

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Young Socialists Move Forward** Page 12

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER EIGHTEEN 227

JANUARY 10, 1972



FIFTEEN CENTS

## As Gleason And Bridges Meet For Unity

# CLOSE DOWN BOTH COASTS

BY DAN FRIED

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The cornerstone of this contract is the demand for a 40 hour weekly guaranteed wage for all dockworkers in all ports. A nationwide dock strike that ties up this country from Maine to Texas and from San Diego to Vancouver can win this crucial demand—not to mention the \$7.50 per hour and 20 year retirement demands of the ILA—be-

cause it will force the shipowners and the government to their knees.

Bridges has extended the old contract now until January 17. The rank and file on the West Coast are ready to get out again on the 18th. January 18th must now be the date for the East and Gulf Coasts to join the West Coast, to shut down every port in the most powerful dock strike in U.S. history!

In the critical port of New York, the ILA ranks are

looking to a lead from the West Coast, are ready to go out again. They are fed up with the continual attacks on the guarantee and on all their conditions that has been heightened under the "PDO" (Prior Day Order) scheme with which the Gleason leadership has cooperated. This is what was behind the explosion at the Greenwich hiring hall recently when hundreds of checkers and longshoremen walked out of the hall, shutting it down and marched to Brooklyn to try to close the Brooklyn piers.

The Gleason leadership has reneged on its pledge to give PDO only a 30 day trial. Now they are saying "there is nothing we can do about PDO." This is a lie. This Monday's meeting of the New York checkers local must tell Gleason that "the thirty days are now up" and pass a motion saying that the ILA will have nothing to do with PDO any longer.

Bridges has openly come out for affiliation of the two unions. Regardless of the fact that both Bridges and Gleason have steadfastly avoided a nationwide strike and have stood by as Nixon used Taft-Hartley to divide the two coasts, affiliation of the two unions is absolutely required in the struggle to defeat Nixon and the shipowners.

Last October 27, Gleason and Bridges agreed to coordinate demands covering containerization, (Continued On Page 15)



Discussions at Workers League literature table during YSA Convention.

## YSA Convention Embraces Liberalism

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# YSA Convention Embraces Liberalism

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

HOUSTON—The Young Socialist Alliance held its annual convention held here December 28th to January 1st, attended by 800 youth mostly from campuses across the country. The conference was convened as Nixon stepped up his bombing attacks on North Vietnam and only a week after his announcement that the United States would devalue the dollar opening a new stage in the international crisis of capitalism.

This new stage means that the capitalist class is preparing trade war, slump and civil war against the working class internationally. The working class is now forced to struggle, but enters this struggle with all the reformist illusions of the past. The critical question today is the construction of a Trotskyist leadership in the working class. It is precisely this question which will determine the future of mankind. It is precisely this question which underlies the tremendous dangers of the perspective of the YSA outlined at this conference.

Despite every attempt to minimize and conceal the nature of the crisis in this period, it found its reflection in the conference and in the setting of the conference itself.

No matter how much the leadership has sought to ignore the crisis it is having a deep impact in the YSA and forcing it into a deadend. In this situation the YSA moves further to the right into the arms of liberalism

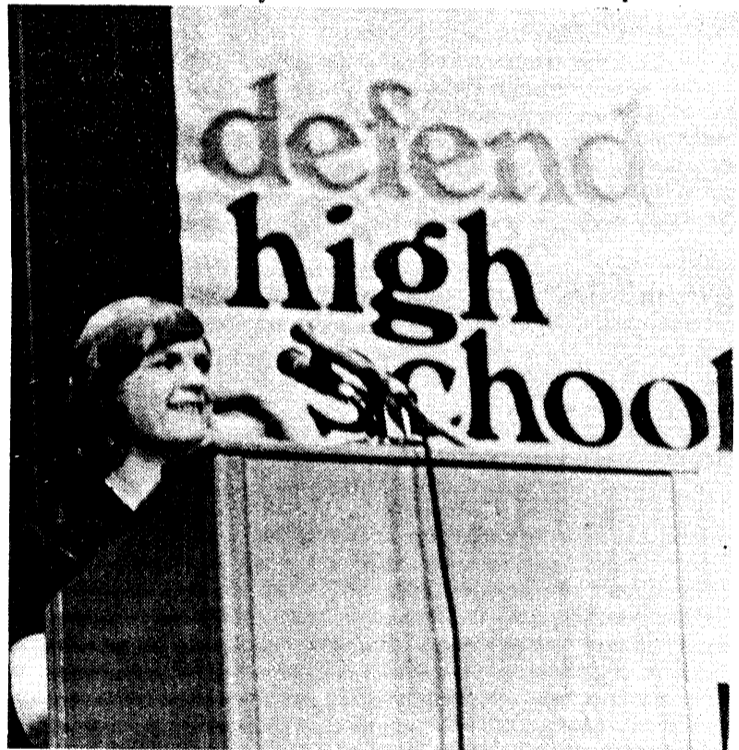
and the Democratic Party. But today it is forced in order to maintain its centrist position to begin to cover this turn by giving some lip service to the crisis and using the history and traditions of the SWP. But today these

questions are raised in the context of the crisis within the International Pabloite movement bringing to a head all the questions the SWP refused to confront in 1963 when it broke with the International Committee and reunified with the Pabloites.

These questions were raised in both the International and Political Reports but every attempt was made to suppress any discussion on them throughout the conference.

#### INTERNATIONAL

The conference was opened with



Myra Vidal addresses YSA Convention (above). Below, Linda Jenness speaks to the convention on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

the International Report given by Frank Boehm, National Chairman of the YSA. Boehm pointed to Vietnam as the center of the revolutionary struggles internationally saying that the struggle for national liberation is the predominant feature of imperialism and verifies the understanding of national liberation outlined by Trotsky in the permanent revolution. Boehm said that the events of the last year signified a deterioration of the position of the U.S. expressed in the monetary talks and Nixon's approach to China. These experiences, said Boehm, "substantiate Marxist theory" and pose the "burning urgency to construct the Fourth International."

Boehm said that the YSA stood on the International Report given by Joseph Hansen at the last convention of the SWP. This was the report in which Hansen prepared the break with the majority in the Unified Secretariat without confronting all the questions raised by the 1963 split with the International Committee and reunification with the Pabloite forces the SWP broke with in 1953.

Boehm then gave an orthodox presentation of the history of the Trotskyist movement and its fight against Stalinism culminating in the founding of the Fourth International. While Boehm correctly pointed out that he splits in the International movement occurred over the question of internationalism, he completely

avoided confronting the history of the Fourth International after World War II and the development of revisionism in the form of Pabloism.

The real liquidationist perspective of the YSA and its sharp turn to liberalism found its reflection in what Boehm termed the "concrete application" of internationalism which he said was the "acid test" of revolutionary internationalism.

Boehm said that the YSA must build an international movement on the basis of the defense of democratic rights of militants imprisoned especially in Latin America. This he said would be the "driving force" of the working class, student and national liberation movements. In Bolivia he said the task was to "bring pressure to bear" on the Banzer government to fight against the "illegal imprisonment" of militants and to open a "non-exclusive and non-sectarian" campaign to include the support of forces such as George McGovern who is "against the Latin American dictatorships." This is the "best way to build the Trotskyist movement" and "create the best atmosphere for the functioning of militants."

This "acid test" reveals how far the YSA has gone from Trotskyism turning the theory of the permanent revolution into its opposite rejecting Trotsky's perspective that the democratic demands of the bourgeois

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## CP SEEKS TIES TO 'PROGRESSIVE' BUREAUCRATS

BY DAN FRIED

IN HIS TWO part article in the Daily World, "Labor Faces '72," Labor Editor George Morris takes up the question of the role of the Communist Party in building an alliance with a section of the labor bureaucracy through TUAD (Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy).

The problem of TUAD, according to Morris, is that TUAD "has not yet shown the necessary vigor" for its tasks of rallying all the "progressive" rank and file groups, unions and leaders, into a force that can challenge George Meany.

It is clear that the last thing Schrade wants is a real fight against the wage freeze, despite his statement awhile back that there should be "a general strike and a new labor party" as Nixon interferes with contracts. Now Schrade is looking for some way to retreat, under cover of a friendly renegotiation with the companies, to defer

some of the first year increase to the second and third years.

For our part, nothing less than the full 12 percent the first year is acceptable, and the demand for a wage reopener in the second year must be raised.

Rather than proceed from the point of view of a struggle against the maneuvers of the UAW leadership, a struggle which must at the same time be a political fight against Nixon for the labor party, the Stalinists cover up for Schrade and his chief, Leonard Woodcock. This, in practice, is what George Morris means by "a closer relationship with more unions that are traditionally progressive or have begun to move toward progressive reforms."

Still proceeding on the Stalinist conception of a "progressive" section of the unions and their leaders, versus a "reactionary," or "hawkish" section, Morris advises on the need for "a closer relationship with more unions that are traditionally progressive or have begun to move toward progressive reforms."

"In these days when so many local organizations or groups rebel against the old forms and routines, they don't begin with a full blown progressive

outlook. They can be attracted for action on common issues on the basis of the limited level they do move.

"For 1972, therefore, the accent will be more than ever on initiative and leadership for rank and file action among trade unionists and support of every union that moves in a progressive direction."

Morris does not see the essential struggle that is necessary in the unions as the struggle for a new leadership based on Marxist principles in opposition to the entire labor bureaucracy. Instead he looks for a "progressive coalition" of the Communist Party, "rank and file" groups, "progressive" labor leaders and liberal capitalist politicians—all united to "dump Nixon" in '72.

