

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

VOLUME EIGHT NUMBER THIRTY 239

APRIL 3, 1972

103

FIFTEEN CENTS

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## Tombs 7 Hearings Prepare Frame-up

BY NANCY FIELDS  
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(Continued On Page 16)



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BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
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The motion for modification of sentence asked that Juan be allowed to go into the Army, or,

if that were not possible, to work for two years in a job considered by the Court to be in the national interest. Judge Pollack has decided instead that Farinas should

spend the two years in prison. By this action, announced without comment, Pollack is carrying out consistently the ruling class attack on all sections of the working class, and especially the youth and the revolutionary movement.

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What we think

### SWP Embraces Racist System

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The response of the Socialist Workers Party to this threat to Blacks and all workers, is complete capitulation to Nixon. Its position is barely distinguishable from Wallace's. Under the cover of support to Black nationalism it accepts and defends capitalism and encourages and supports white racism.

The SWP's position is contained in a statement issued by Andrew Pulley and Linda Jenness, SWP candidates. It criticizes Nixon's legislation as "devised to continue both 'legal' and de facto segregation and to 'freeze' the struggle against the dramatically inferior conditions in Black schools." If Nixon's plan is to be criticized for continuing segregation then we must assume that the SWP opposes segregation. But the rest of the statement makes it absolutely clear it does not.

It states: "If, when, where and how Black children are to be bused, however, is a decision for the Black community alone." With such a position one only aids the white racists who demand the same for the "white community." No wonder there are those who propose a Wallace-Chisholm election slate!

We are then informed that busing is not "the long-term solution to the severe educational problems facing

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By Nancy Fields

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# Tories Impose Dictatorship On Irish

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

British Prime Minister Edward Heath has suspended the Stormont Government of Northern Ireland, and assumed direct control over the suppression of the Ulster working class.

While Labourite Harold Wilson and other treacherous reformists trumpet the Heath action as the dawn of a new era of reconciliation, the British Prime Minister made it clear in his statement to the House of Commons last Friday that the intervention by Westminster means that the Ulster workers will be caught even more firmly in the vise of British imperialism.

"Her Majesty's Government, having assumed direct responsibility for law and order in Northern Ireland," declared Heath, "will be no less concerned than the government at Stormont to overcome terrorism and bring violence to an end."

Heath continued: "As long as active terrorism persists and bombings and shootings con-

## Allende Suspends Congress

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Right-wing opposition has forced Chilean President Salvador Allende to suspend sittings of both houses of Congress until next week.

The order was delivered to parliament by Justice Ministry under-secretary Jose Antonio Viera-Gallo, who explained that Dr. Allende had acted to facilitate secret conversations he is having with leaders of the main opposition party, the Christian Democrats.

Chile's opposition parties—with a congressional majority—have consistently voted down legislation proposed by the President's Popular Unity coalition.

Allende is also faced with a demand by the Chilean supreme court that his government take immediate action to end land seizures by peasants in the southern province of Nuble.

A supreme court statement said a state of anarchy prevailed in the province, where more than 50 occupations of farmland and buildings have been reported in the past four days.

The takeovers appear to have been planned by the MIR, which accuses Allende's government of dawdling in its efforts to transform Chile into a fully Socialist Republic.

Women supporters of the right wing confirmed that they will hold a protest march through Santiago tomorrow.

The order suspending congress came only a few hours before the deadline for presentation of a presidential order vetoing a constitutional amendment, passed by congress, which would stop the government nationalizing industries and business without prior congressional approval.

Blocked at every turn by the bourgeoisie from implementing a genuine socialist program in Chile, the country's ballot-box "Marxist" President is now faced with the stark political fruits of his policy of "peaceful road" in Chile.

tinue, and until respect for law and a normal situation of order have been restored throughout the province, we must retain the power to arrest and intern those who there is good reason to believe are actively involved in terrorism and violence."

The arrival of the new Secretary of State for Ulster, William Whitelaw, has provoked a tremendous wave of protest by not only the middle-class members of the right-wing Orange Order, but also by the Protestant workers of Ulster. Thousands of workers began general strike action to protest the suspension of the Stormont Government.

### HOSTILITY

At the heart of this action by Protestant workers must be seen their traditional hostility to the British whom they correctly understand as their exploiters. But grave dangers are posed by the protest of Protestant workers being channeled into the reactionary movement of the Orange Order.

By hailing the intervention of Westminster as "the first se-

rious steps on the road to peace," the Social-Democratic and Labour Party of Ulster encourages this dangerous development. Similarly, the Provisional Wing of the I.R.A. is suggesting that Heath might be able to bring justice where Stormont failed.

What all these reformists refuse to acknowledge is that the policies of Edward Heath in Ireland—and in all other parts of the world—are dictated not by abstract conceptions of justice but by the necessities of capitalism. His suspension of home rule is the product of his dissatisfaction with Stormont's inability to suppress the working class.

Having earlier sent British troops to Ulster, the English imperialists are now dispatching a Tory minister to personally direct their activities.

In his statement to Parliament, Heath declared that following the suspension of the Stormont Government for one year, plebiscites would be held periodically to decide whether the North would be reunited with the South. However, Heath assured the Protestant majority of Ulster



Reactionary Protestant leader Craig greets right-wing Ulster Vanguard Regiment as he prepares fascist movement against workers.

that reunification would not take place against its wishes.

Ulster Prime Minister Brian Faulkner, whose authority has now been transferred to Whitelaw, condemned Heath's decision, stating "that it would be seen by the I.R.A. and others as a first and major step on the road to a terrorist victory."

Statements such as these are intended to whip up the type of hysteria upon which the Orange

Order feeds.

The suspension of home rule comes at the point when the English ruling class is forced to move with absolute ruthlessness against the working class of both Ulster and England. Having succeeded in making the Industrial Relations Bill the law of the land, the Heath Government plans to summon the strength to enforce it through the suppression of the Irish workers.

## Nixon Walkout Prepares Viet Offensive

BY DAVID NORTH

In preparation for an even further intensification of the air war over North Vietnam, President Nixon ordered an American walk-out from the four-year-old Paris Peace Talks last Thursday.

Using language that recalled the war note prepared by Hitler before the invasion of the Soviet Union, the American ambassador William J.

Porter told the North Vietnamese delegates that the United States will no longer "sit in this room with you and listen to more of your black-

mail and distortions..."

The walk-out, which now confirms the long unofficial cessation of the talks, comes at a time when the United States is faced with the possibility of a total defeat in Laos and Cambodia. Furthermore, the U.S. Air Force has been running into trouble over the Ho Chi Minh Trail, where the North Vietnamese have challenged American air superiority.

Since the resumption of full scale bombing by the United States late last fall, the North Vietnamese have employed surface-to-air missiles with great success, shooting down 31 multi-million-dollar jets.

Having greatly limited the effectiveness of U.S. air power over Laos, the North Vietnamese have used their current offensive to gain control of about three-fourths of Laos. This drive has won the liberation forces control of the area overlooking the strategic Long Tieng base, which has served as the center for secret Central Intelligence Agency activities throughout Laos.

The American military machine is obviously worried by the undiminished strength of the North Vietnamese and guerilla forces. It has warned that the build-up of the military forces of the North Vietnamese, especially its air power, would "add a new dimension" to the war.

The American decision to quit the Peace Talks is also a product of the Nixon-Chou talks in Peking that opened the way to the present dialogue between the American government and the Chinese Stalinists in Paris.

The fact that the Chinese are willing to discuss the fate of Vietnam in the very city where the Peace Talks were under way convinced Nixon that there was no need to continue the charade with Hanoi.

While fully prepared to go ahead with the use of saturation bombing, Nixon now believes that if there is to be a negotiated settlement he can get a better deal with Peking than he can with Hanoi.

The growing strength of the North Vietnamese army throughout Indochina was displayed last week when it launched rocket attacks that struck the center of the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh. A section of the city was devastated in the 90 minute assault that launched about 150 rockets.

## Austrian Government Absolves Nazi Architect Of Gas Ovens

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The man who designed the Auschwitz gas chambers and furnaces in which more than three million Jews perished during the Second World War was freed recently after a seven week trial in Austria.

Although the evidence against Nazi architect Walter Dejaco included blueprints of the death houses with designs of electric elevators to transport corpses to the ovens that bore his handwriting and signature, the former SS-officer was found innocent of having even "remote" responsibility for the mass murder of European Jewry.

Reversing the precedents of the Nuremberg trials that explicitly stated that "following orders" could not absolve an individual of crimes he committed, the jury accepted after short deliberation Dejaco's claim that he could not be punished because he was simply obeying orders when he designed Auschwitz.

### GENOCIDE

The defendant's claim that he knew nothing of the genocide being committed at the camp were refuted by witnesses at the trial who claimed that Dejaco



Klaus Altmann

had been a frequent visitor at Auschwitz.

The Austrian Government was extremely reluctant to hold this trial. Dejaco was first denounced in 1961, but 10 years were allowed to pass before he was brought to trial.

At the same trial, his aide in the SS, Fritz Karl Ertl, was also acquitted.

This latest trial of top Nazis reveals that there is a growing desire within capitalist governments to let bygones-be-bygones as far as the Nazis are concerned. It is well known that leading figures in the Gestapo and SS are residing in South America where they are en-

joying government protection and enormous wealth.

Among these war criminals is Klaus Barbie—alias Klaus Altmann—who is living comfortably in La Paz, Bolivia, where he has close connections and considerable influence with the Banzer dictatorship.

Barbie was a notorious sadist who, as Gauleiter of the French city of Lyon, once murdered 41 children for his personal amusement. After the war, he was sentenced to death in absentia.

Now, Barbie is living it up, neck deep in financial scandals. While Barrientos was in power, Barbie arranged an arms deal that concerned Switzerland, Israel and Bolivia. Barbie discovered he could make easy money running guns to the Zionists, who had no compunctions about dealing with a mass murderer.

Individuals who investigated the case and Barbie's involvement suffered violent deaths. The Manchester Guardian, which delved into Barbie's career, commented in its issue of March 18:

"It is also true that the Nazis and the Israeli intelligence service have a kind of symbiotic relationship in Latin America, and it is not wholly surprising to find a former Gestapo chief in the thick of a plan to break an arms embargo on Israel's behalf."

## Strength Of Workers Lies Behind Walk-off By Meany From Board

BY DAN FRIED

The walk off from the Pay Board by George Meany and three other U.S. labor leaders marks a new stage in the struggle of the American working class against the attempts of the capitalist class to smash the unions and destroy the power, standards and conditions which the workers have won over many years of struggle.

The open preparation for civil war and fascism was spelled out in Nixon's August 15, 1971 pronouncements. The announcements outlined his program designed to maintain the capitalist system which now faces the deepest economic crisis in its history, as reflected in the enormous and growing balance of payments deficit.

Nixon removed the gold backing for the dollar, forced revaluation of foreign currencies through an import surcharge and an end to the system of fixed parities of the world's currencies, and imposed wage controls on U.S. workers through a 90 day wage freeze, later to be followed by the setting up of the Pay Board under Phase II.

Even while Meany and Woodcock went along with the freeze, they were forced to threaten strikes and non-cooperation. At one point, UAW President Leonard Woodcock warned: "If this Administration thinks that just by issuing an edict, by the stroke of a pen, they can tear up contracts, they are saying to us they want war. If they want war, they can have war."

Nevertheless, up to the very end, Woodcock tried to avoid this war and a break with the Board. He was only forced by fear of the wrath of the UAW ranks, particularly the aero-space workers, to withdraw along with Meany.



George Meany

### DENOUNCE

In September, less than one month after imposition of the freeze, Meany was forced to denounce Nixon's initial plans for the Pay Board under Phase II as "the road to fascism." In this statement was the absolutely correct understanding that the working class now faces open civil war aimed on an even more devastating scale at the destruction of the unions and the smashing of the working class than that which took place in Nazi Germany under Hitler.

Still, Meany fought against any actual mobilization of the labor movement against this danger and participated on the Pay Board when it was set up.

At the Bal Harbour AFL-CIO Convention to which Nixon was invited as a speaker, the band refused to play "Hail-to-the-Chief" and Nixon, who was practically laughed out of the hall by a hostile audience, arrogantly denounced the "boorishness" of Meany and the convention. He and the Secretary of Treasury stated they were going ahead with their assault on

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# IBT Ranks Denounce Fitzsimmons Support For The Pay Board

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

With Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons the sole remaining representative of the labor movement on Nixon's new Pay Board, the stage is set for a sharp struggle within the union to drive him off the Board.

As of yet, no open break with Fitzsimmons has appeared among the various local IBT leaders around the country. In Chicago, the center of the opposition to Fitzsimmons' proposed national contract two years ago, none of the 30 local IBT officials questioned by Bulletin reporters would openly state any disagreement with Fitzsimmons' action.

### RANK AND FILE

The majority of the Chicago Teamsters' rank and file who were interviewed felt differently, however.

Inside the Teamsters union many of these same officials were telling their members that Fitzsimmons is remaining on the Pay Board because of a secret agreement between the IBT and the Nixon administration involving the parole of Jimmy Hoffa.

This is apparently a cynical at-

tempt to play upon the pro-Hoffa sentiment which is widespread among the rank and file in the Chicago area.

One member of Local 743, told the Bulletin:

"I think he should have walked off. The unions should stick together and walk off at the same time. This whole wage freeze thing just isn't fair to labor. I don't think that there is a single guy where I work who was for the freeze when it started. The unions just shouldn't have anything to do with it."

### NIXON

A Local 753 member said:

"Yes, I think Fitzsimmons should get off. He should never have gotten on. All that it does is make it easier for Nixon to take money out of our pockets and make higher profits for these companies. I think we need to get Hoffa back in."

In New Haven, Connecticut, the feeling of the rank and file

Teamsters was similar. One Teamster, interviewed by the Bulletin said:

"Yes, the dock workers should go back out and so should every other worker in this country. And as for Fitzsimmons, he should stop cooperating and start fighting."

### LEADERSHIP

The hostility to the Fitzsimmons leadership runs very deep among Connecticut Teamsters. The development of TURF (Teamsters United Rank and File) represents just the beginning of the opposition and the desire for new leadership in the Teamsters throughout the country.

One recently laid off Teamster member put it this way: "Fitzsimmons should be fighting these layoffs. He should be defending us. We need somebody new. We need a leadership in the labor movement to tell the bosses that we'll run the factories if they can't."

## NY Workers Bitter Over February Price Leap

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Figures released the day after George Meany led the AFL-CIO off the Pay Board revealed that consumer prices soared five-tenths of one per cent during the month of February.

This represented the sharpest monthly increase since last June, before the Nixon Administration imposed the wage controls. While rising in all sections of consumer goods, the increases were especially large in food items. The increase in food prices during February was—seasonally adjusted—1.7 per cent, the highest jump since 1958.

In New York, the Consumer Price Index rose by .9 per cent, nearly twice the national average. Disregarding the runaway inflation proven by the Government's own figures, Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, stated that the statistics "provide encouragement about the success of the stabilization program."

Workers in New York City's garment center strenuously disagreed. In interviews held Monday with the Bulletin, they accused the Government of attacking their living conditions and supported the decision by Meany to leave the Pay Board.

"The prices are ridiculous," declared a garment worker during his lunch break. "Why do I say ridiculous? Because labor itself is undermined. Our president...he's the type of person that I consider exactly for the head of every business. He is de-

finitely not for labor."

A worker explained that the price increases have cut into his standard of living: "Making ends meet means I have to eliminate certain things in my house. I have to adjust myself on a budget. But I don't know from one day to another what prices will be. One time I bought steak it was \$1.50 per lb; the next time it was \$1.75. It completely changes all the way around. By the middle of the week, I'm running into trouble."

His companion asserted that he faced the same problem. "I've been getting the same money every week for the last two years, and the prices have gone up at least five per cent. The rent has also gone up. A lot of my friends are getting laid off every week. It's terrible."

"I really get hit in groceries," said a garment worker in his twenties who has to support a wife and three children on less than \$100 a week. "It's really not too easy, and I go to the cheapest places I can find."

As for the AFL-CIO walkout, the workers agreed with Meany's action. One worker commented:

"I go along with him on that because what Nixon is trying to do is just for the big money people and we're suffering. We are breaking our backs here running through these streets here with these rich people's garments,

and I don't think that Meany should have been sitting there in the beginning."

"Meany should hold steadfast to what he's talking about, because it all is based on one thing," said a garment worker who has been pushing carts down Seventh Avenue for more than 10 years. "You can't control one area and let the other go free."

The spiraling cost-of-living threatens the very survival of workers. A mother in Newark, who receives \$214 a month in welfare checks, described the situation she now faces:

"I am not getting enough money to pay for the high price of rent, clothes and food. What do you think I have left after necessities are paid for."

"Easter is here, and I want to buy my baby boy new shoes. At the very least that will be \$7; there goes my budget. A person doesn't have a chance."

"I just give back the money almost as soon as I get it. It's not fair to us. We have no money and nothing decent. I have to pay all this rent here, but I can't even take a bath because there is usually no hot water. I have to walk up all the stairs because the elevator usually gets stuck."

"Working people are always suffering because of inflation, and then this Nixon comes around and tells us that we have to suffer in order to stop it. I am so angry."



New York garment workers were interviewed by Bulletin reporters about the rising unemployment in the garment district.



# Youth Battle JDL On Lower East Side

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK—The School District covering downtown Manhattan, where youth are forced to live and attend schools under some of the most wretched conditions in the city, has become the scene of violent class battles in recent weeks.

At the latest meeting of the Community School Board last Wednesday, one hundred members of the fascist Jewish Defense League came to P.S. 20 for the express purpose of disrupting the meeting and intimidating the residents present.

The JDL is attending the district meetings in an open attempt to take over the local school board, run out the minority groups and deepen the racial divisions in the community. They have come to the meetings prepared to attack those in attendance, armed with everything from guns to broken bottles.

However, almost 300 Black and Puerto Rican youth rallied at the school to insure that the meeting would be able to proceed without the fascists' interference.

The youth have taken up a fight to defend their parents and drive the JDL off the streets.

At the meeting, an open fight broke out between the JDL and the residents. Five members of the JDL walked in carrying a

bag. When it was pointed out to the police that there was something in the bag, the JDLer quickly ditched it.

When a man reported that a gun had fallen out of the bag, the police finally moved to arrest the JDL member. At that point, another JDLer jumped a Puerto Rican youth without provocation.

The police arrested them both, but when they arrived at the police station, they released the fascist and held the youth. They charged him with possession of a dangerous weapon because he was carrying a karate stick in his pocket.

The collusion between the police and the JDL has been clearly exposed in the pitched battles in the streets that have occurred after all the recent meetings.

One youth from the Avenue D projects told the *Bulletin* that he saw the police providing an escort for about five to seventy-five JDLers out of the latest meeting. From behind the wall of police

protection the JDL shouted: "Put the niggers and the spics in the back of the bus."

The reaction of the police was revealing. One girl overheard a cop say: "Did the niggers start up yet?"

The JDL then moved down the street throwing rocks and bottles at the crowd of youth present. One youth had his face split open by a rock and required hospitalization. At that point, two shots were fired by the JDL and the police just stood by.

The extreme danger that fascism poses in the current period is clearly revealed by these battles on the Lower East Side. At the same time, the strength of the working class has been shown in its determination to stop the JDL and beat back their attacks.

But fascism, which is consciously being encouraged by capitalism, can only be smashed through the construction of the revolutionary party based on Marxist theory and rooted in the working class. This is what the Young Socialists is based on.

## Ranks Bitter Over Baltimore Pact

BY TIM STEVENS

BALTIMORE, March 25—With less than one half of the eligible membership voting, local ILA bureaucrats were able this Wednesday to push through acceptance of the contract negotiated between Gleason's representative and the Steamship Trade Association.

While the overall total was 1289 to 260 to accept the contract, there was significant opposition to acceptance in the cargo handlers locals.

In Local 829 one fourth of the 429 men voting cast their ballots for rejection and 98 of the 416 men who cast ballots in Local 858 voted No.

The union bureaucracy did everything in its power to head off any opposition to the contract. Unable to respond to a leaflet distributed by the Workers League and a number of

longshoremen calling for a No vote, the local ILA bureaucracy resorted to a redbaiting attack. Men were told not to read the leaflet because it was put out by a "communist front organization."

In response to this a longshoreman in ILA Local 829 commented: "It doesn't make sense when the *Bulletin* is the only paper that is fighting for what the men need down here."

The new contract provides for a GAI of 1900 hours for men who have worked 700 hours in either of the two years preceding the

ratification. It makes no provision for adding new men during the course of the contract.

A gang carrier from Local 829 spoke to the *Bulletin* about the new contract.

"About the GAI, to begin with it won't even start until October of next year and then you won't even get a check for weeks. They claim it takes that long to get it set up.

LOUSY

"The GAI itself is really lousy. Nobody understands why they didn't push for 2080 hours like they said they would."



Young Socialists hold rally at 149th St. and 3rd Ave. in the Bronx to bring youth to the March 29th demonstration.

## Leaders Push New Philly Dock Pact

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—The ILA leadership has been reported to have accepted a temporary agreement with the PMTA (Philadelphia Maritime Trade Association).

There has been no report of any changes being made in the contract rejected by the Philadelphia port two weeks ago.

At a recent meeting on Wednesday, March 22, called by local president Askew, complete chaos broke out as the men shouted him down demanding something be done about the scabbing in New York by Gleason, and saying the new contract was a complete sellout.

One dock worker told the *Bulletin* as he left the meeting early, "Everybody up there is shouting about pensions and the guarantee but without any organized opposition nothing concrete is going to get done."

