge not to violate the DMZ."

One cannot speak of an invasion by the North of the South unless one overlooks the fact that Vietnam developed historically as a single country until an artificial division was imposed at the 17th Parallel by the imperialists with aid of Stalinism.

Ho Chi Minh signed the agreements which established this division at the Geneva Convention in 1954. The agreements held this division to be temporary, pending the arrangement of elections that would determine the political character of a reunified Vietnam.

As he is quoted above, Nixon refers to the 1954 agreements. But he omits the crucial fact that the United States government refused to sign the Geneva agreements because Eisenhower would not permit an election to be held in Vietnam, knowing full well that such an election would have resulted in the overwhelming victory of Ho Chi Minh's party. Eisenhower installed the puppet Diem dictatorship and supplied it with an army to resist unification.

LYING

Nixon, who was the Vice President when all these dirty decisions were made, knows the true course of events. So, when he calls the NLF offensive an "invasion" he is lying through his teeth.

There is another fact that Nixon refused to deal with last Wednesday. And that is that the guerilla movement in the South has always been the backbone of the NLF, and that its ranks have been recruited primarily (Continued On Page 18)

1199 Opposition Wins Big Vote Against Davis

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The election in which Hospital Workers Local 1199 President Leon Davis was challenged for the first time in the history of the union is now completed.

In unofficial returns, Rank and File Committee candidate Fred Mazelis polled nearly 1000 votes about seven percent of the total.

Mazelis received significant support at some of the major voluntary hospitals in New York, including Beth Israel, Kingsbrook, Mount Sinai, and Montefiore. At Kingsbrook he received 20 percent of the vote in the Guild Division.

At Columbia University the Rank and File presidential candidate polled over 30 percent of the vote, and he also received nearly 20 percent at Mount Sinai Hospital in Connecticut and Helene Fuld in Newark.

At Northfield Manor Nursing Home in New Jersey the opposition received 45 percent of the vote. Mazelis also polled over 10 percent of the vote among union clerical staff.

At the same time Arnold Marshall, rank and file candidate for Guild Organizer, rolled up an impressive total of more than 2000 votes, running in a field of four for three positions. The incumbent organizers received winning totals of about 3000-3500. By comparison, the Rank and File candidate in 1970 for this same position polled 700 votes compared to about 2000 for the incumbents.

PLATFORM

Mazelis and Marshall ran on a platform calling for a 1972 contract fight for a 50 percent increase over two years, full cost

Twin Cities Builders Plan Wages Rollback

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—A showdown on both wages and questions of union security is facing 18,000 building trades workers in this area with contract expirations of May 1.

Dan Gustafson, Minneapolis Building Trades Council business agent, has publicly stated that the Council and its affiliates have no plans, but believe that the contractors are trying to force a strike to beat back much of the gains made by the unions during the boom of the 1950s and 1960s.

PAY BOARD

Despite the break with the Pay Board by the AFL-CIO and the Auto Workers, Gustafson now says that the unions are resigned to staying within the Board's 5.5 percent guidelines. Along with other construction union leaders, he accepts the necessity for operating within Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, which paved the way for the Pay Board.

Associated General Contractors (AGC) will be using this situation to push for all the concessions they can get. Recent Minnesota AGC conventions have featured keynote speakers who have demanded mass unem-

of living protection, four weeks vacation and a 35 hour week for all workers, and protection of jobs through an end to the job freeze, a no layoff guarantee and union approval of changes in working conditions.

With the beginning of negotiations last week, the 1199 leadership finally announced the official union demands. These include a 15 percent increase in a one year contract, four weeks vacation and the 35 hour week, and improvements in sick leave.

Rank and File candidate Fred Mazelis gave the Bulletin the following statement on the contract negotiations:

"The official contract demands completely ignore the burning issue of job security, and put forward for negotiations the same amount that was won in the first year of the 1970 contract. Nevertheless, the demands for 15 percent and for four weeks vacation and 35 hours express the rock bottom needs and aspirations of thousands of hospital workers and their families.

"Hospital workers must be on guard against all attempts to impose a freeze on our real wages as well as massive layoffs and increased speedup. "The election campaign was just the beginning of the fight we must take up now against the attacks of the employers and their government. We must insist on not a penny less than the 15 percent. We must insist on full protection against inflation in this contract. And we must insist

on protection of jobs and working conditions written into the contract.

"This will be a political fight from the very beginning. We face a vicious campaign by the capitalist press and from Nixon on down. Wallace is spearheading the attack on the unions through his demagogic racist and anti-labor campaign.

"The call for the building of a labor party which was raised by the Rank and File Committee in the election campaign is absolutely critical as we prepare for our contract. There can be no victory without a struggle to smash Nixon's wage controls for good, and that means a fight for a labor party.

Right Wing Victory In SSEU Opens Door For Mass Layoffs

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—The Social Service Employees Union 371 (AFSCME) citywide officers election held Friday April 28 was swept by the right-wing Cohen-Pinket slate, who at last count had defeated the incumbent Hill leadership 4020 to 2660. While 1067 challenged ballots remain to be counted, neither these nor the 278 votes cast for the Kaufman-Lowie slate are sufficient to re-verse the Cohen victory.

The victory of Cohen now confronts the SSEU membership with the greatest danger. It stands as a green light to Lindsay to carry through to completion the drive to reorganize thousands of SSEU members out of their jobs and go ahead with planned layoffs.

Thousands of SSEU members voted for Cohen in this election, not because they have the slightest agreement with Cohen's reactionary program, but because they were prepared to vote for almost any alternative to Hill after two years of inaction and retreat before the city.

Cohen was able to ride to victory on the basis of a demagogic campaign which capitalized on Hill's past record and took advantage of the fact that Hill held back from waging either a serious campaign of his own or taking decisive action in the last weeks of the campaign against the brutal overwork safety crisis faced by the ranks.

However, the illusion that Cohen represents any kind of alternative for the SSEU is paper thin and stands to be rapidly shattered as the city moves in to deliver a new round of blows at the union. Where Cohen will stand in the face of the city's attack was in fact completely exposed at the membership meeting of April 26 attended by over 700 members at Manhattan center.

At this meeting, Cohen led 400 of his supporters in a walkout



Ozzie Edwards (above) was excluded from running on Hill slate by Cohen on technicality. Hill is calling for new elections.



Stanley Hill

before the agenda point on the May 1 layoff of 50 SSEU members in the Housing Development Administration could come to the floor.

The critical question posed in the aftermath of the SSEU elections is the construction of an alternative to Cohen to stop him from carrying out the massive betrayals that he is preparing, and to break the ranks from him as his real policies become more and more exposed.

PROGRAM

This can only be done on the basis of the program fought for throughout the election by the SSEU Committee for New Leadership and upon which it gave critical support to Hill. This program, which begins with the fight to prepare the union for strike action on overwork layoffs, posed with particular sharpness the need for the SSEU

to confront its crisis politically by taking up the call for the launching of a labor party in '72.

The response this kind of a fight can now gain in the ranks was revealed at the April 26 meeting when a CNL resolution on these policies and the labor party was nearly carried. It was systematically opposed only by the Communist Party once the Cohen forces had walked out of the meeting.

CNL

In the course of preparing to build the CNL as the real alternative to Cohen, the CNL appeals in particular to Hill and those active in his campaign that they now break with those who are advocating making peace with Cohen and particularly those like Vinnie Davis who advocated on April 26 that SSEU members withdraw from the union. What is necessary now is that they join with the CNL in the fight to reverse the dangerous situation created by this election.

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

Court Upholds 15% Pay Cut For Meatcutters

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE April 26—The decision by U.S. Court Judge Blair to uphold the Pay Board ruling, which cuts the wage increases for Baltimore Meatcutters Local 117 members from 22 percent to 7 percent, and to fine the union \$2500 makes it clear once and for all that Nixon and the courts are determined to stop at nothing less than the destruction of the trade unions and the institution of government control of wages.

All of the labor bureaucrats who told labor to plead with the courts to stop Nixon's Pay Board are now the ones who are responsible for leaving the Meatcutters wide open for this attack from the court.

In the opinion, Judge Blair stated precisely what role the courts will play in the war on the unions: "True, this may result in hardships as the union says it does here, but those hardships do not amount to the deprivation of constitutional rights."

CONSTITUTION

In other words, courts can and will bend the Constitution in any fashion in order to protect big business and its profits.

Jerry Menapace, President of Local 117, in an interview with the *Bulletin*, merely called for

further appeals to the courts and union propaganda against high meat prices at A&P supermarkets. He stated that the union will probably appeal the decision to both the Fourth Circuit Court and to the three-judge appeal panel of the Pay Board.

In addition, this week the local will distribute 30,000 "informational leaflets" against A&P as well as beginning picketing in selected A&P stores.

This "legal shakedown" cannot be fought by Menapace's consumeristic schemes. It was the first case of the Pay Board against any union and threatens the right of all trade unions to collective bargaining. Only a political action by a united labor movement is capable of stopping it.

It Was Like Mylai At Attica

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The McKay Commission, which has been conducting interviews to "determine the truth" about Attica, is a fraudulent and cynical whitewash to cover up the real truth about what happened.

Headed by Robert McKay, Dean of the New York University Law School, the Commission was established by the very same man, Governor Rockefeller, who consciously ordered the state police to massacre the Attica inmates.

Richard Clark, one of the leaders of the Attica rebellion read a statement last week for the 80 prisoners who are now jailed in a special section of Attica for their role in the uprising. He explained why these men refused to testify for the Commission:

"The Commission is solidly connected with the privileged class which makes it a white-wash group. It is under Governor Rockefeller's power and influence and is attempting to fabricate a facade for the government's criminal misdeeds, and it is trying to make us scapegoats for the penal system's monstrosities and inhumanities."

A state police film showed that at the beginning of the assault, an Army helicopter swooped over the yard and gunned down eight inmates and two hostages on the catwalk. A correction guard union official said the inmates were "mowed down like wheat."

Special ammunition which expands inside the body upon penetration and one ounce shotgun slugs that deliver massive shocking power were used, as well as 0-0 buckshot shells which contain 12 huge pellets and have a spraying effect.

The expanding ammunition the commission staff reported is not used by the U. S. military because it causes "unnecessary human suffering." But it

was used in Attica on the basis that this was the only ammunition "available" for the sniper guns which are usually used for "hunting game." The one ounce shotgun slug is generally used for "the reduction of a cement wall to rubble."

Walter Dunbar, the executive deputy for Russell Oswald, fervently defended the role of the state troops and told the panel that the guards had exercised "excellent self-discipline, excellent self-control, excellent response to demands."

One of the few witnesses to testify on what happened after the assault was a doctor from the



Workers picket outside Washington Metropolitan Transit which was meeting to discuss new fare increase. Many workers who protested were pensioners who could not afford the fare increase.

Local 2431 Head Faces Steel Ranks Rebellion

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BOSTON—An opposition is developing in steel to the leadership of the United Steel Workers of America here. Impeachment proceedings brought by rank and file militants against the President of Local 2431 flow from the sharp struggles that have broken out recently in anticipation of a new contract fight.

The focus of the struggle in eastern Massachusetts is in the fabrication plant of Market Fords in Everett. The entire local, also covering the plant in nearby Wilmington, is in revolt against the local leadership.

A militant, who is leading the struggle and who was active in the impeachment proceedings,

told the *Bulletin* that: "One of our biggest complaints is that the leadership is making agreements with the company that the men never know about. They come in with some rule or regulation that was never written into the contract."

"The company is now stopping all possibility of advancement. There used to be different grades of jobs but now they are trying to put everyone in as general assembly workers."

"They just change the job titles on us and wipe out the higher skilled work such as electrical wiring. Now that's classified under general assembly work and there's a blanket wage scale."

COMPLICIT

He told the *Bulletin* that the president of the union was complicit with the company's attacks on the workers. He said: "The union president couldn't and wouldn't give any definite answers to the questions brought in against him as to when the mandate for this took place, who agreed to it and why it is being enforced."

"They're eliminating our seniority rights. I've been with the company six years. They eliminated my title and gave me four hours to pick a new job. If

the company agrees that I'm qualified for that job.

"The whole body was really aggravated at this last meeting because the president was evading these issues of seniority and layoffs. He told us that much of the work is on a piece work basis. They take the old day work rate and make that the new piece work rate so they'll get twice as much work for the same pay."

BARBARIC

The resistance to these barbaric methods and conniving by the company is tremendous. "The company has a big push before the end of the month to increase productivity and make the profit look good. They don't give you any overtime until just before the end of the month then they'll give you all the overtime you want. Well the men refuse to work any overtime at all."

The *Bulletin* asked about the contract itself and the possibility of a strike. "There definitely will be a strike. I just don't know how long. A couple of years ago we actually lost pay after the strike. The company offered 24 cents an hour and during the strike they added a little here and took away some there."

He expressed his hostility to Nixon when he said: "Who was the guy who was impeached? Andrew Johnson. Well, he looked like a flower child compared to Nixon. We should get rid of him. That's what I say. I don't know too much about McGovern," he said.

When it was pointed out that McGovern's stand on the wage freeze was that it was too little and too late, he said it was too late, for big business. "I definitely think the unions should back a candidate wholeheartedly, one who represents the working man."

"Right now you have to declare as a Republican or a Democrat when you go to vote. If you had a labor party that would really shock them, but you couldn't have a labor party as I see it without a whole general revolution, because big business controls everything and they have the money."

"It would take a real revolution to even get a labor party but I think we have to have a candidate that really represents the working man."

Letters from Prison

Comrades,

We are profoundly appreciative that you have been taking an interest in the prison struggle. We wish to inform you that the conditions here in Rikers are still miserable and oppressive. And because of this we are going on a hunger strike to get our grievances redressed.

We have decided to do this because riots have proved to be totally futile. The system will use vicious methods of repression in order to subdue us. The massacre at Attica is a perfect example of the American justice system at work (Justice for the privileged).

The brothers here are all young, ranging from the ages of 16 to 20 but we are also part of the industrial reserve army in capitalist society, and we are also cognizant of the oppression and

barefaced exploitation that the working class is confronted with by the lawless minority oligarchy.

As our comrades in the "Tombs" so well expressed it, "Many of us in prison have gone beyond the reactionary concept of the Lumpen. Our struggle is no longer confined to the physical, it has become ideological as well. (Bulletin March 27, 1972.) We have established Marxist study groups with the help of the "Tombs 7" and our groups are expanding over the entire Bastille. Many of our brothers have reached a higher level of struggle against this dehumanizing bourgeois order of things and its muscle of control (prison).

We are very aware of who our friends are, and who our enemies are and have drawn a clear line

of demarcation between Oppressed and Oppressor. Our approach to problems is a dialectical one, linking theory with practice and avoiding subjectivism. But we still do not know everything and we are very eager to learn more.

We would greatly appreciate it if people outside of this "steel and concrete" would furnish us with information about Marxism, Leninism and the present day socialist movement.

About our "hunger strike," it started April 21, 1972 and will continue as long as necessary. We hope that we can get the support of all people in society and all brothers in concentration camps. Our embrace to all those oppressed by Capital.

Isabelle Auerbach Collective
Rikers Island Part
Tony Vazquez

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

YWLL Must Confront History Of Stalinism

The Second Convention of the Young Workers Liberation League will occur during a period in which capitalism has entered into its deepest crisis. Because of this, Stalinism, which rests on the preservation of capitalism, takes on an even more reactionary character. The perspective put forward by the YWLL stands with the Communist Party, its parent organization, and on the same history of Stalinism which has led workers time and time again to defeat.

In the 1930's, when capitalism was in crisis, it was only through the help of the Communist Parties that capitalism survived. In Germany, the policy of Stalin and the German Communist Party paved the way for Hitler, by refusing to unite all the workers' movements against the fascists on a principled basis.

In Spain, the Stalinists completely defended the capitalist government through the Popular Front and physically aided in the murder of masses of workers. While Mussolini and Hitler supported Franco with guns, men, and airplanes, Stalin removed major aid to the revolutionary workers.

In the U. S., the American labor movement responded against the merciless attacks of the employers and the government. Sections of the working class came forward to call for a labor party. Stalinism played a particularly treacherous role as the Communist Party united with "progressives" like Walter Reuther and fought against the call for a labor party, throwing support behind Roosevelt.

During this period, the fight for the working class based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism was continued by Trotsky. Only Trotskyism stood with the October Revolution against Stalinism. For this reason, Stalin conducted a ruthless witch-hunt of all those connected with the October Revolution.

The Moscow Trials of the 1930's served the purpose of eliminating all potential opposition as well as laying the foundations for a world-wide terror campaign against the conscious opponents of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Trotskyists. Stalin's frame-up trials attempted to convince the world that out of the 21 Central Committee members who led the Russian Revolution, 14 of them were imperialist spies.

The Hungarian Revolution in 1956 as well as the struggles in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is proof of the hatred and growing movement against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The events of May-June 1968 in France exposed the role of Stalinism today. After workers took over factories, waving red flags, and banners of Lenin, the French CP handed the working class to De Gaulle, refusing to mobilize the workers to take power.

All of these betrayals were done to preserve the privileges of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Today the perspectives of the YWLL are those of Stalinism. On the trade unions the YWLL states: "Where leadership of the union is progressive, such movements help to build a base of support to progressive actions and ideas, and help to move these leaders further to the left."

This is just a cover for not fighting the union bureaucracy and not fighting for the independence of the working class through the building of a labor party. It is the same support to the "progressives" of the 1930's that is being repeated.

The YWLL perspective for the '72 election states: "The time requires the most serious work on all three levels of the electoral front—the Communist Party candidacy, independent electoral activity outside the Democratic Party, and independent activity within the Democratic Party."

It is this dependence on the Democratic Party which the YWLL wants the working class to pursue. Wallace is emerging, spearheading the attacks on the unions and youth, from this very party in which the YWLL is building a youth caucus. There is no such thing as "independent activity within the Democratic Party" and this line will lead to the defeat of the working class.

The task of the youth is to turn to the labor movement and break it from the Democratic and Republican parties. This can only be done through the construction of a labor party and a fight against Stalinism.