Morris thus blocs the "progressive" leaders together with the "progressive" ranks on the one hand, and the Meany forces—bureaucrats and rank and filers—together in another bloc. He considers that a whole section of the working class has somehow been bought off and that struggle against Nixon and the wage freeze will only come from the "progressive" anti-Meany unions.

This is what he means when he harps on

the theme that "a number of the major unions of the AFL-CIO (have been)

'appeased' and the building trades (are) getting better wage treatment under their own set-up than they'd get from the Pay Board." Morris continues, "it appears that the strong unions that could make real the AFL-CIO's declaration of resistance, aren't much interested. This explains the AFL-CIO's passive position."

Morris "explains" the position of Meany and the AFL-CIO as a result of the "appeasement" of the majority of the working class by Nixon. With his eyes glued to the bureaucracy, and despite all his talk about the "rank and file," he is incapable of seeing the explosion building up against the bureaucracy—an explosion that will include the ranks of "conservative" unions like the building trades and the ILA, as well as steelworkers, auto workers and others who Morris writes off because "their contracts came prior to the freeze deadline." One wonders how Morris "explains" the "passivity" of the Teamsters' leader Frank Fitzsimmons, an open supporter of Nixon, whose union now faces wholesale attacks on their second year contracts by the Pay Board, in its effort to maintain the 5.5 percent guideline.

# Steel Plant Throws 2200 Out Of Work

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PITTSBURGH—In one of the most vicious attacks of the employers since Nixon's August 15th declaration of war on labor, the Jones-Laughlin Steel Corporation announced Dec. 29th that 2200 out of 4000 workers furloughed since the Pittsburgh works were shut down on Sept. 18th are permanently out of a job.

J&L's death sentence left no doubt that the future profits of the owners, once the city's biggest employer, cannot be maintained without even more layoffs and an intolerable level of speed-up for those workers lucky enough to hold jobs.

In order to compete in an international market, J&L was forced to spend 13 and a half million dollars to "revitalize" their facilities. This has meant automation, consolidation of operations, a total elimination of two rolling mills, several electrical departments, pattern making units, a cold finishing department and a hammer shop.

Over the next few years many of the open hearth facilities will be replaced with automated basic oxygen furnaces. Works manager, John A. Glasgow, summed up the intentions of the capitalists to make the workers pay for the crisis when he said: "All these measures are in line with Jones and Laughlin's previously announced goal to make the Pittsburgh works a more efficient and profitable steel producing facility."

J&L's announcement came at the same time as United Steelworkers Local 1272 President James Comer was reading the 1351 names of workers at the Southside plant in Pittsburgh whose jobs were being eliminated. Many of these men had worked there 20 years or more and will now take lower paying positions formerly held by younger workers.

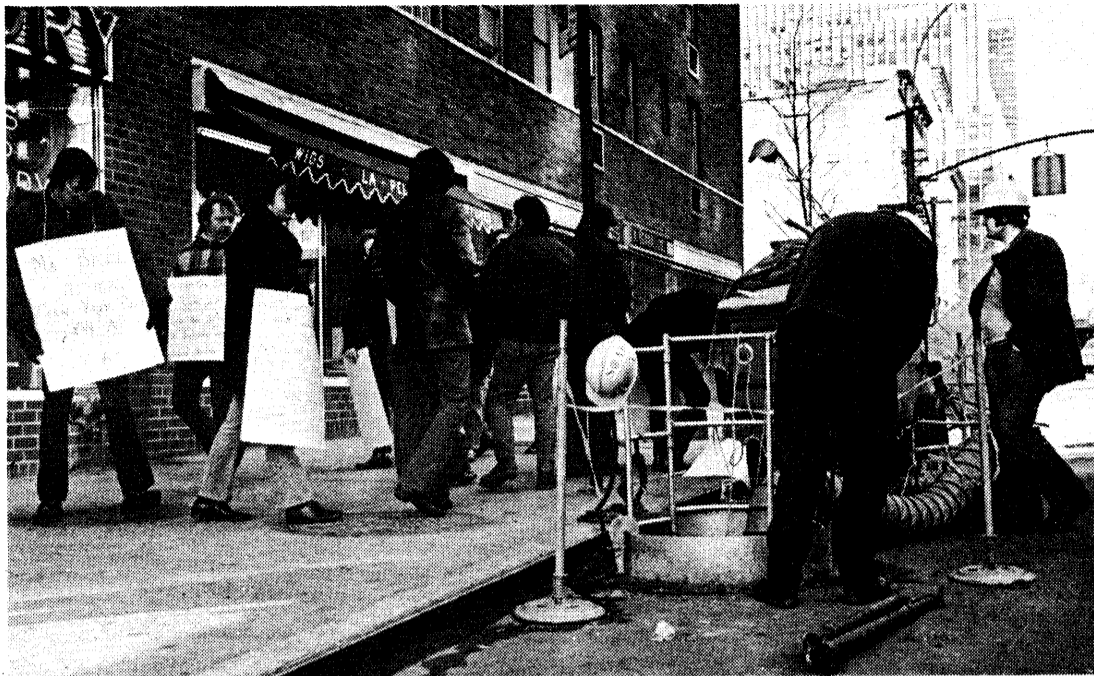
Those who have less than seven

or eight years seniority are to be forced onto unemployment lines. In the bosses' frenzied drive to maintain their profits young workers are pitted against old in the fight for the few remaining jobs.

A young worker from Southside told a Bulletin reporter, "I've got only two years in the plant. There's no way they'll ever rehire me. This city is in bad shape. Why should I have to leave Pittsburgh to find something better than \$1.60 an hour or welfare. Pittsburgh is my home. My uncle worked at J&L for 25 years and now he's back at \$3.00 an hour."

Although J&L has indicated that it will eventually operate six of the eleven open hearth furnaces at the Southside plant, one unemployed worker told the Bulletin, "I doubt that. They need their spending money which they won't have with too many of us working in that hole. Those clowns at J&L are giving us a lot of free time to read this Bulletin and see what people have to say about a labor party. They might be sorry."

The leadership of USW Local 1272 charges J&L with "trying to take us back to 1930" but can offer absolutely no way for the men to fight back. The only alternative to this is the formation of a caucus in the union which fights for rehiring of all J&L workers at a 30 hour week for 40 hours pay, for the nationalization of the steel companies under workers control, for a nationwide general strike against the wage freeze, for forcing I.W. Abel off the Pay Board, and for a labor party in '72.



CWA ranks picket scabs brought in to break strike with the help of the union bureaucracy.

# Bosses Build New Furnaces To Slash Steel Work Force

BY DAN FRIED

President Nixon's recent announcement that the devaluation of the dollar is to be based on a stepped up drive "to restore domestic wage-price stability and productivity" means a stepped up attack led by the largest U.S. corporations to destroy all the rights and conditions won by the working class since the building of the CIO in the thirties and forties.

This is the meaning of the continual mass layoffs, plant closings and introduction of new processes that has hit the U.S. steel industry since the contract settlement with the USWA (United Steelworkers of America) last August.

Very clearly, the giants of the industry like U.S. Steel, Bethlehem and Republic, while welcoming the realignment of Japanese and German currencies as a boon to U.S. sales, is basing its profit outlook on the introduction of new processes.

## PROCESS

This is the meaning of the announcement by U.S. Steel of plans to construct a new German-invented "high volume, low-cost" process at the Fairfield, Alabama facility. The new process, the most efficient form of the Basic Oxygen steelmaking process

developed to date in the world, is known as Q-BOP.

U.S. Steel is making these plans for one reason—to vastly increase their profits which can only be done through the elimination of thousands upon thousands of workers. More than likely, U.S. Steel and the other producers who bring in these processes will try and close down whole facilities such as the Gary works and replace all existing open hearth furnaces with the Q-BOP which is estimated as producing 15 per cent more steel per man hour than the standard Basic Oxygen Furnaces now in use.

On top of this the new furnaces cost only half as much to replace the open hearths as the conventional Basic Oxygen furnaces. The new furnaces can produce 10-15 times as much steel per hour as the old open hearths.

Along with the introduction of the Basic Oxygen furnaces and the plans for the Q-BOP has come the introduction of a continuous casting facility to produce slabs by Bethlehem Steel at Burns Harbor, Ind.

## FIGHT BACK

The workers in steel have already begun to fight back against these layoffs. When 1800 workers at Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant struck in early November against the Company's attempt to eliminate 260 jobs in the hot and cold mill departments, the Company threatened to permanently close the strip mill, slabbing mill, galvanizing lines and blast furnaces at Lackawanna.

The President of one of the USWA locals at Lackawanna, John Meta, claimed that the attempt to cut out these jobs was "simply a unilateral action on the part of the company to eliminate some jobs and combine others." Meta denied that this action had anything to do with the agreement by the union written into the contract to establish joint union-management "productivity committees."

In fact, just prior to the signing of the national contract at the end

of July, a "secret pact" was agreed to and signed by the leaders of all the Bethlehem USWA locals and the plant's Manager of Labor Relations. It was not until November that this pact came to light.

The first draft of the agreement dated July 27 clearly stated the capitulation of the union leaders to the Company's plans for speed-up and loss of jobs:

"The union recognizes the unfavorable economic condition of the Lackawanna Plant, from a cost standpoint, to compete with other companies, as stated by Management's representatives, such as crew sizes.

"In resolution of these issues, the Union hereby pledges itself and its members to make a diligent effort to improve the economic conditions of the Lackawanna plant... The International Union and each Local Union at the Plant pledge their full cooperation."