As the majority of dock workers left the meeting it was repeatedly stated that Gleason is allowing his men to scab on Philadelphia. "When they sent men down from New York before the Taft-Hartley asking us not to handle New York cargo we honored their pickets," shouted one dock worker.

The ILA is planning to hold another meeting on Tuesday, March 28, to announce the tentative agreement reached and why the contract should be accepted in the secret balloting on Wednesday, March 29.

What Askew hopes this meeting and the quick balloting on Wednesday will accomplish is to get as few men as possible to vote on the contract and open the hiring hall the next day with or without a majority vote.

MANEUVERS

With statements in the press expressing complete confidence in having the hiring hall open by Thursday, Askew knows it can only be done with some behind-the-back maneuvers.

The strike in Philadelphia must be the lead to the mobilization of the entire labor movement to smash Nixon's Pay Board and general strike action. As one dock worker put it, "If we, the trade unions, don't destroy the Pay Board, it will destroy us."

# Lessons Of 1968 Wallace Campaign

thirty years of transitional program

## Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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# STOP WALLACE IN HIS TRACKS!



Front page of Oct. 14, 1968 issue of the *Bulletin* calls on working class to smash Wallace's fascist Presidential campaign.

BY MELODY FARROW

The growing strength of Wallace all over the country based on his program to divide and smash the working class and all its gains poses the threat of fascism more sharply than ever before.

There are those, such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party who scoffed at the Wallace threat in 1968 and complacently said fascism could never come about.

Today Wallace emerges not just as a two bit bigot with big ambitions but as a serious force, mobilizing large sections of the frenzied middle class behind him.

From the beginning, the Workers League has been the only organization to expose Wallace's real aims and to warn that as the crisis deepens his strength would grow. Only the Workers League has fought to prepare the working class by our principled fight against him in 1968 and in

our campaign to build a labor party.

To understand the sources of Wallace's poison and how he has built his movement, we must turn to the lessons of his 1968 campaign.

1968 marked a sharp turning point in the crisis of capitalism. Under Johnson the economic crisis openly broke through the surface with the devaluation of the British pound, a growing balance of payments deficit and the threat of a complete collapse of the dollar.

OFFENSIVE

The capitalist class made a conscious decision to go on the offensive against the working class and to attack all the gains workers, youth and the mino-

rities had made.

The period of non-violent protest and civil rights reforms was at an end. The summer before, rebellions broke out in the ghettos of the North. In the South in 1968, Black sanitation workers

(Continued On Page 18)

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# NY Welfare Battleground

**BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM**  
**NEW YORK**—The New York City Department of Social Services has been the central focus of a drive by Mayor Lindsay and other city officials to smash civil service and destroy the powerful municipal labor movement.

Lindsay's attack, which now coincides with Nixon's drive against the labor movement as a whole, reached a head last October when a vicious reorganization scheme was introduced within the department. Reorganization has meant the loss of over 2000 jobs through attrition and fantastic speed-up.

For years caseworkers in the DSS worked on caseloads of from 60 to 75 or 350 for a five worker "unit" while today these same five workers are forced to carry a load of anywhere from 1000 to 1200 cases and in some instances as many as 2000.

This has struck brutally first of all at the welfare recipient who is now the object of reductions in welfare grants and a nationwide anti-welfare hysteria whipped up by Nixon and Wallace.

Recipients are forced to wait five and six hours a day and sometimes two or three days in the welfare centers before they are serviced. More days than not huge lines of clients are locked out of centers once they are filled to capacity and forced to starve until the center reopens the following day.

To make matters worse, "management engineers" fresh out of Harvard Business School have changed the physical layout in the welfare centers, placing overburdened workers in the middle of client waiting areas so as to direct the inevitable anger of recipients at the worker.

This situation has now exploded in a whole series of

physical attacks on welfare workers and on recipients in center after center across the five boroughs.

Three weeks ago in Bergen, a Bronx center, an angry client threw lye in the face of a worker. On March 21 in Manhattan's Gramercy Center a clerical supervisor was knifed in the arm. One day later a client at Queens Welfare Center "held up" his worker at gun point for his regular welfare grant. At Boro Hall a worker who suffers from a heart condition had his face sliced open when a steel hole puncher was thrown at him by another irate recipient.

By the same token, the welfare recipient is also becoming the object of police attack, particularly as the City moves to impose its answer to the crisis with beefed up squads of welfare police. At Fulton Center a client was beaten bloody three weeks ago by welfare police who only stopped when a caseworker intervened.

A Bulletin reporting team interviewed workers at two centers, Bergen and Gramercy, following the incidents described above. Both centers are now engaged in a work action. The Bulletin also obtained an exclusive interview with James McKiernan, Income Maintenance supervisor who was the victim of the March 6 attack with lye.

McKiernan told the Bulletin: "The main problem is gross understaffing. The client holds you personally accountable. In a sense that's what happened with me.

"It all happened when I went for lunch at around 2 p.m. This man had come the previous Friday and was turned away because it was too late, actually he was referred to a shelter. He came back the following Monday. He was upset because he had to apply at the application desk



Clients form 2-block-long line (top) in front of Fordham welfare center as City forces huge workloads onto Social workers. Above, Bulletin reporter interviews SSEU member on crisis facing union.

once again and get a referral slip.

"He finally arrived at my unit and was very upset. He had to wait until we saw thirty people. He just left. He had scrawled on a piece of paper, 'You must be the devil.' I thought nothing of it. Then I went outside. He threw a whole can at me, but fortunately just a portion struck me. I guess I must have blacked out.

#### MORE STAFF

"Demanding more police is all wrong. I know there have been other incidents...First, we must have more staff. There must be less bureaucratic red tape in application."

J. Saunders, an Income Maintenance clerk at Bergen had this to say:

"The situation in Bergen and Willis Centers is like a battleground. As an Income Maintenance clerk, I had hoped that this promotion would not only mean more pay, but a better job and a chance to help unfortunate people.

"Did you see the area? It looks like a picture of London I saw in Life after the war. It's that bad. Clerks I know want to stay in

their old jobs. They're not interested in promotions. Like one woman said: 'What's the point of a few extra dollars if I get lye in my face.'"

Jane Pollack, a caseworker, said:

"I saw the lye incident in which Mr. McKiernan got lye in his face. It was the worst thing I ever saw. His face was like smoking, like it was on fire. I was afraid for my own life. The situation here is terrible. We need more staff. The question is not more cops. I mean if there are more cops, there will be more incidents.

"If there are not enough workers, the clients are not serviced. I'm ready for anything at this point. But we can't go back unless we get more staff. Sugarman said he would give us ten workers. We asked for twenty and even that's not enough."

Florence Novick is the clerical supervisor from Gramercy Center who was stabbed in the arm. An IM clerk described the incident.

"I am in the same unit with the woman who got stabbed. You must understand, and you can print it—that if the woman did

not put her arm to her chest, she would have been stabbed in the heart.

#### OVERCROWDED

"This man waited half a day in employment and then went to the IM unit asking for money. It was a big mix-up. He was told that he would have to wait. It happened real quick. The place was very crowded. A lot of people were waiting. There are too many people here for the number of workers and the space.

"There was a young pregnant girl waiting. It's not true she had a miscarriage. But the heat and excitement left her faint."

Another worker, Hope Ruff, said that in an earlier disorder the director of the center had actually interceded and told the clients that the workers are at fault. She said that he had taken the position that individual workers were provoking clients.

The truth is that the provocation comes from the City which is using its reorganization scheme to drive SSEU members out of their jobs. The City has only contempt for the clients and wants to see the breakup of the union.



# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez



Young Socialists hold dance in New Haven, Conn. to build for March 29th rally.

## Bronx Science Youth Fight JDL Attack

BY A BRONX SCIENCE STUDENT

NEW YORK, March 27—Today, the Bronx Science Young Socialists held a meeting to take up the struggle against the Jewish Defense League. Forty people attended, among them about seven who defended the JDL.

The meeting started off with a report given about the unemployment demonstration the Young Socialists

are having on March 29, about the JDL, and about the theoretical basis of fascism. Several youth spoke against what the JDL did at CCNY, and against the JDL's support of the Vietnam War. One person tried to defend the JDL's position in relation to their frequent attacks on the Soviet Embassy

This meeting came at a critical point in the development of the Bronx Science Young Socialists. The YS here has been under more and more attacks by the authorities. Posters that had been put up in the cafeteria have been torn down—even after they had gotten the Student Senate to pass a bill allowing them to post material. The YS has been threatened with physical violence by members of the JDL. It has lost two faculty advisors.

The culmination of this harassment came last Friday, when two YS leaders, David Hill and Daniel Scherrer were threatened with suspension.

## Nationalists Beg Crumbs In Albany

BY AN NYCCC STUDENT

BROOKLYN—The very existence of the youth today depends on whether or not they break with the old forms of protest. Those who seek to proceed in the same manner

as they did during the boom period of capitalism are playing an absolutely criminal role. This is reflected sharply in the role of the reformist and nationalist organizations at New York

City Community College.

These organizations try to keep the students tied down to capitalism. Last week bus loads of students were taken to Albany to speak to government officials who at every point are doing all they can to preserve capitalism at the expense of the working class.

Everyone in Rockefeller's office refused to even talk to the leadership of these organizations.

The next day the nationalist Puerto Rican Student Union showed their "strategy for fighting back." They proposed that everyone wear black arm bands in protest against the cuts, while Faculty-Students Association had students writing letters to Rockefeller pleading with him

not to cut the budget.

The reformists and the nationalists who beg the capitalists are leading youth to the concentration camps. The man who they are asking for help is the same man who a few months ago gave the order to murder the brothers at Attica.

MARX

As Marx said, the morals of the ruling class are based on the preservation of capitalism and the exploitation of the working class so the government will do anything to preserve this system.

The only way that youth can fight back is by building the Young Socialists to mobilize the youth and working class in a fight for socialism.

## Young Socialist

### YSA Courts Liberals As Fascist Danger Grows

Last Friday, the Militant Labor Forum, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, invited Youth For Lindsay and Muskie to discuss alternatives in the 1972 elections.

This discussion must be seen as a milestone in the degeneration of the YSA from Trotskyism to out-and-out collaboration with the arch-enemies of the working class. Never before has the YSA tread so shamelessly at the heels of the ruling class.

At a time when the working class faces the most vicious attacks in the form of budget cuts, unemployment, rotten housing, and the war, the YSA gets together with the capitalists to ask: "Who in '72?"

The Militant Labor Forum meeting took place only a short time after the YSA participated in a debate with the reactionary Young Americans for Freedom at Queens College, and little more than a month since the YSA ran its campaign in Brooklyn College on the basis of peaceful coexistence with the fascist Jewish Defense League.

In talking with liberals and debating with fascists, rather than building a movement to destroy both of them, the YSA is denying the nature of the crisis. It is trying to tell the youth that the attacks it now faces can be peacefully solved within the framework of capitalism. The YSA is saying that budget cuts can be ended and jobs restored if the government spends less money in Vietnam and begins taxing the rich.

The SWP-YSA has turned its back on the very history of its party. In the 1930's, the pages of the Militant breathed fire as it rallied American workers to defend themselves against fascism. Unlike the reformists who tried to pass off Father Coughlin, the radio-demagogue, as an eccentric, the SWP declared that he represented the growth of a native fascist movement.

But today, because it has broken with Marxism, the YSA can answer the Wallace movement with nothing more than giggles and liberalism, disarming the youth.

There is only one revolutionary youth movement and that is the Young Socialists. The YS will be built in the most bitter struggle against the liberal politics of the YSA to prepare the youth for the battles ahead to destroy capitalism.

## The Rebellion At Rikers Island

The following is an interview with Mark Landers, a 21 year old member of the East New York Young Socialists who participated in the recent rebellion at Rikers Island prison.

YS: How did you get arrested?

Mark: There was a picture playing at the Biltmore Theater on New Lots and they started charging 50 cents. The crowd started pushing and someone called the police. They started pushing people. They pushed me and I pushed back and they (the cops) knocked my glasses off.

Another officer told me to move and he hit me and I pushed back. Then about six cops jumped on me. My friend had all his teeth knocked out. They busted my head and I had to go to the hospital.

The cops are provoking us. They want us to start something. Everything they do is an excuse to come back and arrest us.

In the police station they slapped me around and put me in the bull pen. The next day the judge sent me to prison for "inciting to riot."

I was at Rikers Island for five months. At Rikers they sent me to 7 Block. It's lousy. The guards are always starting something. Like medication, you can't get it. I'm an epileptic and I have to have medicine every day. I got it only once a week.

My block was all 19 and 20 year olds. Before the riot they would

lock us out and we'd go to the mess hall to eat, then lock back in until dinner time.

That day we had eaten lunch and we were supposed to stay out until 3:00. They told us over the loudspeaker to lock back in. I went back to my cell and I saw only a few were going in. Next I heard a lot of noise downstairs and one of the brothers came to my cell and said, "Get ready, we're breaking." He had the keys and he opened my cell. I was told the brothers had five hostages, four guards and a captain.

I think the reasons for the rebellion were the locking in, the food which was practically potatoes every day, and no medicine. One of the brothers on Block 7 was a leader of the Young Lords Party. We had been having discussions on the block. He had turned twenty one and he was going to be transferred and he wanted to speak to his brother before he left. They refused this.

A few weeks before this there was another riot. The police came in and fired tear gas and started beating everybody up. This time we built barricades, locked up the windows with mattresses and wetted blankets so we could throw back the tear gas.

We held out for about three hours. The Commissioner told us to give up the hostages and no one would get in trouble. We made 26 demands. We were told that if we didn't give up the hostages in 15 minutes they were coming in.

The riot squad was all over. The police surrounded the building and every other guard had a tear gas rifle. There were so many we couldn't throw them back fast enough. They knocked down the barricades.

No one was planning on hurting the hostages. Another leader told us over the loudspeaker to be cool and not bother them. We had people guarding them.

When the cops got into the block there were hundreds in riot gear, with three-foot oak sticks, helmets and shields. They just tore us up. I got hit in the neck with a tear gas cannister. The brothers wanted to surrender but they grabbed them and beat them up. There were people who had just come in and weren't even assigned to cells and they were beaten up too.

They grabbed us and made us strip to the skin and then run down the halls to the gym while they lined up to beat us as we ran by.



**John Simmance, now 23 and national secretary of the British Young Socialists, was made redundant two years ago just as he finished his apprenticeship at a factory in N. London. Here he talks to Workers Press, organ of the Socialist Labour League, about the Right-to-Work marches, the massive Wembley Pool rally which formed their climax and the preparation of the 12th national conference of the Young Socialists at Scarborough on April 8 and 9.**

When we began the campaign for the Right-to-Work marches we did not prepare it as a protest, or as some reformist campaign like the one organized by the Claimants' Union and others. The marches were aimed at the organized working class.

The trade unions had to be forced to organize against unemployment in a struggle to bring down the Tory government; we were determined that the marches would take place within the organized labor movement.

It was a significant turn for the leadership of the Young Socialists.

At first we set up Right-to-Work committees in all the areas and started local campaigns aimed at unemployed youth all over Britain.

During the initial campaign we had to transform the YS. To be able to launch the marches we had to grapple with and understand in a Marxist way the crisis of capitalism which was the driving force behind the massive unemployment figures.

We were expecting young people to march for up to five weeks in the toughest weather conditions and in the face of hostility from the Tories and Labour Party right wing, so we had to rely on our perspectives of the crisis to give us the confidence to launch and maintain the campaign.

The first confirmation of this principled stand on the right to work came in Glasgow, at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

We had classified the work-in as a reformist policy and an exercise in class-collaboration, where as it had been built up by the Stalinists and reformists as a high-point of militancy in the working class.

Week after week outside the gates of the UCS yards we had posed the central question: capitalism was in crisis and shipbuilding was part of that crisis. We had stressed that the struggle for the right to work at UCS was tied up with the building of a new leadership and the bringing down of the Tories.

The breakthrough came with the Right-to-Work campaign.

After the UCS coordinating committee had agreed to support us it went through all the shop stewards' committees. We held meetings outside the gates explaining the marches and many stewards spoke up for us at their meetings inside the yards.

The fact that the UCS Stalinists, under pressure from their leaders, said later that they did not realize the money was for the YS Right-to-Work campaign is rubbish.

Our movement had been proved correct on its fight for perspective and principles.

During the campaign and the marches the most important lesson was the way a new youth leadership was trained in a struggle against Stalinism, reformism and political backwardness. We brought in a con-



British Young Socialist National Secretary John Simmance (upper left) discusses perspectives of struggle for revolutionary leadership of British working class. Bottom left, YS Right to Work marchers who were met March 12 by 8,500 workers in London (above).

# How We Built Right-to-Work Marches On Wembley Pool

sciousness that the working class have basic rights and that the whole labor movement could be swung behind their defense.

We took on and defeated the right wing of the Labour Party.

There has never been a period in our history like it since we defeated the Wilson witch-hunt in 1964. The lessons of that struggle were brought forward and negated in an even bigger way. Here we were with young unemployed marchers and a daily paper and we absolutely smashed the right wing.

In this sense Carlisle was the turning-point, together with Jarrow.

I spent five days in Carlisle looking for accommodation and we must have tried over 50 halls. The Tories, the right-wing Labourites and the churches had collaborated to try and keep us out of the town.

But we smashed the ban when sympathetic Labour Party members arranged somewhere for us to stay, and then we staged a rally of 200 and presented the premiere of the play "The English Revolution."

These experiences when taken back into the Glasgow-London march enabled some real political development to be made. The bitterness many marchers had for the right-wing came to a head at Carlisle.

Three days later the Mayor of Jarrow, the historic centre of the Hunger Marches, personally de-

nounced the official Labour Party ban on the march.

It was a real inspiration to the marchers that besides the right-wing, which had dominated the Labour Party for so long, there was a whole section of the party prepared to fight.

## MARXISM

The lessons from the march were clear: the struggle for our perspective and for Marxist principles proved decisive not only in defeating the right-wing but in training the marchers themselves as revolutionaries.

I think Empire Pool, Wembley, was the same. We again had to rely on our perspectives. The march was able to mobilize big sections of the working class in a matter of weeks.

At the rally, for which 9,000 tickets were sold, we had hundreds of delegates from factories in completely new areas to our movement, where workers had only heard about the campaign a few days beforehand.

It had inspired the working class that youth were prepared to fight for revolutionary principles. Workers are being moved towards principled struggles.

Every serious trade unionist willing to fight the Tories was inspired, despite the witch-hunt launched by the Communist Party and the Labour Party right-wing.

Workers were not interested in witch-hunts started by the

bureaucracies. The explanation of principles by the Marxist movement concerned them more.

From Wembley, we have to prepare immediately for the 12th annual conference of the Young Socialists which will be held at Scarborough on April 8 and 9.

It will be much more of a turning point for our movement than any previous YS conference.

At Scarborough, the discussion will be centered around the launching of the revolutionary party which will take place later this year. A central feature of this discussion will be plans for the extension of the Right-to-Work campaign.

The youth on the marches went forth and led the fight as revolutionaries.

At Scarborough we plan to take it further and establish the struggle throughout the entire labor movement. We have to transform the YS movement with roots in every section of the working class movement, in every town and village we passed through on the marches.

Last year we discussed the revolutionary party and its implications: already in 1972 we have a 12-page Workers Press and shortly a weekly Keep Left.

The lessons learned from the march will be taken back into the campaign for the annual conference.

In the next few weeks, teams

led by the marchers will be covering every factory and housing estate that we can reach. We are determined to broaden our campaign for Scarborough.

We will turn to the factories, to those apprentices and young workers who are driven forward by their struggles against the sweat-shops, against insecurity, the Industrial Relations Act and rising prices.

We want to organize the thousands of school-leavers who will go on to the dole queues this summer and become the new unemployed.

The policies discussed at Scarborough will be those for mobilizing large numbers of youth and older workers all over Britain around which we can lay the basis for a revolutionary party.

We found in the campaign for the Empire Pool rally that we mobilized workers and youth around the fight for leadership, around a movement prepared to go out and establish a revolutionary leadership.

This great combination—support from the working class and the youth—will be the twin forces for the building of the revolutionary party.

We want Scarborough to be the biggest YS conference we've ever held. To all those trade unionists, youth, apprentices, immigrant workers and students who attended Wembley we make an appeal to come to our conference.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Dock Leaders Evade Strike

(Continued From Page 1)

of the pockets of every dockworker, while prices are soaring and the men on the West Coast have suffered with their old contract for five years.

Gleason and Bridges are now vying with each other in their treachery. Despite an agreement on February 24 to call a nationwide dock strike against any interference by the Pay Board, their meeting last week produced a joint statement with no mention at all of a strike.

Gleason, who has been busy trying to push the most rotten local agreements on the issue of the guaranteed income in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, has gone ahead and submitted the master contract to a Pay Board which everyone in the labor movement but Frank Fitzsimmons says is a fraud.

ILWU President Harry Bridges so far has refused to expose Gleason. Instead he attempts to avoid a strike by saying that the ILA will probably not back them if they go out. The key to blowing up this whole

The shutting down of the West Coast will put Gleason up against the wall and greatly encourage the ILA ranks to go out. This would lay the basis for a general strike of the entire labor movement against any attempt by Nixon to break the strike.

The Communist Party is completely silent about Bridges' betrayal. Last week, before the walkout from the Pay Board, the Daily World attacked George Meany for having "red-baited" Bridges in the past and for surrendering on the issue of dock productivity. Not only do the Stalinists cover up Bridges' role as the architect of the infamous M&M productivity agreement which slashed West Coast jobs, but all mention about the criminal retreat from a dock strike by Bridges and Gleason has completely disappeared from the Daily World.