We call the youth attending this convention to demand a historical accounting with Stalinism. They must demand a break with the Democratic Party which stands together with Nixon to attack the working class and youth in the interests of big business.

The Young Socialists, basing itself on the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism, is today building a revolutionary youth movement and fighting for the construction of a labor party based on the unions and socialist policies.

This is the only way forward in the fight to defeat capitalism.

Students Defeat Bklyn College JDL

BY DAVID WEISMAN

BROOKLYN—A victory for the working class and youth was won in Brooklyn College last week as the Jewish Defense League was defeated in the college elections. The Third World Federation, a coalition of Black, Latin and Asian organizations completely overran the fascist Jewish Defense League candidates in the Student Government elections.

President and Vice President candidates Paul Massas and Rolf Carter won 847 votes compared to their next opponent's 654.

This victory was achieved despite continued attempts by the JDL to sabotage the elections and whip up fears about dangers to "Jewish rights." At the same time it completely repudiated the attempts by the Young Socialist Alliance to portray Brooklyn College students as tied to the JDL.

Throughout the elections, it was only the Workers League and Young Socialists which led the campaign against the JDL. Running on the Workers League slate, with candidates for President and Representatives, the YS exposed the tremendous danger to the trade union movement and youth that such organizations pose and campaigned for a labor party. The YS and WL slates won over three percent of the votes.

Three slates, the Alignment, Populist and United Student Front appeared to be opposing each other for seats, but a secret Jewish Student Union, a coalition of organizations dominated by the JDL, leaflet proved the opposite.

The leaflet called for a vote for students from each slate with a completely reactionary appeal to Jewish nationalism: "Many candidates have no regard for Jewish rights. The President of the Workers League, who, although he himself is Jewish, works against Jewish interests and in the past has labelled JSU 'fascist'."

It is significant that despite the YSA's continual tailing of student powerism, their slate came in last. At the same time, they dropped their Presidential candidate in a completely liquidationist move before the Third World Federation.

Despite the victory of the TWF, there was a continual retreat from taking a stand against the JDL. When the JDL originally ran last term, the YS posed the dangers and urged the Federation to run. They refused, and at the same time gave no support to YS candidates.

When the JDL carried out the exact policies the YS warned of, attacking minority youth and freezing money to the Third World Edition newspaper, the federation could only issue a statement in the college newspaper. When the present elections arose, it was only on the last day of petitioning that a decision was made to run, under the tremendous pressure of the membership.

The fight against the budget cuts and the JDL cannot be carried out with nationalism on the basis of the TWF. It can only be fought on a class basis.



Speaker at Young Socialist rally calls on Brooklyn College students to reject right-wing JDL and support YS program in school elections.

WL National Secretary Speaks At Penn State

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

University Park, Pa.—Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, spoke here on Thursday. His speech centered on the 1972 elections and the fight for a labor party.

He pointed out that Wallace's strong showing in the Pennsylvania primary and the breakup of the Democratic Party are reflections of the deepening crisis in society caused by the breakup of the capitalists' monetary system.

The Democrats since Roosevelt have always sought to compromise with the American working class, but on August 15, 1971 Nixon announced the end of the period of class compromise. The ruling class is "willing to physically destroy the working class" as the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong have shown.

Wohlforth made a comparison between the recent student strike at Columbia and the UAW convention held last week. The students at Columbia reacted not only against the Vietnam issue, but also against the unemployment situation, budget cuts, and the growth of the Wallace movement. But, although these protests took on a new content, the student leaders relied on the old methods of student

powerism.

At the UAW convention, Woodcock, feeling the pressure of the rank and file, could not invite a Democratic presidential candidate to speak but instead invited the leader of the NDP, the Canadian labor party. It was also the pressure of the rank and file that cost Paul Schrader the election.

LABOR PARTY

It is in this period, when the labor party in this country can be built, when the workers are seeking a new leadership, that the youth must turn to the working class and take up the fight for Marxism through construction of a youth movement fighting to build the labor party.

The students at the meeting saw the first showing of the Young Socialists' film. Almost \$20 was collected for the Bulletin fund drive and students signed up for a car pool to attend the YS May Day meeting in New York City.

Young Socialist



East New York YS defeated Brownsville YS to become Brooklyn basketball champs.

YWLL LEADERS FEAR YOUTH

The draft resolution of the Young Workers Liberation League, prepared for the Second National Convention, contains guarded references to intense factional disputes within the organization. In spite of the careful tone of the document, it is impossible for the leadership of the Communist Party and YWLL to cover up the crisis situation that has developed within the youth movement.

As the working class moves to defend itself against the attacks of the crisis-ridden capitalist class, the Stalinist bureaucracies are thrown into disarray. Not because of their policies but because they advertise themselves as the disciples of Lenin and October, the CP and the YWLL in particular contain elements that are truly seeking a revolutionary road.

These elements challenge the attempt of the apparatus to channel the movement of the working class into the liberal sections of the capitalist parties. Of course, the CP and the YWLL at-

tempt to suppress the militant youth who did not declare themselves communists in order to support George McGovern.

The fight of the apparatus against the militant youth is what lies behind the draft resolution's condemnation of "sectarianism."

"The key weakness is sectarianism in the ranks of the organization," states the resolution. Criticizing the reluctant participation of some YWLLers in the peace movements, the resolution notes that "too many in our ranks still see only its negative aspects: 'It is

led by middle-class people.'"

A revealing admission. Elements within the YWLL have made a sharp class criticism of the principle thrust behind Stalinist policies—that it seeks to tie the working class to capitalism via middle class protest movements.

The resolution goes on: "We have not played an active role in involving religious youth, liberal youth and social and cultural youth groups in the movement to free Angela. In some cases we have even retreated and withdrawn after significant other forces have become involved." In other words, it seems that YWLLers have openly expressed their disgust with the attempt of the leadership to pollute a working class struggle with middle class riff-raff.

Perhaps the sharpest expression of the hostility that exists within the YWLL to the bureaucratic apparatus of the CP came out in the following comment: "The Young Workers Liberation League is not the vanguard of the working class. The Communist Party, U. S. A. is. Trying to substitute ourselves for the Party is an incorrect, youth vanguardist approach."

FEAR

The fear of the turn of the working class youth to theory is very strong within the leadership of the CP and YWLL. Because it does not have the resources of the state behind it, the leadership cannot censor and expurgate the Marxist classics. But it can make the following comment:

"In many areas we seem intent on building a 'pure' League. Too many branches require spartan-type discipline, a willingness to study just about every major work by Marx and Lenin, etc. Furthermore, the long meetings, with long agendas, also raise the standards of patience for remaining in the League."

What the CP and the YWLL call "sectarianism" is the attempt to turn to the working class and Marxism.

Those youth within the YWLL against whom the resolution is directed can take forward their struggle only on the basis of a struggle against Stalinism.

Assembly Bill To Bar Diplomas Of Militant Youth

BY KIKI MENDEZ

NEW YORK—On Wednesday April 12 the State Assembly gave approval to a bill requiring students to pass citizenship in order to graduate.

The bill specified that the requirement of citizenship, in addition to passing all required credits, "is the only way of dealing with unruly students."

The bill, which passed by a vote of 101 to 19, occurs at a time when the working class is being attacked viciously by the government. The school budget has been cut drastically, forcing youth to learn under miserable conditions and receive the most inadequate education.

This bill is part of Nixon's witch-hunt against the working class. It is an attempt by the government to suppress the militancy of the youth, now that youth are fighting against these conditions and grasping for Marxism. Nixon now finds it necessary to do away with the leaders waging this struggle.

The government knows that school administrations will use this as a means to prevent any political activities in the school. This is aimed at all students who

are taking up any kind of fight against the attacks of the government.

The withholding of diplomas and suspensions of students have been used in the past in dealing with militants. The legalizing of this action means that these attacks are openly encouraged by the government.

At Jefferson High School in Brooklyn the administration has a history of suspending radicals and spreading lies about left-wing clubs to scare the students. Lately the administration has waged full-scale attacks on the Young Socialists. They have prevented the selling of Marxist literature and have sabotaged all of our fund raising activities.

The Leadership class, agents of the administration, are allowed to sell the *New York Times* and *Daily News*. These papers are responsible for whipping up a racist hysteria against students, youth, and the entire working class, and support the type of legislation that was passed.

Transit Cop Murders Youth For Smoking In Subway

BY NANCY VASQUEZ

NEW YORK—A youth around the age of 18 was shot and killed at an IRT subway station on 149th and 3rd Avenue in the Bronx on Monday, April 24.

There is a discrepancy in the reports given by two major New York papers about this incident. The *Daily News* stated that the youth was stopped for smoking a cigarette, searched and found with a butcher knife. Frightened, the youth began to run and Transit patrolman Leon Wexler fired five shots until the youth was dead.

However, the *New York Post* reported that the youth was asked to put out his cigarette. The youth did this and began to run, then the transit patrolman shot him.

The vagueness and disa-

greement in these two reports is no accident. The government is preparing a very sharp offensive against the youth. It intends to do all that is necessary to try to maintain the dying capitalist system.

In this period of tremendous crisis, the government has to come forward with the most blatant attacks on all those who seek to fight back against the attacks of capitalism. That is why J. Edgar Hoover has proposed that the juvenile delinquency age be dropped to fifteen years old, which means that the youth will be treated and sentenced as adults.

The rulers and their press fear the turn of sections of youth towards Marxism, as the movement of the working class now challenges the very existence of capitalism.

Spartacist Group Joins Protest Frenzy At BU

BY PAT CONNOLLY

BOSTON—The whole character of the Spartacist League is dominated by the fact that they broke from the Fourth International on the basis of petty bourgeois radicalism. Today they can only carry out this perspective to its logic of capitulation to Stalinism and attempts to cover up for the Stalinists and revisionists.

In a series of lengthy leaflets issued at Boston University and in an article in the current issue of their "RCY Newsletter" Spartacist tries to provide a "working class cover" to the rotten role they have played in the student strikes in the past weeks where they have lined up with PL-SDS and the YSA in maintaining student protest and radicalism.

They begin with student power, stating that "students have hurt imperialism seriously" by forcing ROTC off campus but they go on to say that students cannot defend these gains alone.

"Radical students must link up their struggles to the broader social struggles between capital and labor. Only the working class has the social power to end imperialist war." Their main perspective has been the formation of work stoppage committees to extend the student protest "to the working class by raising demands to turn students toward

left-wing and anti-war groups in the unions."

Behind this lies the conception shared by the SWP and the YSA, that revolution is a question of bringing together all of the protest movements of the middle class and then adding the working class to give social "weight" which can pressure capitalism into making certain reforms.

What they try to do is bring the working class into the protest movement to tie it to the middle class and prevent it from establishing political independence in the fight to destroy capitalism.

According to the Spartacist newsletter they "sharply attack the illusion that student actions by themselves can end the war." But Spartacist not only voted for a completely reactionary and abortive strike at Boston University, but participated with the Stalinists in the brief, frenzied and absolutely impotent seizure of the Administration Building at BU last week.

CONFERENCES OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

ST. LOUIS

Saturday, May 13th

10 A.M.

Sheldon Memorial (4th Floor Hall)

3648 Washington, St. Louis

Contribution: \$1.50

For Information Call: 314-361-8520

DETROIT

Saturday, May 20

10 A.M.

Hilberry Lounge

UCB

Wayne State University Contribution: \$1.50

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Unions Must Act To Stop Wallace!

The American labor movement must stop Wallace. Wallace's gains in the primaries from Florida to the northern industrial states of Pennsylvania to Indiana now raise the gravest dangers to the future existence of the trade unions.

On August 15th Nixon, speaking for the big corporations and the banks, declared war on the working class. Nixon set up the Pay Board to slash wages and to destroy the unions.

With a stroke of the pen contracts won by millions of workers were ripped up destroying the basic right to collective bargaining. Nixon has deliberately created unemployment to break the unions.

While workers are forced into poverty, the bloated profits of the corporations swell. Plants are closing throwing millions who have worked all their lives out while those who remain are forced to work at backbreaking speed. At the same time Nixon opens mass genocide against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Where does Wallace stand on this? What has he said about this?

What Nixon is attempting to do with the Pay Board nationally to destroy the unions, Wallace has done in Alabama. This is where the open shop is endorsed by Wallace's state apparatus through the "right to work" law. This is where wages are a third to a half what they are in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This is where masses of workers live in abject poverty, the worst housing, the highest unemployment and the lowest wages.

This is Wallace's program for all workers. This is what the capitalist class is preparing for the entire working class.

Wallace has received the votes of thousands of workers and trade unionists. He has carefully planned his demagogy for this 1972 election talking about inflation, taxes and jobs to pit the frustration of sections of workers with the brutal attacks on their living standards and jobs and with the Democratic Party in a completely reactionary direction.

This dangerous development lies with the trade union bureaucracy's criminal collaboration with the Democratic Party.

There is only one alternative to Wallace, to break with the Democratic and Republican parties who stand in defense of big business and the profit system.

The only alternative is the construction of a labor party, a party organized by and for the interests of the working people, trade unionists, youth, students and minority people.

The building of this party is now the question of the hour.

Editor's Notebook

It was a quiet Saturday night in Lorain, Ohio a few weeks back. Having worked in the steel plant all week, some men were relaxing at the United Polish Club.

Suddenly a group of police officers headed by the Chief of Police burst in snatching up cards, money and asking the men to empty their pockets. When some of them asked what the raid was all about, they were dragged off and thrown into jail.

As the Lorain Labor Leader put it the next week: "The party guests were shocked. They couldn't believe the ridiculous thing they were witnessing. An

innocent affair, one of hundreds which are held in our city every year. A get-together of adult men, quaffing their favorite beverage and indulging in extremely low-stake penny-ante card games."

For this the men were thrown in jail. But the cops, self-satisfied with their defense of "law and order," that is, harassment of the working class, were blasted the next week in a front page article in the Lorain Labor Leader.

Every member of the raiding party, which the Leader said "resembled a group of pompous,

Some weeks back we noted the interest the Federal Bureau of Investigation was showing in the Workers League and the Young Socialists. Agents on the East Coast had visited the Workers League offices seeking to link us to the murder of a cop in the East Village, while agents on the West Coast harassed the founding conference of the Young Socialists. Now Victor Riesel, nationally syndicated anti-labor columnist, has taken up where the FBI left off.

Under the title "Youths Import French Style Violence," Riesel has devoted a whole article to the most vicious lying slanders of the Workers League and Young Socialists. Its only purpose can be to lay a basis for government prosecution of the League. Since the only source mentioned in the article for any of the "information" contained in it is the FBI, we have reason to surmise that this is the source for all of it. If this is the case, then Riesel exposes very clearly the methods of the FBI.

Let us remember exactly who Victor Riesel is. Riesel is an extreme right-wing columnist who has made his living off of slandering the labor movement in the pay of the large newspapers. He is thoroughly anti-labor, using his occasional expose of labor corruption in order to attack the trade union movement itself. Clearly his slanderous attacks on the Workers League are inspired by his fear of the development of Marxism among working class youth—especially his fear that Marxism can now be taken by the youth into the trade unions themselves.

The column begins by stating that: "the newest 'in' thing is French type violence." Then follows a whole list of "ultra" groups in France variously labelled "nonviolent Trotskyite,"

frozen faced coolies, deserves a suitable citation for their outstanding demonstration of bravery beyond the call of duty—a mink toilet seat they can proudly wear around their red necks the next time they raid a pinochle game at the Golden Age Club or a whist game at the YWCA."

As the editorial in the Leader puts it, in relation to the abuses directed against labor while ITT and Nixon's officials like Kleindienst are allowed to go scot free:

"No wonder people's confidence in government is at an all time low!!!"



"Hello, Leonid? Look, we're in a little bit of a jam. ..."

What we think

What Is Riesel Afraid Of?

"Maoist Trotskyite," "anarchist," etc. Needless to say, the Workers League has no connections of any sort with any of these groups, some of which we have never even heard of. Next he lists "the Ligue Communiste which is the Trotskyite global Fourth International dedicated to violent world revolution. It is part of the tough united front of street actionists, factory raiders and riot specialists." Ligue Communiste, whose positions are completely slandered by Riesel, is part of the United Secretariat. As any regular reader of the Bulletin knows, we consider it a completely revisionist formation, and have no relations with it whatsoever.

Following all this Riesel starts in: "They are part of an international committee—and are as good a starting pad as any for import reports on revolutionary styles." From what follows, Riesel seems to be referring to the Workers League as "they" and the "international committee" referred to could be the International Committee of the Fourth International. The Workers League is in political solidarity with the International Committee. The International Committee, however, has no relations of any kind with any of the French groups mentioned and has conducted the sharpest polemics especially with the Ligue Communiste. Further, at its recent Fourth Conference, the IC passed a special resolution condemning terrorism and specifically attacking the policies of the ERP of Argentina.

Finally, Riesel gets around to mentioning the Workers League directly. He notes that it originated in a split from the Socialist Workers Party, that it was originally called the American Committee for (he says "of") the Fourth International, that that the Workers League has "cells" in various cities, a "small pad" in San Francisco, etc. Reference is then made to the Weathermen, who it is claimed, no one took seriously "until bursting bombs proved them to be quite a serious matter."

Next Riesel reports, "They have money. They operate a network of small but active cell-like offices right across the land from New York's West Side to San Francisco. They publish a weekly 20 page tabloid edged with revolutionary phraseology. No one on the outside appears to know whence the money comes."

Is Riesel suggesting that we, the most consistent enemies of Stalinism, are receiving Moscow or Peking gold? As readers of the Bulletin know, we finance our activities through the sale of our paper, literature and special fund appeals during which members and supporters of the Workers League contribute money because of their political

understanding of the necessity to construct a revolutionary party in the United States.

Next we are accused of advocating terrorism. "They write enviously of the young Maoist who was killed recently by a guard outside the Parisian Renault Plant. And they talk, when in their headquarters, of the revolutionary peoples' 'armies' such as the Trotskyite People's Revolutionary Army which 'executed' the 56 year old Fiat general manager, Oberdan Sallustro, in a Buenos Aires hideaway. They talk of the kidnapping of a Renault executive in a Paris suburb. And there is no bravado. They are ultras."