Meta is simply trying to cover up the criminal responsibility of the entire USWA bureaucracy which not only avoided a fight for wages in the contract, but also gave the go-ahead for sweeping productivity changes by agreeing to these joint committees.

We say that when Abel begins with the problems of the employers he tramples on the rights and interests of the workers. Every day drives home the lesson that there is only one direction for the steelworkers, and that is to begin with the needs of the workers, not the employers. Above all this now means that the steel industry must be nationalized without compensation to the capitalist owners, and operated under workers control in the interest of all.

Recent developments on the Pay Board show that the steelworkers must also mount a battle against the government's Pay Board simply to win their second year wage increase which is now threatened under the 5.5 percent guideline established by the Board.

## REOPEN

At the same time a fight must be taken up now to reopen the last contract which is being invalidated by the government, and demand the thirty hour week at 40 hours pay and the unlimited payment of SUB benefits at full union scale for laid off workers.

# Council Passes Arbitration Law

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—On Thursday, December 30, 1971 the City Council by a vote of 34 to 3 approved the "Collective Bargaining Law." This bill requires binding arbitration of deadlocked labor disputes and affects some 300,000 city workers.

This law represents a new stage in Rockefeller's and Nixon's strategy to obliterate civil service and put the unions under control of the government, not only in New York State but throughout the country. What is even more heinous, the bill was stalled some twenty months behind closed doors in committee until, as the New York Times so gleefully put it, "Some labor leaders quietly passed the word that they favored its passage."

In late November the Times carried an article which described the bill as "precedent-setting." Under this new law, when the City and union negotiators cannot agree, an "impasse panel will be appointed by the city's Office of

Collective Bargaining (OCB). Its recommendations, if approved by the majority of the OCB, would be binding on both sides.

The OCB set up in 1967, has been kept in moth balls over the past few years. What has emerged during that period has been a series of militant strikes in sanitation, and most recently by workers in District Council 37 who opened up bridges and paralyzed arteries throughout the city last spring.

## GOTBAUM

Clearly what the government wants is legislation that prevents such "militant actions" and provides a cover for the bureaucracy against rank and file movements. Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37, is one of the bill's biggest supporters. He clearly aimed his anger at opposition caucuses within DC 37 such as the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership when he declared that "we can't conduct orderly and fruitful negotiations because there are always some militants who are never satisfied with what their negotiators come up with."

This vicious legislation, which

exempts only transit workers and teachers, assures the complicity of bureaucrats like Gotbaum in Nixon's "economic stabilization program" which can only strengthen the employers' and government's plans to bust every union in this country and drive the working class into pauperism.

City Council Republicans and Democrats joined hands in lavishing praise upon the law. As Democratic Councilman Thompson stated, "There's no question in my mind, that the State of New York and many other cities across the nation are going to follow our lead."

What is now absolutely required is a fight back by city workers against this bill and against the labor bureaucrats' support for this legislation. Unless such a battle is taken up now this legislation will be "the law of the land" and will strengthen Nixon in his unionbusting drive.

At the center of this fight must be the demand for a labor party against the Republicans and Democrats who line up with Lindsay and Nixon against the unions.

# NY Fares Up— TWU Raise Held At 6%

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The contract settlement agreed to between Transport Workers head Matthew Guinan and New York City's Transit Authority represents the worst sellout in the history of New York City labor.

Worse than this it represents the most open and wholesale capitulation to the guidelines set down by Nixon's Pay Board yet to be made by any major trade union leader.

While transit workers will be forced to take a cut in their standard of living with this settlement, the City is viciously using it as an excuse to increase transit fares. While the transit workers received a measly 6 percent increase in wages, the fare went up 14 percent this week and plans are being laid to raise it higher next year. Tolls on bridges and tunnels were raised as much as 50 percent. The City is demanding that the working class pay for the capitalists' economic crisis with low wages and higher costs for services.

The basic sellout agreement reached at 2:30 AM New Years Day which resulted in the calling off of the strike authorized by the union's 38,000 members and 2000 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union has been officially pegged as an 18 per cent hike over 27 months. What is actually involved however is a rotten 6 per cent increase in each of 2 years, 6 per cent now, 6 per cent in January 1973 and 6 per cent more in January 1974 with the contract expiring three months into that year.

Not only has Guinan sold out on wages. On top of this Guinan has opened up the union like never before to the same reactionary productivity schemes through which thousands of American workers are now being viciously sped up and tens of thousands more driven onto the unemployment lines.

Contract clauses referred to by Transit Authority head Dr. William Ronan as an "enlightened breakthrough" specifically mandate the setting up of a joint union-management team to review maintenance operations to bring about increases in productivity in this area.

The magnitude of Guinan's sellout is measured not only in his abandonment of the official union demands of a 30 per cent wage increase over 2 years, an escalator clause, and a 32 hour week but also in the fact that Guinan has refused to fight even to achieve a settlement that matches the rotten 18 percent two year contract gotten in 1970.

Guinan has furthermore settled for a 2 per cent night differential in the first year compared to the original 10 per cent demand and won virtually no substantive improvements in pensions. On top of this Guinan by accepting a 27 month contract abandons the thirty year tradition of the TWU under which the union confronted the city with a solid no contract no work position every other New Years Day.

It is no wonder that TA head Ronan stated that he was convinced that the contract would meet all Federal Pay Board guidelines and be fully accepted by the Pay Board.

Thus the transit contract stands

to become a major breakthrough for Nixon in his drive to put an end to the policy of exception to the Pay Board guidelines he has forced to concede in Rail and Coal in order to get Phase II initiated. It sets the stage now for a much more rigid enforcement of the guidelines and the emergence of even more vicious encroachments against the unions to follow.

We say that there can only be one answer by the TWU rank and file to this sellout. The tremendous determination of the ranks to fight expressed in the 6000 strong Manhattan Center meeting that authorized strike action three weeks ago must now be taken forward to a rejection of this contract in the mail ratification ballot and to preparation for carrying through the strike that Guinan called off.

The fight for rejection of the contract must at the same time be linked to the struggle for an alternative to the Guinan bureaucracy.

The only basis on which a real opposition can be built in the TWU is upon a perspective that sees the fight for rejection of the present contract and the fight for the original demands as a political struggle.

The transit fare hike arises out of the same crisis of the capitalist class which is forcing it to cut back vital services in every sphere at the same time it attacks the unions. The fight to pull back this fare hike together with the fight to defend the TWU poses the fight for a labor party in '72 more sharply than ever.

## Stalinist Greet Lindsay Bid

BY ED SMITH

Last week New York Mayor John Lindsay opened his "new politics" run for the Democratic nomination. He opened his campaign with demagogic attacks on Nixon, trying to pose his "liberalism" as some sort of alternative to masses of workers and youth fed up and angry at Nixon and all he stands for.

Despite the "liberal" image Lindsay tries to give himself, he has earned himself the hatred of workers and youth in New York. This is because, like all capitalist politicians, Lindsay must do the bidding of the capitalist system.

He has carried on a war against the city labor movement from the day he took office in his attempt to break the Transit Workers strike, through his job freeze, budget cuts and threats to lay off a quarter of the city payroll, to this week's contract imposed on the transit workers conforming to the standards of the Pay Board of the Nixon Administration he attacks.

Lindsay in fact called for the wage freeze even before Nixon did and stands for it today. He stands for the breaking up of the labor movement, as manifested with the bill dictating compulsory arbitration for city workers recently passed by the City Council including the Democratic "friends of labor." His hypocrisy and open attacks, as in budget



Transit workers rank and file picket Coney Island yards to demand a "no" vote on the agreement reached by TWU leadership.

## Bombings Fail To Halt North

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The massive air attacks against North Vietnam ordered last week by President Nixon have produced nothing but new disappointments for the American military machine. United States Air Force spokesmen admitted that the 1000 sorties flown between December 26 and December 31 failed to diminish the fighting capacity of the North Vietnamese forces.

This means that imperialism is now confronted with the most critical situation since the period of the Tet offensive in 1968.

The political support of the Maoist regime is what Nixon requires if he is to salvage the pathetic wreck of his "Vietnamization" program. The ineffective bombing run is the latest of a long series of military setbacks dealt to American imperialism by the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

Throughout Indochina, troops are stronger than ever. They now patrol most of Laos and pose an

overwhelming threat to the puppet Lon Nol regime in Cambodia. In South Vietnam itself, President Thieu fears that an imminent offensive in the Central Highlands could turn into a total rout of his undisciplined and politically unstable army.

The New York Times described the situation that Nixon faces in Vietnam in a lead article of its issue of January 2, 1972. The Times stated that:

"...the Administration is trying, with air power, to stave off a major military setback in Indochina, particularly during a sensitive election year. The fact is that the

President's Vietnamization policy is once more endangered and, having progressively used up other means, he is now becoming more and more reliant on the air weapon to carry forward his strategy."

The hope that the Nixon government has in the role of the Peking regime is reflected in the willingness of Nixon to openly discuss his military escalation of the war. He declared Sunday night that the United States intends to keep at least 25,000 soldiers in South Vietnam. His precise words were "We will have to continue to retain a residual force in Vietnam and will have to continue the possibility of air strikes on the North Vietnamese."

This hardline approach should not leave a doubt in anyone's mind that imperialism will defend its interests in Indochina to the bitter end. Every ounce of American military might will be employed by Nixon against the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The renewed bombing of Hanoi, Haiphong, and other major population centers in the North is only a matter of time. The air strikes of the past week saw the introduction of terrible new weapons, among them a new bomb that is able to destroy everything within a half mile radius of its impact.