Despite the efforts of Nixon, Congress, the Democrats and Republicans, to avoid a nationwide dock strike since last August, the movement for a total shutdown of all U.S. ports is growing among dockworkers on both coasts.

This is the only way forward for the defense of the wage gains against the attack of the Pay Board. The fight must now be taken up in both the ILWU and ILA to force Bridges and Gleason into strike action.

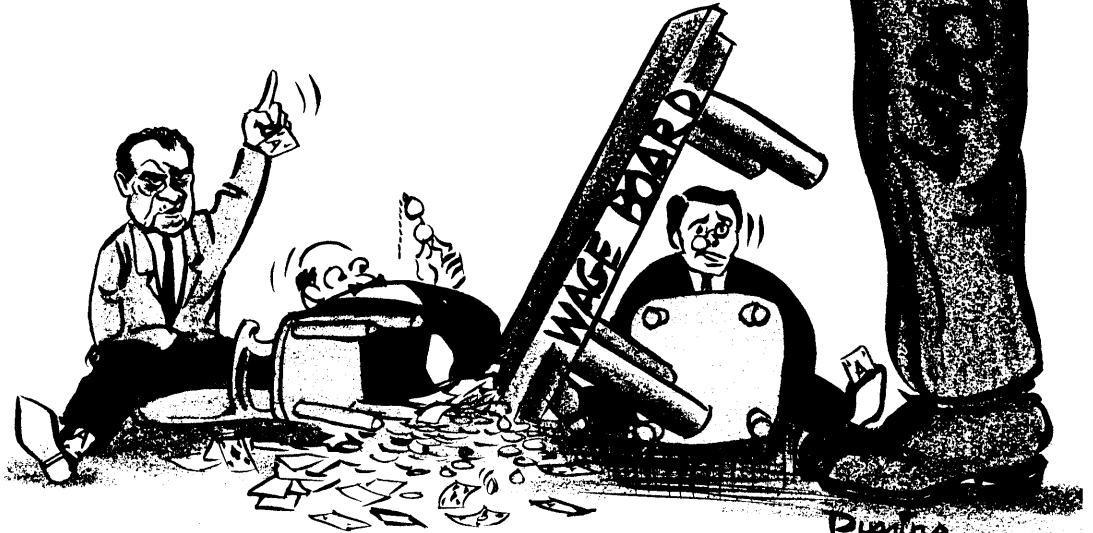
- No acceptance of a single penny less than the wage increase already negotiated.
- Demand a renegotiation of the guaranteed income provisions of the contracts on both coasts.
- Fight for a general strike of the rest of the labor movement to back up the dockworkers.

## Slow Progress In Subscription Drive

The subscription drive has made only slow progress this week reaching 2,473 adding 286 subs during the week. The problem continues to be a slow pace in sub work in New York which has to this point led the sub work. This is no doubt due to pressures of last minute work on the Young Socialists Rally. We must have a major pick up by next week.

The Bay Area has done a little better with 69 subs in this week. We are confident they can be getting around 100 in a week in the coming period. Minneapolis did better with 34 subs, Detroit has started some serious action with 17 subs, while St. Louis continues its excellent work with 19 subs.

NOTICE TO ALL SUBSCRIBERS: Because of the growth of our subscription list, it has been necessary to install new labelling and affixing equipment for mailing the Bulletin. This means we will no longer mail the Bulletin in a wrapper. We will continue to send the Bulletin in a wrapper to anyone specifically requesting this service at an extra charge of \$1.00 per year or 50¢ per six month and introductory subscriptions.



"The game will go on."

## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

Black people." This is a sentiment we also share. What then is, in the opinion of Jenness, Pulley and the SWP? "To solve these problems over the long run, we support the demand raised by many Blacks for Black control of Black education with adequate financing and facilities." The adequate finances are to come from "a 100% tax on corporate war profits and on incomes of \$25,000 or more" and "by ending the Indochina war, one of the biggest factors behind the cutbacks and the fiscal crisis now plaguing public education."

If the long term solution to educational problems facing the Blacks is to be Black control of Black education then what is really being said is that both legal and de facto segregation are also to be maintained in the long run. Then why is it the SWP is critical at all of the anti-busing position of Nixon and Wallace? The SWP, as much as Nixon and Wallace, accepts the racist system, sees it as unalterable, and actually acts in a way to help perpetuate it.

The SWP even goes so far as to attack "as a liberal premise" the position that "placing Black children in the same classroom as white children will make a qualitative difference in their education." It is however a truth verified by the 100 year history since the American Civil War that segregation in the schools has meant inferior education for Blacks.

It is not simply a "liberal premise" but a DEMOCRATIC RIGHT for Black children to be able to attend schools outside ghetto areas and it is a DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE that integration prevail on all levels of life. These democratic rights and principles must now be defended by the working class against the ruling class backed fascist racists like Wallace. If total segregation is allowed to be legally enforced in this country it will mean a fascist state with the ghettos transformed into large

prison camps surrounded by troops after the fashion of Northern Ireland.

It is critical that the working class fight to end the Vietnam war. It is proper that the demand for a 100% tax on war profits and on high incomes be part of the socialist program. But if isolated from the SOCIALIST program these are nothing but reform demands, liberal character and utopian in nature. The SWP raises these demands in this liberal way not seeing socialism as even a long run solution to the problems of the Black masses. Clearly for the SWP socialism is a religious goal and liberalism is the character of its practical activity.

It is simply not true that the Vietnam war is the major cause of the fiscal crisis requiring the drastic cutbacks in education which have hit minority youth so hard. This crisis is a reflection of the capitalist crisis which in turn is rooted in the very nature of the system itself. It is not true that the war can be ended this side of ending the capitalist system which perpetuates the war.

To propose that the war be ended and the funds simply transferred to the schools without posing the ending of capitalism is to encourage liberal illusions in capitalism. To propose various tax the rich schemes also separated from a socialist program for nationalization of industries and the fight for a labor party to bring about such policies is likewise to encourage liberal illusions.

The truth is that there can be no improvement in the schools for the mass of Blacks as well as whites in the short or long run under capitalism. The capitalist crisis can only get worse. Nixon's measures, which have already led to a further decay in schools, have in no sense solved anything for capitalism and are only a beginning of the cutbacks to come.

This is why the Workers League and the Young Socialists fight for a

socialist program and demand that the trade unions break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party to take forward such a program. We do not accept as permanent the ghettos and race divisions because we do not accept as permanent the capitalist system.

We propose that under a workers' government the basic industries in the United States be nationalized and this great productive power used to wipe out all poverty, to employ everyone on a short work week, with a decent salary. On this basis and only on this basis decent housing can be constructed, the great ghettos torn down, decent schools built, billions spent to improve education and the life of all the people. Anything this side of socialism, any proposal which starts with capitalism, means only the further economic slavery and racial oppression of the masses.

Because the SWP accepts the capitalist system, sees it as a permanent fixture, sees no sharp capitalist crisis, minimizes the danger of Wallace and fascism, it sees the Gary Convention as reflecting the sentiments of the Black masses. We say the Gary Convention reflected the interests of American capitalism in a period of crisis.

American capitalism offers a few crumbs to nationalist poverty pimps and professional vote sellers in return for their role in insisting that the struggle of the Blacks accept the limits of capitalism. This is why the worst two-bit Democratic Party hacks unite together with Black nationalists in Gary. They represent capitalism and the oppression of the millions of Blacks not the sentiments of the masses.

Wallace calls the racist tune. President Nixon happily picks it up recognizing its value in preparing the way for dictatorship. The SWP comes in on the chorus for like Nixon and Wallace it also does not wish to see capitalism overthrown.

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

Six weeks ago, Fedders Corporation forced the unionized workers in Edison, N.J. out of the plant. A membership meeting was organized on February 24, and it was decided by the majority to strike and establish a permanent picket line.

The next day, while the members of our Local 483 were engaged in the right to picket, an injunction was brought against the workers at Fedders. This injunction dictated by a judge in New Jersey stated that no more than 25 people could be allowed to picket at the same time. It also stated that no vehicle or person going inside the plant could be stopped.

Some of the officers of our local have gone to jail as a result of this injunction.

This situation created confusion within the majority of strikers and it is obvious that the majority of the strikers are demoralized.

It is public knowledge that our picket line is disorganized and we need some positive action aimed to change this situation.

I wonder what kind of support we are receiving from District 3. If they think that \$12 a week after the second week that they are giving to the people on the picket line offers any kind of help, they are wrong.

To win this strike, we need the full

support from the IUE leadership together with the officials at our Local 483. If they don't move toward this achievement, hopes to win this strike are going to be out of our hands.

The rate of unemployment in New Jersey and the nation is bigger every day. This means that there is no place for so many people to get a decent job.

We need the leadership of the IUE International to start playing its legitimate role in a situation like ours. Fighting for our bread and butter is their responsibility.

What are they waiting for?

A Local 483 Steward



SACCO AND VANZETTI were arrested on May 5, 1920. They were sentenced to die in the electric chair April 9, 1927 and that sentence was carried out a few minutes after midnight on August 22, 1927. In the course of those seven years, one of the most glaring exposes of the nature of capitalist justice is revealed.

Sacco and Vanzetti were tried and convicted for robbery and murder at the State and Morrill shoe factory in South Braintree in Massachusetts on April 15, 1920. Vanzetti was tried for the additional crime of attempted robbery of the L.Q. White Shoe Company which occurred on December 24, 1919.

However, on the evening of their arrest, May 5, they were not questioned at all about these robberies. Rather, the Chief of Police of Bridgewater only asked them about their movements on that specific day and about their political beliefs.

Steward demanded to know whether they were anarchists or communists, and whether they believed in the overthrow of the United States government by force. It was not until much later than the indictments for the robberies were handed down.

Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists and the night of their arrest, they were involved in gathering up all their political propaganda because they had received notice that the Department of Justice was planning more of their infamous raids to rid the country of so-called subversives.

Thus, when they were arrested, Sacco and Vanzetti assumed that they had been seized as part of Attorney General Palmer's "Red Raids." They had no reason to believe they were suspected of murder.

Throughout the questioning as to the nature of their activities and their beliefs, they refused to answer because they believed that their answers would provide the ammunition for their deportation. They lied about their activities on that evening when they had gone to West Bridgewater to collect their literature because they assumed that they were to be met with some charge involving their political opinions.

The prosecution was later to use their lies as evidence of guilt of murder because they stated that if Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent of that crime, they would not have hesitated to relate all that had happened the evening of their arrest.

However, they were innocent as the events of the trials themselves will show. Why, then, were they so afraid to express their political beliefs? And, on the other hand, why was the state so intent upon prosecuting them? In fact, who were Sacco and Vanzetti and why was their cause to become the cause of the entire working class?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine both the historical background preceding their arrest, as well as the period up to their execution. James Cannon has described the Sacco-Vanzetti case as "part of American labor history in the making" and without an examination of the entire historical period, their case cannot be understood.

#### WHO WERE SACCO AND VANZETTI?

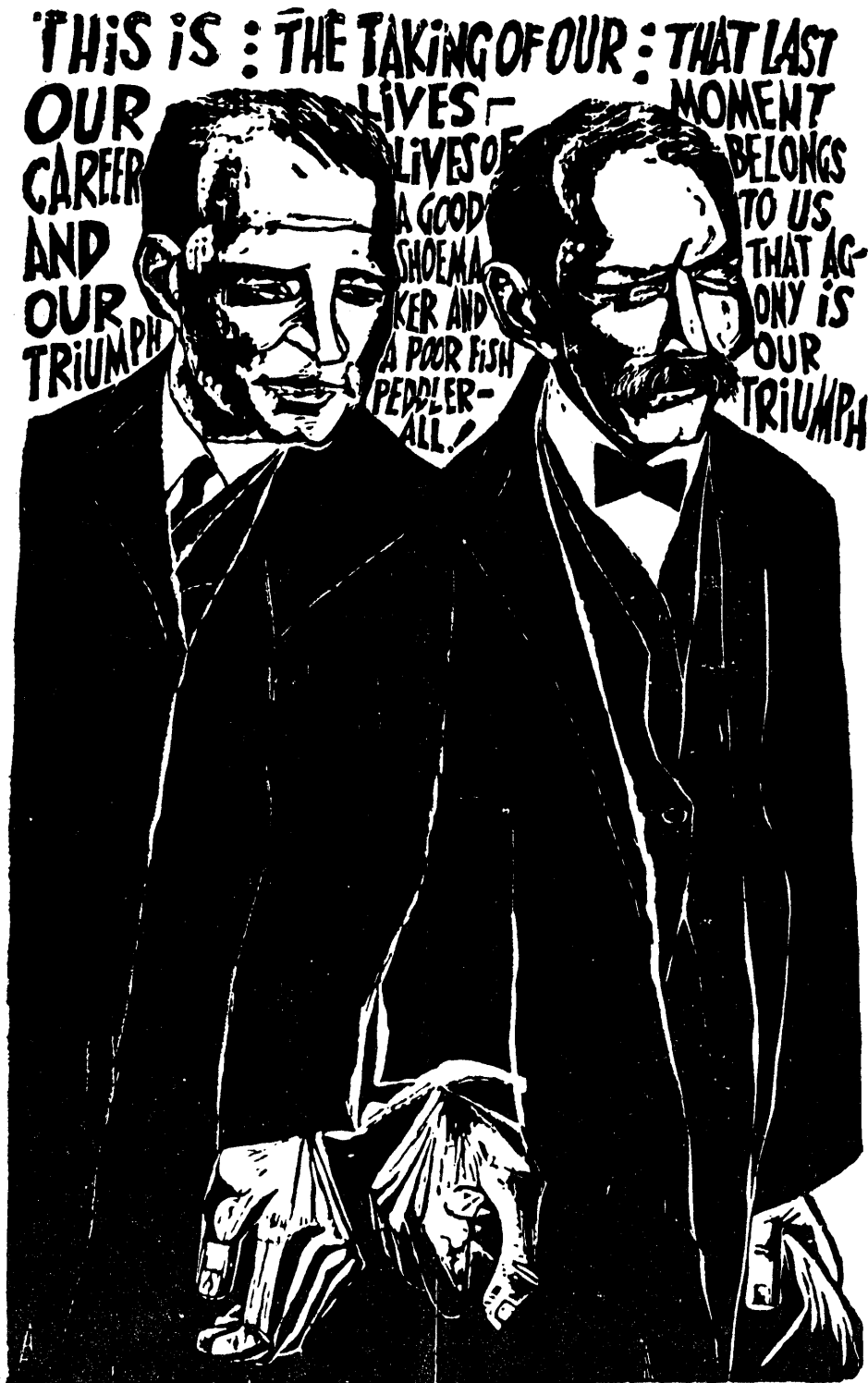
Sacco and Vanzetti cannot be abstracted from history. They were not passive observers of their times but rather conscious fighters in the class battles of those times. Of course, they were not born as working class leaders but rather developed as leaders through a process. In order to understand their roles in history, it is necessary to examine their background.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti was born in 1888 in the hills of Northern Italy. At the age of thirteen, he was apprenticed to the owner of a pastry shop. There, he worked a grueling fifteen hour day, seven days a week.

At the age of nineteen, the tragic death

# SACCO & VANZETTI

by Nancy Fields



of his mother left Vanzetti in deep despair. He decided to go to America. Already by this time, he had read a good deal of the popular anti-clerical and radical pamphlets which overturned his Catholic upbringing and gave him his first understanding of a socialist philosophy. He brought these embryonic anarchistic beliefs with him to America.

He arrived at a time of economic crisis. Unemployment was very high and the wages paid for what jobs there were available were miserable. He finally got a job and worked for eight months in the most rotten conditions imaginable.

Unable to tolerate his work any longer, Vanzetti began to travel through New England in search of better employment. However, everywhere he went, he found the same thing: unemployment, hunger, exploitation and repression.

It was both in opposition to and as part of this background that Vanzetti began to

develop his anarchistic theories. During two years of toil in Meriden's stone pits, he began to read vociferously "the journals of every socialist, patriotic and religious faction."

From his readings, Vanzetti stated that he: "learned that class-consciousness was not a phrase invented by propagandists, but was a real, vital force, and that those who felt its significance were no longer beasts of burden, but human beings." (Shachtman)

As will be shown later, Vanzetti did not merely reflect upon his studies, but began to put his ideas into practice in the labor movement itself.

Nicola Sacco was born at the other end of Italy in the southern village of Torremaggiore in 1891. His father was a staunch Republican and all the children belonged to the Republican or socialist clubs of the village.

Sacco came to the United States in 1908

and worked on a road gang in Milford, Mass. He decided to learn a trade and became a skilled shoe worker. He ran a machine in Milford until 1917 when he was laid off.

Sacco, like Vanzetti, continued to read the radical Italian journals and joined one of the circles in which the influence of the anarchist Luigi Galleani was dominant. He, like Vanzetti, was not to confine his philosophical beliefs to the idealist arena of thought alone.

Rather, as Max Shachtman noted in *Labor's Martyrs*:

"Out of the discussions and lectures he drew a clearer comprehension of the struggle of the two colossal forces in society which a few years later would engage in furious conflict to determine his fate and that of his comrade."

#### A PERIOD OF SHARP OPPOSITES

What was the history of the period? What were the specifics of the "struggle of the two colossal forces in society" which forced the ruling class to create increasingly reactionary and dictatorial measures to beat back the offensive of the working class?

The period of 1914-1920 must be examined in its whole. It must be seen as a period of sharp opposites in absolute conflict with each other but, at the same time, in unity with each other under the capitalist system. Bourgeois historians have always ignored the opposites that exist in any given period and have given only a one-sided view of that period.

Thus, the period from 1904-1916 has been characterized as the Progressive Era and the 1920's seen as the "Era of Normalcy," a time of extreme complacency and conservatism. By delineating only one opposite in each successive stage of history, these academicians cannot explain why, in the so-called Progressive Era, scores of reactionary laws were passed and the seeds of future repression were sown.

Neither can they explain, how in the so-called period of complacency, the working class was moving forward, engaged in fundamental battles and was mobilized throughout the world in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

What were the opposites in 1914-1920? As always within capitalism, the absolute opposites were the movement of the working class and the movement of the ruling class.

Thus, the growth of the trade union movement, of militant syndicalism and of anarchism was occurring against the background of increasing unemployment, wages tied to productivity, and anti-union laws passed by the government.

Technological advances in this period brought a marked increase of unemployment. Because of the increasing crisis within the capitalist system, employers introduced speedup and productivity as a way to diminish the work force and increase their profits.

In addition, inflation was rampant throughout the period. In the single year, 1919-1920, the cost of living index rose from 178 to 206.

The economic crisis was manifest in the declining value of the dollar. Between 1914-1917, the purchasing power of the dollar fell from 136.6 to 107.4. By 1918, it had dropped to a new low of 92.5. Thus, between the outbreak of World War I and its end, the value of the dollar had dropped 37.6%.

Whole areas of the country were being devastated by unemployment. In New England, almost the entire textile industry was wiped out by the employers' ruthless desire for greater profits. Because the working class was more organized in New England and had exhibited their potential strength in successful strikes, the textile owners decided to close down and re-establish their plants in the South.

At the same time that unemployment was increasing, the trade union movement was growing. The number of workers organized in the trade unions doubled in the four year period from 1913-1918. In the year 1918-1919, there was a tremendous leap in union membership to four times what it had been in 1913.

The growth of union membership demonstrated the growing consciousness among the working class that it was only through the organized power of the trade



unions that their rights could be won and then defended. With this consciousness came the understanding that the strike was the weapon which could bring victory.

Thus, between 1914-1918 the number of strikes tripled and the number of workers involved in these strikes increased to 300,000. The real leap in strike activity came between 1919-1920 when more than four million workers were involved. The militant, syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, led by Vincent St. John, became a real force in this period.

Reflecting the enormous fear of the ruling class in the face of the offensive of the working class, the government began to initiate a series of anti-union maneuvers. When these maneuvers failed, the government then resorted to its power as the state and passed vicious anti-strike laws.

In 1917 Woodrow Wilson, that so-called progressive President, set up a tripartite board for the purpose of settling labor disputes during the war. This board, like its successor today, included representatives of "the public," labor, and the Secretary of War.

The treacherous role of the labor bureaucracy, in the person of Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labor, paved the way for the government's anti-union action. In fact, Gompers must be held responsible for the later setbacks that besieged the labor movement in the 1920's.

It was Gompers who sat on the War Labor Conference Board—the Board of the employers—and pledged that organized labor would not engage in industrial disputes during the war. He thus retreated at the very moment when the real power of the labor movement could have been brought to bear. It had the advantage due to the scarcity of labor power available and should have used this to seek recognition and the extension of collective bargaining.

In order to facilitate their ultimate objective (which was to break the power of the trade unions), the Board offered up some concessions to labor. Of course, these concessions were accepted hook, line and sinker by the bureaucracy. Thus, when the Board made the eight hour day a law, the bureaucrats applauded loudly and congratulated themselves for taking the moderate position because obviously, it proved to be correct.

However, when that law was never applied, the complete fraud of the concessions was revealed. In fact, the then Secretary of War, Baker, urged Wilson not to press the eight hour day in steel, because as he stated: "That would be a revolutionary change and the unwillingness of the workers' employers to yield the point might provoke strikes."

Unlike the bureaucrats, however, the rank and file workers refused to be driven back. In fact, as has been shown, strike activity increased tremendously in this period.

The creation of two more boards in one month indicated the government's panic in the face of the resolute determination of the working class to win what was rightfully theirs.

Thus, a War Labor Policies Board was established with that liberal Felix Frankfurter at its head. Two weeks later, the National War Labor Board (NWLB) came into being, with former President Taft and labor lawyer Frank P. Walsh as co-chairmen. No specific guidelines were established as to the nature of the Board's power but rather, it was given almost unlimited authority to mediate, conciliate or arbitrate as it wished.