As we have stated on many occasions, we are completely opposed to the methods of terrorism, because this substitutes the individual act for the development of the working class. We hold terrorism to be the other side of the coin of reformist opportunism. When we talk, whether in our headquarters or anywhere else, of the Argentine ERP, it is to attack their methods and to criticize their bankrupt political and theoretical position.

Finally Riesel gets to what really worries him, and no doubt his friends in the government, about the Workers League. He notes that we are "now building a 'Young Socialist' movement" and that we "seek out inmates who have been 'attending' daily revolutionary classes in the major prisons." Then follows, "The 'ultras' send their cadres into the longshoremen's districts on both coasts, into garment union meetings, and whip up taxi union rallies into a frenzy, for example. They roam the streets of the capital. They're on New York's docks close by their Eastern headquarters. They have a San Francisco office which covers the East Bay area. And they work with ultras of the Weathermen, who the Universities of Toronto and Montreal."

Our last "roaming" of the streets of the capital was the anti-war march there a year ago April when quite a few others were also roaming. We have never worked with the Weathermen and were completely hostile to this formation from its inception. In fact we do not even have a branch in Toronto.

We do, however, admit to entering longshoremen's "districts" and fighting to build an opposition to the sellout policies of the union leaderships which are paving the way to the destruction of hundreds of thousands of jobs. We are active in the trade unions and among youth. We will become more active. It is this and this alone which now worries Riesel and his employers.



MAY DAY 1886-1972

Nancy Fields

THE EVENTS WHICH culminated in the Haymarket Square bombing on the night of May 4, 1886 are the chronicle of the birth of the American labor movement.

This chronicle does not reveal a relationship of peaceful coexistence and mutual cooperation between the working class and the employers. Rather, what is exposed is that from its very inception, the labor movement was involved in a bitter, violent struggle against the capitalists.

Contrary to the mythology of the bourgeois historians who ruminate that the working class was handed all its rights by the benevolence of American democracy, not one gain was made without the bloodshed and deaths of countless workers.

The vicious attack by the capitalists on working class fighters, following the Haymarket Square incident, touched off the spark of class-conscious unity among the proletariat of the entire world. Mass demonstrations were held internationally in solidarity with the victims of capitalist persecution. Since 1886, the commemoration of the men of Haymarket has been a call to battle for the international working class. May Day is celebrated throughout the world in defiance of the Haymarket executioners: the capitalist class.

On this day, the workers of the world demonstrate to international capitalism that the latter's aims have been defeated. While the ruling class may have succeeded in murdering workers' leaders, the cause of those leaders is alive and fighting towards victory today.

However, the victory of the international working class is not automatically insured. Thus, it is critical now, at this stage in the development of the class struggle, to go back into the history of that development and bring forward the rich lessons of that history.

The groping towards elementary class-consciousness, the beginning of united battles against the capitalists, the de-

velopment of the organized trade union movement—its strengths and weaknesses, the development of the eight-hour day movement, all must be understood in order to prepare the working class and the youth for the tasks which must be carried out today.

The development of the American labor movement must be placed in an international perspective in order to understand both its philosophical and organizational roots. These international developments must be examined from the point of view of their objective effects on the two class opposites: the ruling class and the working class.

The vicious executions of the Haymarket martyrs by the ruling class cannot be understood in the abstract. What unleashed the tremendous panic of the bourgeoisie in 1886?

What were the forces that led to the establishment of such a powerful eight-hour day movement that the capitalists, in absolute fear, rushed to summon all the forces of their state to halt the forward march of the workers and smash up their organizations?

What were the basic contradictions within the American labor movement? The seeds for the contradictory development of that movement were planted at its origin and were fertilized throughout this early period.

Today, these seeds have fully germinated and are firmly rooted in the movement so that, while the American working class is the most powerful in the world, it is also the most politically backward. The latter poses the gravest danger to the fate of the international proletariat.

If the victory of the working class is to be insured, this contradiction must be overcome. This is the task posed to the revolutionary party today and it can only be accomplished if the party is firmly rooted in an understanding of the lessons of labor's struggle.

The development of capitalism established the world market and the interdependency of the capitalist class of each nation upon each other for the development of commerce. The need for a constantly expanding market for its products produced the international character of the capitalist system.

As Marx said:
"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cos-

mopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. It has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood."

Just as capitalism created a set of coinciding interests among the international ruling class, so too did it produce the circumstances for the international unity of the working class. The phenomena of immigration from the economically backward countries to the newly developing ones heightened this unity.

Lenin analyzed this when he was engaged in the fight to develop an international, proletarian revolutionary movement. He said:

"Advanced capitalism drags them (the workers) forcibly into orbit, tears them out of the backwoods in which they live, makes them participants in the world-historical movement and brings them face to face with the powerful, united international class of factory owners."

The first political movement among the working class in the U.S. was launched in 1869 based on these principles of proletarian internationalism. The International Workingmen's Association, led by the German immigrant F. A. Sorge, was the official American section of the First International.

Although isolated from the great mass of workers, the Association did contribute to the struggle for class-consciousness among them. Thus, the heroic experience of the Paris Commune, where the workers actually became masters of the situation and power passed into the hands of the proletariat, was transmitted to the still isolated, weak American working class.

The political lessons of the Commune and the spirit of the Communards were absorbed by the workers as they began their march toward confrontation with the capitalists. The Commune provided the impetus for the growth and widespread acceptance of socialist ideas that would, in a few years, crystalize into cohesive political movements.

The growth of socialism was to be further enhanced by another international development: that was, the anti-socialist decree of 1878 issued by Bismarck. Hundreds of trained socialist fighters were forced to emigrate from Germany to the U. S. Many of them were to play leading roles in the growth of the labor movement.

Of course, the Paris experience was not ignored by the employers either. They

began to introduce every conceivable measure of repression to ensure that the workers would not be able to unite around a common program or in a common organization.

The ruling class reigned with the iron fist of dictatorship through fear over the workers at the time when that class was beginning to understand its objective situation and its need to organize as a class. The early labor organizations were formed as secret societies, most of whose activities had little effect on the living standards of the average worker.

Thus, although the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was founded in 1869, it existed as an isolated, fraternal, secret brotherhood until 1881, when it was made public.

However, even in this formative and extremely dangerous period, there emerged one organization which was determined to meet the vicious repressions of the employers head-on. They were the Molly Maguires, a secret miners' society in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania.

They had been forced out of Ireland by the government in the late 1850's and settled in the mining region here. They were officially chartered in Pennsylvania under the name of "The Ancient Order of Hibernians."

The deplorable working conditions in the mines were unparalleled in any other industry. The employers guaranteed their maximum profit by paying the miners by the cubic yard, car, or ton and, of course, they themselves ran the weighing and measuring of the workers' labor.

Furthermore, there were no safety regulations and cave-ins, entombing hundreds of men, were constant occurrences. In addition, the coal dust fumes produced hundreds of fatalities, and left thousands more half dead, annually.

The only motivating concern of the employers was coal and more coal. They were aided in this total disregard for human life by the fact that immigrants were arriving by the thousands every week: all in desperate need of any job.

These objective circumstances created the conditions for the growth of a tough organization like the Mollies. They operated on two fronts: one, underground with

illegal methods; the other, official with acceptable methods.

Their open organization, the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association led a long, bitter strike of miners for higher wages and decent working conditions in 1874-1875. At the same time, they built a political apparatus which acquired a tremendous amount of political power. They controlled the entire county of Schuylkill which was composed of 600 communities with a population in the tens of thousands.

By 1874, the Mollies were at their height. They had several thousand lodges throughout Pennsylvania with a central executive body. They were also gaining considerable strength in West Virginia.

At this point, the capitalists, who had made a temporary retreat in order to consolidate their forces and plan their strategy, began their onslaught to smash the Mollies. In their action, the ruling class was given one advantage—an advantage the Mollies themselves had constructed.

This advantage was the underground aspect of the Maguire organization. It had functioned through drastic means when it had been deemed as necessary against a particularly brutal employer. These methods of isolated, individualistic acts, cut off from a firm organizational structure, made them vulnerable to police infiltration. Through this infiltration, the employers were able to arrest all the leaders.

Once arrested, the leaders were dealt with in a rapid manner by bourgeois justice. While there was a minimal attention paid to the formalities of a trial, the outcome was determined from the outset. The state merely produced one witness against them, a Pinkerton detective, who subsequently was the star witness in numerous other labor cases.

Ten of the leaders were executed in 1872 and several others received long term prison sentences. Nevertheless, their movement signified the beginning of solidarity and class consciousness among the workers. Their spirit and determination carried on after them, and, as Eugene Debs said of them:

"They were labor leaders, the first martyrs to the class struggle in the United States."

Following the break-up of the Mollies, the vast majority of workers were unorganized, leaderless, and isolated. However, the objective crisis of capitalism drove them forward to begin exerting their collective strength, in spite of their generally unorganized form and the fierce competition of the labor market which made class solidarity extremely difficult.

The conditions for the mass uprisings of the 1870's grew out of the Panic and Depression which began in 1873 and lasted until 1879.

The Depression had been caused by the complete, naked greed of the capitalists coupled with the utterly fraudulent methods they employed to satisfy this greed. The extent of the corruption was so great that a Congressional Committee was forced to begin an investigation.

This investigation of the Credit Mobilizer Scandals revealed widespread fraud in railroad construction: a fraud perpetrated by a conspiracy of Congressmen and corporate heads.

Samuel Yellen describes the details of the operation:

"By means of fake companies, improper consolidations, premium bonds and certificates, stock dividends, and other financial maneuvers, the railroads had succeeded in erecting tremendous capitalizations, as much as seven-ninths water, upon which they demanded their 'just and reasonable dividends.'"

These revelations precipitated the capitalists' panic. Creditors demanded their funds at railroad offices and banks. The largest financial house in the U.S. closed in bankruptcy in September because of overinvestment in the Northern Pacific Railroad.

The Depression created conditions of abject poverty, massive unemployment, starvation and homelessness for the majority of the working class. At the same time, the real wages of those still employed were cut in half. Furthermore, the few trade unions which had existed were virtually wiped out because no one could afford dues.

The situation in New York City alone provides a clear, brutal picture of the devastating conditions which faced the entire

working class. The trade union membership dropped from 45,000 to 5,000. In 11 trade unions, only 5,950 men were employed, while 20,250 men had been laid off. The recorded total of those unemployed was 111,000. During that winter, tens of thousands starved to death. Thousands more were living on as little as 70 cents per week.

Hundreds of mass meetings of the unemployed were held. Reacting with tremendous fear at the thought of these unemployed workers joining together, the capitalists unleashed their forces of violence to savagely attack those in attendance.

The ruthless spirit of the employers and their complacent smugness during this period was most glaringly revealed in a statement by Jay Gould, the railroad magnate, when he remarked that:

"I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half."

Unemployment was so great that those workers who had jobs were forced to put up with the most abominable conditions. Or, at least, that was the assumption the employers proceeded under.

But, by 1877, the class struggle, which

However, without leadership and an organized body behind them, the workers were incapable of negotiating any demands from the employers. Thus, the need for developed workers' organizations was almost unanimously recognized by the working class and this prepared the way for the huge leap in trade union membership and political activity.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The Knights of Labor emerged into the open in 1881 under the leadership of Terrence Powderly. The organization differed from the narrow, craft-type trade unions in that while the latter organized skilled workers, the Knights organized the unskilled and semi-skilled. In its first year, it had a membership of 300,000.

It was an organization most characterized by its sharp opposites. Its leadership was composed of dilettantes, more concerned with making pompous speeches than with fighting for the working class. On the other hand, it was the largest workers organization and, as such, was composed of many rank and file, class militants.

Engels described the characteristics of

the working class. Furthermore, the majority of the members of the Knights of Labor also participated in the Eight-Hour Leagues.

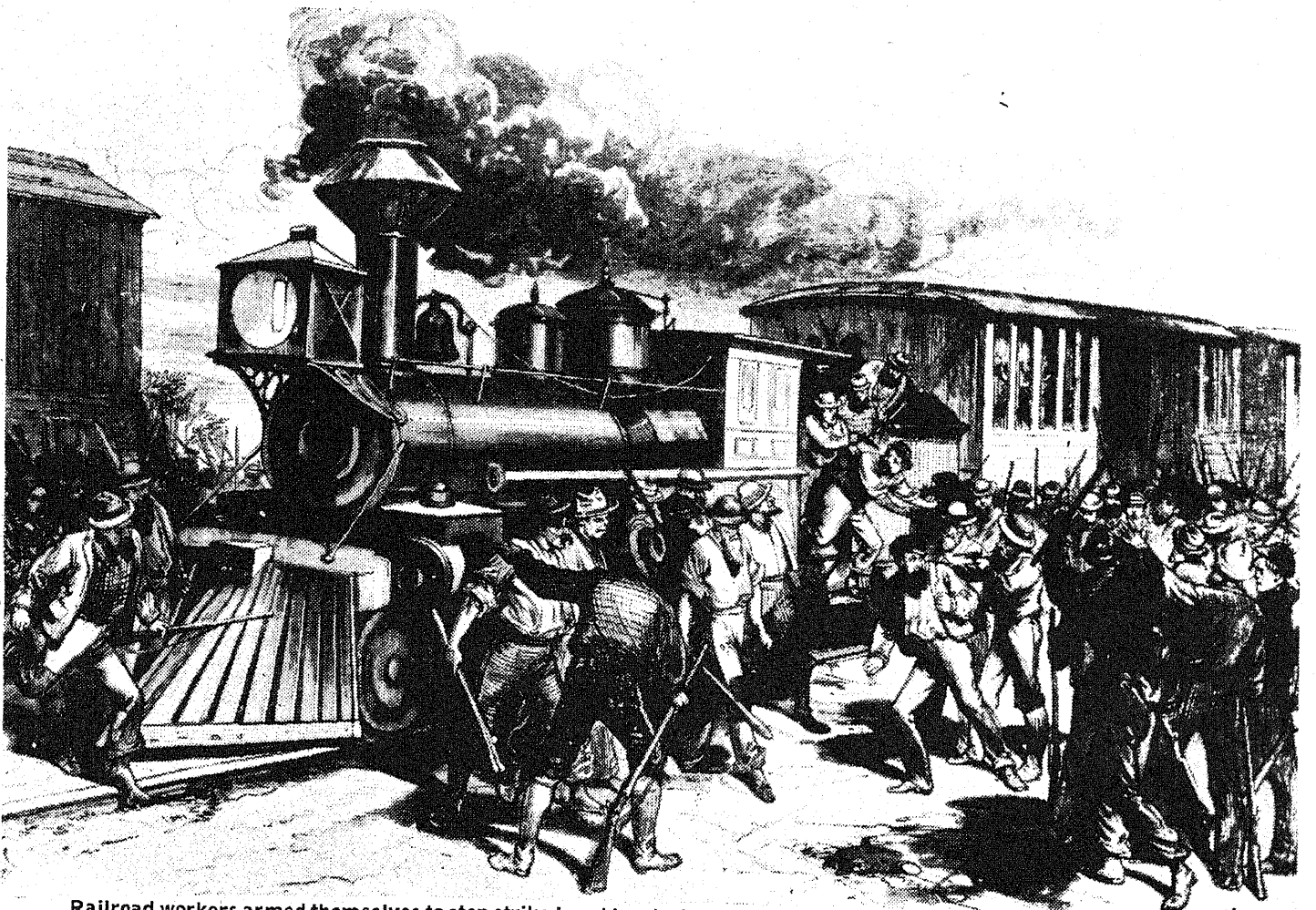
The weakness of the Knights of Labor lay in its treacherous leadership. Its decline in the period from 1886-1900 signified the ascendancy of the skilled, craft-type labor unions. But, the seeds of industrial unionism, which would not be victorious until the rise of the CIO in the 1930's, were sown in the Knights of Labor.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The political developments within the American working class were marked from the outset by multiple divisions over the questions of program, strategy, tactics and goals.

The spread of socialist ideas occurred during the 1873 Panic. The initial socialist party in the U. S., the International Workingmen's Association, split in 1874. The split centered on the fundamental question which would dominate the working class movement for decades.

The split reflected the schism that had taken place in the First International. The Internationalists proposed that the party



Railroad workers armed themselves to stop strike-breaking during 1877 rail strike which workers won.

had been smouldering for four years, had reached the inflammable point and it only took one spark—ignited by Gould himself—to spread the flames of class war across the entire country.

The arena for the battle was the railroads and the ignitor was the announcement in July, by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad that there would be another ten percent cut (the wage cuts had begun in 1873) on firemen's and brakemen's wages. The strike began on July 16 in West Virginia. By midnight, the workers had shut down the entire system in that state.

The Governor employed the local militia to break the strike, but, in a show of solidarity, the militia went over to the workers' side. The Governor sent for federal troops.

The strike spread to the Penn Central, then, to Chicago and the entire Midwest and finally to the Pacific Coast. Throughout its duration, open warfare reigned on the streets of the great industrial centers. Thousands of workers from other industries joined the railroad brothers. Hundreds were killed and injured during the battles with the soldiers.

By the end of July, the sheer numbers and strength of the Federal troops forced the workers back to work. But, this retreat was only a tactical one. The capitalists realized that this cease-fire was only temporary and they quickly seized the opportunity to strengthen their military forces. The huge armories of the National Guard in all the large industrial cities date from this time.

These leaderless, spontaneous uprisings signaled that a new stage of working class militancy can class-conscious solidarity had been reached.

the Knights in the following way:

"They are clothing the most modern tendencies in the most medieval mummeries, and hiding the most democratic and even rebellious spirit behind an apparent, but really powerless despotism."

The militancy of its membership continually forced the treacherous leadership to take action. While they opposed strike actions, Powderly and his underlings found themselves frequently engaged in them.

In the Depression of 1884-1887, their ranks swelled to 702,924 members, with 5,892 local assemblies. Two factors attributed to this increase: the success of militant boycotts conducted against companies hostile to union labor; a successful strike it led against three Gould railroads in 1885.