The defense of the Vietnamese Revolution requires an adamant struggle against every imperialist government and all its "decent" accomplices. The struggle against imperialism is the task of the international working class, fighting under the banner of the Fourth International. It means in the U.S. the independent mobilization of the working class against the government's war at home and in Vietnam.



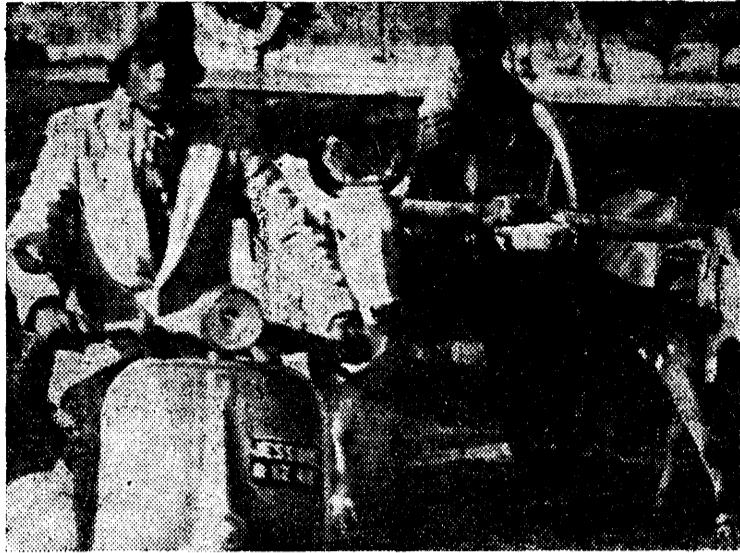
Liberal Lindsay.

capitalist politicians, Senator McGovern. For all the Daily World knows it may end up supporting Lindsay as an "alternative" to the independent political action of the working class posed by the Workers League. This is why it descends into the same pit of political evasion and hypocrisy as its friend, Lindsay.

So the Communist Party's Daily World heralded the announcement of Lindsay's Presidential ambitions thus: "Lindsay enters ring, jabs at Nixon's record," quoting large sections of Lindsay's fake attacks on Nixon.

At no point does the Daily World expose Lindsay's "anti-Nixon jabs" for what they are—a contemptible fraud. Its main complaint is that Lindsay may cut the base of another of its favorite

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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Bengali refugees returning home from India.

# Bhutto, Rahman Deal Over East

BY MELODY FARROW

The deepening class struggle in Pakistan which Yahya Khan sought to suppress by whipping up the fight against Bangla Desh into a fanatical Moslem "holy war" is now exploding to the surface with the defeat of Pakistani troops.

The economic crisis of Pakistan now at the point of collapse with the loss of East Bengal, combined with the upsurge of the Pakistani masses touched off by this defeat, places Bhutto, the dictator of Pakistan, in a desperate situation.

Under these conditions of crisis and defeat a revolutionary situation in Pakistan can rapidly develop. This is taking place at the very moment when the Bengali guerrilla forces which defeated Khan are entering into sharp struggle with the Indian bourgeoisie which seeks to disarm them and destroy their power.

Bhutto's nationalization of ten leading Pakistani industries announced January 2nd, his moves to discipline the 22 leading wealthy families and all of his "socialist" demagoguery is a hopeless attempt to hold back the masses and re-stabilize capitalism.

Bhutto has just released, after numerous "cordial" talks, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the bourgeois Awami League of Bangla Desh. It is clear that the U.S. has pressured Bhutto in this direction seeing Rahman as key to

holding back the struggles of the Bengali masses. The deal arranged between Bhutto and Rahman can only be a clear warning that the Indian and Bengali bourgeoisie in collaboration with the Awami League will use all their power to maintain capitalism in Bangla Desh and retain relations with Pakistan.

The nationalized industries which include iron, steel, auto, basic metals and utilities, electrical equipment and petrochemical industries are already under the control of the government. Private profit and foreign investment will in no way be threatened. The U.S. Esso Fertilizer Company and the British Attock Petroleum Company were not touched.

In another move aimed at impressing the Pakistani people that he is the "poor man's" friend, Bhutto placed two of the richest members of the bourgeoisie under six months house arrest for refusing to recall their foreign capital from abroad.

Most of the Pakistani corporate executives were not very concerned about the nationalizations and one businessman stated:

"Some of the things being

nationalized are just about bankrupt anyway and will be little more than a paper loss for anyone."

Under all the cynical phrases about giving the poor man a "decent break," Bhutto seeks to establish a personal dictatorship of a Bonapartist type. As President and martial law administrator he will assume full powers over the country.

The role of a Bonapartist is to give the impression that he is resolving the deepening class conflicts by balancing equally the capitalist class and the workers in the overall interests of the "nation." Behind this screen is the ruthless defense of the capitalist class and an even greater concentration of power in its hands. Bhutto, one of the wealthiest landowners in Pakistan is ideally suited to this task.

Bhutto refuses to renounce the idea of some sort of connection with Bangla Desh. In his proposal for a referendum in Bangla Desh and now his proposal for a loose federation, Bhutto hopes to still exploit the profitable industries in the East to resolve the economic crisis of Pakistan. His emissary in this dirty task is Sheikh Rahman.

It is clear that Rahman was only released on the understanding that he would use his waning influence to pressure the Bengali masses into reconciliation with Bhutto and acceptance of a bourgeois government. Bhutto's conception of a federation is not fundamentally different from Rahman's demand for autonomy.

## Tuition Hike Ahead As SEEK Budget Cut

BY CCNY STUDENTS

NEW YORK—Since 1965 the SEEK program in the City University of New York (CUNY) system has provided scholarship stipends and where needed dormitory space to many youth who otherwise would not be able to afford higher education.

Those students already in the program will suffer a cut-back in their stipends that will force many to work just to make ends meet while trying to keep up in school. Though the word is not yet final, the students living in dormitory space rented in the Hotel Alamac will be evicted the first week in February.

Tuition for all CUNY students is on the agenda for next year. Up to \$2,000 will be charged for an education.

At a recent SEEK meeting, Dean Young of SEEK and the Puerto Rican Students Union (PRSU) sought to form a wedge between the Black, Puerto Rican, and white students.

He finished his speech by assuring the students that there is no crisis, and all that is needed is to work on the feelings and consciousness of the politicians. It is these same politicians who are preserving the privileges of the capitalists by bringing down cuts in the educational system, health, welfare, creating massive unemployment, and murdering the prisoners at Attica.

The nationalist PRSU chaired the meeting. Their role was to attract new layers of youth into nationalism. PRSU's refusal to allow other speakers to propose alternatives showed their open hostility to the youth.

Questions could only be raised on what speakers had already said.

When members of the Workers League asked to speak on the platform they were threatened with physical attack and calling of the Wackenhut guards. The only concrete proposal made by the leadership of the meeting was a massive letter writing campaign to legislators.

When the youth from the trade and high schools went to City Hall last November to protest the cuts and were beaten up by the cops, it showed the fight against the cuts in SEEK and SGS is not to petition or protest to the legislators or the Board of Education who are responsible for the cuts, but to throw them out.

### FIGHT

To take this fight forward at City College the Young Socialists club is calling a special meeting of SEEK and SGS students. At this meeting the perspective will be

put forward that the only way to fight these cuts is to build a movement among all layers of youth on the campus that bases itself on the strength of the working class. This movement will turn the energy and militancy of these students into a struggle to build the Young Socialists club on campus and organize a massive demonstration of youth from all the schools, trade unionists and unemployed against these cuts and unemployment. This demonstration will call for a labor party to throw out these Republicans and Democrats.

## Chilean Right Steps Up Attack On Allende

BY ED SMITH

The pernicious effects of the popular frontism of Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government are now coming out into the open.

The latest development in the right wing offensive is the tabling of a motion by the Christian Democrats for the impeachment of Jose Toha Gonzalez, Allende's Interior Minister, and the censure of Economics Minister Pedro Vuskovic Bravo. In addition the right has opened a campaign to force a plebiscite on Allende's plan to replace the present two-house legislature with a single chamber Popular Assembly.

Significantly, the right has not confined itself to parliamentary maneuvering and virulent rhetoric against the Allende regime. Increasingly it prepares itself for an extra-legal challenge to power against Allende.

This process is now being stepped up by the bourgeois parties. In the Santiago University police claimed to have uncovered a plot by fascists to carry out provocative attacks which would be blamed on the left wing. At the same time anti-government newspapers carry scare stories on "left wing plots" to attack wealthy suburbs.

### CIA

Perhaps the most ominous development has been the setting up of "Civic Fronts" throughout the country to bring together all the right wing forces. The Allende government claims that these fronts have the support of the numerous CIA agents in Chile. These fronts also provide a cover



Fidel embraces right wing president Alvarado of Peru.

to augment and refine the right wing paramilitary squads which began to openly attack left elements at the time of the "March of the Pots."

### DEMONSTRATIONS

At the suggestion of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, the Allende regime now wages polemical battles against the right wing as "fascist" and attempts to shore itself up with street demonstrations in its own support that will be larger than those of the right wing opposition.

### UNREST

In the face of these growing dangers, unrest with the leadership of the Allende coalition

has been growing in the working class and peasantry.

This is the contradiction the Allende regime is coming up against more and more. It faces the attack of an implacable bourgeoisie backed by imperialism while at the same time more and more of its supporters among the workers and the peasantry become disaffected by its inability to keep its own promises. The poorly disguised ambition of the right wing is to mount a coup to overthrow the Allende regime, attacking the working class at its most vulnerable point—the fact that under the leadership of the Stalinists and Castroites it has not been prepared to take the political

struggle to a revolutionary conclusion.