At the same time that the National War Labor Board was created, the legislature passed a series of vicious anti-union laws. The most reactionary of them was the one attached to the powers of the NWLB. This gave the President the power to seize any plant which was being struck if the NWLB thought the parties involved were being recalcitrant.

Wilson used this power to take over Western Union in August of 1918 as well as a Bridgeport small arms factory when its workers refused to accept a War Labor Board decision.

In 1919, Wilson called an Industrial Conference at the high point of the United Steelworkers of America's strike which involved 350,000 workers. The Conference

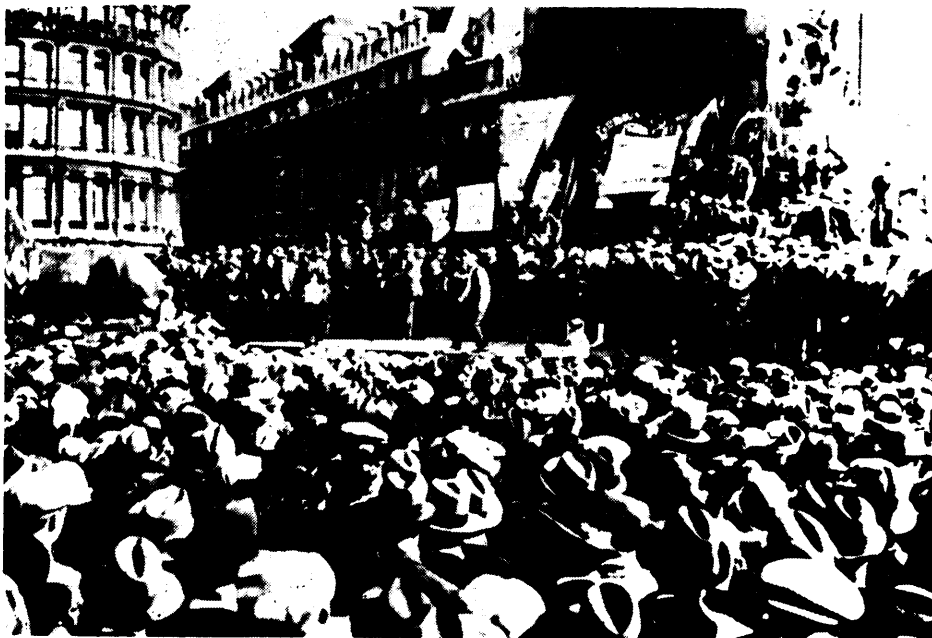
was designed to provide measures to stop the offensive of workers.

As usual, the labor bureaucrats joined hands with the employers and the "public" to aid in this task. The employers controlled the Conference and refused to offer any concessions to the public. They insisted on retaining absolute control of the employment process and refused to acknowledge the right to independent collective bargaining. The real meaning of Gompers' "peaceful co-existence" policy of class collaboration during the War was revealed.

At the same time, the Supreme Court, which the bourgeoisie likes to represent as being above the class struggle, was handing down a series of decisions against labor.

These decisions consistently ruled in favor of the employers and against the trade unions. For example in *Duplex v. Deering*, Chief Justice Taft's opinion forbade the International Association of Machinists to seek the support of workers in related trades in its struggle against the employer. Furthermore, the court struck down even the most minimal legislation which had been passed in an attempt to stop some of the more barbarous methods of child labor.

In addition, laws were passed making syndicalism a crime and the state vigorously used these laws to break the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). In 1918, many of its leaders were tried under the Sedition Act. In 1917 one of the founders of the IWW and a militant leader



of the Western Federation of Miners, Frank Little, was hung. Also in 1917, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, leaders in the IWW, received life sentences on framed up charges.

#### THE RED SCARE

The second front of the government's strategy against the working class involved the whipping up of racism, national chauvinism and patriotism. These forces were unleashed not only to effect the conscription of workers to fight a ruling class war, but more fundamentally to divide the working class itself.

The first target of these forces were the immigrants. Between 1897-1914 over ten million people had come to the U.S. from Southern and Eastern Europe. The government whipped out the myth that the American "racial stock" was being diluted by Latins and Slavs in order to justify the passage of racist anti-immigration legislation.

Thus, in 1917, an Immigration Commission appointed by Congress gave allegiance to the notion of "Nordic superiority." A law was passed barring Asians, Indians and people from the Southwest Pacific entry to the U.S. Literacy tests were established and a strict quota system enforced.

The capitalist press used patriotism to create an atmosphere of hysteria over "aliens" as being spies for the enemy. This hysterical, jingoistic atmosphere was created for one purpose only: to provide an excuse for attacks on immigrants and to divide the working class.

The government and the press joined together to pave the way for the growth and expansion of the fascist Ku Klux Klan. The Klan served the interests of the capitalists very well by attacking and mur-

dering union organizers in the South and Midwest.

Patriotism was used by inspired mobs of "patriots" to attack workers' organizations. In 1918-1919 over 300 workers' halls were raided by these fascist goons.

Throughout the war, socialists were imprisoned and hundreds of rank and file workers were thrown into prison, simply for their opinions and activities in the labor movement. Labor papers were ruthlessly suppressed or intimidated out of existence.

Furthermore, as Max Shachtman noted:

"Many of those who escaped arrest and conviction under the vicious Espionage Act, were dealt with by silk-hatted bands of thugs who meted out 'justice' in the dark of the moon with tar, feathers, horse-whip and pistol.

"Not a single instance of a real crime was ever proved against these victims at home of the war for democracy; it sufficed that their activities had earned the enmity of the exploiters."

However, these measures were not sufficient to stop the determined march forward of the working class. In 1919, a general strike brought the ruling class of Seattle to their knees. In Chicago, the Communist Party had been formally launched and proclaimed its support of the Russian Revolution and the principles of Bolshevism.

It became necessary to create more extreme measures to defeat the labor movement and to destroy its most conscious and energetic forces. It was now ab-



Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (top, left and right) as part of a crack down on working class militants in the U.S. to their defense. Right, thousands of workers demonstrate against the lynching. 10,000 workers held memorial rally in New York (center) was a mass of angry workers.

Galleani, the leader of those circles to which Sacco and Vanzetti belonged, was deported along with hundreds of other workers.

#### THE CASE

It is with this understanding of the history of the period, that we can now turn to the actual case of Sacco and Vanzetti and see it for what it was: a vicious frame-up of two working class leaders.

Two days prior to their arrest, Sacco and Vanzetti learned of the death of their close friend, and fellow anarchist, Andrea Salsedo.

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Vanzetti had gone to New York to learn the details and report back on the situation. In New York, he conferred with Walter Nilles, the attorney for the two prisoners. Nilles advised the concealment of all their literature. New raids were expected imminently.

Salsedo had crashed fourteen stories to his death on May 3. As Shachtman noted:

"Whether the torture of eight weeks of barbarous persecution had made him seek desperately for immediate death rather than the continuation of living hell, or the fall was caused by the insane anger of the government operatives who, having been unsuccessful in exhorting a confession from his brave lips, sought to dispose of the evidence of their brutality by flinging him to his death, may never be known."

With the death of Salsedo fresh in their minds, Sacco and Vanzetti stood resolute in their refusal to answer any questions concerning their political beliefs the night of their arrest.

Of course, they assumed that they were being arrested for their political activities. Both were known as leaders and agitators in the labor movement.





(right) were executed by the ruling class in Massachusetts in the postwar period. Millions of workers worldwide rallied in Buenos Aires, Argentina against the legal execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in Union Square, New York City, August 23, 1927.

Vanzetti had led a strike in 1916 at the Plymouth Cordage Company which was the largest rope and cordage plant in the world. In the course of the strike, the employers called in the State Police, had men and women beaten and ridden over by troopers' horses, but the workers had stood firm.

When the strike ended with a small wage increase, Vanzetti was fired. He was black-listed throughout the area as a notorious agitator.

Sacco, too, had aided the strikers at numerous textile plants in the area. He had played an active role in the Lawrence workers strike in 1912 and the textile machine workers strike in 1913. In 1916, he was arrested at a demonstration in solidarity with the strike on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota.

In addition to their activities in the labor movement, they had openly expressed their political beliefs during World War I. They opposed the war as an imperialist war and considered service in the armies of their exploiters as incompatible with their principles. They went to Mexico to escape the compulsory military service act.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested at a time when the press was stirring up hysteria over the two crimes and at a time when the State Police was stalemated in its investigations. A resolution had been introduced in the state legislature which authorized the Governor to offer a reward for the arrest and conviction of the robbers.

Chief of Police Steward had participated in the Palmer raids and had proven his hatred of the working class. In addition, he had a vested interest in solving the crimes because he was in the pay of the White Shoe Company in Bridgewater. He had been informed by the Department of Justice that Sacco and Vanzetti were dangerous radicals.

The theory behind the crimes as well as the so-called evidence and the facts of the case, was established before the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. This was completely

contrary to normal criminal procedure.

Even one of the most respected servants of bourgeois justice, Felix Frankfurter, noted:

"The build-up of the evidence against the accused usually occurs after the arrest; and the theory of the crime itself accompanies and follows it. The theory does not precede the facts." (Twelve Years After, p. 55.)

However, that was not the only break from normal procedure to occur in the case. In fact, throughout the trial all that had been formally considered normal, correct procedure was thrown out the window by the prosecution.

While the prosecution had wished to try Sacco and Vanzetti for both crimes, they finally were forced to excuse Sacco from the Bridgewater case because it was clear that he had been at work in a shoe factory in Stoughton.

In accord with legal custom, the South Braintree case should have been tried first because in the event that one is being accused of a series of crimes, he is to be tried for the most serious offense first. Clearly, the robbery of \$16,000 and the murder of two men in South Braintree was far more serious than the attempted holdup in Bridgewater.

Since the prosecutor had nothing but circumstantial evidence for either case, he hoped to strengthen his position through this tactic. Obviously, if he could present to the jury a defendant who was already convicted of one crime, he would have an easier time getting a conviction for the



South Braintree affair. The press aided Katzmann by giving the Bridgewater conviction the most lurid publicity.

In fact, throughout the trial, the District Attorney employed racism, trickery, deceit and cunning in order to insure the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Bridgewater trial took place in Plymouth in an atmosphere prejudiced against Vanzetti because of his activities in the strike against Plymouth Cordage a few years before. Vanzetti's conviction was assured from the outset because of the roles played by the prosecution, his own lawyer and the presiding judge.

The prosecution's case was based on the sole ground of identification of Vanzetti by the employees of the White Shoe Company. Katzmann's presentation was riddled with contradictions from beginning to end. The evidence he presented bordered on the farcical.

In his documentation of the case, Felix Frankfurter noted that the evidence:

"Bordered on the frivolous, reaching its climax in the testimony of a little newsboy who, from behind the telegraph pole to which he had run for refuge during the shooting, caught a glimpse of the criminal and 'knew by the way he ran he was a foreigner.' Vanzetti was a foreigner, so of course, it was Vanzetti."

Katzmann was so assured of a conviction that he did not even attempt to construct a serious case. Of course, Katzmann was aided in this assurance by John Valey, the defense attorney himself.

Valey would not allow Vanzetti to take the stand to testify in his own behalf. This served to cast doubt in the jury's mind about his innocence.

He justified this procedure by claiming to Vanzetti that, if he testified, he would

be questioned about his political beliefs. But the jury had already heard his political views because they were constantly brought in by Katzmann.

Valey refused to explain why Vanzetti had lied about his activities on the evening of the arrest. Further, he showed his open hostility to the defense of Vanzetti by allowing on the jury a foreman in the Plymouth Cordage plant.

It is not surprising to note that he and Katzmann later became law partners. Throughout the trial, he had lunch with Katzmann and Thayer.

The role of Judge Thayer served to seal the conviction. During the trial, he never interfered with Katzmann's procedures except to intervene on his side when the prosecution's contradictory positions were brought out.

He never attempted to stop Katzmann's blatantly racist statements nor his continuous interjection of Vanzetti's political beliefs. In fact, when he charged the jury, he stated that: "The defendant's ideas are cognate with the crime." His class hatred was clearly exposed when he gave Vanzetti the maximum sentence allowed.

The course of the South Braintree trial, which took place in Dedham, proceeded in almost the same fashion as the Bridgewater one. The prosecution had laid the groundwork for a conviction in the former trial.

Since there was no evidence against Sacco, the prosecution hoped that if he was tried with someone already established as a criminal, it would show that

defense attorney, Fred Moore. Moore was an IWW lawyer and had a long history in the defense of the working class. He recognized the class nature of the case and sought throughout to bring out the main issues involved: that was, the defendants' political beliefs.

Further, he fought to bring the persecution of Sacco and Vanzetti solely for their political beliefs into the working class. In realizing that their only defense lay in the strength of that class, he involved the trade unions in their defense.

Moore succeeded in producing twelve witnesses to prove that Vanzetti was in Plymouth on the day of the crime. He also proved that Sacco was in Boston that day getting a passport for a trip to Italy and he had the testimony of the passport agent for verification.

The prosecution's case was clearly defeated. Or, so it should have been if there had existed justice for the working class. But, as always, bourgeois justice serves only the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Thayer himself admitted that the prosecution had no case when he ruled after the first trial, in denying a motion for a new one, that:

"Their verdicts did not rest in my judgement upon the testimony of eye witnesses, for the defendants, as it was, called more witnesses than the Commonwealth who testified that neither of the defendants were in the bandit car.

"The evidence that convicted these defendants was circumstantial and was evidence that is known in law as 'consciousness of guilt.'"

Nevertheless, on July 14, 1921, the verdict of guilty of murder was rendered against Sacco and Vanzetti.

#### THE DEFENSE

It had been necessary for the state to provide an elaborate frame-up to deal with Sacco and Vanzetti, rather than simply deport (or murder) them as had been done to countless others, because of the growing protests of the working class. Those protests had made it far more difficult to imprison or deport foreign-born workers simply because they read radical newspapers or held socialist opinions.

Following the conviction, it became imperative to turn to the only force which could save Sacco and Vanzetti: the working class. The capitalist press and most of the labor press had kept the workers ignorant of the class battle that was being fought out in the Dedham courtroom.

Moore had been the central figure in the work to popularize the issues of the case before the international working class. Labor organizations in the U.S. arrayed themselves with the defense in its demand for a new trial. Unions of the American Federation of Labor, the I.W.W., the Communists, Socialists, Anarchists went on record in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Hundreds of mass meetings were held and attended by thousands of workers. In New York, the International Labor Defense signed up 500,000 workers for the Sacco-Vanzetti Emergency Committee.

The labor and revolutionary press of Europe and Latin America took up the fight against this frame-up. Demonstrations were held in all the capitals of Europe and South America.

As Shachtman noted:

"It was no longer a simple matter of railroading two Italian Reds with prejudiced witnesses, prejudiced judge and hysterical jury. Instead, a jury of constantly growing thousands in every part of the world was sitting in judgement against the persecutors of Sacco and Vanzetti."

However, the slow poison of middle class treachery threatened to split the defense movement and eventually was to lead to its failure. The liberals, who had said nothing for five or six years, suddenly came out of the woodwork to declare their intention of handling the defense.

It must be emphasized that their complacency had permitted the springing of the trap that was later to kill Sacco and Vanzetti.

Basing themselves on faith in the capitalist system, and because there were still a few legal loopholes yet to be tried, the liberals demanded that the workers' action be halted. They released Moore and brought in a respectable liberal, William Thompson, to continue the defense.



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**THE CASE**

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Sacco, too, had aided the strikers at numerous textile plants in the area. He had played an active role in the Lawrence strike of 1912 and the textile machine workers strike in 1913. In 1916, he was arrested at a demonstration in solidarity with the strike on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota.

In addition to their activities in the labor movement, they had openly expressed their political beliefs during World War I. They opposed the war as an imperialist war and considered service in the armies of their exploiters as incompatible with their principles. They went to Mexico to escape the compulsory military service act.

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested at a time when the press was stirring up hysteria over the two crimes and at a time when the State Police was stalemated in its investigations. A resolution had been introduced in the state legislature which authorized the Governor to offer a reward for the arrest and conviction of the robbers.

Chief of Police Steward had participated in the Palmer raids and had proven his hatred of the working class. In addition, he had a vested interest in solving the crimes because he was in the pay of the White Shoe Company in Bridgewater. He had been informed by the Department of Justice that Sacco and Vanzetti were dangerous radicals.

The theory behind the crimes as well as the so-called evidence and the facts of the case, was established before the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. This was completely

contrary to normal criminal procedure. Even one of the most respected servants of bourgeois justice, Felix Frankfurter, noted:

"The build-up of the evidence against the accused usually occurs after the arrest; and the theory of the crime itself accompanies and follows it. The theory does not precede the facts." (Twelve Years After, p. 55.)

However, that was not the only break from normal procedure to occur in the case. In fact, throughout the trial all that had been formally considered normal, correct procedure was thrown out the window by the prosecution.

While the prosecution had wished to try Sacco and Vanzetti for both crimes, they finally were forced to excuse Sacco from the Bridgewater case because it was clear that he had been at work in a shoe factory in Stoughton.

In accord with legal custom, the South Braintree case should have been tried first because in the event that one is being accused of a series of crimes, he is to be tried for the most serious offense first. Clearly, the robbery of \$16,000 and the murder of two men in South Braintree was far more serious than the attempted holdup in Bridgewater.

Since the prosecutor had nothing but circumstantial evidence for either case, he hoped to strengthen his position through this tactic. Obviously, if he could present to the jury a defendant who was already convicted of one crime, he would have an easier time getting a conviction for the



South Braintree affair. The press aided Katzmann by giving the Bridgewater conviction the most lurid publicity.

In fact, throughout the trial, the District Attorney employed racism, trickery, deceit and cunning in order to insure the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Bridgewater trial took place in Plymouth in an atmosphere prejudiced against Vanzetti because of his activities in the strike against Plymouth Cordage a few years before. Vanzetti's conviction was assured from the outset because of the roles played by the prosecution, his own lawyer and the presiding judge.

The prosecution's case was based on the sole ground of identification of Vanzetti by the employees of the White Shoe Company. Katzmann's presentation was riddled with contradictions from beginning to end. The evidence he presented bordered on the farcical.

In his documentation of the case, Felix Frankfurter noted that the evidence:

"Bordered on the frivolous, reaching its climax in the testimony of a little newsboy who, from behind the telegraph pole to which he had run for refuge during the shooting, caught a glimpse of the criminal and 'knew by the way he ran he was a foreigner.' Vanzetti was a foreigner, so of course, it was Vanzetti."

Katzmann was so assured of a conviction that he did not even attempt to construct a serious case. Of course, Katzmann was aided in this assurance by John Valey, the defense attorney himself.

Valey would not allow Vanzetti to take the stand to testify in his own behalf. This served to cast doubt in the jury's mind about his innocence.

He justified this procedure by claiming to Vanzetti that, if he testified, he would

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Thompson said he would not associate himself with the case if the mass demonstrations continued.

The introduction of Thompson into the case marked the turning point in the tactics of the Boston-based Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee and consummated a split between it and the International Labor Defense.

The former turned more and more toward reliance on the very institutions that had convicted Sacco and Vanzetti in the first place. They demanded the replacement of the movement of the masses by the motions of the lawyers.

Their role was completely treacherous for they helped:

**"...To discredit the honest and powerful class support of the toilers, the grimy and despised, the brothers of Sacco and Vanzetti, and leaned instead upon the 'thoughtful' editorials, the 'impartial fairness' and pious wishes of the liberal journals, which, like the New York World, dug the knife deep into the hearts of Sacco and Vanzetti at the crucial moment."**

Of course, while the liberals were extolling the virtues of bourgeois justice, the Massachusetts courts continued to taunt the defense for its absurd faith.

Thayer handed down his decision on the motions for a new trial on Oct. 1, 1924. He denied them all. He claimed that the new evidence submitted by the defense was of little consequence since the real evidence that had convicted the defendants was that known as "consciousness of guilt."

The defense then appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Eighteen months later, it handed down its decision. It ruled that it could not review the merits of the case but could only decide upon the conduct and rulings of the trial judge. They could not find any "abuse of judicial discretion" by Thayer and stated that: "He had acted in accordance with those high standards which are the pride of Massachusetts justice."

Even following the confession by the Morrelli Gang to the crimes, Thayer again refused to grant a new trial. The defense had made its motion on the basis of the affidavits from Department of Justice agents and the confession of Madeiras to the crime.

He dismissed the Justice agents' affidavits on the grounds that "the American government would never stoop so low as to help frame-up two obscure individuals." In fact, he went so far as to clear the Morrelli Gang and ignore the Madeiras confession.

The defense attorney was outraged because, despite the fact that he was not a "long-haired radical lawyer from California," Thayer's decision virtually called him insane. Nevertheless, he and the Defense Committee held firm to their liberal tactics.

The Boston Committee whipped up a campaign of slander against the ILD in the capitalist press in an attempt to discredit it and stop the protests. But "the militants would not allow the defense to be confined merely to the narrow groove of Massachusetts legal technicalities."

The International Labor Defense constantly warned of the dangers of the liberals' position and told the workers that they must not be prey to the illusions being presented. It noted that these illusions were being sown for only one purpose: to pacify the working class and "thereby get some relief from the thundering clamor of the world's millions."

The ruling class knew it had to proceed with the utmost caution in carrying out the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Thus, they created a short reprieve while at the same time reviving the old method of bomb "plants" in order to draw a picture of the friends of the prisoners as irresponsible terrorists.

At the same time, the police were breaking up protest meetings and arresting hundreds of workers in various cities.