While the concessions the Knights of Labor won from Gould were meager, the victory was tremendous because it marked the first time that labor leaders were accepted on an equal basis. Most significant was that the rapidly emerging power of the working class had won this concession from the capitalists' leading labor hater: Jay Gould.

There were other workers' organizations, formed along strict trade union lines, but the Knights of Labor was the only large national organization of a non-political nature. There was an exception to that, and that was in the numerous Grand Eight-Hour Leagues which sprang up across the country.

However, these Leagues were organized for one specific purpose—to win a shorter working day—and, as such, cannot be considered in the same manner as a total combat and defense organization of

should engage in trade union and political activity, while at the same time preparing itself to lead the working class to power.

The renegade Lassalleans suddenly became evolutionists and discovered (as do all middle class reformists) the parliamentary road to socialism. They controlled the party for two years.

Then, a controversy arose over the workingmen's military organizations which had been formed in Chicago to provide necessary protection against physical intimidation at the voting polls. This led to a walk-out of the Socialist Labor Party by the Chicago members who were rebelling against the open conservatism of the SLP.

The dissidents held their first convention in 1883. Albert Parsons brought his Workingmen's Party, which had led a series of successful strikes in the Midwest, into the meeting. Also present was the anarchist International Working People's Association, the "Black International" led by Johann Most.

Most formulated a totally bankrupt program based entirely on individualistic acts of terror. He was supported by several of the delegates from the East.

The opposition to Most was led by Parsons and August Spies, whose peculiar mixture of anarchism and syndicalism came to be known as the "Chicago idea." They held that the trade union was of ultimate importance and was the sole combat unit against capitalism.

The Western section was the largest and thus, the convention upheld the importance of the trade union. The party's main base was Chicago where it had 6,000 members. The Chicago leaders, who were to become the Haymarket martyrs, were

Spies, Parsons, Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab.

The central weakness of all these early political movements was their complete theoretical backwardness and open embrace of American pragmatism.

The Germans refused to penetrate the mass movement and put theory into practice (in fact, they would not even learn the language) so they ended up abandoning the working class altogether to opportunists and the labor bureaucracy.

Thus, the upsurge of trade unionism, socialism and anarchism in the 1880's, which culminated in the eight-hour day movement in 1886, drew the fundamental divisions within the working class.

EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT

The massive eight-hour movement reflected the convergence of the political and economic developments within the working class up to that point.

The eight-hour day victory of Australian labor in the late 1860's was the spark for the working class here to take up the demand. Grand Eight-Hour Leagues were formed then, and several strikes were called over the issue.

The official leadership of the movement was assumed by the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions (which would later become the AFL) in 1884. They passed the resolution that "Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886."

The Chicago groups of the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Assembly, politically affiliated to the Socialist Labor Party, and the Central Labor Union, in league with Parson's "Internationalists," took up the eight-hour fight.

The leadership in Chicago actually fell to the SLP, the Amalgamated Assembly and the Knights of Labor because, although the Central Labor Union began strong agitation, its motives, according to Yellen were:

"Different...since it regarded as paramount, not the attainment of the shorter working day, but the common labor front and the class struggle."

The double-dealing treachery of the Knights of Labor leadership was clearly exposed in the eight-hour fight. While it had been forced by the ranks to endorse the movement, it carried out secret maneuvers to abandon it.

As the strength of the movement grew with the approach of May 1, these labor lackeys of capitalism reacted with complete hysteria. Powderly issued a secret circular denouncing it and withdrawing all support from it.

The circular sharply revealed Powderly's class position. He wrote:

"Out of the sixty millions of people in the United States and Canada, our order has possibly three hundred thousand. Can we mould the sentiment of the millions in favor of the short hour plan before May first? It is nonsense to think of it. Let us learn why our hours of labor should be reduced and then teach others."

Nevertheless, his action did not stop the movement. Workers had been grueling for 18 hours a day for too long to be turned back now. Further, the depression of 1884-1887 had intensified the objective situation.

Neither did the actions of the capitalist class, which set in motion all of its apparatus in an attempt to stop the movement.

The pulpit and press extolled the virtues of the long working day in a desperate

move to convince the worker that their wage-slavery was a Christian and beneficial thing. An editorial in the New York World said:

"The American laborer must make up his mind, henceforth, not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be content to work for low wages. In this way the workingmen will be nearly to that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him!"

At the same time, the employers whipped up the fear of the middle class with their editorials which declared that all those who were involved in the the eight-hour movement were mad anarchists and crazy bombers.

THE DEADLINE ARRIVES

Thus, the sharp class lines were drawn when May 1 approached. The center of the movement was Chicago—long established as the seat of the most violent class

protect the scabs. Subsequently, the plant had been the scene of pitched battles almost daily.

On this afternoon, over 6,000 lumber shovers were holding a meeting near the factory. Spies was addressing the crowd when the scabs came out after work. A violent confrontation occurred and the police arrived and carried out their policy of wanton shootings into the crowd.

"During these months of unrest it became a past time for a squad of mounted police, or a detachment in close formation, to disperse with the billy and gathering of workingmen. The billy was an impartial instrument: men, women, chil-

the scores of battles that had wracked Chicago during this period. He was acting under orders from someone with more authority than the Mayor for the latter had told him that there was no need to interfere.

Bonfield demanded that the meeting disperse but Fielden replied that it was a peaceful gathering. At that point, a bomb thrown by an agent-provocateur exploded providing an excuse for the police to open fire hysterically. Several workers were killed and over 200 were injured.

Reflecting the enormous fear of the ruling class in the face of a mounting offensive of the working class, the government mobilized all its forces to crush the eight-hour movement. Their strategy was to behead the workers movement of its most conscious leadership, divide and intimidate the others and whip up an hysterical atmosphere of fear within the middle class.

The following morning, the capitalist press began its campaign to prepare the atmosphere for a ruthless witch-hunt of all working class leaders. They carried the story that Fielden when the police approached had said:

"Here come the bloodhounds of the police! Men, do your duty and I will do mine."

The clear intent of all the headlines that day was to create a climate of "hang them first and try them afterwards."

The Chicago Tribune harangued that: "These serpents have been warned and nourished in the sunshine of toleration until at last they have been emboldened to strike at society, law, order and government."

Thus, the stage was set for a massive roundup not unlike the campaign engineered under the guise of a "Red Scare" in 1919. The immediate target of the ruling class was to wipe out the conscious leadership of the working class. This was now absolutely imperative if they were to stop the forward march of the working class and smash up the rapidly developing trade union movement.

Wholesale arrests of workers were made without warrant or process of law. People were jailed and held without access to friends or counsel. Homes were entered without search warrants and property seized or destroyed.

The offices of labor papers were raided, the employees arrested and the subscription lists confiscated so that further arrests could be made. The government centered its most aggressive campaign against the newspapers of the International Working Peoples Association: Arbeiter-Zeitung and Alarm.

All their employees were imprisoned and their editors and contributors were held incommunicado, without being charged for several days.

LEADERS

Who were these leaders? What was the nature of their power that made the state so violent upon executing them? The eight men the government singled out and held responsible for the bombing in Haymarket were: August Spies, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden and Louis Lingg.

Spies was the editor of Arbeiter-Zeitung and a leading working class fighter. He had organized the militant Chicago Central Labor Union, led the great railroad strikes in the Midwest in 1872 and was prominent in the eight-hour movement. Further he was a revolutionary, an anarchist who understood the necessity of bringing the working class to power. Parsons edited Alarm and had been the head of the Workingmen's Party in Chicago before he joined with Spies to lead the Western Section of the International Working People's Association. During the 1877 railroad strikes he had organized a complete general strike in St. Louis which brought the ruling class to their knees. He too played a role in the eight-hour movement.

Schwab was Spies' editorial assistant and also a conscious fighter in the building of the labor movement. Fielden too was on the staff of Arbeiter-Zeitung. All the others were members of the International and leading labor agitators.

With this background it is not difficult to understand why the ruling class, determined to smash the incipient trade union movement, sought out these men for

REVENGE!

Workingmen, to Arms!!!

Your masters sent out their bloodhounds; — the police —; they killed six of your brothers at McCormicks this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches, because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them, because they dared ask for the shortenin' of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, "Free American Citizens", that you must be satisfied and contended with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

You have for years endured the most abject humiliations; you have for years suffered unmeasurable iniquities; you have worked yourself to death; you have endured the pangs of want and hunger; your Children you have sacrificed to the factory-lords — in short: You have been miserable and obedient slave all these years: Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy thieving master? When you ask them now to lessen your burden, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you!

If you are men, if you are the sons of your grand sires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms we call you, to arms!

Your Brothers,

Rache! Rache! Arbeiter, zu den Waffen!

Arbeiteres Volk, heute Nachmittag mordeten die Bluthundee Eurer Ausbeuter & Eurer Brüder draussen bei McCormicks. Warum mordeten sie dieselben? Weil sie den Mut hatten, mit dem Loos anzufechten zu sein, welches Euer Ausbeuter ihnen beschaffen haben. Sie forderten Brod, man antwortete ihnen mit Blei, erdregend der Thatsache, daß man damit das Volk aus mirksamen zum Schweigen bringen kann! Viele, viele Jahre habt Ihr alle Verwundungen ohne Widerstand ertragen, habt Euch zum frühen Morgen bis zum späten Abend geschunden, habt Verwundungen jeder Art ertragen, habt Eure Kinder selbst geopfert — Alles, um die Schafstomern Euer Herren zu füttern, Alles für sie! Und jetzt, wo Ihr vor sie hintretet, und sie ersucht, Eure Hände etwas zu erleichtern, da hegen sie zum Dank für Eure Opfer ihre Bluthundee, die Polizei, auf Euch, um Euch mit Bleifugeln von der Ungleichheit zu befreien. Morden, mit freier und bewußten Euch bei Morden, was Euch heilig und werth ist, rächt diesen schandlichen Mord, den man heute an Euren Brüdern beging, und vielleicht morgen schon an Euch begehen wird. Arbeiteres Volk, Hercules, Du bist ein Selbstmörder angelangt. Wofür entscheidest Du Dich? Für Sklaverei und Hunger, oder für Freiheit und Brod? Entscheidest Du Dich für das Schlimmere, dann schmeisse keinen Augenblick; dann, Volk, zu den Waffen! Vernichtung den menschlichen Besten, die sich Deine Herrscher nennen! Rächstschicksale Vernichtung ihnen — das muß Deine Lösung sein! Mord der Herren, deren Blut den Weg zum Fortschritt, zur Freiheit und zur Menschlichkeit gebührt — und sterbe, ihre würdig zu werden!

Eure Brüder.

Working class leaders issued this leaflet calling for May 5 Haymarket demonstration after cops attacked previous night's rally for 8-hour day.

battles in the history of the working class. As Mother Jones, in her Autobiography described it:

"The city was divided into two camps. The working people on one side—hungry, cold, jobless, fighting gunmen and police clubs with bare hands. On the other side, the employers, supported by the newspapers, by the police, by all the power of the great state itself."

On May 1, 40,000 workers walked out. By May 3, that number had grown to 65,000. Over 45,000 were granted the shorter work week. In addition, thousands were already on strike with railroads and elsewhere. With the walk-out of the lumber workers, the entire buildings industry was paralyzed.

On May 3, the employers decided to move in to crush the movement. They centered their first attack at the McCormick Harvester Works. The McCormick owners had begun an intensified campaign to crush the union and run their factory on an "open shop" basis.

Accordingly, in February they had locked out all their union employees and hired Pinkerton detectives to

dren, and shop-keeping bystanders alike composed its harvest."

The attacks killed at least four workers and injured many more. Outraged, Spies rushed to his office at Arbeiter-Zeitung and issued the now-famous "Revenge" circular calling "workingmen to arms." He and Parsons called for a mass meeting to be held the following night in Haymarket Square, which was the center of the lumber yard and packing house district.

Throughout the day of May 4, the police attacked any gathering of workers and broke up all protest meetings. At night, the workers gathered in Haymarket but because of a cold rain the crowd only numbered around 3,000.

Spies, Parsons and Fielden were the major speakers. All confined themselves solely to the eight-hour question. Around 10 p.m., Spies and Parsons left and Fielden was about to conclude his remarks. However, at this point, more than 180 police converged on the Square led by Inspector Bonfield.

Bonfield was a leading servant of the ruling class and had proven his loyalties in

prosecution. In the bloody arena of the class struggle no more sharply defined groups of class opposites could have been found than these eight defendants and the government.

However before the defendants were indicted the government carried out the most thorough preparations to insure that once they were formally charged their execution would be guaranteed. Thus began the technique of constructing the atmosphere for the frame-up: a technique which has been used against working class fighters throughout the history of the labor movement.

The police played the leading role in this preparation. Thousands of raids were conducted on workers' homes and, of course, they ensured that all the raids would be profitable. They continually turned up ammunitions, rifles, dynamite, bomb-making materials etc., and each find was hysterically announced in the press.

The police carried out their task with such vengeance that even their own chief was forced to admit years later that:

"Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere...After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away."

THE TRIAL

When success in accomplishing the ends of this raw frame-up was guaranteed, seven of the eight men were indicted. They were charged with conspiracy in the bomb-throwing and the murder of Mathias Degan a policeman who had died from wounds sustained in Haymarket Square. Parsons, who had alluded the police dragnet, appeared at the start of the trial and was also indicted.

From the outset any pretense of conducting a fair trial was abandoned by both the judge and the prosecution. The normal procedure for soliciting a jury was ruled out so that a completely prejudiced jury could be seated. A special bailiff was commissioned by the state's attorney to select the candidates. His method for doing so was later documented in a sworn affidavit made by one of the prospective jurors. The document reveals that the bailiff told him:

"I am managing this case, and know what I am about. These fellows are going to be hanged as certain as death. I am calling such men as the defendants will have to challenge preemptorily and waste their time and challenges. They will have to take such men as the prosecution wants."

It took 21 days to select the jury and over 1,000 men were examined. During this procedure, the judge continually denied the defense's challenges and in fact, played the major role in selecting the jury himself.

The prosecution failed to produce any evidence to prove that any of the men had any connection with the bomb-throwing. In fact, the chief prosecutor, Grinnell really made no attempt to even do so. While he did produce two witnesses on the stand who swore they had seen one bomb pass between Spies and Schwab, this testimony was completely contradictory.

The defense attorneys William Black, William Foster and Sigmund Zeisler succeeded in proving that these witnesses had completely fabricated their stories. As Zeisler wrote later:

"The story was thoroughly exploded by the testimony of a number of unimpeached witnesses and by many facts and circumstances in evidence which showed it to be a pure fabrication."

However, such contradictions were not important to the State since they had set out to condemn the men on the basis of the political beliefs, not on the basis of any specifics surrounding the Haymarket event. Thus, the prosecutor deluged the jury with readings from *Alarm* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. He brought in Johann Most's pamphlet "The Science of Revolutionary Warfare," which advocated the use of dynamite.

One exchange between the defense and the prosecution clearly exposes the political nature of the trial. Grinnell said:

"Black says they are humanitarians. Don't try, gentlemen, to shirk the issue. Anarchy is on trial."

The defense attorneys helped aid the prosecution in the conviction of their clients. Their dangerous illusions in bourgeois justice led them to avoid the political nature of the case. Over the objec-

tions of Black, the two other co-counselors persisted in trying the case as one of pure homicide which would be determined upon the plain issue of law and facts.

As typical liberals, they refused to believe that the court or the jury would try the political opinions of the defendants. Therefore, they ignored the repeated requests of countless people including all eight prisoners, that they be given permission to explain and define the philosophy of anarchism.

These illusions left the defense totally unprepared for the prosecutor's summation to the jury and completely unable to offer a serious rebuttal to it. Grinnell had not introduced a shred of evidence to show that any conspiracy had existed but that did not matter, for as he said in his closing speech to the jury:

"Law is upon trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them. Gentlemen of the jury, convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

The class nature of his charge was clear: condemn the working class leaders so that capitalism can continue its march forward on the backs of the masses of workers.

The case went to the jury on August 19, 1887. The next day the verdict of guilty

throughout the entire appeals procedure. When requested to send a statement of support to the Supreme Court, they refused.

Their counterparts in the Socialist Labor Party followed the same course. They issued a scathing denouncement of the anarchists and repudiated any connection with the eight defendants. They condemned Dietzgen for aiding the anarchists and taking editorial charge of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

In spite of this middle class treachery the cause of the Haymarket martyrs was to become the cause of millions. As James Cannon later wrote:

"Their very names have become a battle cry to stir the blood of the revolutionaries today, and we dare assert they will be heard in the triumphant shouts of the final victory of the working class tomorrow."

The defendants themselves expressed the meaning of their case at their sentencing. Spies' speech stands as an outstanding record of the spirit and determination of these outstanding warriors of the working class. He said:

"But, if you think that by hanging us, you can stamp out the labor movement—the movement from which the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil and live in want and misery—the wage slaves—expect salvation—if this is your opinion then hang us! Here you will tread upon a spark, but there, and there, and behind you, and in front of you, and everywhere, flames will



Strikes and demonstrations for 8-hour day swept across U.S. in 1886. Above, cops killed 6 workers in East St. Louis but did not halt drive toward industrial unionism.

was brought in. All were sentenced to be hanged except Neebe who received a 15 year prison term. Thus, as was to become the rule, the working class learned that bourgeois justice serves only the interests of the bourgeoisie.

THE DEFENSE

Following the conviction it became imperative to take the case to the only force which could save the Haymarket men: the working class. The defense committee was headed by a German socialist Ernst Schmidt. Joseph Dietzgen, who had been the editor of the party organ of the Socialist Labor Party moved to Chicago to aid in the defense.

Hundreds of mass meetings and demonstrations were held by workers throughout the world. The international working class had rallied to demand the release of these leaders.

While the millions of workers stood firmly with the Haymarket victims, their opposites within the working class—the labor bureaucracy and the reformist socialists—all rushed to denounce the condemned men.