While the Chilean working class moves toward a decisive test Castro prescribes such measures as will not disrupt his diplomatic offensive for reconciliation with imperialism. At home he presses for even higher productivity from the Cuban working class at the urging of his Stalinist mentors in the Soviet bureaucracy. At the conclusion of the recent talks of Cuban President Dorticos with the Kremlin bureaucrats, a communique was issued confirming complete agreement between the Soviet leaders and the Castroites on a strategy for Latin America. This is truly the end of the so-called "Cuban road to socialism"

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Pay Board Rips Up Aerospace Contract

As we go to press the Pay Board has vetoed the 12 percent wage increase covering nearly 200,000 aerospace workers. By a 9-5 vote, the Board has ripped up the contract agreed to by the UAW and IAM with the aerospace industry.

Unless there is a sharp fight to drive the labor members off the Board, to shut down the entire aerospace industry and to call a general strike against Phase II, the working class faces the beginning of the end of the union movement and of all the basic rights and conditions won over years of bitter struggle.

Pay Board representative, Virgil Day, who is also a top executive of General Electric, has made it clear that capital has even more vicious attacks in store for the working class.

We say instead of the Board throwing out contracts, the labor movement should organize a general strike to throw out the Board. The labor movement should give all out support to the fight against the aerospace bosses who are raking in billions in profits from death and destruction in Vietnam and other parts of the world at the expense of their own workers.

The labor bureaucracy on the Board is still crawling. In the morning, UAW President Leonard Woodcock threatened that if the veto went through labor would consider quitting the Board and calling a strike against the aerospace industry. By nightfall, Woodcock had changed his tune. He is now quoted as saying that the labor members will not quit the Board, but will fight "in the courts."

On the very eve of the Pay Board decision, the Daily World devotes considerable space to an attack on Teamsters chief Frank Fitzsimmons' role on the Board, but has not one word to say about the treachery of their "progressive" friend Leonard Woodcock.

The Pay Board has not yet set any figure as a "guideline" for a new contract. They are giving Woodcock and Smith of the IAM time to work out a renegotiated settlement consistent with Phase II.

But the aerospace workers and the rest of the ranks of labor still must say the last word. The UAW and IAM ranks must say NO to the Pay Board!

- Strike aerospace for full 12 percent first year—wage reopener in second and third years.
- Labor off the Board—general strike to end Phase II entirely.
- A labor party to dump Nixon in '72.

The Workers League has just finished a three month combined Fund and Subscription Drive. Both came off with flying colors, which testifies both to the dedication of the Workers League members and friends in constructing and developing our press and the ability in this period to take this fight deeply into the working class and the youth.

The Fund Drive raised a total of \$31,500.00. This is \$6,500.00 over the original \$25,000.00 goal set at the beginning of the drive. These funds will go towards the purchasing of the most modern phototypesetting and related equipment which will not only make the Bulletin the best looking newspaper in the American working class movement but also the one with the most efficient production equipment available. Part of this equipment is already in use in the production of the paper.

The Sub Drive brought 3,058 new readers to the Bulletin, 58 over the original goal of 3,000 in the three month period. This brings the total of paid subscriptions to 4,706 and our total paid circulation over 12,000.

Both these drives are part of the fight carried on by the Bulletin to secure the political and technical base in the working class and youth which will make possible the production of the first Trotskyist daily paper in the United States.

We thank our members and friends for making these drives a success.



Bangla Desh: A tiger by the tail.

## What we think

### YSA And The Transitional Program

The National Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance took place under conditions of deepening capitalist crisis which have already brought about the devaluation of the dollar. This means a sharpening attack on the American and international working class. On the eve of the Conference the Pay Board announced its intention to take away pay increases from American aerospace workers while during the Conference Nixon stepped up the bombing of North Vietnam.

Every effort was made at the conference to keep the effects of this crisis and the responsibilities it raises for socialists out of the proceedings. This was largely successful as hour after hour of report and discussion was levoted to women's liberation, gay liberation, high school rights, Black nationalism, peace. All these questions were approached as democratic questions requiring a reform solution. At a time when masses of workers—particularly the youth—are unemployed, when millions of those employed face government-backed attacks on their living standards, the YSA posed every question in a liberal way.

Thus women are to fight for abortion law reform. Gays are to fight against anti-sodomy laws. High school students are to fight for democratic rights in the high schools. Blacks are to have community control. The anti-war movement is to be continued to be built on the basis of immediate withdrawal alone. No program is put forward to confront the economic attacks on workers as workers. High school students face cutbacks in education and no jobs when they get out of school but nothing is said on unemployment and government cutbacks and no program provided to mobilize these youth.

All this is explained by the formula of fighting for democratic AND transitional demands. Not only is the democratic demand raised to the level of equality with transitional demands—in actual practice the work of the YSA is organized around democratic demands to the exclusion of transitional demands. Marxists, however, insist upon centering their struggle around the Transitional Program which begins with the objective needs of the working class and refuses to accept the limits of capitalism in its battle to fulfill those needs. This takes the working class through a struggle in which it comes to realize that only through the socialist revolution can it survive. The capitalist crisis is now raising this question of survival to millions of workers for the first time since the 1930s. Democratic demands, such as civil liberties, are then raised

within this context.

Because the YSA proceeds the other way around it acts at each point in common with the liberals. While formally opposing the Democratic Party in the elections it forms common organizations with those influenced by this party and even leading spokesmen of the party in the peace movement, women's movement, high schools, Black and Chicano movements, etc. Thus it draws ever closer to open endorsement of the Democratic Party. This general movement to the right was accelerated at this convention.

This in turn has led the YSA to come to the conclusion that the coming election year will be a difficult one for it politically in the various movements it devotes its greatest efforts to. Thus virtually every report was marked by a pessimism that in this election period the liberals it normally works with will take time out to devote their energies to supporting a capitalist candidate. Thus much of the YSA's work was seen as a holding action until ties with liberalism can be more smoothly resumed after November.

At the same time the YSA Conference was used as a launching platform for the 1972 SWP Election Campaign. This campaign drew a great deal of interest from the press and, of course, great enthusiasm from the membership and supporters of the YSA. This is precisely because of the capitalist crisis and in spite of the program of the YSA. We have entered a period where the working class is under attack and must fight back politically. To raise the question of a socialist political alternative to capitalism in this period is to raise, if in a distorted way, the central question posed by the crisis.

Jenness and Pulley plan to base their campaign on the same liberal program which dominated all sessions of the YSA Conference. From a programmatic point of view there is little to distinguish the SWP ticket from the left wing of the Democrats. Thus, during the Conference, it was pointed out that Ron Dellums agrees with the YSA on all points of program and can only be attacked for adherence to the Democratic Party. This, however, is the YSA's contradiction, and not Dellums', for socialism is not raised transitionally in the actual program of the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

Jenness and Pulley refuse to make the labor party central to their election campaign. They insist that the campaign remain a propaganda one as distant as possible from the working class organized in the trade union movement. Instead they endorse the liberal capitalist La Raza Unida Party

and call for a similar party among Blacks. La Raza Unida moves ever closer to the Democratic Party because it does not represent a class break from that party.

The aim of the YSA and SWP in all this is to seek to maintain the center position they now find themselves in politically. They adapt themselves to middle class protest movements based on minimum demands held in common with liberals. But they must attack the liberals for supporting Democrats and themselves run candidates against the Democrats. They face a period with the great opportunities for the development of the revolutionary movement with pessimism. They cling to a middle class program in a period when masses are seeking an alternative not just to liberal candidates but liberalism and reformism—when masses are coming into collision with the capitalist system itself. They pose the objective needs of the working class for a socialist solution then undermine it with a liberal program and with the abandonment of the fight for the labor party.

Leon Trotsky stated in the Transitional Program: "The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus." Today all the bureaucratic apparatuses of the workers movement the world over—including the trade unions here—are being battered about by the sharpening class struggle brought about by the intensification of the capitalist crisis. It is this objective development which takes precedence over the subjective wishes and maneuvers of the YSA and SWP leaderships.

It is not just that the Workers League proposes the necessity to face up to the responsibilities of this period through a turn to a struggle around the labor party. This is posed by the objective situation itself. The Workers League simply bases itself on this and seeks through the development of Marxist theory to do what now must be done in this situation.

Centrism is strengthened by defeats of the working class and weakened by its victories, by its strength, by its struggles and confidence. This is why the current situation is weakening the revisionists politically forcing them into a crisis. Whatever twist or turn the YSA may now make it will not be able to avoid the questions posed by the objective situation itself. Any attempt to confront these questions short of Trotsky's struggle for the Transitional Program is destined to deepen its crisis. Any attempt to take up Trotsky's struggle will bring it up squarely against the International Committee and its struggle against the revisionism embraced by the SWP and YSA leaderships.

**Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, all modern socialism rests on the indisputable truth that the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class in capitalist society.'**

**Lenin on Revolutionary Adventurism 1902.**

EVERY MAJOR crisis in imperialism not only generates new revisionist trends, but makes more precise and sharpens the differences between Marxism and the old forms of revisionism.

This is both natural and inevitable. Imperialism's present crisis, since it transcends all previous crises in its magnitude and intensity, and since it affects immediately and drastically the interests of the middle class, must have a very profound effect on the morale of the revisionists.

letariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism.'