Further, the Secretary of Labor Davis was trying to pass his registration of the foreign-born bills which were clearly aimed at all foreign born workers for their participation in the Sacco and Vanzetti movement.

Vanzetti himself warned against these liberal illusions and stated:

**"I repeat, I will repeat to the last, only the people, our comrades, our friends, the world revolutionary proletariat can save us from the powers of the capitalist reac-**

**tionary hyenas."**

He rejected the approach of the liberals by stating that:

**"...Our case is more than a political case, it is a case of class war in which our enemies are personally interested to lose us..."**

On August 22, 1927, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. It was the treacherous role of the liberals—who joined the movement, diverted it and then deserted it—which served to create enough diversion to pave the way for the ruling class to carry out its execution. It was only the work of the militants that kept the case going as long as it did.

The Sacco and Vanzetti case was not a simple mistake, a miscarriage of justice. It was consciously prepared by the capitalist class in an attempt to serve notice on the entire working class of their raw power. The capitalists plotted and carried out the execution with one single aim in mind: dealing a decisive blow to the labor movement.

The Sacco and Vanzetti case was a class case from start to finish. At his sentencing, Sacco himself said:



Judge Webster B. Thayer (left) and Massachusetts Governor Alvan T. Fuller, the two men who, said International Labor Defense leader James Cannon, were "the authentic spokesmen of American capitalism" who sent Sacco and Vanzetti to death.

**"I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class, and there will be always collision between the one and the other. You persecute the people, tyrannize over them and kill them. We try to educate people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor."**

Vanzetti wrote in one of his last letters to Sacco's son Dante:

**"Remember, Dante, remember always these things; we are not criminals; they convicted us on a frame-up; they denied us a new trial, and if we will be executed, after seven years, four months and seventeen days of unspeakable tortures and wrongs, it is for what I have already told you; because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man."**

In the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the capitalist class showed its real face to the world. The mask of "democracy" was thrown aside. As James Cannon noted:

**"Judge Thayer and Governor Fuller stand forth not as exceptional officials apart from all the others, but as the authentic spokesmen of American capitalism. The face of Governor Fuller is the face of the American capitalist class. It is the vengeful, cruel, and murderous class which the workers must fight and conquer before the regime of imprisonment, torture and murder can be ended."**

#### PERSPECTIVE

An examination of the Sacco and Vanzetti case must be placed in its perspective today. There exist many similarities between the period of their case and today. However, it is the differences between the two periods that are crucial and will be decisive in determining the course of history either to develop through socialism or to be destroyed through barbarism.

In the 1920's, the crisis in the capitalist system had not yet reached its highest level. It took ten years to burst forth to the surface with the Great Depression of 1929.

In the 1970's, however, the crisis has deepened fundamentally and has risen to the very surface of developments.

To understand the essential difference, it is necessary to examine Nixon's August 15th announcements to remove gold backing for the dollar, to impose import surcharges, to end the system of fixed parities and to impose strict wage controls.

The removal of gold from the dollar means that the dollar now is only worth the paper it is printed on—it no longer has any value. Because of the inflationary policies instituted in the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement, approximately three-fourths of the dollars outstanding today are worthless.

Thus, the August measures of Nixon can not be seen as mere "technical adjustments" as the capitalists would like to have us believe. Rather, they are a life and death measure for the survival of capitalism itself.

The only way that the capitalists can restore value to their system is by declaring open warfare on the working class and youth. The groundwork is already



Judge Webster B. Thayer (left) and Massachusetts Governor Alvan T. Fuller, the two men who, said International Labor Defense leader James Cannon, were "the authentic spokesmen of American capitalism" who sent Sacco and Vanzetti to death.

being laid for this offensive with increasing unemployment, the Pay Board, tremendous slashes in the educational budgets, and Nixon's so-called "welfare reform" program.

The ruling class knows that it must completely smash the standard of living that the working class has fought for and won over the past twenty-five years. However, the task of confronting that working class is enormous.

Unlike the 1920's when only one million workers were organized in the craft-type trade unions of the AFL, today over fifteen million workers are members of the AFL-CIO with an additional four million in the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters. In the face of this tremendous power, the ruling class attempts to divert the working class and cover up its attacks with increasing frenzy. Thus, we see a return to the tactics of the 1920's on a far deeper level.

The capitalist press, which served as the ruling class' tool in whipping up the hysteria that prepared the way for Palmer's "red" raids, lays the same groundwork today. This is the meaning of the reactionary Daily News headlines which scream about "illegal aliens" allegedly taking jobs away from American workers. As in the 1920's, the government is trying to whip up racism and chauvinism to divert workers away from the real issues.

It is no accident that, at this time, there should appear a new campaign against the foreign-born. Thus, the House of Representatives Immigration and Naturalization Committee has been holding hearings in various cities on the question of "illegal aliens" in order to prepare the way for a vicious law against employing foreign-born workers. Of course, this law will be used to discriminate against all Spanish-speaking individuals including Puerto Ricans.

At the same time, the Federal Immigration Authority has announced its modernization of its deportation system in order to facilitate the rapid round-up of immigrants. The memory of the Buford packed with immigrants is again be-

coming a reality.

The government cannot simply rely on its bureaucratic apparatus to deal with the working class. It is for this reason that it encourages the development of right-wing and fascist elements to prepare the way for the establishment of a Bonapartist dictatorship under which the rights of the working class will be crushed.

Thus, as in the 1920's, the Ku Klux Klan, under the new name of the United Klans of America, rears its ugly head to begin an active recruitment campaign. Recently, its imperial wizard, Robert Shelton said: "I believe there is going to be a violent revolution in this country and I'm getting tired of waiting."

Shelton and his compatriots in the Jewish Defense League are there in the background just waiting for the signal to be unleashed by the government against the working class. These are the forces which the capitalist class will use to bolster the body of armed men and to wipe out even the flimsy cover of bourgeois democracy.

Thus, the government used the killings of two East Village cops to create a "shoot to kill" atmosphere. There was only one purpose to the page after page of eulogies which appeared in the capitalist press: to whip up a racist hysteria and hostility to militants and to justify the repressive measures of the state against the movement of the working class.

Of course, the government cannot possibly succeed in its attempts without the complicity of the Stalinist and the labor bureaucracy. George Meany, following his mentor Gompers, sits on the Pay Board of the ruling class. At the same time, Nixon runs to China because the ruling class knows it must form an alliance with the Chinese-Stalinist bureaucracy against the international working class.

Today, when the question of socialism becomes a matter of life and death for the working class, the ruling class must move forward to destroy all those who strike out against its system and take up the fight for socialism. This is the meaning of the murder of George Jackson, the prosecution of Angela Davis and the jailing of Juan Farinas.

The lessons of the Sacco and Vanzetti case must be assessed in the light of all these developments. The treachery of the liberals in that case must serve as a sharp warning to those who seek to follow the same road in the defense of working class militants today.

The American Communist Party, in alliance with its international counterparts, imitate the liberals of the Boston Defense Committee in their defense of Angela Davis. They turn from the mobilization of the masses to the motions of the lawyers and seek to tie Angela's defense to the liberal section of the capitalist class.

But in this period of deepening class conflict, these liberals will desert Davis precisely as they deserted Sacco and Vanzetti. Before his jailing, Juan Farinas pointed sharply to the real meaning of his case and posed the tasks that are fundamental for the survival of the working class both here and internationally.

**"No one can win without a political struggle against the capitalist system. This is true in the fight against the war, the struggle in the prison, the fight for basic wages, the defense of the trade unions and the fight of youth for a decent education and the right to a job. Through a political struggle against this decaying imperialist system, we can beat back all these attacks and put an end to them for good."**



Massive funeral procession carries bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti through Boston.



# BOOKS

STEVE DAMON

## Beyond Freedom And Dignity

**BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY.** By B.F. Skinner. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1971. 225 pages.

From Jenson's racist theories of Black genetic intellectual inferiority to Carl Rogers' sensitivity subjectivism, the last several years have seen the development of some of the most reactionary trends in psychology. Skinnerian behaviorism now shows signs of becoming the next major psychological fad.

In this review of Skinner's latest book, we intend to show that behaviorism is a psychological doctrine particularly well-suited to the needs of the ruling class in the present period.



B.F. Skinner

Before considering the social implications of behaviorism, the main topic of *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, it will be helpful to look at behaviorism as a psychological theory. Behaviorism is a school of psychology which contends that the only legitimate kind of explanation of behavior is its direct relationship to observable events in the environment.

B.F. Skinner is the most well-known modern exponent of behaviorism, perhaps because his version of behaviorism is in some ways the most radically empiricist. Behaviorism in the past, as developed by Watson and Thorndike in the earlier part of the century, was a theory of learning, with behavior seen as the result of a system of independent stimulus-response connections.

### TRIVIALITY

Even so crude a theory was too much for Skinner, who attempted to develop a psychology which made no assumptions whatsoever as to what went on within the organism, a pure "technology of behavior." "When a bit of behavior is followed by a certain kind of consequence, it is more likely to occur again, and a consequence having this effect is called a reinforcer."

What must first strike one about this doctrine is its utter triviality and emptiness. It states little more than that behavior is somehow lawful, an assumption which any psychology must make. The rest is pure tautology, since "reinforcer" is not independently defined. Consequently behavior can only be explained after it has occurred, there being no way to identify a reinforcer before observing the behavior which is said to be reinforced.

Now one of the main criticisms which Skinner makes of explanations in terms of mental entities, a correct criticism, is that they merely describe what is already known in other terms. The principle of reinforcement is no better in this regard.

Skinner does manage to smuggle a considerable amount of content into behaviorism, but this is not derived from his theory, as it involves making some tacit ad hoc assumptions. While he has no theory with which to predict what is reinforcing, in practice he assumes that reinforcers are of the kind the present social order employs.

He has thus asserted the impracticability of Communism, because there would be no reason for people to work. You can begin to see how a shallow bourgeois common sense has dressed up a psychology with the introduction of a few new terms.

### FREUD

Besides being a trivial and circular conception, behaviorism represents one of the most direct assaults on precisely that which it claims to champion, a deterministic account of behavior. In breaking from learning theory, Skinner was forced to discard the notion of the environment eliciting behavior in favor of regarding the influence of the environment as merely selective. This means that behavior can be explained on the level of psychology only in terms of rates and probabilities.

It was Freud's monumental achievement to demonstrate, through postulating unconscious mental processes, that all behavior, even the most insignificant, is psychologically determined. Skinner's position, despite his pretensions to determinism, is just the opposite—no individual behavioral act is determined. He thus leaves the door wide open to the "autonomous man" which he tries to appear to attack.

The pivot of Skinner's application of behaviorism to social questions is his analysis of control. Skinner argues that since all behavior is under the control of aspects of the behaving organism's environment, a conception of freedom and dignity involving the absence of control is meaningless. What is important to Skinner is the abstract nature of control.

### PUNISHMENT

Skinner analyzes control into three categories: positive control, aversive control, and punishment. Positive control exists when the reinforcer is a certain stimulus, such as food. Negative control exists when the organism acts to reduce or

end a stimulus, such as the hot sun.

Punishment differs from the other two kinds of control in that what is reinforced is refraining from behaving, rather than behaving, in certain ways.

These distinctions, however, have no logical meaning. Whether a given state of affairs is called a stimulus or the absence of a stimulus is completely arbitrary. An organism can just as correctly be described as seeking the shade as escaping the sun. The same applies to the distinction between behaving and not behaving. These differences are purely verbal.

That "the greatest living psychologist" can base his entire social theory and much of his purely psychological theory on so gross a blunder is understandable only in the context of the capitalist ideology which he is rewriting psychologically. The bourgeoisie made its revolution against the kind of juridical controls existing under feudalism, for the freedom of control by the market.

When Skinner asserts the superiority of positive control over aversive control and of both of the former over punishment, he is simply defending the kind of controls used under capitalism, and expressing the ideological illusion that these controls are ahistorically better than those used in other social systems.

The categories positive control, negative control, and punishment, just like the category reinforcer, are empty in themselves and obtain their content only from the dominant ideology.

### IMPERIALISM

While behaviorism upholds the kind of controls used under capitalism, it comes into a very limited conflict with the traditional capitalist ideology, which emphasizes the freedom of the individual from all control. Behaviorism was developed during the imperialist epoch of capitalism. Its glorification of control reflects the reality of conscious control by the state and the monopolies under imperialism.

Thus under imperialism bourgeois psychology is forced to concede the control of all behavior by the environment, but refuses to elucidate the processes by which the environment controls behavior. By viewing control mechanically behaviorism obscures the

importance of consciousness in changing reality. Skinner, it might be said, acknowledges the role of consciousness, since he advocates conscious control. Socialist consciousness, though, unlike behaviorism, must be introduced against the dominant ideology, that is, against the "contingencies of reinforcement."

Skinner's theory is designed to make impossible this theoretical fight. Behaviorism reflects the fact that the bourgeoisie does not need a conscious theory. Although it has an implicit theory, as we have shown Skinner has also, it appears to respond directly, so to speak, to the contingencies. Skinner, in effect, says that this is the only way to respond. One of the implications of an empiricist psychology is that empiricism is the only philosophy possible.

After analyzing control, Skinner turns to an analysis of values and value terms. The very conception of good Skinner defines in terms of reinforcement. Good things are positive reinforcers. Here as elsewhere Skinner attempts to reduce concepts to directly observable phenomena.

And here as elsewhere Skinner ends up with a hopelessly empty abstraction. Unfortunately we find ourselves in a society in which what is a "positive reinforcer" for one class is a "negative reinforcer" for the other. A behavioristic analysis of value terms therefore has no relevance for capitalism.

*Beyond Freedom and Dignity* assumes a particularly pernicious significance today. At a time when the main need of the ruling class is to bring the trade unions under control, to tie them to the state, Skinnerianism becomes a justification for Bonapartism. Skinner's message is that the working class must give up its freedom (independent unions and political rights) in the interest of the only real values, positive reinforcement (read the public interest) and the "survival of the culture" (capitalism). It should willingly accept such arrangements since, after all, they are preferable to punishment (fascism).

Skinner wrote his other major social work, *Walden Two*, in 1948, during another period of working class upsurge. He now again finds a favorable opportunity to draw out the reactionary implications of behaviorism behind a thin veil of psychological jargon.

# BOOKS

ESTHER GALEN

## Ten Versions Of America

**TEN VERSIONS OF AMERICA,** Gerald B. Nelson. Published by Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

This book is supposed to be Nelson's exploration of the characters and worlds created by ten writers, among them Hemingway, Djuna Barnes, Vonnegut, and Philip Roth. But it quickly becomes apparent that the view of America presented is that of Gerald Nelson—an America where "All the roads lead to either death, oblivion, or the Land of Oz."

Nelson begins with an analysis of the Puritans (from W.C. Williams' *The American Grain*), since he believes that the Puritan spirit has triumphed in America, that "Peter, Plymouth, and Pentagon...represent a logical progression." He deals with the Puritans and the other characters he studies in psychological terms, abstracted out of contradictory historical developments.

So he writes that the Puritans were afraid in the new world, and thus had to control themselves, the world, and be greedy.

### CONTEMPT

Nelson's message is that we have created this American nightmare. After all, the Founding Fathers were trying to create a utopia, but they forgot that man is naturally greedy. Nelson has a total contempt for man, seeing him as a spider, a crab, a worm, a lizard, a speck of dust.

He sees Vonnegut as a realist, since Vonnegut is "talking about this country as we have developed it. If it is a world of rich, hollowed-out Stewart Buntlines and sadly, inefficient mad Eliot Rosewaters on one side and snarling, hate-filled, mistrustful poor on the other...well, it is still ours."

For Nelson, because of man's despicable nature, each individual makes the American Dream (fear, money) come true. He inverts the relationship between reality and thinking, believing that people cannot be changed.

Nelson desperately seeks an answer within the framework of capitalism, but there is none: "Rerun the film again. It still ends the same way." Expressing the feelings of the middle class, he deals with what Yossarian (*Catch 22*) has to say: "They're trying to kill me" means precisely that—not us, me—and 'they' means everybody, inside so-

ciety as well as out.

At a time when it is essential to build a leadership so that the working class can take power and mankind can move forward, this middle class intellectual preaches a philosophy that is to be used against what he sees as the "snarling masses," the workers and youth fighting back against attack. He preaches that man is really alone; his responsibility is only to his own hide; man can control neither time nor truth.

### FEAR

As the workers and youth fight back, Nelson sees the rich as just sadly inefficient; it is the masses which fill him with fear. What he writes about Philip Roth (*Goodbye, Columbus*), he really thinks about himself: "other people are not his equals, and he despises them for the fact."

Nelson's style is in keeping with his philosophy. It is extremely pretentious, with literary namedropping, and a lot of sentences which are supposed to be "poetic," obviously written for an "elite." His writing is directed towards mobilizing this elite against the masses of workers and youth who for him are basically ugly and corrupt, directed in fact towards spreading fascist ideology.

Wondering, along with Yeats, "what the nature of the Second Coming would be," Nelson is telling the middle class to look for another Messiah, which today means another Hitler.

## Italy

## The Mysterious Death Of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli

BY DAVID NORTH

The campaign for the Italian general elections to be held May 7 has begun amidst scenes of almost continuous violence and terrorism.

The latest incident involves the mysterious death of the left-wing publisher, Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. His mutilated body was discovered near an electricity pylon in a field outside Milan, and police attributed his death to a dynamite explosion that he is said to have accidentally ignited.

But the publisher's fourth wife has demanded a post-mortem, charging that Feltrinelli's death was caused by murder carried out by fascists seeking to give the Government an excuse to crackdown on the left-wing.

There is evidence that backs up the wife's claim; for it seems that Feltrinelli died before the explosion; and that his body was dumped in the field and the charge detonated in order to simulate an accidental death.

The Italian Communist Party (PCI), has denounced left-wing opponents who have accused the fascists of murdering Feltrinelli.

## TERROR

In an obvious attempt to link the left with the death while absolving the fascists, the police have arrested two sympathizers of Feltrinelli and accused them of being part of a terror campaign prepared by the late publisher to create an atmosphere of tension as the elections approach.

Feltrinelli, who inherited a \$10 million lumber fortune, was Italy's most prominent left-wing publisher. He issued important reprints of early Communist International documents and works by Soviet oppositionists.

He was a prominent member of the Italian Communist Party in the years after the war, but gave up his membership after the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956.

In the following year, despite strong pressure from the Stalinists, he published Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*. Feltrinelli was on friendly terms with Castro, having visited Cuba several times.

He was linked to the frame-up case against the anarchist Pietro Valpreda. Feltrinelli fled Italy, but was later cleared of all charges.

## CIVIL WAR

As the very fabric of bourgeois order disintegrates, the situation existing in Italy today verges on civil war. In the industrial city of Milan and throughout the country, workers and students have been fighting bloody battles against fascist mobs supported by the police.

The collapse of bourgeois democracy in Italy was expressed in the fact that general elections had to be held one year early because it was impossible for the ruling Christian-Democrats to assemble any sort of center coalition.

Dissatisfied with the inability of the center-left government to break the wage offensive of the working class, the capitalists are now summoning the fascist Italian Socialist Movement (MSI) to resolve the political crisis.

The MSI, led by Count Almirante, has now assumed uncontested leadership over Italy's extreme right-wing. The monarchist movement has dissolved itself into the fascist apparatus under the banner of the "National Right" that makes no mention of the restoration of the monarchy. This reflects the decision of the capitalist class to mobilize broad sections of an increasingly desperate middle class.

Its existence threatened by the powerful resurgence of fascism, the Italian working class has displayed all its traditional revolutionary temperament. It has sought to break up the mass meetings called by the fascists, and last week seven million workers staged job actions in support of 1.7 million agricultural workers who are seeking a new contract.

However, the lessons of Mussolini's rise to power demonstrate that militance alone

cannot defeat fascism. In 1921, Trotsky described the spirit of the Italian proletariat as "purely revolutionary" and the political development of the working class went to the point of the actual establishment of factory soviets.

But the reformist Socialist Party that led the working class was powerless to stop the fascist March on Rome which Mussolini planned only after he was convinced that little resistance would be organized by the Socialist Party.

After the fall of Mussolini in 1943, it was the Stalinist Communist Party led by Palmiro Togliatti that came to the rescue of Italian capitalism by serving in the Monarchist government headed by the fascist Marshall Badoglio.

Now, it is this same Communist

Party—led by dedicated Stalinist Enrico Berlinguer—that controls the politics of the working class as it is threatened with a fascism which would prove more terrible than Mussolini's or Hitler's if it should come to power.

Berlinguer, who is known as "the iron behind" by his fellow functionaries for the amazing ability to sit behind a desk hours on end, is proclaiming that the PCI is a "mature party." At the very time when the working class should be mobilizing to take power in its own right, the PCI is directing its campaign to the bourgeoisie. It is the aim of Berlinguer to forge an alliance with "left" Christian-Democrats.

The PCI is sowing illusions within the working class about the possibility of "structural reforms" and progressive coalitions when it is already clear that the Italian bourgeoisie is girding itself for a fascist dictatorship.

Only a short time ago, the MSI was

viewed as an eccentric organization. Now the bourgeoisie is flocking to its banners. The high-level support that stands behind the fascists was revealed last week when NATO's naval commander in the Mediterranean, Admiral Gino Birindelli, declared that he would participate in the general elections as an MSI candidate.

His decision to run as a fascist was made "because I regard this moment as particularly critical for national life and for NATO."

## WARNING

The right-wing coup d'etat in Greece was planned in the highest counsels of NATO. The actions of Birindelli are a clear warning that world capitalism is determined to deal with the Italian working class, and is prepared to place at the disposal of the MSI the military resources of NATO.