The wretched traitors who ruled the Chicago Knights of Labor issued an official statement which said:

"Let it be understood by all the world that the Knights of Labor have no affiliation, association, sympathy or respect for the bands of cowardly murderers, cut-throats and robbers known as anarchists who sneak through the country like midnight assassins stirring up the passions of ignorant foreigners, unfurling the red flag of Anarchy, and causing riot and bloodshed...We hope the whole gang of outlaws will be blotted from the face of the earth."

The Knights of Labor held this position

blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You cannot put it out."

"Very well, you may sentence me, for I am an anarchist. I believe with Buckle, with Paine, Jefferson, Emerson and Spencer and many other great thinkers of this century, that the state of castes and classes—the state where one class dominates over and lives upon the labor of another class, and calls this order—yes, I believe that this barbaric form of social organization with its legalized plunder and murder, is doomed to die, and make room for a free society, voluntary association, or universal brotherhood, if you like."

On November 11, 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fischer and Engel were hanged. Louis Lingg, a youth of 20, blew his head off with a dynamite cap in his cell the day before. Fielden and Schwab petitioned for clemency and received life imprisonment.

At their funeral, 275,000 workers marched behind the coffins. Determined to show their strength and their dedication to the construction of the labor movement begun by the Haymarket martyrs, they sang the Marseillaise: the battle song of the Paris Commune.

The early history of the labor movement was a tumultuous one marked by an uneven development but by the eight-hour movement in 1886, it was firmly established. The eight-hour movement solidified the class consciousness of the workers and brought them together in a united struggle.

From this time on, the ruling class would be forced to deal with an organized working class: a class determined to march forward regardless of the obstacles thrown up by the capitalists.

The lessons of this history show the need of strong, effective unions to defend the

working class. As the early history showed, without these organizations, the ruling class was able to isolate the workers, use unemployment to force them to work under the most wretched conditions and keep the great bulk of them at starvation level. Further the need for a leadership was clearly demonstrated by the failure of the 1877 railroad strike to win any concessions from the employers.

The early warning concerning the treacherous roles of the labor bureaucracy and the reformist political parties is exposed in this history.

Also the nature of bourgeois justice and the dangers of liberal illusions in that justice was revealed early in the class struggle. The ruthless murders of countless workers and the vicious frame-up of working class leaders serve as examples of the methods the ruling class will use when faced with an onslaught by the working class.

The trial of the Haymarket men must serve as a sharp warning to all workers that their only defense against bourgeois justice lies not in the motions of liberal lawyers but in the mass mobilization of the working class. No faith must be placed in the so-called "impartial" institutions of the state.

In the execution of the Haymarket men the capitalist class showed its real face to the world. The mask of democracy was thrown aside.

These lessons must be drawn into the struggle of the working class today. It is critical for the defense of the labor movement that the history of its past—its strengths and weaknesses—be firmly rooted and understood by all workers now.

Just as May 4, 1886 marked a new stage in the class struggle, so too did August 15, 1971. Nixon's declarations of war on the international working class on that day pose the greatest dangers to the survival of that class as the capitalists prepare to do all that is necessary to preserve their profit system.

The era of relative class peace has come to an end. But the gains made by the unions during that era have strengthened the illusion that militant trade unionism will suffice against the attacks of the employers.

However while these attacks were mild in the boom period, the ruling class is today preparing to unleash an onslaught against the working class that will make the brutal repressions of 1886 seem mild. This is the meaning of the mass genocide of the Vietnamese people with tons of bombs being dropped over Hanoi and Haiphong.

As American capitalism seeks to throw its crisis onto Europe, the European capitalists are preparing the conditions for civil war in Europe. In Canada, in the face of the tremendous offensive of the public employees, the government has thrown trade union leaders into jail.

This is what the ruling class is preparing for in the United States. This confrontation cannot be avoided. The only way the capitalists can restore value to their system is by smashing the trade union movement. The preparations for this battle have already been laid with the creation of the Pay Board.

As the lessons from the struggles of the railroad strikes of 1877 brought about an understanding that the working class needed a new tool in order to battle the employers, so today when the crisis and objective needs of the class bring it into collision with its old weapons of militant trade unionism, a fundamental leap in the consciousness of the working class is required.

In 1886 it was necessary for the workers to make a qualitative leap with the creation of the organized labor movement, and now in 1972 a new qualitatively different weapon must be constructed if the defense of the trade unions is to be ensured. To simply add more trade union militancy quantitatively will no longer suffice.

To cling to the old perspective, when today capitalism threatens the very existence of the working class, becomes reactionary and will lead to defeat.

Thus, the central lesson of May Day 1972 is that the American working class must now bring forward its tremendous power and its traditions by breaking with the old forms of struggle. The battle now must be for this change in thinking. The struggle that must be waged is a political one, breaking the unions from the Democratic and Republican parties and constructing a labor party based on a socialist program.

V. Barat Books

THE 12-YEAR REICH. A Social History of Nazi Germany, 1933-45. By Richard Grunberger. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1971.

It is indispensable for the daily functioning of the revolutionary party to grasp consciously the relevant lessons of the past struggles of the international working class.

For that reason when a new book concerning the vital question of fascism in Germany appears in the book stalls, it is essential to examine it thoroughly, so as to glean from it fresh lessons for use in the struggle.

The book under review, a 500 page study of the Nazi regime, has recently appeared. It is divided into thirty chapters covering such diverse topics of life under the National Socialists such as Justice, Corruption, Health, Education, Theater, Family, Religion, etc.

Unfortunately, workers reading the first chapter entitled "Weimar" can not learn why the Nazis were able to destroy the magnificent and powerful organizations of the proletariat. For author Grunberger merely repeats that threadbare, nauseating charge that "the political immaturity of the German people" made the fascist or some other reactionary outcome inescapable."

While the author does not deny the existence of social classes both under the Weimar Republic and under Hitler, he never views the struggle of the classes as basic or primary. Rather he lumps the whole German nation together as a collective entity: the "German self-image," the "German consensus," the "German psyche."

BLIND

There is not a word in his book about the proven readiness of the German working class to seize the power in the early thirties.

He is blind not only to the meaning of the overwhelming working class vote against the Nazis in every legal election but to the spontaneous strikes that repeatedly broke out all over Germany before as well as after Hitler was named Chancellor.

Nor does Grunberger so much as hint at the cowardly role played by the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) and the perfidy of the German Communist Party (KPD), both of whom ignored the appeals by the workers to unite their immense forces and destroy fascism in its lair.

Of course, the writer leaves out entirely the historic struggle of Trotsky in Turkish exile and of his small group of German co-thinkers who sought to turn the situation around by their campaign for a United Front of the working class parties and trade unions.

Such omissions concerning the genuine socialist sentiments and anti-fascist activities of the workers prior to 1933 are coupled with outright slanders alleging their mass conversion to Hitler afterwards.

THESIS

Grunberger stubbornly holds to that wretched anti-working class thesis so beloved among liberals on and off the campuses, especially in America, that once the armament industries and the war began to absorb the unemployed the "workers' attitude to the regime was...overwhelmingly loyal."

As evidence the author cites the testimony of a single Nazi, Albert Speer, Hitler's industrial overlord. This "objective" witness claims that the workers followed Hitler because the Fuehrer understood "the mystery of politics which had been concealed from the German race—only he could work the miracle of their salvation."

Whether unwittingly or not, Grunberger chronicles facts throughout his study that rip his own facile and scur-

rilious contention to shreds. He would have the reader believe that it was what he terms the *embourgeoisement* of the proletariat (their corruption flowing from the "good life" under the Nazis) that explained their alleged "loyalty."

He presents figures to show that by 1932, a year before the Nazis took over, one third of the entire work force (over 6 million) were unemployed and the remainder took pay cuts amounting to an average of 33 percent.

ECONOMIC POLICY

He then outlines the fascists' economic policy of 1933 which froze "wages at their depression level." Yet even at the start of the war six years later, which was a period of severe labor shortage and cruel inflation, a third of the proletariat "still drew pay based on the hourly wage levels current in 1932." The only way these "bourgeoisified" workers could survive in the face of the inflated food and clothing prices was through the murderous overtime made mandatory for all employees.

Even as late into the war as 1943, hourly wages for the entire working class "increased by less than one percent during each year of Nazi rule."

But this "paradise" under the Nazi regime which the workers presumably worshipped with such fervor affected them in other ways.

Grunberger concedes that the "inescapable corollary of longer working hours was a deterioration of workers' health."

He shows how the 50 percent increase in the labor force by 1939 was accompanied by an accident and illness rate of 150 percent. Occupational diseases tripled in the same period, while diseases due to industrial accidents increased by 250 percent. And, of course, the death rate soared too.

If it was not the workers who ushered in fascism or gained from its triumph but resisted it to the bitter end, who was responsible for it?

Grunberger states that the Marxists' characterization of Hitler as the puppet of big business is "highly contentious." In fact he absolves the wealthy industrialists of responsibility for bringing about fascism in the first place: "A circumspet section among big business only subsidized Hitler once the electoral tide had started flowing in his direction."

The huge trusts, he states, simply looked around to see which way things were drifting and, being realists, jumped on the rolling fascist bandwagon so as to be with the winner.

So who does Grunberger single out for greatest responsibility for fascism? "The middle class of independents such as shopkeepers or master craftsmen."

The author muddles the broad and impoverished petty-bourgeois electoral and combat base of fascism with the material force represented by the wealthy industrialists and bankers who exercised ultimate control over that movement.

DECISIVE

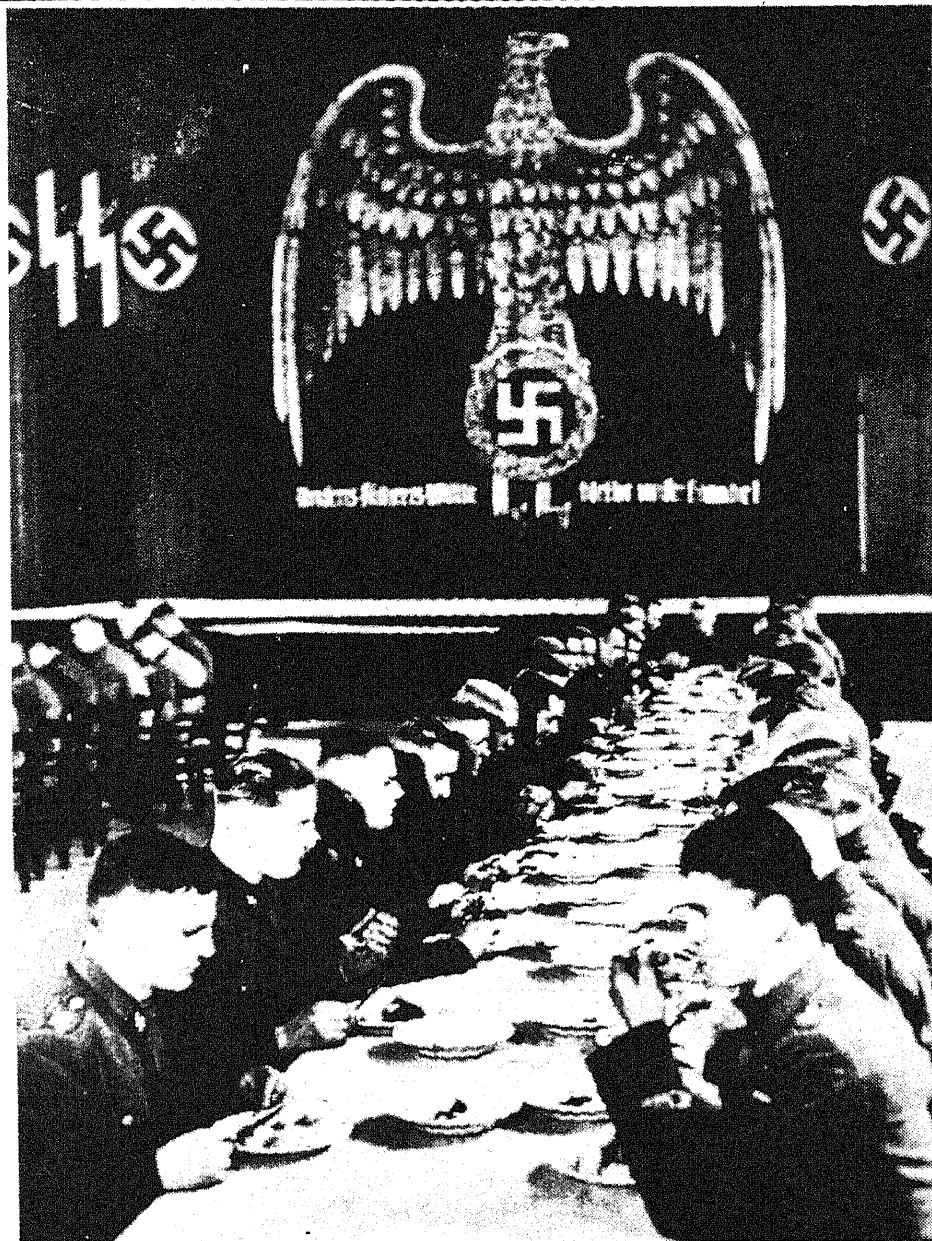
Whether he knows it or not (and it is unpardonable for an historian not to since the information is readily available) Hitler could never have come to power without the direct and decisive financial aid of Germany's richest men.

Virtually in their entirety, the Ruhr industrialists had by the early thirties decided on the necessity of bringing the Nazis to power.

Joining these men were the most powerful banks in the country, for that matter in most of Europe: the Deutsche Bank, the Commerz und Privat, the Dresdener Bank, the Allianz, and the Deutsche Kredit Gesellschaft.

Following the 1929 stock market crash, the Nazis had been practically doubling their vote at each national election, going from 800,000 in 1928 to over 13 million in July, 1932.

But at the November 6, 1932 national election the Nazis lost two million votes and the KPD received the largest vote in its history: nearly six million. With the ad-



Hitler's SS Bodyguard dine under sign saying "The will of the Fuehrer remains our faith."

History Of Nazi Germany Absolves Industrialists

ditional seven million SPD votes, the working class beat the Nazis at the polls and were by far the largest electoral and certainly the most powerful social force in the country.

TERRIFIED

Apprehensive at the Nazi election loss and terrified at the powerful urge for unity displayed by the ranks of both workers' parties, the ruling class realized time was no longer on their side.

A petition was then drawn up bearing the signatures of 38 top bankers and industrialists and was presented to the President of the Republic, von Hindenburg, the reactionary World War I general.

It is significant that Hindenburg, who ran against Hitler for the presidency nine months earlier, was elected in the first place by votes of the SPD. The leaders of this party, in defiance of the will of their own ranks for a working class president, had received Hindenburg's Prussian word of honor never to allow the Nazis into the government and supported him as the lesser evil! But at the command of the ruling class, this "honorable" Prussian Junker complied and Hitler took office as Chancellor on January 30, 1933.

The actual plans for Hitler's assumption of power were made on January 4, 1933, at a secret meeting in the home of the Cologne financier Baron von Schroeder. Present besides von Schroeder and Hitler were select representatives of industry and the Nazi party.

Here is how von Schroeder characterized that meeting:

"On November 6, 1932, when the Nazis suffered their first setback, the support of German industry was particularly urgent. The feeling common to the whole of industry was the fear of Bolshevism and the hope that, once the Nazis were in power, it would provide Germany with solid political and economic foundations.

"There was another point in common: the desire for realizing Hitler's industrial program—Re-armament. This program was well known to industrial circles and was well received."

None of this critical material is found in Grunberger's text. It does not fit in with his thesis.

On the other hand, he presents copious evidence as to the manner by which the monopolists gorged themselves with profits extracted from wage and slave labor both in Germany as well as in occupied Europe. For example, he details the following account:

"The number of joint stock corporations declined from 9,634 in 1932 to 5,418 in 1941, but their nominal capital increased by 2,000 million marks. From 1933 onwards government statutes enormously strengthened the organizational power of cartels.

"Armed with unlimited arbitrary powers of cartelization, the Ministry of Economics bestowed official sanctions on what had previously been private organizations, for restricting capacity and subordinating whole industries to the wishes of monopolists."

SHORTCOMINGS

The political and methodological shortcomings of the book are so serious as to impair its overall value. The author belongs to that popular Anglo-American school of empiricism which believes that the mere bulk of thousands of footnoted facts (provided they are attractively arranged in suitable chapter headings, well-indexed, and set in a book with eye-catching covers) should meet the standards of professional bourgeois scholarship.

The basic flaws in Grunberger's work stem from his inability to set the problem of fascism where it belongs: in its international context where it is linked to the capitalist world crisis.

It is this which explains why he is incapable of seeing in Nazism anything more than some national aberration peculiar to Germans.

As an impressionist who proceeds only by what he glimpses on the surface, he can neither understand the historical antecedents of fascism nor the critical roles played by the Social-Democrats and Stalinists in leading the German workers to catastrophic defeats.

Schrade Battle Exposes UAW Crisis

BY DAN FRIED

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—Under conditions of the rise of Wallace, of the attacks of the Pay Board, of unemployment of 200,000 UAW members, of wholesale plant closures, of breakneck speed-up and of mounting anger in the ranks over these conditions, a crisis and split in the top UAW leadership itself emerged at the UAW convention here.

At the meeting of Woodcock's caucus, on the eve of the convention, there reportedly was a strong movement to unseat Emil Mazey as the candidate for Secretary Treasurer, a movement which left Mazey "visibly shaken." In addition, seven of the 18 regional directorships were contested by opposing candidates.

The most important and dramatic of these contests was the defeat of Region 6 (Western states) incumbent Paul Schrade by challenger Jerry Whipple, who won by nearly a three to two margin.

The loss of 18,000 jobs in Region 6 since the last convention fueled the fires of the opposition who claimed that Schrade did not pay enough attention to servicing the needs of the locals.

Most of the California local leaders charged, in addition, that Schrade handpicked his staff on the basis of loyalty to his circle which is heavily involved in "progressive causes" rather than in consultation with the local leaders.

The opposition heatedly denied the efforts of Schrade and the New York Times to paint the contest as between "conservatism" and "liberalism," claiming they had no differences with Schrade on the war and other political questions.