**Accurate**

Lenin's words are a piquant and accurate description of the salient features of present-day revisionism, in particular, its most opportunist variety represented by the Unified Secretariat

ception of absolute truth. For him there is neither absolute nor objective truth. Everything is relative, conditional or subjective.

**Contrary**

This, of course, is completely contrary to what Lenin taught. In 'Emperio-Criticism' he showed how only dialectics, by recognizing the relative nature of our knowledge prevents theory from becoming dogma. But he also demonstrated—against the positivists of the time—that the process of cognition is based on the accumulation of grains of absolute truth:

'Human thought, by its nature, is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of a sum total of relative truth. Each step in the development of science adds new grains to the sum of absolute truth, but the limits of the truth of each scientific proposition are relative, now expanding, now shrinking with the growth of knowledge.'

Thus for the Marxist-Leninist principles are an embodiment of absolute truth which are absolutely correct within a given set of conditions. This does not give the Marxist a claim to infallibility. False theories are inevitable—because the process of cognition is contradictory, but by a strict adherence to the Marxist theory of reflection, error can be corrected. To take a cavalier attitude to principles and play with them is to deny this vital component of Marxism.

Principles have only a sub-

dealing with the attacks in 'Red Mole', we should like to clear up a few misunderstandings about the author.

**Eccentric**

SINCE some people tend to dismiss Jordan as a dedicated eccentric and his arguments as political paranoia, there is necessity to place this revisionist in proper perspective.

During the middle 1960s, Jordan made his debut in politics as major domo for Ralph Schoenmann—one time secretary for the late Lord Bertrand Russell and chief spokesman for the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

Jordan was one of those who supported Schoenmann when he refused the SLL the right to criticize the Soviet bureaucracy and British Stalinism at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall meeting in August 1966.

He also participated actively in the liberal-pacifist exercise called the War Crimes Tribunal, which was organized by Lord Russell, Jean Paul Sartre and others.

The purpose of this bogus anti-war front was to obscure the class nature of the Vietnam war by placing the responsibility for it on President Johnson.

It was in the summer of 1968 that Mr Jordan suddenly emerged into the limelight—as a VSC organizer and as the protagonist of the most unprincipled and opportunist form of protest movement known in Britain—the all-embracing 'toute en-

"But we have Catholics and Liberals and many other people among our members who feel the world is going to pot.

'Mr Jordan, a bookseller, added: 'I have been accused of providing instant mobs, a kind of raise or rent-a-crowd service which will include agitators, men of violence, and foreign students. Maybe this is right.

"What it means is that I can pick up a phone, write a few letters, and get people to demonstrate". ('Daily Sketch', April 18, 1968.)

No comment is called for except, perhaps to point out that Jordan's emphasis on Catholics, Liberals and 'men of violence' is sufficient proof of the anti-working class nature of his politics. To many workers it seemed that if anything 'was going to pot' it was certainly VSC. They weren't far wrong.

**Unrest**

BECAUSE VSC activity coincided with the unrest in the universities, the May-June events in France, the SDS demonstrations in Germany the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the anti-war movement in the USA, it was possible for VSC to attract many student youth.

Jordan and the IMG, however, never understood the conjunctural nature of this upsurge and its grave limitations. By October, euphoria had given way to paranoid delusions of grandeur. Jordan began to talk as if he were Lenin:

**THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVISIONISM**



**A political examination of the IMG and 'Red Mole' by Michael Banda**

The revisionists are affected seriously because they reflect the instability and heterogeneity of the middle class.

In periods of boom this instability manifests itself in a frenetic adventurism coupled with an obsessive regard for the stability of the capitalist system and prostration before the labour agencies of capital—Stalinism and social democracy.

In periods of crisis and slump, euphoria usually gives way to the blackest pessimism coupled with the most pernicious forms of sophistry and mysticism. In boom or slump, however, the revisionists have one immediate property: their opposition to the Marxist doctrine of class struggle and their fear of the revolutionary power of the working class.

**Rejection**

Their opposition to dialectical materialism is expressed first of all in the implicit rejection of the ultimate goal of the Marxist movement and, secondly, in an opportunist attitude to questions of principle. Lenin's observations on this first aspect of revisionism was certainly prophetic:

'A natural complement to the economic and political tendencies of revisionism was its attitude to the ultimate aim of the socialist movement "the movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing"—this catch phrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long disquisitions. To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the pro-

and its British offshoot—the International Marxist Group.

Despite protestations to the contrary, these gentlemen long ago abandoned the strategic aim of the movement to take the power and this explains their wild and weird gyrations on the political field—in Britain, Ireland, Cuba, Ceylon and a host of other countries.

We shall have more to say about this later. For the present we would only like to point out that the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat means the liquidation of Trotskyism into the milieu of middle-class national fronts, solidarity fronts, anti-internment leagues, defence committees and what have you. As a result it is not astonishing that the revisionist movement should be at its weakest when the crisis is fiercest.

The second aspect of revisionism—the indifference to principles and the marked eclecticism on questions of tactics—demands comment because of the important methodological issues which it raises. This indifference betrays a real hostility to the Marxist theory of knowledge and an acceptance of the most reactionary schools of bourgeois thought. Lenin wrote:

'In the sphere of philosophy, revisionism followed in the wake of bourgeois professional "science". The professors went "back to Kant" and revisionism dragged along after the neo-Kantians.'

Lenin was absolutely right. The revisionists have never left Kant—and in Britain—Hume.\* The revisionist belittles the vital importance of principles because he combines the worst features of idealist and empiricist philosophy in his approach to reality. He rejects the dialectical con-

jective significance for the revisionist because, in rejecting the revolutionary role of the working class and the revolutionary party, he has abandoned the only objective criterion of the truth of principles, i.e. the collective experience of the class and the party.

This does not exhaust the many other questions which revisionism has raised, but we feel it does help to focus the attention of readers on the question of method and outlook involved in the following polemic.

**Struggle**

FOR MANY years the Socialist Labour League has conducted a political struggle against the revisionist group, IMG, which spuriously claims to be Trotskyist.

Defined briefly, the IMG is a collection of middle-class adventurers and publicity-seeking opportunists and liberals who have combined the worst elements of the Stalinist, Anarchist and petty-bourgeois nationalist movements into an eclectic hodge-podge which they try to pass off as Trotskyism.

Their chief characteristic is an absolute contempt for Marxist principles. And the chief purveyor of their theoretical garbage is one Pat Jordan, whose obscure Communist Party origins have led many people to wonder whether he ever broke from Stalinism at all.

After reading his latest attack on the SLL (see 'Red Mole', September 1971) there is little doubt that Jordan is not only an inverted Stalinist, but also the crudest idealist-empiricist in the radical movement today. Before

semble-front based on single-issue, non-exclusionary politics.

Like the War Crimes Tribunal, the VSC obscured the class character of the Vietnam war and diverted the struggle for an alternative leadership to Wilson in the working class.

The VSC—thanks to Jordan and Tariq Ali—became a carnival of middle-class confusion and politically impotent protest. In VSC, bourgeois liberals, petty-bourgeois anarchists and de-classed pseudo-Marxists could display their humanitarian virtues and salve their outraged middle-class consciences by stoning the United States Embassy. All good for publicity from the most reactionary media.

**Buffoonery**

Suburbia stood aghast and London papers screamed about 'mob violence' and 'revolution'. Not since Hyndmann's imbecilic attempt to start the revolution in 1886 by breaking the windows, in Pall Mall had London seen anything like this exhibition of pseudo-revolutionary buffoonery. The middle class had found its leader. Jordan had arrived.

The capitalist press gave him unsolicited and extensive publicity, if only to discredit Trotskyism. Jordan did his best to oblige with the kind of putrescent anti-Marxism that follows.

To the Tory 'Daily Sketch' reporter, Brian Dixon, he boasted: "My organization was behind the Grosvenor Square riots and the demonstrations in High Holborn on Easter Monday." (1968.)

"... I have more than 2,000 people in my organization any many, like me, are Marxists [sic].

'Asked about the prospect of future violence, Mr Jordan replied: "There may be a time when it is necessary to seize buildings, as was done in the Russian Revolution".' ('Daily Telegraph', October 29, 1968.)

Jordan's remarks were obviously inspired by the grotesque adventure of the French group of Alain Krivine who thought they could overthrow French capitalism by burning down the French Bourse during the general strike of May-June.

For Jordan's information—and also Krivine's—it should be pointed out that Lenin didn't seize buildings, he seized state power. But to do that he had to develop revolutionary theory and build a revolutionary party—two factors which are completely missing from Jordan's schema.

**Aloof**

Jordan's great hopes that through the students he would capture the workers died still-born after the October 27 demonstration. By Spring, 1969, the student unrest had died down and with it—went Vietnam Solidarity Committee.

Workers remained aloof from VSC, not merely because it was a student-orientated protest body, but also because VSC policy, for its demagoguery, was indistinguishable from Stalinist policy on Vietnam.

Jordan's pro-Stalinism has been

\* David Hume (1711-1776) English philosopher of the Restoration who developed empiricism to a complete scepticism and opened the door to irrationalism and the abandonment of reason in favour of intuition.



carefully concealed beneath a veneer of left-sounding phrases. But when the SLL left the VSC he could not conceal it. In his journal, *The 'International'*, November 1968, he defended the alliance with Stalinism explicitly:

'This attitude was more clearly expressed by the Socialist Labour League during its brief but stormy honeymoon with the VSC. Here the issue was quite plain: was the united-front character of the VSC to be subordinated to the need to "expose Stalinism" or was the need to build the broadest possible movement on a solidarity position to be predominant?'