In preparation for the fascist seizure of power, the employers have developed sophisticated means of terrorizing the working class. It was revealed last week that the Fiat corporation, the giant automobile concern, has been for the past few years collecting extensive dossiers on the personal and political lives of its more than 150,000 employees.

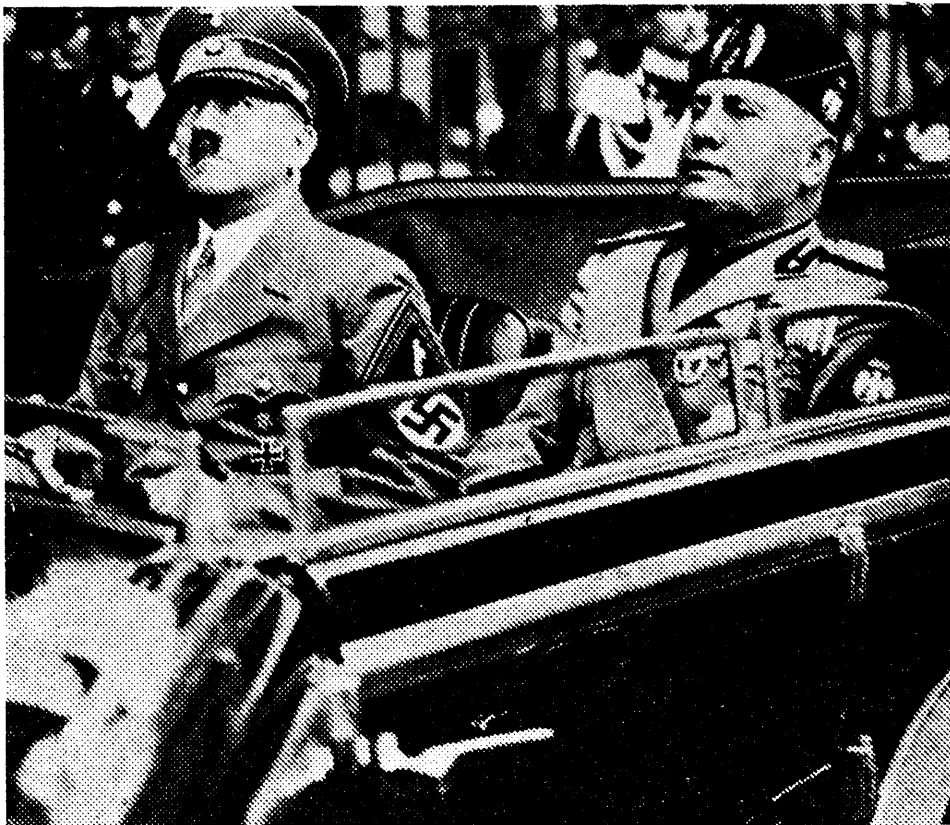
Caterino Ceresa, a longtime Fiat spy angered over his low salary, spilled the beans on Fiat and began a scandal. He publicly announced that "For 17 years, it has been my responsibility to give detailed personal and written reports about the workers to the company directors."

Ceresa reported that he "dutifully" filed reports about everything "From their political views to their sexual adventures in bed."

But Ceresa did not conduct his illegal surveillance alone. The police were his active assistants. "It was Fiat's masterstroke," Ceresa stated, "to convince the police that by helping Fiat they were helping the state."

Naturally, the investigations conducted by Fiat were aimed mainly at workers belonging to the Communist Party.

What the revelations of Ceresa signify is that the Italian bourgeoisie is now prepared for a fascist dictatorship against the working class. It would like nothing more than to hand its bulky files over to a government controlled by the MSI.



Specter of fascism (Hitler and Mussolini above) haunts Europe again as crisis brings capitalists and workers to the brink of civil war in the most advanced countries.

## Germany

## Trotskyists Launch 'Der Funke'

BY V. BARAT

The West German League of Socialist Workers (Bund sozialistische Arbeiter—BSA), a Trotskyist group in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International, has published the first three issues of *Der Funke*, its bi-weekly newspaper.

*Der Funke*, which means "The Spark," is also the organ of the League of Socialist Youth (Der sozialistische Jugendbund—SJB).

"The SJB will play a leading role in the coming struggles of the working class," declared an editorial that appeared in the second issue of the *Funke*.

The editorial continues: "The *Funke* will call upon the youth to expose the social-democratic traitors, who are responsible for the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and thousands of other workers at the start of the Weimar Republic. It will call upon them to settle claims with the crimes of the Stalinists, who supported the murder of Lenin's comrades at the Moscow trials and the

murder of Trotsky by Stalin's agent.

"The hatred of these traitors within the working class, who made possible the survival of capitalism and therefore the death of millions of proletarians, will be the motive for the struggle—through which we will build the SJB—to prevent the further betrayals of the traitors and to bring victory to the working class.

"Resting upon the traditions of Marxism, the *Funke* will become the real paper of the working class youth."

## THEORY

Both the BSA and the SJB developed out of an intense struggle for theory against the revisionism of the German Pabloites and the French OCI.

The former French section of the IC, the OCI, which split from the IC in October of 1971 because of its hostility to dialectical materialism, was charged with the original responsibility for creating a Trotskyist cadre in Germany.

Their initiative led finally in 1965 to the formation of the IAK (International Workers' Correspondence). But it never grew beyond a circle of intimate friends, most of them in the universities. Intermittently over the years, they issued a mimeographed newsletter whose circulation was fairly restricted to the campuses in the West German Federal Republic (BRD).

But with the great September strikes of 1969 in the BRD, new forces, especially

working class youth, came into the organization. The latter's efforts to forge a link with the main body of the working class threw the petty-bourgeois leadership of the IAK into a severe crisis. This coincided with the emerging international crisis of imperialism itself.

A Marxist fraction basing itself on dialectical materialism as a theory of knowledge began a struggle to turn the IAK into a genuine Leninist party that would be capable of leading the German proletariat to socialism.

This fight, however, had to be carried out not only against the middle-class leaders of the IAK but equally against the heads of the French OCI, under whose authority the IAK functioned.

But with the OCI's direct attack on Trotskyism at the International Youth Conference in Essen, Germany, last summer, the Marxist supporters of the IC in the IAK resolved to construct a movement not only independent of these renegades but one based on a struggle against them as well as against Pabloism, social-democracy, and Stalinism.

*Der Funke* has a highly professional format which reflects the requirements of the political situation as well as the high political development of the German working class.

Subscriptions (about \$5 per year) to the *Funke* can be obtained by writing to: Wilfried Hinz, 3 Hannover 1, Postfach 2841, West Germany.



# UNEMPLOYMENT, USA

# Lowell, Mass.



Bad unemployment is getting worse in Lowell, Mass. as textile firms which make up its industrial backbone now lay off hundreds of workers and ask workers to take wage cuts. Above, jobless workers head for unemployment office and more (right) are waiting in line inside.



## Raytheon Lays Off In Low Wages City

**"Unemployment's always been bad here. There's never been a shortage of workers—always a shortage of work.**

"But this is worse now. We're in a situation like the depression in the '30's. But it doesn't show because of all these gimmicks like giving out unemployment checks. They didn't have that in the '30's. Take that away and you'd see how bad it is in Lowell."

The words of a 62-year-old Raytheon worker out of work for a year sum up the conditions facing the workers of this two hundred year old industrial city. Thirty miles northeast of Boston, Lowell dates back as an industrial town to colonial days. Many of its textile plants date back before the civil war.

Tanneries, once a major industry, have been gone almost a decade, and many of the old brick factory buildings scattered throughout the city have been empty for as long. Some are half-occupied by electrical plants and warehousing companies that have shrunk since the Second World War. The boom period in Lowell saw the development of electronics and cybernetics companies such as Raytheon and Honeywell in large complexes just outside the town. Now these plants are laying off workers by the hundreds.

The Raytheon worker told Bulletin reporters he had just three years to go before he could retire. Now he would not get the pension from Raytheon. "I'll

have to live on my Social Security, and it ain't much."

### LOW PAY

He told us Lowell had always been a low-paid town.

"I worked in textiles a few years ago, in tanneries all my life before that. But now the tanneries have all closed up. In textiles, skilled workers might get \$2 an hour. Unskilled would be lucky to get a nickel more than minimum wage."

One woman expressed the opinion that the employers used unemployment to keep wages down. She had had to quit work because of pregnancy, and could not get her job back at the original pay scale. "They wanted me to take a cut. The problem is, they want to hire someone who's hard up, rather than hire someone with experience who wants pay."

Average wage scales are so low that many workers would rather collect a small unemployment check than take home even less for a full week's work.

### RAYTHEON

One young worker, a veteran of Vietnam, had to quit work at Raytheon because poisonous fumes were damaging his health. "I used to work for \$3.51 an hour. I could get a job now, maybe—for \$1.65 an hour. Even one person can't make a decent living on \$1.65 an hour. But me, I'm married. I can't support my family."

He told us that the large number of Spanish-speaking workers in Lowell are the target of especially low wages and high

unemployment. "The employers around here take advantage of the Puerto Ricans not speaking English to pay them low wages and keep everyone's wages down."

### CHECKS

At the small unemployment center on a side street out of the downtown area there is a perpetual traffic jam resulting from the scores and scores of workers who come in to pick up their checks. One worker said that often he waited all day in line and still didn't get to pick up his check.

A woman we spoke to was bitter about the situation. "Look at this," she said, nodding toward the packed center. "Unemployment—it's a way of life around here."

### 11.7%

Lowell has for the past few years had one of the highest unemployment rates in the state. In January of this year, the rate was over 10%. In February it soared to 11.7%—a full percentage point in one month.

The city government has played up its pitiful "make jobs" program. Almost a half hour of television coverage was given in February to this "program" which consists of begging employers to make special openings available for short periods of time. The director of the program pompously stated on the air that "Lowell's unemployment problem is well on the way to being solved."

After several minutes of meaningless talk, he revealed the "great step forward"—150 jobs, most of them temporary, at just above minimum wage. "We should be able to provide another 150 by the end of the year." This demagoguery only covers up the fai-

lure of the city government and the local trade union leadership to take any action to preserve jobs.

A young Black worker had been laid off with several hundred other workers from Honeywell Cable Division in nearby Billerica, in June of 1971. "They sent me to computer school, but no job. I hope to sign up for auto mechanic school next week. They don't guarantee a job either," he added wryly, "but they say I'll be able to keep my own car running."

### POLITICS

He expressed the feeling of many of the workers interviewed that a political alternative to the Republicans and Democrats was a necessity. "You can't tell the difference between any of the presidential candidates in that New Hampshire primary. There are so many crooks up there, you can't tell the difference."

Disgust with the government ran high among young workers, especially Vietnam veterans, many of whom had been out of work since they got back from Vietnam a year or more ago. One had been demoted in rank from sergeant to private for refusing to "test" a booby trap with his foot. He collects \$34 a week.

### VETERAN

"I think I'm speaking for all veterans when I say this. There's no work for anybody. We served in the U.S. Army, me, I'm a wounded veteran, with a Purple Heart. We risk our lives for the government and this is what they give us."

Two Spanish-speaking workers said that they had just been laid off. "First we're going to register here for unemployment,

then we're going to go down and register to vote Nixon out."

A young worker who was just out of Walpole State Prison said that the conditions were the fault of the government. "There shouldn't be any poor people anywhere, but with Nixon around, what can you do?" He said that a revolutionary leadership was needed. "I read George Jackson's book, and I knew he was going to die, but it's good at least he had a gun." Then he added, "No, we don't know he had a gun. He was framed. You're always framed."

### YOUTH

Despite the complicity of the leadership of the local unions, especially of the Garment Workers and UE, with the employers' policies of mass layoffs and plant closures, workers and youth in Lowell want to fight the employers and the government's policies of unemployment.

Several youth expressed interest in the Young Socialists demonstration on March 29 as the only answer to the attacks of the government. These workers and youth refuse to accept the attacks. They are looking for leadership, because they want to fight. This determination, and the fight for leadership, can mobilize a fight for jobs on a political program for power. Every layoff and every plant closure only feeds the determination of these workers.

### FEAR

Behind the job cuts, wage slashes, and plant closures is the fear of the movement of the working class behind a program for power. The fight for the nationalization of plants, 30 for 40, and for a labor party in 1972 are an absolute necessity.

## TOMBS 7 . . .

(Continued From Page 1)

ment, the men have been held without bail in various city prisons making any attempts to plan a joint defense virtually impossible. In addition, the continued delay of the hearings has completely denied the defendants' constitutional rights to a just and speedy trial.

The government has singled out these seven men for prosecution because they had begun to recognize the need to construct a conscious leadership within the prisons. To this end, they have organized political education classes to take up the question of Marxist theory.

### POLITICAL

In a conscious effort to avoid confronting the political nature of the case, the government has split up the defense and is proceeding to try the defendants

either in small groups or one at a time.

DeLeon, Ragsdale and Brown are to be tried jointly while Blyden, King, Cabrera and Myers will stand separate trials. In addition, Myers has subsequently been charged on other counts and will stand trial for these new charges first.

The outcome of the current hearings will set the precedent for the future trials. The hearing is being held on the 16th floor of the Manhattan courthouse in a courtroom which can hold no more than a handful of spectators in an attempt to isolate the individuals and avoid bringing the political issues into the case.

The defense is based on the question of identification. They intend to prove that the prison guards who identified Brown, Ragsdale and DeLeon as leaders of the rebellion did so on the

initiative of the district attorney.

In fact, evidence has been introduced to indicate that the chief prosecution witness, one officer Angelo, had made a tape following the rebellions which described the men involved and, by his own admission, none fit the description of the defendants. At this time, the prosecution has refused to submit the tape into evidence or yield it to the defense for examination.

The hearing is occurring at a time of increased harassment of the prisoners in the Tombs. Political literature is being confiscated and the officials are attempting to break up the political education collective.

They have released several of the prisoners who have sought to give a lead in the struggle to develop an understanding of Marxism. The remaining men in

the study group have been transferred to different floors and several have been placed in administrative segregation.

The defense of the Tombs Seven is part and parcel of the fight of the labor movement and the youth against the government.

Like the attack on Angela Davis, the Soledad Brothers, and Juan Farinas, it is a conscious attempt to behead the working class of leadership.

### PARTY

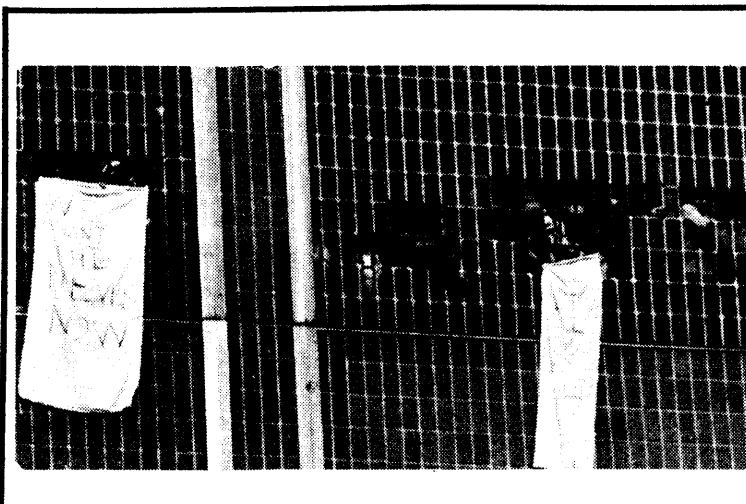
The Tombs rebellion and the struggle in the prisons reflected the movement of the working class as a whole against the government's attacks.

Today the members of the Tombs Seven and their brothers in the Tombs have taken up a study of Marxist theory. This reflects the turn, particularly by

the section of the working class youth who now face a struggle for survival. It is at this point that they seek a new weapon in this struggle—Marxism. This struggle must now be taken into the working class to construct a Marxist leadership.

### REVOLUTION

The question today as one of the letters from the Tombs Seven points out, is the question of revolution in the U.S. This requires the construction of a revolutionary party based on the continuity of Marxism. This is why there must be the most bitter struggle against those within the working class movement who seek to perpetuate bourgeois ideology and maintain illusions in capitalism, that is, Stalinism and revisionism. It is only on this basis that the working class can be united.



## Letters from Prison

tured in battle and are confined til death, can show the solidarity with the movement that it must have before any social change can be brought about in this sick society is by assisting the comrades in securing their release from these prisons of war camps!

That is what "Point 2" is all about—not leaving Babylon. But if leave Babylon we must, so be it, but we must first leave these maximum security hell holes.

Therefore, it is suggested that you make mention of the issue of "Point 2" and its importance to the workers struggle: Free all prisoners of war—Now! Remember Attica.

In the spirit of Comrade Jonathan Jackson,  
In solidarity for Freedom,  
Bro. Herbert X. Blyden  
Tombs-7

Power Comrade,

I realize it's my duty to write and call no less than once a week for some strange reason time flies and I am studying which seems to be very important at this stage, it's necessary if we are to really develop and reach the level which shall allow all of us to move in a positive manner.

There are questions which I wish to ask and I hope the answers shall allow for me to go on, as we must all do. Is it impossible for all of us students of Marxism to sit down and really get it together, because I don't see how it's possible if everyone is going to keep on going off on their own.

It's strange that even with such beautiful knowledge so much seems to stand in the way of bringing about that which is so understood to be necessary. Why? Had my knowledge and awareness been half of what it is now, I assure you, much more would have been done, those who knew would not help us learn, so we all suffered.

The Brothers and Sisters who had heart and are now dead, would be alive now, had they had the foundation of P.E. and should death have taken them then, we would not be going through this same development at this stage, our level would be higher. This you know.

As I recall sitting in your office and wanting to ask for help, but for some reason I did not know how. Since then, much has changed, and there's no way to say thanks, except to deal in a positive manner towards doing what must be done, in order that we may help remove all means of oppression. Perhaps you can make what I've asked you clear, so we can go on.

I'm also sending a flyer about our case in hopes you will pass it around. I sincerely thank you, you are one of the few who gave us help when no one else had time, I don't forget and shall always remind those who are so fast to rap on what they don't know, Power, stay strong.

Yours in Struggle,  
Bro. Stanley King, Tombs-7

Power Comrade,

Bro. Hap has informed me you have taken an interest in the Tombs Seven. "Right On." The case of the Tombs Seven is like the cases of so many of the oppressed people. On Oct. 2-5 in protest against the repeated inhuman conditions the men again revolted. The after effects of this is the Tombs Seven.

We have been picked out to be scapegoats for the system and this in the face of over two hundred men up there on the 11th floor.

The racism is picking us out can be seen in the reverse tokenism by only indicting one white man and giving him a small three-count indictment. Also he was promised probation if he accepted a plea. O'Connor has stood tall. The question that remains is why wasn't O'Connor indicted for at least kidnapping, he was up there as long as anyone else.

This reverse tokenism of racism is what the Tombs 7 is all about, even inside of the walls. The racist practices his art of hate. The court and the D.A. is now attempting to intimidate us by using coercion of the Tombs, we have waited over a year for a trial, now the D.A. has split our cases up. Again coercion. And while we suffer the people forget.

Comrade, I read Bro. Hap's copy of the Bulletin. Thanks for printing my letter. I also read your statement in the 3-6-72 Bulletin in which you stated at the SMC that we who are incarcerated are studying Marxism. Right on to this.

But the most profound thing that came out of the whole article was the one that was made by one youth, "How do we make revolution in the United States." Comrade I don't know if the parties are aware that the Blacks are taking up Marxism, not to be rhetorized to and when we complete our study of Marx, the only thing anyone can tell us is they are ready to fight now! and if they can't answer this we will have the answer to that too.

Comrade Curtis Brown  
Tombs Seven

Power,

As of February 29, 1972 I was transferred from the Bronx concentration camp to this more repressive pig warden Ossakow! The game of divide and conquer is being played to the hilt but to say that the pigs are being successful would mean that myself and-or the others of the Tombs Brothers 7 are submitting or being duped into submission which is not true.

As I'm sure that you know the pig judge (Birns) and Asst. D.A. are working in collusion to railroad myself and comrades out of our lives. The latest of their facetious moves under the guise of a motion was to sever us to stand five separate trials: Bros. Ricardo de Leon, Nathaniel Ragsdale, and Curtis Brown, joint trial; Bro. Herbert (X. Blyden), Bro. Stanley King, Bro. Louis Cabrera and myself to stand separate trials.

The reason for severance is in an effort to eradicate some of the racist and political issues and emphasis. Also it is easier to railroad and cross one than it is seven!!

At present the trial of Bros. Ricardo, Nat and Curt is beginning and being proceeded with in Manhattan Supreme Court Part 42. It is important that the trial itself gets media coverage from other than establishment media who will only seek to cloud over the issues and distort the facts when they do publish anything.

So I request in the behalf of the Tombs Brothers 7 who are charged with 72 to 89 counts of kidnap and coercion stemming from the October 2-5, 1970 Tombs uprising and are on trial for our lives!

Also and just as important is that you inform and urge other concerned comrades to attend for only that might keep the overt cheat up off of us.

**ON THE TOMBS BROTHERS 7**  
Put together:

The department of corrections that doesn't correct

The district attorneys who don't respect

Judges who don't the defendants rights protect,  
And all you've got is a lynching  
With the law twisted into a rope  
And 417 years of injustice continued

Under the guise of legality  
But the Tombs Brothers 7 won't compromise

We demand that the blame be placed where it belongs  
We stand 7 strong to be free!

Take care, be aware and never forget: The present struggle...the future is ours (Che).  
Hasta la victoria siempre!

Franklin Myers  
Tombs Brothers 7

Greetings Comrades:

This communication is directed specifically at the inconsistencies of the workers (be they Young Socialist or Progressive Laborites or whatever—Stalinist!).