The issue exploded into the convention after Schrade's defeat, and after the Wall Street Journal and Schrade himself had charged that Woodcock, along with Vice Presidents Pat Greathouse and Ken Bannon, conspired to dump Schrade. After the regional election results were an-

nounced on the final day of the convention, Ann LeFebvre, describing herself as "an elected trustee on President Woodcock's team," a long-time supporter of Walter Reuther and an ardent devotee of Paul Schrade took the convention floor to announce her resignation. She repeated the charge about Woodcock, Greathouse and Bannon, and stated, "You lost a great man and the people lost a great leader."

Woodcock replied to LeFebvre, piously stating: "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," and demagogically exclaimed that: "I resent being dragged through the capitalist press on the internal affairs of this union."

In addition, Woodcock charged that in the summer of 1970, "the regional office in California was tying up with the right-to-work people to destroy (Local 887 President) Henry Lacayo." Following Woodcock, Schrade told the convention that the charge of working with "right-to-work people is the worst kind of McCarthyism I have heard in this union."

The discussion on Schrade began to open up a hornets nest, spurring Woodcock and his lieutenants on to obvious efforts to cut short the discussion and terminate the convention. A delegate from Local 75 charged that Emil Mazey was guilty of "directly interfering in regional politics."

Another delegate, from Local 1268 got the floor and said he hoped that, "Brother Woodcock doesn't try to ridicule or embarrass me for what I'm about to

say. I'm mad. I voted the whole slate. But Brother Woodcock, you make me mad when you tell these people you don't interfere or twist arms." The delegate then went on to detail Woodcock's "armtwisting" in his 1968 Regional election.

Faced with a very powerful opposition to Schrade on the West Coast, Woodcock did not want to risk an open rebuke by putting pressure on for Schrade's election. It must be made clear that the opposition to Schrade over "bread-and-butter" issues which Woodcock is trying to deal with, reflects a tremendous movement developing in the ranks.

MILITANT

In the UAW, the local leaders feel the pressure and anger of the ranks much more than the International. This is resulting, in more and more cases, in the dumping of local leaders by militant opposition slates, since the ranks cannot vote directly for their International officers.

The hostility of the ranks to the International was very much directed against the Regional office and its International Representatives in Schrade's Region 6. During the 1970 GM strike Schrade supported by local leaders, called in the San Francisco Tactical Patrol Force (riot police) to restore "law and order" against Fremont auto workers who were demonstrating against GM.

To say that the dumping of Schrade represented Woodcock's movement toward the right is the most superficial impressionism. It in fact serves as an apology for



Paul Schrade (above) was dumped as West Coast regional director.

"left talk" and demagoguery. Actually, the fragmenting of the Woodcock "team" represents a severe problem for Woodcock who attempts to hold together the leadership in the face of the rising crescendo of class struggle. While Woodcock may have preferred winning with Whipple to losing with Schrade, Emil Mazey, widely considered to be the "power behind the throne" of the Woodcock "team," had openly supported the election of Schrade, and Vice President Douglas Fraser was a known sympathizer of Schrade.

After Phase II was started and the Pay Board threatened the aerospace contracts, Schrade raised the threat of "a general strike and a new labor party." But he never took this up in opposition to Woodcock's cooperation with the Board. Never once did he take up a fight for Woodcock to leave the Board.

When the aerospace contracts were reduced from 12.3 percent to 8.4 percent by the Pay Board, where was Schrade with his call for a general strike, or even an aerospace strike to protect the contract? At the critical point, Schrade went along completely with Woodcock's policy of taking the Pay Board to court, which

was an impotent gesture.

At the convention, Schrade and his supporters were far too busy denouncing Whipple and his supporters as "Archie Bunkers" to even mention the question of a labor party which was being taken up by other delegates.

Indeed, Norman Roth, a Schrade supporter from outside Region 6 and the rest of the Schrade people had voted for the Woodcock "team" against the UNC candidates who supported a labor party. The Daily World hailed Schrade as "the most advanced sector of the UAW leadership."

In reality, Schrade was a casualty of the growing revolt among the ranks of the UAW which, as one Region 9 delegate predicted, would throw the UAW "into turmoil" in the next two years.

But it must be understood that while Jerry Whipple may pay a good deal more attention to the servicing of the locals, the needs of the UAW workers can only be met by a complete break with the Woodcock bureaucracy on every question, most important on the necessity for a political struggle, the formation of a labor party. Rank and filers on the West Coast are predicting that Whipple's tenure in office will be even shorter than Schrade's.

UAW DELEGATES BREAK WITH DEMOCRATS

(Continued From Page 1)

sion benefit. God damn it, where did it go? I had to read him the clause in the contract which gave them the right to modify the pension plan when they are sold.

"Now the company is saying: 'If you agree to terminate your contract on June 1, we will give you your pensions, SUB benefits, etc.' I don't like to be put in that kind of situation. We're not asking for special privileges. I want you to get mad. I want you to do something about it. I really believe I am President of one of the greatest locals in the UAW even though we are going out of business," he said as he concluded his impassioned speech to tremendous applause.

POLITICAL

The discussion on pension cancellation and plant closings was intertwined with the movement toward independent political action that had been raised indirectly by Canadian NDP speaker Stephen Lewis, and directly in the call for a labor party by Pete Kelly earlier in the convention. Flowing out of the discussion on unemployment, several delegates raised the

question of the formation of a labor party.

Chuck Gifford, a delegate from Local 997, Newton, Iowa (Maytag) stated: "I'm not at all convinced that this indictment of the Nixon Administration is the whole story. The American labor movement in '68 was torn apart and opened the door for the Wallaceites. What is it that George Wallace is telling the American people? We have to honestly face the fact and truth that many working people believe in what Wallace is saying.

"Who supported the wage-price freeze? Who gave Nixon the tools? The Democrats. They loaded the shotgun when they passed the Economic Stabilization Act of '72. What this convention ought to be telling the Democrats is that they carry out our program or we move out of that party just like we moved out of the AFL-CIO.

"Labor is wining and dining Senators and Congressmen while they go ahead and pass the 7 percent investment tax credit for business. We couldn't even get 20 signatures for a roll call vote in Congress when Nixon slammed down the wage-price freeze.

"Our membership is saying we need action over this Pay Board. Brother Woodcock, when you went on the Pay Board, many of our people were disappointed, but when you walked off the Pay

Board they were saying that's the kind of program we need."

LABOR PARTY

When asked, after he spoke on the floor, if he thought we needed a labor party, Gifford told the



Conference Hall at last week's Auto workers Convention.

Bulletin:

"I think that's what the future is all about. We had this guy from the New Party (Stephen Lewis, of the NDP (in Canada here and they got one in England. I mean guys like McGovern and Hughes of Iowa would leave the Democrats and maybe people like Abzug would too. I'm for this book of resolutions but they're not being fought for when these guys go back to their locals.

"Back there you have guys who are for Wallace who tells them all kinds of lies. We have to be able to give these guys an alternative because they're fed up with the lies of the Democrats and the Republicans. So we should come up with a definite program out of these resolutions dealing with the war, unemployment, welfare and tax reform and fight for it in the locals and present it to the Democratic Party.

"If they refuse just one part of it, we should walk out and set up our own party: a New Democratic Party of Labor. Hell, you wouldn't have to worry about Wallace then. But I think it had better develop quickly. I think it has to come quickly."

The following are excerpts from an interview conducted on the last day of the UAW convention with Pete Kelly, co-chairman of the United National Caucus. Kelly ran for Secretary-Treasurer of the union against the Woodcock slate's incumbent candidate Emil Mazy.

In his nominating speech to the convention on behalf of UNC Presidential candidate Sims, who opposed Woodcock, Kelly stated, "There is a strange air of unreality about this convention. There is a gap between the shops and the convention which is symbolized by a problem that has never even been raised at the convention, that is, that a great many UAW members are going to vote for a man that is openly anti-labor, George Wallace.

This arises from the same reasons that working people are disgusted with the war, inflation, unemployment. They are disgusted with the Democratic and Republican parties. We don't have the alternative that the Canadian workers have—of their own party, and that is what we need."

Bulletin: It was apparent to us that one of the delegates who was not a member of the United National Caucus but worked with it in support of the referendum, actually voted for the Woodcock slate. This was Norman Rote of International Harvester. When we asked Mr. Roth about this, he claimed that he was ready to vote for the UNC slate when a leading member of the UNC came by and told him there had been a "double-cross," a division—that the policy that had been agreed on at the caucus meeting wasn't being followed. Roth stated that he could not go back to his local and tell them that he voted for something that was double-crossing itself. What about this?

Kelly: It's true. There was a division—an absolute division within the caucus. One faction wanted to make this a one issue campaign on the referendum (direct election by the membership of International officers' and nothing else. As I said on the floor of the convention we have differences. But we bring them out and discuss them and debate them. Even on the war, we've discussed that for five years. We had a conference on racism. We had differences there. There are those people within the caucus that are not satisfied with the fact that the caucus speaks against the war, and speaks for a labor party. They want to restrict the caucus to the "bread and butter" issues. In this case,



Pete Kelly, co-chairman of UAW United National Caucus (UNC), takes floor at autoworkers' Convention.

Pete Kelly Speaks To Bulletin On Issues Facing UAW

with the issues of the contract still far ahead, they wanted to limit it to the referendum.

The referendum is not going to resolve our problems. I'd say the majority within the caucus would agree with me on this.

Bulletin: Is it because of your feeling on this question that you felt you had to run in the election rather than decline after making nominating speeches in support of the referendum, as had been previously agreed?

Kelly: Jordan Sims was fired from his job at the Chrysler plant. I don't know whether you know his case or not. He had 22 years in Chrysler and an exemplary work record. He was fired for a walkout protesting the filthy working conditions. All of them were re-hired—all of them got back but Jordan Sims, because Jordan represented a new type of union leadership. The bureaucracy labelled him a "Black militant," "anti-white." They've put out literature, with no name on it, labelling him this way in order to create hostility among white workers.

What's going on at this convention is a fraud, a facade. They have no intention of carrying out these programs. We could end the war.

We're going to try to get a motion on the floor not only to send a telegram to Nixon to get out of Vietnam now, but for the UAW to set a date for a 24 hour strike, and let the rest of the labor movement follow. That's

what will get Nixon out.

Bulletin: Is your statement the other day to this convention on the need to fight for a labor party a central part of your perspective?

Kelly: Absolutely. All of this talk about Nixon and the war—they can talk all they want. It was not Nixon who gave us the war. It was a Democratic President who started it. They're getting disenchanted. I'm fully convinced that the labor party is going to happen.

Bulletin: What about Kennedy? The UAW leadership is looking toward Kennedy to try to salvage their policy of support for the Democrats: a policy which is in crisis. We feel that the real problem is to expose someone like Kennedy, who many workers have illusions about—much more than Humphrey. We have to be even sharper on Kennedy.

Kelly: Well, if Kennedy runs I hope he gets elected. I'd rather have the liberals in and then expose them.

Bulletin: Then you would be a supporter of Kennedy?

Kelly: No, I wouldn't be a supporter of Kennedy.

Bulletin: The reform Democrats today have much less ability to maintain the Democratic Party than in the thirties with Roosevelt. The crisis is much deeper, and these Democrats must come out more openly against the working class. The Democratic Party is being torn apart. The polariza-

tion and the rise of Wallace shows this. Don't you feel that to raise the question of the labor party means that there must be a campaign for a labor party, not only here at the UAW convention, but also by taking this campaign throughout the labor movement and to the workers in the shops. We see a tremendous movement developing for a labor party on a bigger scale than in the post World War Two period. There has already been a lot of favorable response to our call for a labor party among the delegates we talked to here.

Kelly: I think such a campaign is necessary. That has to be done.

Bulletin: We think it is necessary to speak out on the need for the labor party and against the Democrats. This will be even sharper after the primaries. That's our difference with the "coalition" people who support Bella Abzug.

Kelly: Well, there is a crisis going to come up if the Democrats get in. Dumping Nixon isn't going to do anything. But there's something that is happening and that is that you can talk about a labor party in the plants today and people will listen and give credence to it. That's what has to be done. Nothing's going to be done from this convention.

Bulletin: What about the question of unemployment?

Kelly: There's 200,000 people in the UAW that are not here since last year.

Bulletin: What's your program for unemployment?

Kelly: If I get the floor, I'm going to say that 1973 may be far too late. It's far too late for those 200,000 and for the guy whose plant is closing now. We have to do something now to organize the unemployed in committees and do that at this convention. There's going to be demonstrations and marches in this country pretty soon on unemployment and who's going to lead them? Not the UAW bureaucracy.

Bulletin: On what program? The bureaucracy is putting forward a program of legislation, of laws requiring permits for plant closures and for limitation of profits and so forth.

Kelly: That's just bull. All they're doing here is bull by appealing to Congress. Whatever happened to the union? Where's our power? We have to ask Nixon to do this, ask the senate to do that? What's the union going to do? I don't care what the Congress is going to do, or what the Senators are going to do, or what Nixon's going to do or what Senator Kennedy's going to do. Kennedy said the other day, there should be 400 safety inspectors. So they'll inspect your plant once every ten years. Baloney. Every UAW member should be a safety inspector.

What are we, the UAW, and we labor going to do? We're a very powerful organization. We'll end this damn war if we shut down the country for 24 hours. We'll stop unemployment.

Bulletin: Would you favor nationalization of industry under workers control?

Kelly: Of course I favor nationalization. Of course I would do that. But you can't get it right now.

Bulletin: But doesn't the question of the labor party immediately pose the power of the workers to run the economy, to nationalize industry?

Kelly: Yes, but you can't just take 30 years of Reuther's bull which has just left these people naked—and that's why we see what's happening in the union. There's no consciousness level in the plant. You can talk to a worker in the plant and he'll agree with just about everything you say that we should have nationalization, things should belong to the people, and so forth.

Bulletin: In other words, we need a new leadership to do this.

Kelly: Right.

Bulletin: Before the convention, the UNC took a turn in forming a coalition on the question of a minimum program of referendum, through the formation of the "League of Caucuses." This raised the question of two opposed methods—on the one hand a form of opportunism, on the other hand, a fight for principle in opposition to this "minimum program" approach. As socialists, we say that this fight for principle is the only way to bring forward the power of the working class. The former, opportunist approach, was typified by the Communist Party which wants to support the referendum, but not really fight Woodcock. What do you think?

Kelly: There was a frenzy to get the referendum on the floor and drop everything else. That was a mistake. We gave the impression that was all we wanted. In fact, we came down here to do more than this. That was the division in the caucus. I'm not for just talking about the so-called "bread and butter issues." We have to raise those questions that affect us, like the war, the labor party, and so forth. The people in the caucus who object to that, may or may not stay with us. We won't know. We'll see after our meeting.

International Committee Holds 4th International Conference

The International Committee of the Fourth International held its fourth International conference from April 10-15. Delegates from eight countries participated, some of them travelling many thousands of miles.

First concern of the conference was the urgency given to its proceedings by the transformed economic and political changes in the months since the August 15 measures of United States President Nixon.

In the US and in the capitalist countries of Europe the working class has moved into struggle under conditions where the question of taking power cannot be avoided.

Only the forces of the International Committee have fought all through the 1950s and 1960s, to prepare for these changes. Every other "socialist" and "Communist" tendency—including some falsely claiming the name Trotskyists—based themselves on the theory that the capitalist boom had made it no longer possible for the workers of the advanced countries to achieve the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

As the conference resolution on international perspectives points out, this theory of "neo-capitalism," a capitalism without fundamental contradictions, was only the surface impression of middle-class opponents of Marxism.

With this theory they turned to other social forces—the Stalinist bureaucracy, the colonial middle-class nationalists, the peasantry, and finally, in 1968, the students—as the basis for the

Manifesto Examines Capitalist Crisis

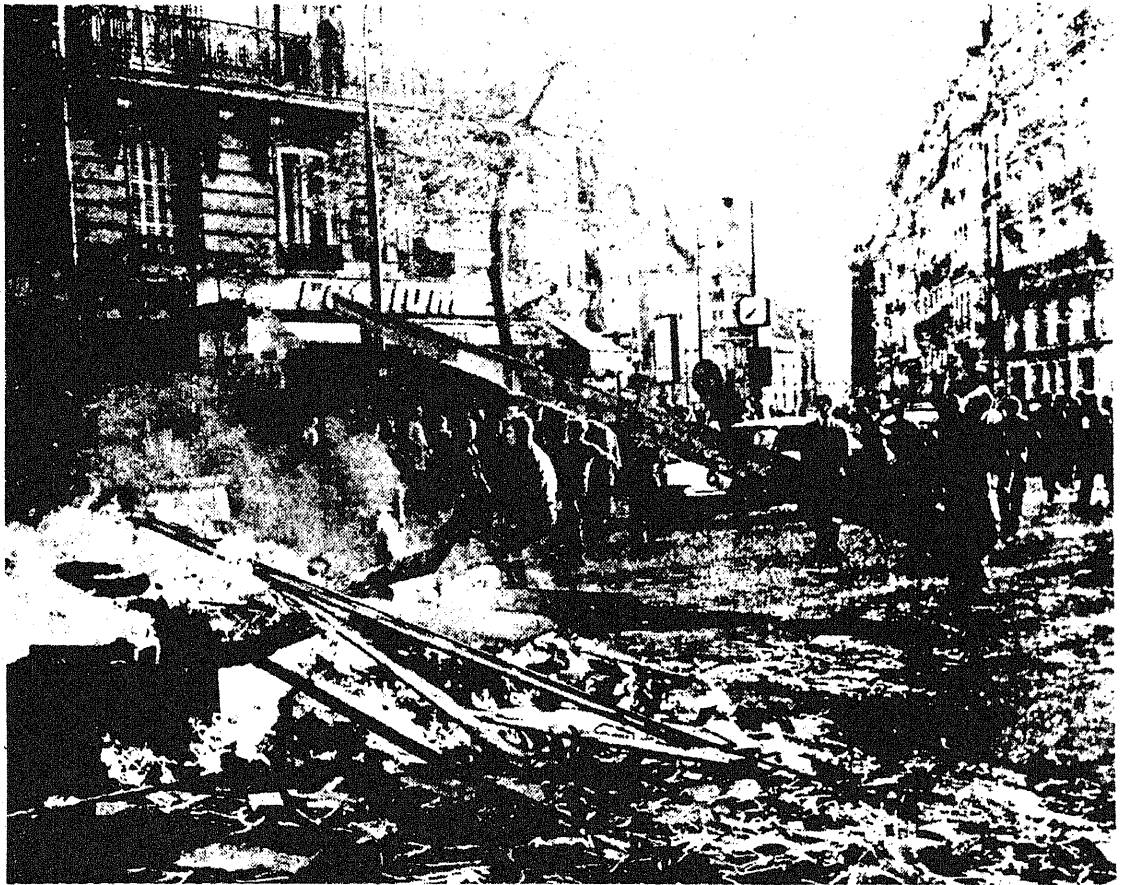
In last week's issue of the *Bulletin*, the statement of the International Committee (Majority) was erroneously printed out of sequence. The entire IC (Majority) statement will be printed in the May 22nd and May 29th issues of the *Bulletin*.

overthrow of capitalism. This was really the politics of protest and radical propaganda in the capitalist countries.