In the same article Jordan was applauding the British Stalinists thus:

'Very suddenly the Communist Party changed its line and the YCL has been very active in the preparations for October 27. This change of line fills us with great joy. . . .'

In fact, of course, King Street, never changed its line on Vietnam, before or after October 27, but it knew very clearly that VSC was led by a group of unprincipled revisionists whose line, by October 27, was 'disassociation' — the same rotten policy as that of the Communist Party! VSC did give a new lease of life to the Communist Party.

**THOUGH THE Vietnam Solidarity Campaign** died in early 1969, Jordan's policy of adaptation to the middle class and backward sections of workers continued.

As working-class abstention in the by-elections and local government elections increased because of the deflationary and anti-working-class policies of Wilson and Jenkins, Jordan, as usual, became—next to a Mr Robin Blackburn — the most vociferous supporter of 'tail-endism' in the radical left.

His experience in VSC, his contempt for principles, his indifference to theory and his Philistine veneration of Catholics, Liberals and Stalinists gave him the required qualification for this unsavoury task.

While the SLL fought vigorously to oppose Wilson's policies and keep Labour in power, and while we fought to convince workers that a victory for the Tories would be a tactical gain for the employers and a set back to the successes in the struggle against Barbara Castle's White Paper, what was Mr Jordan doing?

Together with Blackburn and his fellow Red Moles, Jordan was busy demonstrating his latest contribution to the science of what for want of a more precise word we call moleology.

Evoking the worst vices of Stalinist 'Third Periodism', Jordan vigorously exhorted his followers to ignore Lenin and Trotsky's most basic teachings on tactics in relation to the mass labour movement and to abstain in the General Election.

Jordan, like Blackburn and Ali, are opposed to the construction of a revolutionary party based on the working class. They have no need of proletarian cadres educated in the Marxist method and outlook—that would be an embarrassment to the petty-bourgeois cynics and upper-class snobs who infest the mole hill of Pentonville Rd (their headquarters).

'Left-Wing Communism' and Trotsky's writings on the United Front were long ago replaced by the inane nostrums of Che Guevara, and the romantic platitudes of Eldridge Cleaver, Murrighella and other spokesmen of petty-bourgeois individualism. If Bakunin and Nechayev were alive we would be certain to see portraits of them also gracing the walls of revisionist offices and homes.

**Excesses**

JORDAN'S sectarian excesses were so absurd that even Mr Joseph Hansen, his one-time mentor and leader of the Socialist Workers Party in New York, was forced to protest.

In an *International Information Bulletin* (April 1971 No. 3) called 'In Defence of the Leninist Strategy of Party Building' the SWP leader comments disparagingly on the exotic nonsense of 'Blackburn—the British Weatherman' and Jordan.

Hansen is an arch-revisionist, but like the older SWP leaders he learnt his politics from Trotsky. In breaking from Trotskyism, Hansen — unlike Jordan who learnt his politics from Stalin — was hampered by the weight of past tradition. He had to conceal his revisionist ideas with formal Marxist camouflage. From time to time his pedestrian pace has clashed with the histrionic exhibitionism of the new model revisionists who have no tradition to restrain them. Hansen then is not averse to resorting to formally correct arguments to sustain a completely untenable thesis.

We are at present not so much

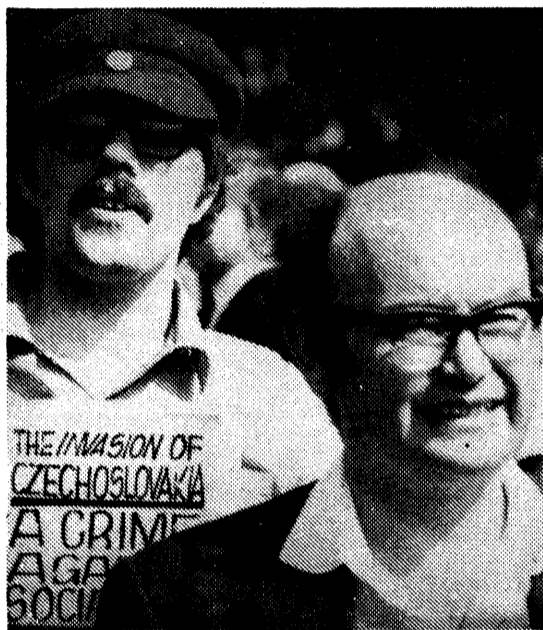
'The confusion created by the "Red Mole's" adaptation to ultra-leftism carries a political overhead. A good example was the scandal resulting from the display given to the article on the Labour Party by Board member, Robin Blackburn in the April 15, 1970, issue and the failure to answer it properly.'

Hansen quotes Blackburn and we reproduce here only the most important extract:

'... it would be absolutely incorrect for us to offer any kind of support to Harold Wilson or the party he leads... the only principled course for revolutionary socialists during the coming election will be an active campaign to discredit both of Britain's largest capitalist parties. We should disrupt the campaigns of the bourgeois parties and their leading spokesmen using all the imaginative and direct methods which the last few years have taught us''.

**Pathetic**

Jordan, who is IMG secretary, had nothing to say for over a month on this fantastic assault on the traditional Marxist-



tionary groups can influence the outcome of the election. Secondly, to make our main thrust the slogan 'Vote Labour' would be to put ourselves on the left-wing of those forces mystifying the whole electoral process. This would, in effect, be adding our weight to those processes which enable the Labour Party to divert working-class aspirations... To concentrate upon the slogan 'Keep the Tories Out' would be merely another way of saying 'Vote Labour' under present circumstances''.

An exasperated Hansen asks:

'Is it too much to say that this position is ambiguous? The IMG rejects the course of running a candidate of its own... Nevertheless the IMG refuses to

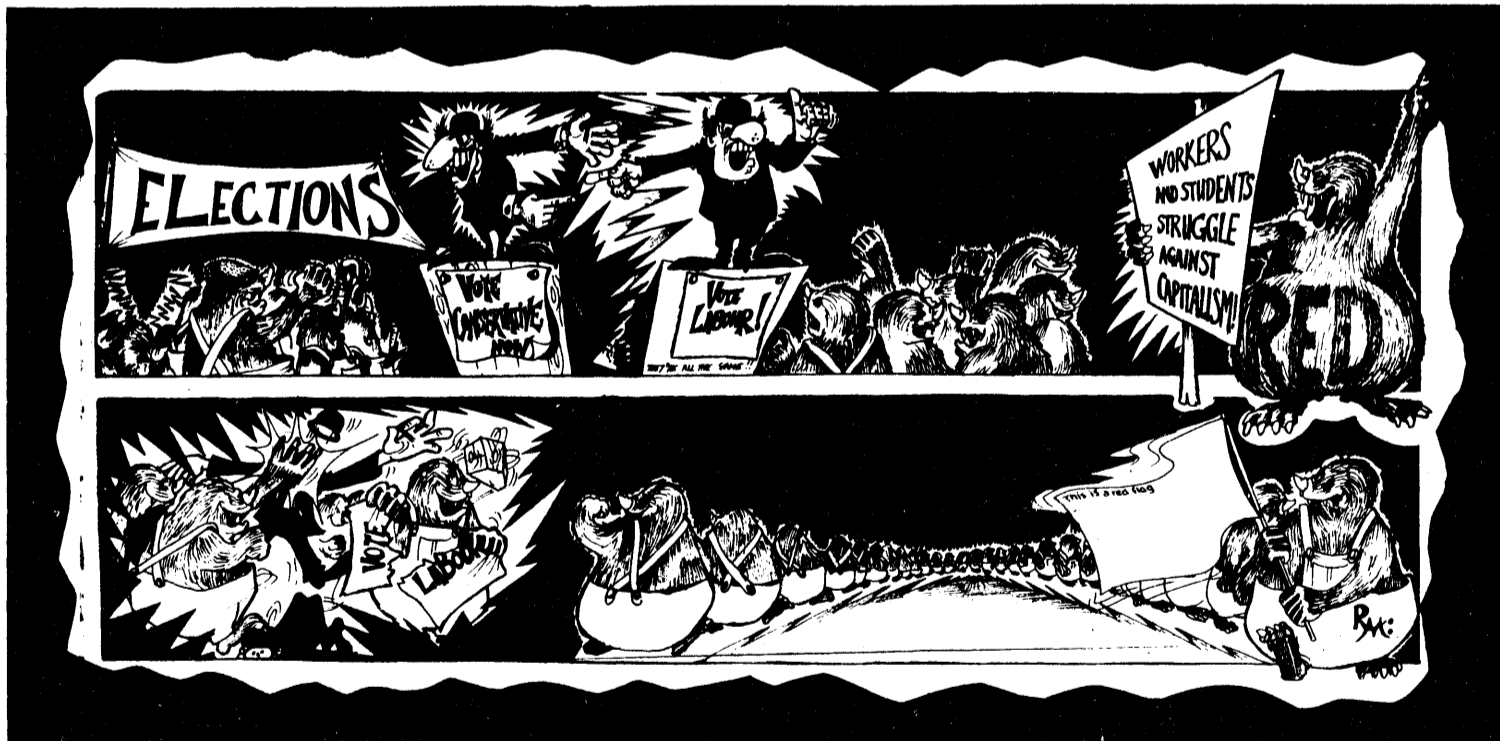
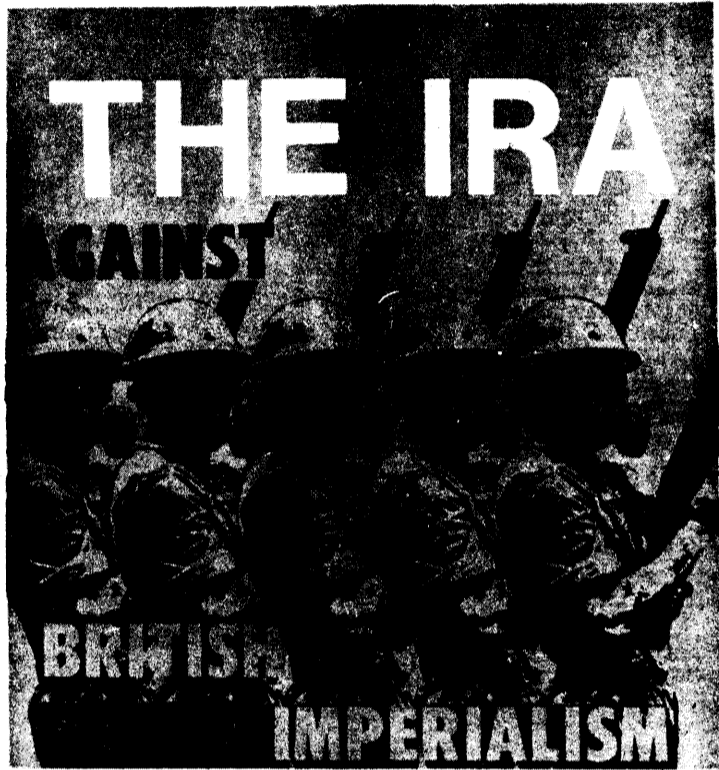
'mole holds up his sign "Workers and Students struggle against capitalism".'