Everyone is up in arms over the fallacies of Black Caucuses and Stalinist policies and reactionary political approaches to the workers' problem by CP, etc. etc.

I don't think that your branch of the socialist community is lending the moral unifying and firm hand that it should toward resolving the differences in the socialist camps today. For example, in Bulletin Pamphlet Series 5 the "dialectical yes-no" of Progressive Labor in support of its stand on the dual position of the Black Nationalists in the struggle today lends rise to speculation when we note that PL's attitude is one of playing one segment of the working class against the other, much as those Gary, Indiana non-Socialists had their so-called "Black Caucus" recently.

But what role does the working class play in such a gathering? It is not off-base to say that the same slaves of yesterday and

today we see these former slaves crying out for freedom from want and freedom from oppression and then we read where Sister Angela Davis cries out for more Black caucuses in effect when she says to put aside our differences with the Racist dogs, capitalist corporatist warmongers. The parallel is there between her views and the "Let's bury the hatchet" tone of the "Gary, Indiana, Hot Air Conference."

I also feel that the ideological struggle that is being waged at present in the socialist media must stop and a meaningful approach to the specifics of the workers' problems must be reached. For example, there was a great hue and cry six months ago after the Attica massacre of 9-12-71. Then what happened? Absolutely nothing! More rhetoric about conditions being changed, about prison reform, etc., labor unions in prisons, etc. etc.

But what about the several points which the media overlooks in its war on words about dialectics? "Point 2" of the Attica Liberation Faction's manifesto of demands dealt with the transfer of political prisoners (POW'S) to a socialist or a non-imperialist country. Why not wage struggle over this oversight? Why not try and secure the release of these comrades from these concentration camps? I think that the answer is simple: all of the so-called socialist parties and workers groups are stagnated at the top. There is no purpose to the struggle beyond waging verbal warfare against capitalism and fellow socialists—because of an ideological difference.

Who then is to say that the socialist camp in Amerika is not racist? Even you admit that CP has duped Sister Angela, so who is to say that you have not become victims of your own rhetoric about racism and class struggle? The only way that the comrades who have been cap-



# Thousands Join Mass Work Strikes In Ohio Prisons

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DAYTON, Ohio—Over 8,000 prisoners in six state penitentiaries carried out disciplined, mass work stoppages and fasts to win demands. The prison strikes began in the 100 year old infamous dungeon in Columbus, the Ohio Penitentiary.

This hell hole was the scene of a bloody massacre of prisoners in 1968 after the prisoners had released hostages unharmed.

Eleven prisoners in the maximum security death row sparked the strike that spread through the state. Last Friday they started a hunger strike for minimal demands. Some like Howard John Conte have been in this special hell hole since the 1968 rebellion. The state, besides murdering on the spot those they thought were the leaders of the 1968 rebellion, gave survivors such as Conte a 10 to 60 year additional jail sentence for allegedly being a leader of the rebellion.

On Monday the main body of prisoners (2,000) joined the eleven in a hunger and work strike. They also demanded that Conte participate in talks with officials around their demands. The demands were: 1) A revision of parole procedures 2) pay raises 3) democratically elected councils of prisoners 4) an end to racism 5) and revision of the jail's policy on beards and

length of hair.

Hard on the heels of their solid strike, the 1400 prisoners at Chillicothe "Correctional Institution" went on strike, then the 1,000 prisoners at Marion, Ohio refused to work, and the 1,000 prisoners at London also joined the state-wide Penitentiary strike. Despite a partial news black-out on the state-wide prison strike, it has just been revealed that the thousands of prisoners at Mansfield, Ohio are also on strike and 1,116 prisoners in neighboring Terre Haute, Indiana have stopped work and issued 20 demands.

GILLIGAN

Meanwhile Governor Gilligan (Democrat) has acted to inflame the penitentiary guards in Columbus by withdrawing so-called hazard pay they have been receiving since the 1968 rebellion. The guards in Columbus have kept the prisoners locked up in their cells for two days and now are conducting a slowdown in feeding and moving the prisoners out of their cells.

## IBT Leaders Scab On Minneapolis Machinists

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS—Fourteen members of Local 737, International Association of Machinists (IAM) now move into the second month of strike action against Minneapolis Yellow Cab Co. The strikers are mechanics, body men and painters at the cab company.

Even the relatively small increases being asked by the strikers, which average 15¢ increase per hour a year and improved fringe benefits, have been rejected by local management as "exceeding the guidelines" of Nixon's Pay Board.

Most despicable have been the actions of leaders of Teamsters Local 958, which organizes the cab drivers. They have refused to support the strike and are allowing open scabbing.

One Local 958 member, James Flowers, one year away from his pension, was fired for refusing to cross the picket lines, and Local 958 officials are withholding any support for his case.

The open attempt to bust Local 737's contract by Yellow Cab and

its Local 958 collaborators is part of an attempt to drive the living standards of cab maintenance personnel down to the level of drivers. The IAM members are the only workers in the company who receive hourly wages—the drivers are on commission and many work 50, 60 or more hours a week to earn a living wage.

The sabotaging action of Teamsters 958 officials has the full backing of their international leadership, symbolized by Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons being the only union leader to remain on the Pay Board. It is now time for the ranks of Local 958 to call their bureaucratic misleaders to order.

## TAA Sets Strike At Wisconsin U.

BY A MULO MEMBER

MADISON, Wisc.—Contract negotiations between two labor unions, the Teaching Assistants Association and the Memorial Union Labor Organization, and the University of Wisconsin have broken down completely in the last week over issues of job security and the existence of these unions.

Negotiations with the Residence Hall Student Labor Association are crumbling, opening the door for a massive

offensive against the University of Wisconsin's efforts to destroy higher education for some 37,000 students.

The TAA, representing 600 undergraduate instructors, broke off negotiations with the university bargaining agents after 11 months on March 8, and has authorized a strike vote aimed at a strike on April 10.

The Memorial Union Labor Organization, representing 500 student workers at the student union, has also been bargaining with UW. The UW bargaining agents have refused to discuss



SSEU-371 General Membership meeting at which Hill leadership united with CNL rank and file committee against right-wing Cohen group who tried to destroy struggle to reduce workload quotas.

# Hill Backs Call For SSEU Work Action

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—The March 23 Social Service Employees Union general membership meeting was called to accept nominations for the upcoming union officers election and to discuss the severe workload and safety crisis.

At this meeting, the Hill leadership made a sharp departure from its previous policy of inaction on this crisis and threw support to a Committee for New Leadership resolution demanding a work stoppage April 4 unless demands for workload reduction to 750 calls per IM unit hiring were met by that date.

This move by Hill now opens the possibility of taking the fight against the impossible conditions in the centers, which resulted last week in a stabbing at Gramercy center and a gun threat at Queens, to a new level.

It also provides the basis for a sharp counteroffensive against the right wing insurgency of Bart Cohen who is running against Hill in April.

Hill initially offered a motion to the meeting for a 30 day delay in action on the crisis. The Cohen forces then proceeded to seize upon this aspect of the Hill motion to divert attention from the substance of what they were proposing to the meeting, which was the completely reactionary demand that a work stoppage be organized on the basis of a call for beefed up police contingents in the centers.

REACTIONARY

This demagoguery was made doubly hollow by the fact that the city had in fact already accepted this reactionary demand by the

time of the meeting.

The Cohen forces made clear throughout the meeting that they were unalterably opposed to a fight for more staff to reduce workload quotas. As one Cohen supporter stated: "If we need a cop behind every worker to insure staff safety then we must demand it."

When the vote came on the CNL resolution, not only was it extremely significant that the Hill leadership made the decision to come forward for decisive action by voting for this resolution, but it was also significant that the Cohen clique was able to defeat the motion by the narrow margin of a mere 162 to

134.

In fact, late in the meeting, the ranks, by an overwhelming vote, did repudiate the substance of the Cohen position by voting to rescind a previous DA resolution which put the union on record against a fight for a reduction in workload quotas. Unless this is done the union faces the gravest dangers.

The reactionary character of the Cohen clique was made clear in the meeting even before the workload discussion when Bob Phefferman, who is the real leader behind the Cohen group, openly organized a massive disruption of the meeting to prevent a PL supporter from speaking.

## UFW Contract Sacrifices Ranks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DUNEDIN, FLA.—The United Farm Workers announced the signing of a second contract with a major Florida citrus grower here March 22.

The three-year contract with H.P. Hood and Sons was immediately denounced by the powerful Citrus Industrial Council, which has declared war on the UFW's campaign to organize Florida farmworkers.

"It is unfortunate that H.P. Hood officials chose not to present their side to their workers but allowed union organizers to talk with them freely," said Council President Fred Adkinson.

March 1, UFW President Cesar Chavez announced the signing of the first farmworkers union agreement in Florida history with the Minute Maid Division of Coca Cola.

That contract, which Chavez described as the best the union has ever signed, is clearly much better than the latest one.

The contract with H.P. Hood raises hourly wages from 20 to 40 cents and provides for a 5.5% raise the second year, adhering to Pay Board guidelines.

But it provides for a top hourly rate of only \$2.65 compared with \$3.70 in the Coke contract.

SACRIFICED

The union obviously sacrificed the pickers in gaining the Hood contract. Under the Coke contract, pickers—hired on a year-round basis—are guaranteed \$65 a week during the months between harvests.

Under the Hood contract, pickers remain under the whip of seasonal employment with no wage guarantees other than the \$1.35 an hour federal minimum wage guarantee to farmworkers when they are actually working.

The contract also contains important provisions for paid vacations, sick leave and medical insurance taken for granted by most workers but denied to farmworkers by capitalist growers trying to squeeze every penny of profit out of their workers.

Seasonal workers, however, will receive only half the benefits of regular workers.

The betrayal of the migrant pickers, who have to pick vegetables in northern states during the summer to make even a subsistence wage, explains why only 163 of the 300 Hood workers voted in the ratification election.

## MEANY. . .

(Continued From Page 3)

labor with or without the cooperation of Meany and the bureaucracy.

But, Meany and his associates clung tenuously to the Board while union demonstrations in New York, Detroit, and other cities increasingly indicated that the masses of the labor movement would not tolerate controls.

Meany and Woodcock understood the anger and movement for strike action by the aerospace workers after their contract was cut from 12.3% to 8.4%.

### BROKE

But the dam broke when the Pay Board reduced the wage agreement by more than 30% of the West Coast dockworkers, putting the leaders of both East and West Coast longshoremen under tremendous pressure for a nationwide dock strike which would open the way for a general strike.

Meany's statement, issued on the day of the walk out, March 22, reflected the thinking of millions of workers. It denounced the controls as "nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

"In the guise of an anti-inflation policy, the American people are being gouged at the supermarkets and squeezed in the paycheck... Meanwhile, millions of American workers remain unemployed, their wages frozen at zero, with no real prospect of relief," the statement continued.

Meany also warned that the Pay Board, was "a device to undermine and wreck free collective bargaining... is building up inequities, distortions and pressures that can only be suppressed by more and more controls and acts of repression."

What Meany was saying, euphemistically, is that the ruling class is preparing to use Bonapartism and fascism, now reflected in the rise of Wallace, to smash the unions and destroy the ability of the working class to resist the onslaught on their wages and conditions.

### STRATEGY

Up until August 15, the strategy of the capitalists both in the United States and Europe has been to postpone and avoid an all-out clash with the working class, particularly the unions. In the United States this is expressed most sharply. In rebuilding world capitalism after World War II, U.S. capitalism incorporated within it all the problems and contradictions of the entire world system.

Through the massive inflation of the boom period, they es-

tablished a relationship with the reformist and Stalinist leaders of the working class and made real material concessions in order to pacify the working class.

But this now has caught up with them in the form of the massive balance of payments deficit of U.S. capitalism, and the need to go over to a policy of world trade war and the most fundamental confrontations with the labor movement. The American working class, with the most powerful unions and the highest standard of living in the world—which it will fight bitterly to maintain—is also the least defeated working class in the world.

The break up of the coalition with labor on the Pay Board is the open recognition by the capitalists in the U.S. that the only way to break the working class is to go over to civil war—to do away with all the forms of collaboration with the reformist labor bureaucracy, and with all the democratic forms of rule. Behind the face of "advanced democracy," brutal suppression is planned.

It is this need of the capitalists to attack all the gains of the working class that lies behind the attacks of the Administration on militants such as the Panthers, Angela Davis and revolutionaries such as Juan Farinas. This is what is behind the blossoming of the racist Wallace movement as the advance guard of the fascism which in the U.S. will have to be even bloodier and bigger than under Hitler in order to overcome the power of the U.S. labor movement.

### CRITICAL

In the present crisis we can see how the labor bureaucracy still plays the critical role for the capitalists in weakening and dividing the working class, in attempting to hold it back, even when it takes a step forward by leaving the Pay Board.

Meany's walk off still leaves the Pay Board in operation even though thousands of dock workers and millions of trade unionists can be mobilized to shut down the docks and back this up with a general strike. Yet all the leaders—from Meany to Bridges and Gleason, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party and the revisionists of the SWP—stand opposed to this perspective.

### COLLABORATION

While Meany has renounced this particular Pay Board, he is not opposed to it on principle and seeks collaboration with the capitalists through the Democratic Party. In this he is supported by the Communist Party which offers absolutely no alternative to the class collaboration of Meany and the labor bureau-

cracy.

The Communist Party is determined to repeat the betrayal of the German Social Democratic leaders who paved the way for the victory of Hitler by their support and reliance on the liberal capitalists. They are intent on resurrecting the Popular Front inaugurated by Stalin in the 1930s—an alliance with the liberals which allowed the fascist Franco to drown the Spanish revolution in blood.

Only the socialist revolution—the taking of power by the working class—can stop the threat of fascism and the destruction of civilization that poses. The fight for a nationwide dock strike, a general strike and the creation of an American labor party are the preparation for the taking of power.

### PROGRAM

But the Stalinists oppose this and instead try to build what Gus Hall, CP National Secretary, in a statement on the Meany walk-out called: "a new people's coalition of workers, farmers, middle class, students and small businessmen, Black Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian peoples and Indian Americans."

The program put forward "for discussion" in the Daily World, does not even call for a dock strike on the West Coast, but only for "united defense (how?) of all unions and workers engaged in struggle against their bosses; the ILWU in the first instance," avoiding the question of Bridges holding back from a strike. The program calls for: "Massive worker action against inflation, through picketing supermarkets..." for a "tax on excess profits."

### REFORMIST

The essence of the Stalinist program is a reformist program which seeks to maintain the decaying capitalist system which now is driven to destroy the working class. But Stalinism attempts to tie the working class to a futile attempt to place "curbs on monopoly" when what is required is the expropriation of the capitalist class itself.

It is no accident that the revisionist Socialist Workers Party, having renounced Trotskyism, continues to go over to the Stalinist perspective.

With Meany's break with the Pay Board, the Militant, weekly paper of the SWP, in a lead editorial, proposes as the central demand the convening of a conference of labor, but has absolutely nothing to say about the need for the longshoremen to take forward the offensive against the Pay Board with a nationwide dock strike, or even a West Coast dock strike. There is no mention of the demand for a general strike.

The crisis facing world capitalism today is far deeper than in the 1930s. The United States has assumed all the responsibilities and contradictions of the entire world capitalist system.

### POWER

But the great power of the American working class, which the capitalists must now try to smash, was developed in the great struggles of the CIO in the late thirties, forties and the post war period. Today the power of the working class has been expressed in the protracted struggle, far from ended of the shipowners to destroy the basic

rights and conditions of dockworkers on both coasts, since last August.

The movement toward dictatorship to subdue the resistance of the trade unions forces the ranks into conflict with their old ways of thinking, into conflict with the purely "trade unionist" approach of the boom period and brings them up against the labor bureaucracy and its apologists.

It is this collision that forms the basis of the struggle of the Trotskyist movement of the Workers League and Young Socialists to tear the working class out of the grip of the bureaucracy and construct a Marxist leadership. The crisis in the labor movement today increasingly brings militant workers up against their leaders, as seen most sharply in recent struggles in the ILA, and the CWA in the New York Telephone strike.

At the same time this development has shown that the need is to be able to smash the bureaucracy's control over the unions in order to defend the working class on the most fundamental questions of wages and unemployment, and against the danger of fascism.

This can only be done through the building of the revolutionary party with cadres in the trade unions developed in a fight for Marxist principles.

## WALLACE. . .

(Continued From Page 4)

waged a bitter and bloody strike to organize a union. In Orangeburg, South Carolina, three Black students were murdered by the National Guard in a fight against segregation.

These struggles were a prelude to important class battles in the unions in defense of workers' living standards. In May of 1968 the French working class staged a General Strike and came to the brink of seizing power.

In the March 18, 1968 issue of the Bulletin we wrote:

"So after thirteen years of struggle we are forced to face the reality that the position of the Negro in American society has deteriorated further and that this poses a threat not only to the Negro but to the whole American working class of an apartheid society which necessitates some form of military dictatorship or fascism to maintain this separation."

The nomination of Nixon by the Republican Party in 1968 and his "Southern strategy" was a preparation for this.

This crisis was producing a break up in the Democratic Party and its traditional ties with the labor movement. Many workers were increasingly disgusted with the inability of the liberals to solve anything and were seeking an alternative.

Wallace began to build up his movement on a national scale to destroy the growing struggle of the working class against the government. In 1968 Wallace ran as an independent. He sought not so much to win the election but to push the Democrats and Republicans to the right, to confuse and divide the working class and above all to lay the ground for a fascist movement. Wallace was not the least bit ruffled by reports that he could never win. He knew what he was after.

In the July 22 issue of the Bulletin, headlined "Smash Wallace," we wrote:

## FARINAS. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

till either go scot free or get a tap on the wrist.

Pollack ignored the massive support for Juan, especially from the labor movement. The Court was bombarded with telegrams in the last week, urging that the motion for modification of sentence be granted. This campaign received strong support from the 500,000 strong Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen, the 50,000 member Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers, and dozens of union officials from all over the country.

Unions such as the American Federation of Teachers, the Machinists, the Auto Workers, the Electrical Workers, the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, and the Bakery Workers all sent telegrams demanding modification.

In the few days immediately before the Court decision, telegrams were also sent by hundreds of rank and file unionists and shop stewards, as well as from students, student newspapers and student governments.

The Bulletin wishes to thank all of its readers who have given support to the defense of Juan Farinas. We urge you to continue this fight as the defense makes the appeal of the reduction of sentence to the Court of Appeals.

"Wallace does not run just on an anti-Negro platform. He is far more dangerous than a mere racist demagogue. This is why he can't be fought by adapting to Black power rebuttals. Wallace's program is directly anti-union, just as his record reveals fact after fact proving his anti-union sentiment."

And in the February 19 issue we warned how Wallace's movement could grow, a warning which has been fully confirmed by the recent Florida primary:

"Wallace and figures like him are dangerous and should not be treated lightly. As the crisis of capitalism deepens the soil grows richer which produces weeds like Wallace..."

"Yes, Wallace is a threat. He is a real threat to the future of the working class and to the existence of the trade unions. The trade unions have got to prepare now to fight back against this threat before Wallace and his racist buddies build a real base."

In July the Workers League was the only socialist organization to join an anti-Wallace rally in Minneapolis and were maced by cops.

The heart of the Workers League campaign was the demand that the trade unions mobilize their forces against Wallace, that they take up a real fight against racism, for full employment and for the building of a labor party. We called for a vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party as the only alternative to Wallace and the capitalist parties, as a step towards socialism.

We were the only ones to fight Wallace in this way. The revisionists in the Socialist Workers Party virtually ignored the Wallace threat. Basing their perspective on the prosperous years of the boom, they saw no crisis in capitalism and complacently dismissed Wallace. The Black nationalists with their acceptance of capitalism and racism did nothing to fight him.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## West Coast News

# SWP Supports Nationalists At Black Convention In Stanford

BY ALAN KEARNEY

STANFORD—The only role for nationalism today is a defense of the Democratic Party. This is the lesson to be learned from the National Black Political Convention and more recently the Northern California Black Student Youth Conference. The conference, attended by about 200 people, established the regional Black Youth Organization.

Black Panther Bobby Seale called on the youth to "transform the system" and make the institutions work for Black people. One of the ways he intends to achieve this is through voter registration drives, which actually means recruiting more Democratic votes.

With the militant cover of "a new kind of politics," keynote speaker Congressman Ronald Dellums fulfilled the same function as Seale. "The day for romanticism is over," he said in an indirect attack against revolutionaries who want to fight against the Democratic Party.

### PARALYZE

Using the worst nationalist rhetoric, the chairman of the coordinating committee referred to the "white boy" as being the enemy of the Black youth. Nationalists calling for "Black independence from the white masters" blur the whole issue, in effect pushing to end any kind of class unity and for the break-up of the trade unions. A fascist movement thrives on the racial divisions. The nationalists paralyze the Black youth and workers in fighting against forces like Wallace.

### EOP

Nationalism cannot answer the problems that youth face. It is completely reactionary as higher education is made impossible because EOP scholarships are being taken away.

All the conference could offer against the cutbacks were: a lobbyist for a larger EOP budget, a Black director under a Black autonomous program of EOP, and an independent source of Black scholarships which

## DOCKS . . .

(Continued From Page 20)

see and not take any action to force Meany and Gleason to come to the assistance of the ILWU.

A strike now by the ILWU can win. The Pay Board is in a shambles and dockers on the East Coast who face the same wage slashes can be brought out in solidarity.

The rank and file must break through the attempts of the leadership to betray. There is no need to fight alone.

Bridges must be forced to call a West Coast shutdown, appeal to the East Coast to make it national and make it clear that the ILWU will answer government strike breaking with a campaign to rally the entire labor movement in a general strike.

would most likely solicit funds from Black businessmen.