Since May-June 1968 in France, the working class itself has thrown into chaos and confusion all those who based themselves on these revisions of Marxism. Consequently, only the International Committee is able to put forward a revolutionary international perspective at this stage.

The conference Manifesto (printed tomorrow in *Workers Press*) urges revolutionaries in every country to recognize and to act upon their historic responsibilities to fight in every struggle of the working class for the building of revolutionary Marxist parties.

Now the full fury of the crisis has been unleashed by Nixon's measures, it is necessary to prepare for the most explosive



economic and political consequences, says the Manifesto. Trade war becomes massive slump.

Great industrial and financial concerns quake and crash. Whole national economies face breakdown. War tempts big business as the solution, and at the same time frightens them. Revolution and counter-revolution appear first in one country, then in another.

The reformist and Stalinist bureaucracies, tied to imperialism, can only lead the masses to disastrous defeats.

These same bureaucracies assist the imperialists who are driven by intensified competition to turn upon the working

class in their "own" countries to destroy their basic rights and organizations.

Never was it more urgent to build working class revolutionary parties based on the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. This period now brings out the full meaning of the long struggle, since 1953, of the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism, which abandoned the building of such parties.

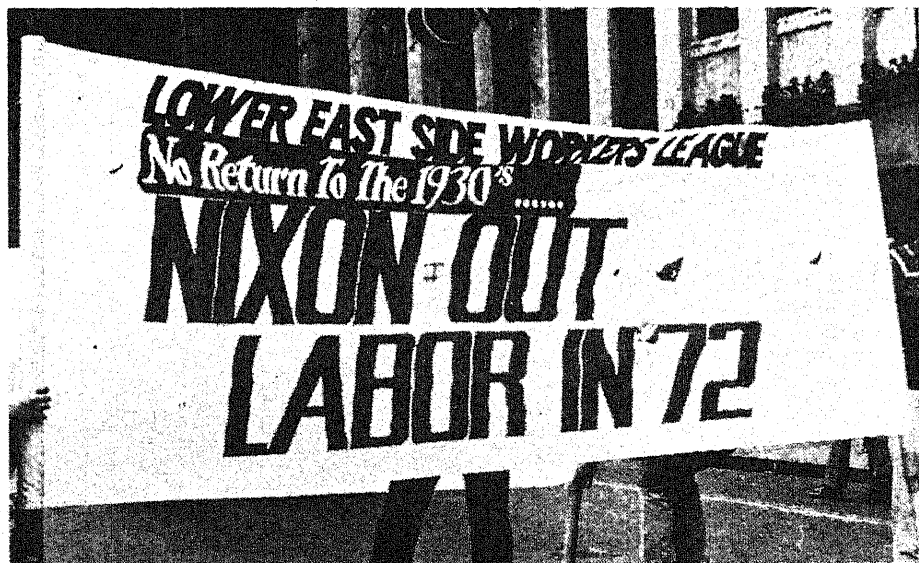
In this overall perspective the conference proceeded to discuss in detail the work of the national sections. It is a question, in each country, of working out a concrete program of struggle to enable the working class to

emerge as a politically independent force, by breaking it from the present domination of the Stalinists in countries such as Greece, France or Italy, and from the social democracy in other countries, such as Britain.

The conference also discussed the work of Trotskyists in the United States although the Workers League, which works in sympathy with the IC, is prevented by U.S. law (the Voorhis Act) from joining the Fourth International.

In this presidential election year the conference considered that the long-term fight for a U.S. labor party based on the trade unions could be and must be taken forward decisively.





Page 16: Cops attack workers during French General Strike in 1968 (top). Below, British youth. Top right, British auto workers join YS Right to Work march. Bottom left, Worktroops in North Ireland. Above: Top left, Ceylon government puts down revolt of rural workers League fights for labor party. Right, Greek Trotskyists are jailed by fascist regime.

Not only are U.S. trade unionists being subjected to the internal measures—pay freeze legal restrictions—flowing from August 15, but the presidential candidacy of the ultra-right wing George Wallace is the spearhead of a big attack by the capitalist parties on the unions.

It was the strength of the American working class particularly in the steel and automobile industries, which made Nixon's August 15 decision inescapable.

It had become impossible to continue with both domestic inflation and dollar convertibility at fixed prices and parities.

In this situation, a campaign to mobilize trade unionists for the formation of a labor party to defend the unions and the independent interests of the working class, is the correct path for US Marxists.

Within this fight for a labor party, the Workers League must battle independently for the socialist program which it proposes for such a party, and at the same time come forward as the only consistent fighters for the labor party.

This central theme, the fight to lead the working class to political independence, was the basic orientation of the discussions on the work of the sections. On this basis, plans were made for the International Committee to help directly in the work in each country.

In Greece, for example, the most effective way to break the working class from the counter-revolutionary influence of Stalinism is to demand in every struggle that the Stalinist parties break from their treacherous alliances with capitalist parties. Particularly, the Partsalides-Theodorakis Stalinist tendency must be exposed and fought for

its extreme turn away from the working class and its demands.

For Ireland, the conference discussion emphasized the importance of the revolutionary unity, not only of the workers of N and S Ireland, but of Ireland and Britain in struggle against the Tories in both countries.

In a situation such as that prevailing in Ireland, the essential emphasis must be on the recruiting and training of revolutionaries, particularly among the young workers, who are able to break from the nationalism and syndicalism which have always dominated in the Irish working class, neither of them able to challenge the basic ideological grip of the church on the one hand and Protestant Unionism on the other.

The Conference main resolution and Manifesto draw attention to the heroic revolutionary struggles of the colonial countries.

After bearing the brunt of imperialist exploitation, repression and war ever since the 1940s, the oppressed peoples are now able to mount an offensive, especially in Bangla Desh and Vietnam, which shakes imperialism to its foundations, and now combines with the struggle in the advanced countries.

All those who dismissed Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution as outdated now find it confirmed on an international scale.

In these colonial countries, the qualitative task of building Trotskyist parties founded on the fight to develop Marxist theory presents itself with equal urgency to the situation in Europe and America.

The Conference discussed the work of its section in Ceylon (the Revolutionary Communist League) where the degeneration and revision of Marxism in the

Lanka Sama Samaja Party (which joined the capitalist coalition in 1964 while still affiliated to the Pabloite "United Secretariat"!)) had led to open betrayal to imperialism.

The Conference carried unanimously a resolution condemning the imprisonments in Ceylon, carried out by a government in which renegade ex-"Trotskyists" participate with Stalinists and capitalist parties.

Another resolution concerned the struggle in Argentina. It condemned the campaign of kidnapping and individual terrorism which culminated in the shooting of the hostage Fiat representative, Salustro.

Carried out by a tendency claiming to be Trotskyist (actually affiliated to the Paris Unified Secretariat), this action completely contradicts the program and methods of struggle of Marxist parties the principles fought for by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

Right at the point where the industrial workers of Argentina are building up mass actions, this middle-class individualist terrorism avoids the fundamental problems of leadership and mobilization of the class, substituting for it personal heroism and "propaganda by deed" and opening the door to savage repressions.

In considering the future work of its youth commission (set up in 1966) the conference drew attention to the split which has occurred in the International Committee after the international youth rally which met in Essen, W Germany, last June.

The AJS (Socialist Youth Alliance, youth organization of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), then the French section of the IC) at that

rally put forward the program of setting up a centrist international youth organization.

This involved their rejecting an amendment from the Young Socialists, which called for the fight to develop dialectical materialism as the only basis for a revolutionary Trotskyist youth movement.

The Conference dealt at length with the political lessons of this split. Essen had been followed by the dispute over Bolivia. There, the counter-revolutionary coup which overthrew the nationalist regime of Torres and bloodily repressed the working class had cruelly exposed the descent into centrism of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) led by Guillermo Lora and sharing the political conceptions of the OCI.

At this point, the OCI, far from pulling back from its dangerous positions, persisted in them and solidarized with Lora against the International Committee. The conference endorsed the positions taken by the IC in breaking from the revisionist leadership of the OCI. It would be impossible for revolutionary Marxists in this period to co-exist in the same international organization as those whose false theories and opportunist actions prepare defeats for the working class.

In planning for the future, commissions at the conference gave guidance to comrades struggling to establish new sections in places as far away as Australia. The international summer school was planned, in which several hundred comrades from many countries will participate.

One of the main issues at this school will be the history of the Fourth International and the International Left Opposition.

A special commission was ap-

pointed to begin this work. They, and the individual sections, will bring together the preliminary results by the summer. This is no academic pursuit; the history of the International embodies the theoretical lessons of all the vital experiences of the working class in our epoch.

Another resolution on future tasks instructed the International Committee to draft rules for its functioning founded on the original statutes of the Fourth International (1938) which would facilitate centralized work and guidance to the national sections.

In the five days of the conference, delegates worked together, not in an atmosphere of mutual compliments and abstract schematic formulations, but rather in an intensive struggle to examine every problem to its roots, by relating it to the great historical transformations in the objective situation and the theoretical struggle made urgent by these changes.

In this sense, the Fourth Conference of the International Committee ended on a note of high revolutionary optimism, an optimism tempered by determination, above all else to devote every nerve and every muscle to the task outlined by Leon Trotsky: to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the working class, the only road to resolving the historical crisis of humanity caused by decaying capitalism.

Next week we will print in full the Manifesto adopted by the Fourth Conference of the International Committee.

PRIMARIES. . .

(Continued From Page 1)
one Black youth told us. "He better not show his racist face in downtown Gary. Sure, he's got support, in the suburbs. Maybe some workers in the plant, but I think it's mostly the guys who worry about property values and stuff like that.

"We ain't got no property values to worry about. Me, I'm just worried about getting a job when I get out of school. And Wallace ain't going to help me there. Trouble is, neither is Humphrey or any of them guys running."

Most union locals in the area are on record as endorsing Humphrey, but none of them have taken up an active campaign against Wallace. This criminal act of leadership was justified to us by a leader of the Steelworkers Local 1066 Rank and File Caucus.

"We don't get into politics much. I think Wallace is real dangerous, not just a racist. Look at his record with labor in Alabama. But a lot of guys, even in my caucus, they don't see it that way. So we just concentrate on the questions that face us in the plant."

But the questions facing Lake County's workers, especially the lack of job security and the brutal speed-up, can only be fought through by turning to the political questions. Only a labor party committed to nationalization under workers control can defend the gains of the trade union movement and carry them forward.

SITUATION

A UAW steward at the Budd plant in Gary summed up the situation this way: "A lot of the guys who say they're for Wallace aren't really. They're just wearing those buttons as a mockery, and maybe because they don't know who else to support. The Democrats are about falling apart. It seems like they just aren't interested in fighting Nixon."

"Nixon—he wanted to be President so bad he made promises to every one of the big companies and when he got into office his hands were tied to that big business. He's been paying them back ever since, hacking away at what the working man has won over the last 10 or 20 years."

"But he can't do it alone. That Congress and House have helped him too. The story in the Bulletin about guys at our convention supporting a labor party—I think they're on the right track."

The opinions of Ohio workers and union officials who spoke to Bulletin reporters prior to the primaries reveal that the official support by the labor bureaucracy for the Democrats is in crisis.

One union official from I.U.E.

Local 757 in Cincinnati indicated his local and union had not taken a position on candidates and said, "I find it pretty difficult to make a choice." Asked about Wallace, Al Leigh stated, "I don't believe the man is interested in the people. He's a Richard Nixon with racial overtones."

Wallace is not actually on the ballot but Senator Henry Jackson is and he is trying to steal Wallace's thunder. Against McGovern, Jackson resurrects the old red herring and accuses McGovern of heresy of all heresies, supporting Henry A. Wallace's third party (the Progressive Party) candidacy against Truman in 1948.

Jackson stated: "McGovern's 1948 candidate (H. Wallace) supported the Communist take-over of Czechoslovakia. McGovern's 1948 candidate wanted us to give away tens of billions of dollars in foreign aid to Joe Stalin's Russia."

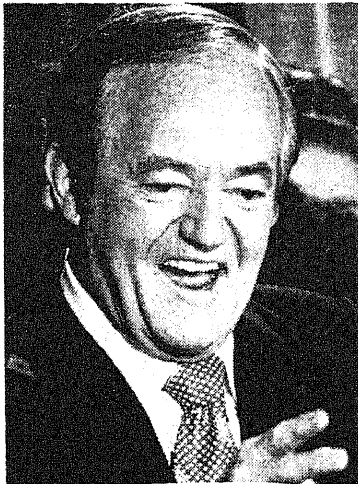
However, Jackson's main pitch is attacking busing and for all-out support to military spending. This program has not hurt his own spending to no one's surprise. Jackson boasts that he has spent around \$800,000 to date and is the only candidate not running in the red!

Elated by Muskie's withdrawal, McGovern and Humphrey have gone all out to try to win working class support. McGovern's main pitch is directed to Ohio's working people calling belated attention to the fact that "Forty percent of all American corporations didn't pay one cent in federal income tax." Even then he carefully soothes his corporate backers by adding that his tax plan "is fair, is just and it wouldn't wipe out big business."

McGovern revealed in Cincinnati what is really on his mind: "If we are not going to have a revolution, we've got to begin dealing with these injustices." Earlier, he sent letters out to Ohioans stating his fear of a labor party: "And I believe that my nomination as our party's presidential candidate offers the best chance of heading off a fourth party movement."

He also showed his close collaboration with the the Yortys, Aliotos, Daleys and Rizzos by stating: "I believe I enjoy the respect and good will of all other elements of our party leadership. My dream and my goal is to unite our party and lead it to victory."

Muskie's dropout left the U.A.W. Ohio Region here high and dry, since they had endorsed him. Jim Young, U.A.W. shop chairman of the struck Norwood GM plant summed it up: "Actually it's going to be hard to see anything coming out of Ohio in the primary. I think it will be somebody that didn't enter the primary. I understand Ted



Hubert Humphrey

Kennedy turned the convention (U.A.W.) upside down."

Asked about Wallace, Young stated: "I know how things are in Alabama. He tries to make a big issue of this racial thing. I don't think the color of a man's skin should have anything to do with the conditions he has to put up with."

"All he's out to do is split the working people. If the working people can't see through that I don't think they are the people I think they are...If they vote for the man without thinking once they vote it's too late to think what they've done."

But more than anything else, the responsibility for the support by workers of Wallace must rest with the labor leadership which has continued to support the Democrats from which more and more workers are turning in disgust, seeking an alternative.

Here in Ohio, both parties are using the state machinery in all-out war against the unions. In Dayton recently, the Dayton City Commission passed a vicious anti-union ordinance against the city workers unanimously. In Norwood, Jim Young points out that union-busting firings are being carried out against the city workers there by a Democratic party Mayor.

Young states that the Mayor "did not hesitate to send out dismissal notices" to the garbage workers on strike. And now in nearby Middletown, the city has declared a city workers strike ended and 66 city workers, members of AFSCME, are fired.

As Young stated, "We have to have some alternative." Clearly that alternative is a mass labor party based on the unions.

BRIDGES. . .

(Continued From Page 1)
ILWU would announce a decision on the implementation of this policy by May 8. Bridges' statement removes any excuse that ILA President Gleason may have for holding back from joint strike action. The stage is now set not only for a fight to defend the dock contracts, but for a general strike to smash the Pay Board once and for all.

It should also be made clear that every single Democratic Party candidate for President has cooperated with Nixon's wage-price controls. The Democrats, in fact, urged controls before Nixon and supported the Economic Stabilization Act of 1971 on which the Pay Board is based.

Rank and file longshoremen in San Francisco are all saying that they are for a national strike. They want to shut down all coasts. This sentiment is overwhelming.

Many longshoremen told a Bulletin reporter that this Pay Board, as they see it, is the employers' drive to smash the whole labor movement. They emphasized that there has got to be a national strike.

NIXON. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

from the South. The introduction of troops from north of the 17th Parallel began only after the American troop build-up.

All the invasions of Vietnam have been by imperialists: the French, the Japanese, and the Americans. Millions of Vietnamese have been murdered in the course of these invasions. The Americans, who considered dropping an atom bomb on Vietnam to save the French investment in Indochina as well as their own, assumed control of the South before the last French soldier was out of the country.

The imperialists have used up Vietnamese lives like so much loose change. Scarcely a family in the South has not been touched by the war. Weapons of incredible horror have been perfected against the Vietnamese. Bombs which vaporize human beings are dropped by the hundreds of thousands on countless Vietnamese villages. Bullets so powerful that they can cause death no matter where they hit are carelessly sprayed into villages as they walk through the streets.

And Nixon, who came to the rescue of a mass murderer like Lt. William Calley who killed 100 men, women and children has the audacity to speak of an invasion by the North Vietnamese.

GENOCIDAL WAR

As for Nixon's statements about the offensive being a violation of the 1968 agreements between Lyndon Johnson and Hanoi, the only official documents related to this war that have come to the public's attention are the Pentagon Papers, which proved that the United States carefully plotted a genocidal war against the Vietnamese people.