It was at the conference that the revisionism of the Socialist Workers Party showed its real face—to maintain reformist illusions in capitalism and even re-enforce them.

### COMMUNITY CONTROL

In the workshop on political issues members of the Socialist Workers Party were the loudest proponents of community control. This workshop passed the resolution that "the community control all land and resource in that community. Whereas the police force and governing agencies in that community are for their benefit, therefore the police force or those patrolling that community live in that community and be screened by the people of that community."

### LABOR PARTY

The SWPers did everything to divert discussion on the need to break from the capitalist parties and fight for a labor party. Behind their call for a Black party was a capitulation to the nationalists. One of them went as far as to refer to Mayor Hatcher and Jesse Jackson as "Brother Hatcher and Brother Jackson."



Worker expresses his views at mass membership meeting of TWU Local 250a of Muni bus drivers in San Francisco. City is trying to pare down wages in line with lower-paid New York drivers.

# SF Muni Bus Drivers Rally In Protests Against Cuts

BY TED BARKER

SAN FRANCISCO—In the midst of mounting attacks on all city workers, the leadership of TWU Local 250a (representing Muni bus drivers) called a mass meeting to protest cuts in bus runs.

The run cuts would eliminate over 1.4 million dollars from Muni employees' pay checks and leave whole sections of the city with little or no bus service.

The cuts are part of a general attack being made on the Muni drivers and other city workers. The day after the meeting took place the Board of Supervisors voted to change the way in which work rules, fringe benefits, and wages of Muni drivers are determined.

Previously these have been determined by an average of the two highest paid cities in the country. Now they will be determined directly by the conditions of New York City bus drivers. This means an immediate cut of half a million dollars in overtime and it provides the basis to force down drivers' wages in the coming July negotiations.

At the same time that these cuts are being made other city workers face layoffs, a hiring

freeze, and an insulting offer from the Board of Supervisors of a 2½% "pay raise."

Wednesday night's meeting did not propose strike action to defeat these attacks.

The union leadership proposed the Muni drivers continue to drive the old routes and wait for Mayor Alioto to concede to "pressure." Behind this perspective of pressuring Alioto was formed a reactionary alliance between the union bureaucrats, the liberal politicians on the Board of Supervisors, and the revisionists, particularly the SWP.

### DOMINATED

The meeting, which drew between 300 and 400 people, was completely dominated by politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties.

The union leaders on the stage, representing TWU Local 250a, SEIU Local 400 and SEIU Local 66a (maintenance employees), all thanked the politicians for

their support. Not one even mentioned the forthcoming rules changes for Muni drivers, or the hiring freeze.

Bob Morgan, president of 66a, cynically denounced two of the Supervisors on the stage for voting against the 2½% "raise," making it clear that he and all the other bureaucrats accept this insulting offer and the attacks being made on other city workers.

Despite the efforts of the bureaucrats to hold back the fight this rally was extremely significant. The TWU leadership was actually forced to campaign in the labor movement to build it.

Muni drivers are beginning to realize the full seriousness of these attacks. An extremely explosive situation is now building up among city workers. The drivers have the power to give a lead to every section of the municipal employees for a real showdown with the city.

# Rightists Campaign For Death Penalty

BY ANN LORE

SAN FRANCISCO—The decision of February 18th by the California State Supreme Court which declared the death penalty unconstitutional was the last gasp of liberalism in this period.

Any concessions granted to the working class in the past are at a complete dead end. An enormous wave of reaction, spearheaded by Governor Reagan and Attorney General Younger, assisted by all the news media, has been unleashed against the State Supreme Court. But its real target is the middle class, squeezed out by the crisis of the capitalist system.

The ruling class is aiming their appeal at the class fears of the middle class, under a cover of a law and order issue with the background imagery of a blood-bath descending upon the masses; the ruling class is whipping up an hysterical movement to be directed against the working class, particularly the poor and minorities.

Already the Supreme Court, under these pressures, has modi-

fied its opinion with relation to bail. At first, it was understood that since there were no longer capital offenses, all persons charged, no matter what the crime, were eligible for bail.

### DAVIS

But now the high court has reconsidered and said that there are still criminal offenses for which bail should be denied. This amendment would likely have affected the decision on bail for Angela Davis. She was granted bail on the basis of the first ruling.

It was on the recommendation of Reagan, who termed the decision "one more step toward totally disarming society in its fight against violence and crime," that Attorney General Younger petitioned the court for a rehearing of its decision. The State Supreme Court refused to rehear the case, but at the same time it made its modification.

Meanwhile a drive has been begun to put a constitutional amendment on the November ballot legalizing the death penalty. It is being led by a group called Californians for Capital Punishment. Behind them is the Attorney General's office which is preparing the petitions for the initiative drive.

Younger has said that he has received communications from "concerned citizens" which are presumably prompting him on his quest for the reestablishment of capital punishment. But these concerned citizens he revealed are "the Governor, grand juries, law enforcement officials, the California Correctional Officers Association and others."

Reagan has charged the court with "placing itself above the will of the people," implying that the majority would want to reinstate the death penalty, while they build their campaign to whip up enough racist, anti-working class sentiment to try and get this by at the polls.

Editorials, like those appearing in the San Francisco

Examiner, go a long way to encourage this sort of filth and propaganda: "The criminals have won the biggest concession... This is not surprising in view of the way the courts have been ruling in favor of the criminal."

Measures have also been introduced censuring the six justices who voted for the decision, plus legislation curbing the court's powers, making it plain that those justices who do not carry out the wishes of the capitalist class simply will not be around for long.

### DANGERS

The dangers raised by this movement must not be ignored or blunted, by only seeing the "people's victory" in the decision. That decision was not in line with what the ruling class has decided for the masses of workers and unemployed and they will campaign to reinstate the death penalty as part of their vicious campaign to smash all working people.

# West Coast News

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## Editorial

### Stalinists Bust Up Alliance With SWP

The SWP now faces the complete break up of its entire perspective in the anti-war movement.

For years they have abandoned all principles in an effort to construct a popular front protest swamp based on an alliance with the liberals and Stalinists.

Today the very middle class elements who provided the base for the mass protest marches of the past are scurrying for cover or going over to the camp of "law and order."

The Stalinists are fighting to hold back the independent movement of the working class while preparing the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution.

The SWP finds itself chasing after the liberals in the Muskie-McGovern camp and begging the Stalinists to work with them.

Thus in Versailles the SWP swallowed the Stalinist peace line whole in exchange for support to their April 22 demonstrations.

All of this has come to a head in Los Angeles where the Stalinists now seek to deny that the Versailles conference had even given support to the April 22 march and for all practical purposes have refused to participate in building the Los Angeles NPAC demonstration.

The SWP is absolutely incapable of understanding these developments and explaining them in terms of the crisis of the Stalinist movement that forces it into bitter confrontation with Trotskyism.

They are so far removed from comprehending this that the latest Militant welcomes the verbal support of the Stalinist People's Coalition for Peace and Justice as a step forward for the anti-war movement.

They do this at precisely the point that the Stalinists prepare to stab them in the back with the announcement that they are calling a counter-demonstration in San Francisco for the same day.

The People's World makes absolutely clear that the S.F. demonstration is in opposition to the Los Angeles one and "strongly opposes the issue of the Southeast Asian war being raised in isolation." This they say is the method of NPAC. It is stressed that the San Francisco protest has "no organizational connections" with NPAC.

Using the backing of the Versailles conference which excluded the SWP's co-thinkers in France and raising their support of the 7 point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the prestige of the NLF against the SWP's single issue march, the Stalinists now feel confident enough to deliver some sharp blows to the NPAC and the SWP.

The SWP finds itself virtually isolated. This is its reward for the abandonment of principle and the refusal to take up a fight against Stalinism.

The April 22 march can only be taken forward in the struggle to expose Stalinism and to raise a program for the defense of the labor movement and youth against unemployment, budget cuts and racism. Central to this is the fight for a labor party in 1972.

## Bridges Avoids Dock Shutdown

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—The ILWU leadership has yet to give longshoremen any public indication of its policy towards the Pay Board wage cut.

It is clear that the bureaucracy is desperately seeking ways to hold off another West Coast walkout. Bridges has held back from any real fight to hold the ILA to its pledge of joint action with the ILWU against the Pay Board action.

He would like dockers to believe that there is really no fight with PMA and that both the union and the employers are in a common fight with the Administration on the wages question.

The truth is that the negotiations on work rules, manning and steady men have virtually broken down. The West Coast arbitrator has ruled that the union has no right to fight the implementation of steady men as he prepares for a ruling that will hand everything to the PMA.

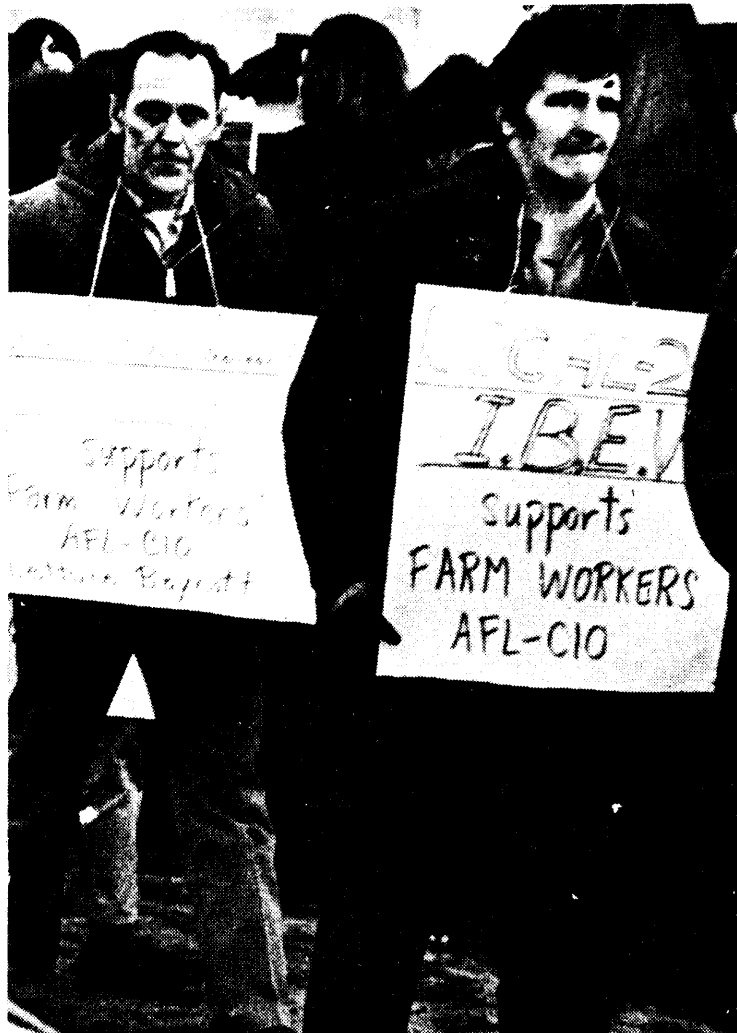
Senator Mansfield, the Senate Majority Leader, has threatened passage of the Nixon compulsory arbitration bill if the longshoremen strike. The labor bureaucracy seeks to push the idea that the way to fight anti-strike legislation is to voluntarily refuse to strike.

They know very well that a strike now will force a break with their phoney Democratic Party allies and an all-out confrontation with the government. Nixon already has the legal backing for fines, injunctions and jailings in the event of a strike against Pay Board decisions.

Longshoremen are being placed in a stranglehold in which key non-economic issues such as steady men are to be decided by compulsory arbitration and now the wage settlement is imposed on them in the face of continually soaring prices.

The People's World is doing what it can to back up Bridges by refusing to call for a strike. The logic of their line is to wait and

(Continued On Page 19)



Trade unionists rally to the defense of farmworkers whose union (UFW) is being attacked by NLRB for its boycotting policies.

## 1,000 Workers Picket Nixon

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—As final preparations were being made to feast the Nixon Administration's chosen Chicano bureaucrats an angry crowd of over 1,000 assembled outside the Los Angeles Convention Center March 19 in the late afternoon.

The demonstration was organized by the United Farm Workers and participants included C.A.S.A., La Raza Unida, SNC as well as the Teamsters.

The youth and workers present directed their hatred towards the infamous Dixon-Arnett Law and the recent move by NLRB head and Nixon-appointed, Peter Nash, for a court injunction against the farmworkers' boycott.

Farmworkers' President Cesar Chavez has stated the NLRB action "is nothing less than an effort to destroy our union."

The program advocated, however, to meet this attack is one of writing letters to National Republican Committee Chairman, Senator Dole, as well as the threat that "farmworkers will take their struggle into every district and every state where Republicans are running for re-election."

This means Chavez is calling for support for liberal Democrats.

As Treasury Secretary Ramona Banuelos was feted Teamsters who were present are seeking to organize the several hundred predominantly Chicano and immigrant workers who are paid the \$1.65 per hour minimum wage at her cannery in Gardena.

### RAZA UNIDA

La Raza Unida has absolutely no perspective of defense for the workers and their unions. Instead it poses the mythical nation of Aztlan, middle class reform, and says that "Anglos" are the enemy.

Chavez has now threatened to mobilize 25,000 farmworkers at the Republican convention in San Diego.

He understands very well that the farmworkers face a political fight. Tied to a policy of boycotts and support to the Democrats they face defeat.

The way forward for farmworkers as for the entire labor movement is in the building of a labor party for 1972.

## D.A. Clears Cop In Murder Of Youth

BY BARRY GRAY

EAST PALO ALTO—The shooting of Gregory White, a fifteen year old youth, by San Mateo County Sheriff's Deputy Larry Bringhurst on March 9 was ruled justifiable homicide by District Attorney Keith Sorenson.

From the very first it was clear that the County authorities stood 100 percent behind Bringhurst, who, according to numerous eyewitnesses, shot down young White in cold blood when the youth sprang from a car that had allegedly been stolen. The Sheriff's Department refused to

even suspend Bringhurst.

This ruling came the day after the most recent of several protests before the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors staged by the East Palo Alto Municipal Council and the Ad Hoc Committee for Gregory White. These forces have sought from the beginning to divert the anger of the youth into calls for justice from the authorities and for intervention by the repressive arms of the government, including the Justice Department and the FBI.

The Board of Supervisors hardly bothered to maintain a facade of neutrality at the

meeting. After about an hour they abruptly adjourned the meeting and walked out, leaving the protest leaders exposed in all their bankruptcy.

Youth who were present at the meeting expressed outrage and frustration over the whole affair. One girl said she thought the whole idea of protesting before the authorities was a dead end.

The DA's ruling must serve as a warning to the working class and the youth that the agents of capitalism cannot be pressured into halting their attacks. They are lurching to the right, to the law and order, racist policies of Wallace.



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BY JEFF SEBASTIAN  
SAN FRANCISCO—The ILWU leadership has yet to give longshoremen any public indication of its policy towards the Pay Board wage cut.

It is clear that the bureaucracy is desperately seeking ways to hold off another West Coast walkout. Bridges has held back from any real fight to hold the ILA to its pledge of joint action with the ILWU against the Pay Board action.

He would like dockers to believe that there is really no fight with PMA and that both the union and the employers are in a common fight with the Administration on the wages question.

The truth is that the negotiations on work rules, manning and steady men have virtually broken down. The West Coast arbitrator has ruled that the union has no right to fight the implementation of steady men as he prepares for a ruling that will hand everything to the PMA.

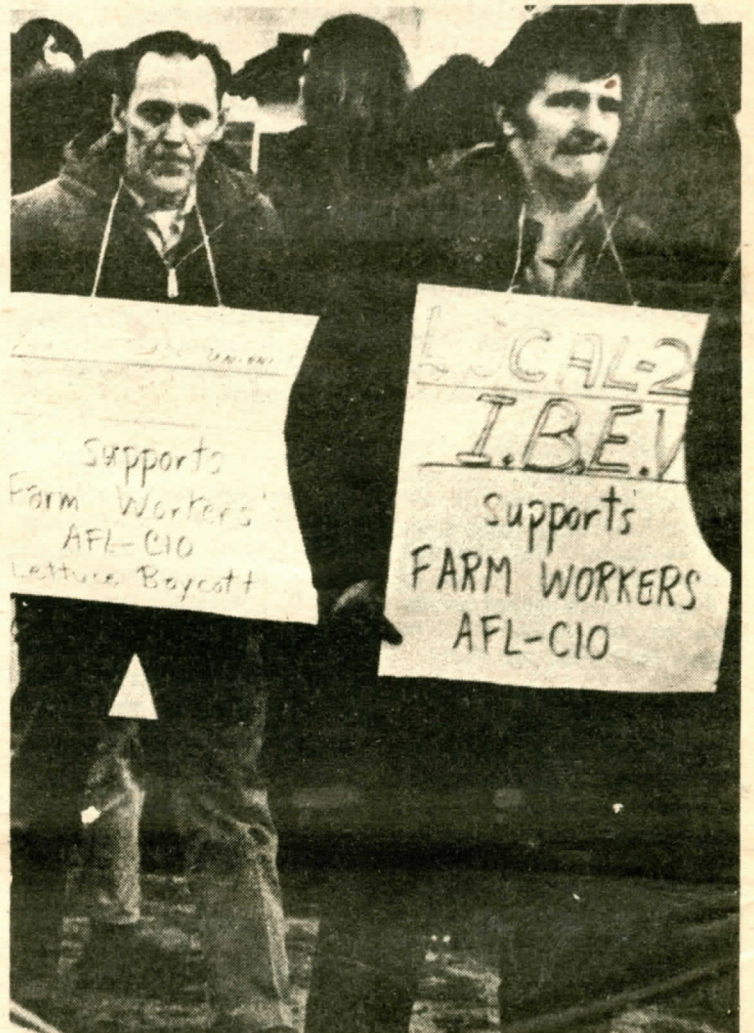
Senator Mansfield, the Senate Majority Leader, has threatened passage of the Nixon compulsory arbitration bill if the longshoremen strike. The labor bureaucracy seeks to push the idea that the way to fight anti-strike legislation is to voluntarily refuse to strike.

They know very well that a strike now will force a break with their phoney Democratic Party allies and an all-out confrontation with the government. Nixon already has the legal backing for fines, injunctions and jailings in the event of a strike against Pay Board decisions.

Longshoremen are being placed in a stranglehold in which key non-economic issues such as steady men are to be decided by compulsory arbitration and now the wage settlement is imposed on them in the face of continually soaring prices.

The People's World is doing what it can to back up Bridges by refusing to call for a strike. The logic of their line is to wait and

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Trade unionists rally to the defense of farmworkers whose union (UFW) is being attacked by NLRB for its boycotting policies.

## 1,000 Workers Picket Nixon

BY A CORRESPONDENT

LOS ANGELES—As final preparations were being made to feast the Nixon Administration's chosen Chicano bureaucrats an angry crowd of over 1,000 assembled outside the Los Angeles Convention Center March 19 in the late afternoon.

The demonstration was organized by the United Farm Workers and participants included C.A.S.A., La Raza Unida, SNC as well as the Teamsters.

The youth and workers present directed their hatred towards the infamous Dixon-Arnett Law and the recent move by NLRB head and Nixon-appointed, Peter Nash, for a court injunction against the farmworkers' boycott.

Farmworkers' President Cesar Chavez has stated the NLRB action "is nothing less than an effort to destroy our union."

The program advocated, however, to meet this attack is one of writing letters to National Republican Committee Chairman, Senator Dole, as well as the threat that "farmworkers will take their struggle into every district and every state where Republicans are running for re-election."

This means Chavez is calling for support for liberal Democrats.

As Treasury Secretary Ramona Banuelos was feted Teamsters who were present are seeking to organize the several hundred predominantly Chicano and immigrant workers who are paid the \$1.65 per hour minimum wage at her cannery in Gardena.

### RAZA UNIDA

La Raza Unida has absolutely no perspective of defense for the workers and their unions. Instead it poses the mythical nation of Aztlan, middle class reform, and says that "Anglos" are the enemy.

Chavez has now threatened to mobilize 25,000 farmworkers at the Republican convention in San Diego.

He understands very well that the farmworkers face a political fight. Tied to a policy of boycotts and support to the Democrats they face defeat.

The way forward for farmworkers as for the entire labor movement is in the building of a labor party for 1972.

## D.A. Clears Cop In Murder Of Youth

BY BARRY GRAY

EAST PALO ALTO—The shooting of Gregory White, a fifteen year old youth, by San Mateo County Sheriff's Deputy Larry Bringhurst on March 9 was ruled justifiable homicide by District Attorney Keith Sorenson.

From the very first it was clear that the County authorities stood 100 percent behind Bringhurst, who, according to numerous eyewitnesses, shot down young White in cold blood when the youth sprang from a car that had allegedly been stolen. The Sheriff's Department refused to

even suspend Bringhurst.

This ruling came the day after the most recent of several protests before the San Mateo County Board of Supervisors staged by the East Palo Alto Municipal Council and the Ad Hoc Committee for Gregory White. These forces have sought from the beginning to divert the anger of the youth into calls for justice from the authorities and for intervention by the repressive arms of the government, including the Justice Department and the FBI.

The Board of Supervisors hardly bothered to maintain a facade of neutrality at the

meeting. After about an hour they abruptly adjourned the meeting and walked out, leaving the protest leaders exposed in all their bankruptcy.

Youth who were present at the meeting expressed outrage and frustration over the whole affair. One girl said she thought the whole idea of protesting before the authorities was a dead end.

The DA's ruling must serve as a warning to the working class and the youth that the agents of capitalism cannot be pressured into halting their attacks. They are lurching to the right, to the law and order, racist policies of Wallace.