The fact remains that the United States began the bombing of the North last December, long before the start of the current NLF offensive. At the time, Nixon explained that the resumed bombings were "protective reaction raids" against the possibility of an offensive. So,

VIETNAM. . .

(Continued From Page 3)
has proved itself sufficiently." But on Monday, Brig. Gen. Thomas W. Bowen, the deputy senior adviser in the northern region, stated, "There is certainly cause for serious concern. It's (the NLF offensive) not a thing to be taken lightly."

American military spokesmen were forced to concede that mass desertions by the ARVN troops had led to the capture of certain areas without even a serious battle. "We could not hold Hoainhon because the soldiers deserted," stated one official. "They left their posts during the night."

DEMORALIZED

The crucial 40th Regiment of the ARVN lost 30 percent of its men in battle and another 40 percent through desertions. As a result of the desertions and demoralization, an area populated by more than 200,000 Vietnamese was won quite easily by the NLF.

While Nixon recently described the NLF offensive as a "desperate gamble," correspondents are noting that an air of desperation now hangs over the White House. In a statement at the ranch of Treasury Secretary John Connally, Nixon made more threats about more vicious bombing raids. "We believe that the North Vietnamese are taking a very

the facts are that Nixon is bombing the North for beginning an offensive that earlier bombings were unable to prevent.

These bombings are militarily useless. Nixon was told this in 1969 by experts in the C. I. A., State Department, and Defense Department. But they can kill many people, and that is why Nixon uses them.

With so much blood on his own hands, Nixon reached a new level of hypocrisy when he charged that an NLF victory would be followed by an "inevitable bloodbath...for hundreds of thousands who have dared to oppose Communist aggression."

BLOODBATH

It is a bit late for Nixon to voice concern for a bloodbath. Rivers of blood have already flowed in Vietnam, and every drop was shed because of the imperialists. By their own words they are condemned.

Who was it that coined the phrase "Search and Destroy?" Who was it that made the term "body count" part of the common vocabulary? Who was it that said: "To save a village one sometimes has to destroy it" after the city of Hue was leveled.

But it is not enough to call Nixon a hypocrite. Let us ask who it is who actually opposes an NLF victory. First of all, it is not the vast majority of the Vietnamese people. Were the imperialists confident of the "hearts and minds" of the people of the South, they would not have had to drop a ton of bombs on South Vietnam for each minute of Nixon's term of office.

The only people in the South who oppose an NLF victory are the bloodsucking landlords and businessmen for whom this war has been a brilliant enterprise. But like the wealthy citizens of Kontum, who are now bribing helicopter pilots with \$240 for a fast getaway from the liberation forces, one can be sure that these businessmen will be in comfortable exile living off a number Swiss bank account when the red flag goes up over Saigon.

great risk if they continue their offensive in the South," he said.

Nixon is in a very desperate situation, and he will not be able to postpone a decision on a definite course of action in Vietnam for too long. Even before he leaves for Moscow, Nixon could be forced to order a renewed escalation with bombings and the reintroduction of troops or an emergency evacuation of all U.S. personnel.

The trip by Henry Kissinger to Moscow two weeks ago, at the invitation of Soviet Party chief Leonid Brezhnev, shows not only the dependence of imperialism upon the aid of Stalinism but also the tremendous fear of the Kremlin bureaucracy of the NLF offensive. It is reported that Brezhnev told Kissinger that Nixon's scheduled trip to Moscow would not be cancelled no matter what military actions are ordered against the North.

It is clear that the developing social revolution in Vietnam has caused great distress for the Peking Stalinists. For the first time since the Revolution, no May Day celebration was staged in Peking.

The defeat of the imperialists in Vietnam represents a great victory not only for the Vietnamese workers and peasants but also for the American working class.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Chicano Youth Quit Reformist Caucus

BY BARRY GRAY

SAN JOSE—The first National Chicano Political Caucus, held in San Jose on April 22-23, was ripped apart by the massive opposition of Chicano youth to the Caucus' liberal, reformist leadership.

The Caucus was organized by MAPA (Mexican American Political Association) to divert the movement of Chicano workers and youth back into the Democratic Party.

But on the first day of the conference, supporters of La Raza Unida party, which was picketing the conference in opposition to MAPA's Democratic Party ties, won the support of the majority of delegates and walked off with the bulk of the Caucus. La Raza Unida took its contingent from the plush Hyatt House, original site of the Caucus, to the Lee Mathson Junior High School in the East Side barrio.

Basing itself on nationalism and the myth of Aztland, La Raza Unida party poses as some kind of revolutionary alternative to the capitalist parties. Because of this, it was able to rally the youth at the conference, who continually denounced the MAPA organizers as "vendidos" (sell-outs).

One young delegate from Los Angeles told the *Bulletin* that: "They (the Caucus organizers) are all vendidos, bought by the Democratic Party. The Democrats arranged the whole thing. Those people are puppets. They told us we should work within the system."

REFORMIST

But precisely the same reformist leadership is behind La Raza Unida. Bert Corona, chosen by the La Raza Unida insurgents to chair the Caucus, is a member of both LRUP and MAPA.

The La Raza Unida contingent put forward the completely utopian and bankrupt perspective of a national Chicano party. Such a party could only serve as a reformist instrument of "pressure" upon the Democratic Party, in a period when the survival of the working class depends upon its taking the road to political power through the construction of a labor party.

DAVIS...

(Continued From Page 20) revolutionary, had in no way broken from nationalism and saw the struggle of Blacks, and particularly the struggle of Black women, as something totally separate from the war between the working class and the capitalist class.

Also in question this week was the refusal of attorney John Thorne, lawyer for George Jackson, to testify. Thorne, with his attorney, Charles Garry, claimed the sanctity of the attorney-client relationship in refusing to speak.

Thorne is another important witness for Harris, who charged that he wants him to testify about delivering letters to Jackson from Davis and also about a phone call made to him by Davis after she had purchased a shotgun, two days before it was used. Harris claims the lawyer-client relationship is a "fabrication to

West Coast News



Workers League-Young Socialists marched April 22 in Los Angeles demanding a labor party.

IBT Calls For General Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—As the Teamster bottler's strike moves into its fifth month, the militant and determined mood of the pickets makes it very clear why Jack Goldberger of the Teamsters was forced to threaten a general strike.

Goldberger was directly involved in the Independent Journal strike in San Rafael and was one of the leaders sent to jail for fifteen days for his role in mobilizing the unions for mass picketing.

Every one of the pickets the *Bulletin* spoke with on the lines immediately raised the question of the IJ strike and the danger of open union busting now being brought directly into the S. F. Alameda County area.

"They are trying to do the same thing here that they did at the IJ" said one picket. Another picket raised the fact that the bottlers had been broken in Merced and Sacramento and that now the employers were moving on the Bay Area.

All the workers felt that Goldberger's militant remarks were a cover for the refusal of the Teamster leadership to do anything to strengthen the strike. Pickets are limited to three at each site and are essentially forced to simply stand there and watch scab cargo being moved out.

A union meeting held shortly after the Labor Council speech instructed the men that they would have to play by the rules

and that the union would not back any men who attempted direct action to halt scab operations.

BITTERNESS

There is extreme bitterness towards the union leadership. A Coke syrup plant in Los Angeles, which has not had a contract for months, recently wildcatted and the union has refused thus far to recognize the strike and pay the \$35 strike benefits to the ranks.

Indeed, the present strike began in December in the middle of the winter despite the fact that the original contract was up in August of '71. The leadership was literally dragged into taking any action at all.

Everyone knows that if this strike is broken, there will be hundreds of men who never get bottling work again as the employers are determined not to allow the militants back in.

MILITANCY

A sign of the militancy is the fact that in Local 896 in San Francisco of the original 400 on strike, only six have left the area with the rest still out solid.

A member of Local 896 told the *Bulletin* that: "The First amendment gives the right to free speech and assembly and then

stopped by the border patrol, even before August 7, for being a communist and for possessing subversive literature.

POLITICAL

It is absolutely clear that the prosecution is doing everything possible to prevent the defense from raising the political implications of this trial even in the weakest fashion.

While it is perfectly principled for the defense to take advantage of every legal maneuver and opportunity to defend Angela Davis, the real class questions must be brought out.

The attempts by the prosecution to prohibit any references to the Communist Party and political witch-hunts reveal the fear of the ruling class of a real class defense that can expose the reason for their vicious frame-up.

AFSCME Escalates Strike At University

BY AN AFSCME MEMBER
SAN FRANCISCO—The strike by construction trades against University of California campuses today spread to AFSCME locals in San Francisco and Berkeley.

AFSCME Locals 1695 and 1650 were granted labor sanction for their own strike demands from both the Alameda and San Francisco Labor Councils.

At U.C. Medical Center, which is a major hospital complex with over 5,000 workers, whole sections of workers are now joining the picket line. Medical records, night janitors and Moffit house-keeping are now solidly out.

DETERMINATION

One janitor expressed the determination of the workers when he said, "We're going out and staying out until we get what we want."

The trade union bureaucracy and revisionists however are completely disarming the strength of the strike action. Although contempt citations and arrest warrants have been issued because it is illegal for public employees to strike in California these forces now propose that the courts and the union's lawyers are the only solution to the political attacks by the government on striking workers.

BUST

Reagan and the regents of U.C. are consciously attempting to bust up the trade unions and the Democrats and Republicans are in collusion in these actions.

It is not, as one AFSCME International Representative claims, a situation in which "the Democrats are going to propose legislation legalizing the strike after the strike is won."

DEFY

The locals on strike must first of all act to stop all deliveries and defy those court orders forcing deliveries. Any arrests or fines on the unions must be met by the mobilization of the Bay Area labor movement.

Strikers must fight to hold the Labor Councils to a policy that no union will return until all demands are met with full union recognition for all unions. A real fight for this policy, backed by the strength of the labor movement, could bring thousands of workers into the unions.

LABOR PARTY

Second, the call by the ILWU for a congress of labor in the Bay Area must be immediately implemented with the task of the labor movement breaking its support from the Democrats and the running of labor's own candidates.

As one striker said, "There isn't a dime's worth of difference between the Democrats and the Republicans." The question now for the trade unions is the running of political candidates that are for and base themselves on the trade unions.

some judge says we can only have three pickets. They are taking constitutional rights away from everybody. If they break us, it's the next union one at a time until they tell us to work for \$2 an hour."

DANGER

One of the biggest dangers is the line peddled by the leadership for a consumer boycott. Many of the workers remark that they cannot win without public support, meaning a boycott on soft drinks. Such a scheme is virtually impossible to carry out and removes the responsibility of organized labor.

While the ranks support the call for a general strike, workers were quick to point out that Goldberger had added that he couldn't do it. He placed the responsibility on the international leadership which refuses to lift a finger. They also indicated that they felt that Goldberger had sat around and let the IJ strike be broken and would do the same here.

Hundreds of these men have spent months being attacked by dogs, threatened with guns and forced to watch scab operations, while any attempt to defend themselves is met with injunctions and massive fines.

The situation is reaching the explosion point and it is this development that Goldberger's call for a general strike and armed pickets reflects.

It is not true as he says that he cannot beat back the attacks. The labor movement has the power to stop scab operations. The Teamsters alone can tie up the entire area. The ranks must demand that the leadership mobilize the full power of the Teamsters for strike action and line up the Labor Councils for whatever support is necessary.

The lessons of the scabbing, injunctions and union-busting federal mediators must be learned. Now is the time to call a Bay Area Congress of Labor to launch a fight for a labor party to hit back politically.

As one picket stated: "I agree that labor sure needs its own party. We need a labor party to get men that represent us."

West Coast News

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UAW Ranks Vote Strike To Stop Ford Speed-ups

BY BARRY GRAY

MILPITAS, Sunday, April 30—At a special strike meeting called to take action against intolerable health and safety conditions and the company's refusal to correct outstanding grievances, UAW Local 560 of the Ford assembly plant here voted by 89 percent for a strike.

Coming on the heels of the strikes at Lordstown and Norwood and the UAW national convention, which saw massive opposition to the Woodcock leadership, this vote is an indication of the explosive situation in auto nationally as the ranks take up battle to beat back the auto bosses' union busting strategy of layoffs, speed-up, and plant closings.

The sharpest expression at the UAW convention of the growing rebellion in the ranks was the dumping of Paul Schrade, West

Coast Regional Director. With this fresh in their memories, the Local 560 bureaucrats had to put on a militant face before the membership.

PATTERN

Just last week, the management introduced a 10 percent speed-up in the commercial division, from 22 to 24 one quarter units per hour. One workers from the swing shift stated at the meeting that some nights the line runs as fast as 29 per hour.

It is clear that Ford is following the pattern set by GM at

Lordstown, attempting to impose an iron regime of speed-up in preparation for massive layoffs. One worker in the commercial division was given a reprimand and disqualified from his utility job for failing to keep up with the increased speed. The foreman told him he either had to do the job or leave.

In the face of these attacks and the anger of the membership, the 560 leadership attempted to stall a strike vote. The chair told the men that the union had called in the federal government to investigate the grievances, and put forward a motion to postpone the taking of a strike vote until they were better informed of what action the government could take. This motion was overwhelmingly voted down.

U Cal Workers Face Mass Arrests

BY TED BAKER

BERKELEY—Strikers at UC Berkeley and San Francisco are beginning to question any possibility of a sympathetic hearing from the courts.

Hit with over 2000 restraining orders issued in Berkeley alone, the unions have been fighting for reversals in the courts. But the court has steadfastly refused to give any major concession.

One striker said: "The leaders have been relying too much on Van Borg (union legal counsel) to persuade the judge. In my opinion the court won't treat us any better than the Teamsters. Right now it seems as if Childers (construction leader) thinks all we need is a smart lawyer."

DENY

The past week has seen the judge deny nearly every one of Van Borg's motions. The important motion to divide the hearings up was denied, and as a result, all those who have received contempt citations will have their cases heard jointly. This means that it is possible for the court to move to arrest large numbers in the next week.

The only concession Van Borg was able to win was the overruling of restraining orders on union officials due to a legal technicality.

ILLUSION

Every effort is being made by the leadership to spread the illusion that the outcome of the strike is dependent on the court's action. At an April 29 meeting both Groulx and Childers spoke briefly and then turned the floor over to the union's lawyer Victor Van Borg who expounded on the court litigations for most of the

remaining time.

After the meeting, one building tradesman said: "I don't think they even want a strike. They held off until the ranks took over and now all they want to do is talk about the courts. It's not like it was only the wages that's at stake. The University is trying to break our unions."

Up until now the leadership has refused to call the strike a strike, instead calling it a protest. Now, with the developments in court coming to a head, there is a very big danger that Groulx and Childers will try to end the strike to avoid the penalties of the court.

CAPITULATION

Such a capitulation would give the University a free hand in all of its efforts to cut wages and jobs. It would mean the end of trade unions on campus. The University would be free to lay off any of those who it has notified, including all on strike.

The leaders of the labor council and the building trades have tried to sound militant since the strike began, but the only action they propose is in the courts. A picket took up the leaders timid actions by telling a Bulletin reporter:

"Groulx and Childers both know that all the unions are on the line, not just us, but they're afraid of the consequences of bringing the unions together. They're afraid of what would happen if they called a conference of labor here.

"I agree with your leaflet. We can't beat the government without a labor party."

AGUILERO

Amid calls for a vote, Building Chairman Aguilero read off the list of grievances and complained about the arrogant way in which the bosses were implementing the speed-up. He ended by saying, "We have to take a stand, because if we don't we may as well throw the book away and bend over." But Aguilero made it clear he accepts the speed-up and posed no fight against it.

Ford is girding for a show-down with the union. Whole sections of the plant have been on 18 hours overtime, and the company has been stockpiling trucks and cars. They are prepared to take on and defeat an isolated strike.

This is what makes the fight to force the International to close down auto nationally against the government's whole union busting strategy around the Pay Board so critical. The lessons of Lordstown must be learned.

The strike there was sold out despite the militancy of the ranks because Woodcock and the local leadership were able to keep it isolated and on a simple trade union level.

POLITICAL

The central question at the UAW convention and the central question posed in every strike today is the political mobilization of the working class through the construction of a labor party.

The ranks must demand that Local 560 call for a national shut-down by the UAW against Nixon and the auto barons and build a labor party pledged to 30 for 40 and the nationalization of the auto industry.



Angela Davis listens to testimony as frame-up trial continues.

State DA Uses Davis Diary To Salvage Case

BY ANN LORE

SAN JOSE—Three letters written by Angela Davis to George Jackson in June and July 1970 were read into evidence this week by prosecutor Albert Harris. A fourth letter, an 18 page diary, written long after the escape attempt of August 7, 1970 was suppressed by Judge Arnason.

However the possibility was left open that the prosecution could submit an edited version at a later time. Also suppressed was the testimony of a San Quentin guard who viewed the only physical meeting between Davis and Jackson, which did not take place until a year later.

The prosecution has made it clear that the letters are critical to his case and convinced the judge to cancel court on Thursday so that both sides could battle out their admissibility in chambers.

So far, the State has been unable to introduce any direct evidence linking Davis to the escape attempt at the Marin County courthouse in which four persons were killed. In prior weeks, testimony has centered around the actual bloody events of August 7, but now Harris must show that Davis planned the attempt and knowingly provided the guns and ammunition.

Throughout, the prosecution has consciously suppressed all political content from the trial, to cover over the political

implications of the State's efforts to viciously attack all militants and revolutionaries.

Instead, the prosecution has focused its case on the motive of love, in an attempt to convince the jury that Angela Davis plotted and conspired to arrange an exchange of hostages for George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers.

The defense is maintaining that the letters read to the jury "in no way incriminate Angela Davis," and that the prosecution has suffered a major setback. Although this may be a temporary defeat for the State in its campaign to lynch Davis, it is in no way decisive and certainly no victory for the defense.

Although the letters do not relate to the Marin County escape attempt, they are extremely prejudicial against Davis. They do indicate a very strong, passionate love for George Jackson and a close relationship with Jonathan. But none of this is separated from her political commitment to free all political prisoners.

The letters also show that two years ago, Angela Davis, a

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