'A second panel shows a crowd of moles ganging up on the two speakers, physically beating both of them, trampling them underfoot, tearing up the placards marked "Vote Labour" and joining a long line of moles triumphantly carrying the red flag.'

'That's a bully way of dispelling the electoral illusions of the British workers and showing them what we think.'

'As to the relative impact of the article written by the secretary of the IMG and the accompanying cartoon there is no question as to which made

**Red Mole**



Top left, Purdie and Jordan of IMG. Right, Aug. 1971 issue of "Red Mole" uncritically supporting Irish nationalism. Below, "Red Mole" cartoons express Jordan's sectarianism on the elections.

concerned with the thesis as the arguments he adduces against Jordan.

On page 25 of his 62-page *Bulletin* Hansen states, in referring to Jordan, Ali and Blackburn:

'The current permissive attitude towards ultra-leftism involves basically similar danger. Moreover a new logic can be set in motion. Just as entryism festered the belief among some of those who practised it that left centrism is Trotskyism, so permissiveness towards ultra-leftism can become converted into the conviction that ultra-leftism is Trotskyism.'

'The outcome can thus be most deleterious to the main task facing our movement as a whole — the construction of a Leninist-type party.'

'Let it bleed.'

Leninist attitude to the Labour Party. His first attempt to answer Blackburn was so pathetic that he had to have a second try two months later. Let Hansen speak:

'The June 1, 1970, issue of the "Red Mole" carried the promised article by Comrade Jordan... but it must be said that when he reached the point where it became necessary to project a course of action, he came down with a sudden case of stomach pains:

'"For reasons given above I am in favour of victory of Labour in the coming election campaign. However, it would be the height of foolishness to draw from this the conclusion that revolutionaries' main activities should be that of calling upon people to Vote Labour. In the first place, it is totally unrealistic to think that small revolu-

tionary groups can influence the outcome of the election. Secondly, to make our main thrust the slogan "Vote Labour" would be to put ourselves on the left-wing of those forces mystifying the whole electoral process. This would, in effect, be adding our weight to those processes which enable the Labour Party to divert working-class aspirations... To concentrate upon the slogan "Keep the Tories Out" would be merely another way of saying "Vote Labour" under present circumstances''.

'And what does a worker do in the voting booth. Nothing more than take off his cap and salute like a red mole?'

Alas for Hansen this is not all!

**Cartoon**

'On another page of the very same issue of the "Red Mole" a contrasting line came out with admirable clarity.

'In a cartoon strip, two political demagogues stand, each on his soap box, the one labelled "Vote Conservative Now", the other "Vote Labour". (Underneath the cartoonist has written "They're all the same"). A red

the greater impression on the readers of the "Red Mole": "Imaginative and direct methods" pay off. Especially when used by an editor to tip off the readers as to the papers' real line.'

We are not being charitable to Hansen by reproducing his essentially correct criticism of the nauseous IMG — and its incredible secretary. When revisionists have to borrow Marxist arguments to counter other, more profane revisionists, that is not a tribute to revisionism but to Marxism. Jordan and Blackburn, in any case, are only holding up the mirror for the calibean of revisionism in the Socialist Workers Party to look at himself.

This is why Hansen misses the most vital clue to the method of Jordan. It is contained in the third section of Jordan's reply

to Blackburn, and reads:

'A lot of nonsense is now being talked about the danger of a return of a Tory government. This is based largely upon the reformist and idealist concept that political policies are decided by the will of politicians.'

**Aberration**

WHY DID Jordan dismiss so contemptuously the prospect of the return of the Tories? Was it an aberration or was it an expression of Jordan's anti-Marxism.

The answer to this mystery is contained in the infamous 'Red Mole' theses of May 1970 which bears the unmistakable imprint of Jordan's eclectic style. The theses argues from the revisionist premise that the crisis of imperialism is caused not by the strangulation of productive forces by

between employers and workers in Britain itself. About the first factor, British imperialism, its institutions and parties can do **nothing except react as the process develops.** It will further be difficult to change the relationship of forces between the working class and the bourgeoisie in Britain in the present world context.'

The meaning of Jordan's thesis is unequivocally clear: the traditional parties cannot 'ameliorate the position' and the capitalist class can do nothing except to watch the unfolding crisis with a sense of fatalistic foreboding and weariness.

Thus the Labour government has failed and the Tory government has become an irrelevancy.

'The next possible attempt to solve the crisis of British imperialism—a "modern" Tory govern-

likely to want (or capable of (!)) an outright confrontation with the working class. Some tendencies automatically assume that the Tories will begin an immediate attack on the trade unions, if returned in the next election . . . they (the Tories) seem too astute to lightmindedly begin a process which will rapidly result in mass struggles against them. . . .'

How charitable to the Tories this is! Any naïve worker reading this rubbish must be forgiven for believing that culture, intelligence, decency and astuteness forbid Heath and company from depriving workers of their rights. The reality, of course, is entirely different from this Fabian sketch.

**Confirmed**

THE YEAR that has elapsed

workers.

**Gibberish**

REVISIONISTS like Jordan reject this materialist interpretation and replace it with idealist gibberish about 'structural' changes and the 'astuteness' of the Tories. It is a perspective of defeat and despair which is cogently expressed in the Red Mole thesis.

So far, we have been told that the ruling class cannot even rule and no 'confrontation' is probable. What then is left for the working class?

Precious little!

'A workers' solution to the present crisis would require a conscious leadership. None of the existing organizations [what not even 'Red Mole?'] is anything

crisis leadership, one can say that the workers' movement is in a worse state . . . [emphasis in original]. . . . The betrayals of the Labour government and the impotence of the major left forces to oppose its rightward evolution had far-reaching effects in demoralizing for a period whole layers of Labour Party and trade union activists . . . many thousands of activists were either demoralized or virtually depoliticized. . . .'

**Unique**

A tired and listless bourgeoisie facing an impotent and indifferent working class is certainly unique and unprecedented in the annals of British history. That this should violate every law of the class struggle and contradict everything that Marx represented does not worry Jordan. He has an answer. New social forces, to which neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Trotsky, attached any importance, have appeared on the scene:

'(1) The situation on the left would be extremely gloomy if it were not for the coming onto the scene of a new force: the youth vanguard. . . . The recent resurgence of student struggles and the inevitability of a huge crisis in all fields of education [not industry. Ed.] indicate that this youth vanguard will grow and develop in the next few years. . . .'

'The youth vanguard has come into existence with the following characteristics:

'a) it has emerged quite outside the framework of the traditional workers' organizations . . .  
' . . . d) it tends to equate organization with bureaucracy.

' . . . e) it has been unable to create any stable organization of its own.'

JORDAN'S glorification of the students and his explicit defence of their contempt for organization is irrefutable proof of the middle-class and counter-revolutionary nature of his movement.

**Role**

The students never have, and will not play a leading role in modern capitalist societies precisely because they are divorced from the process of production and, secondly, like other non-proletarian strata, they are extremely heterogeneous in social composition. Although students have been and are capable of unleashing heroic struggles, nevertheless they are organically incapable of demonstrating the unity, discipline and cohesiveness which characterizes the working class.

While students should be given every encouragement to join the revolutionary party of the working class and study Marxism it is a disservice to the students to cultivate the kind of absurd illusion which Vietnam Solidarity Committee did on the October 27, 1968, demonstration.

The students—or rather sections of them—can play only an ancillary role in the British revolution. The central leading role will be played by the working class and its party.

Jordan doubts the central tenet of the Communist Manifesto because he sees the so-called 'structural crisis' affecting most severely the education system and the least conscious and organized sections of the working class—but not the organized workers.

In this, as well as in his abstention from political struggle, he shares a direct affinity with Bakunin—but not with Marx. In the same way as Bakunin tried to counterpose 'the hot blooded Latin races' to the 'slow moving Northerners', so too Jordan tries to make a thoroughly reactionary and invidious distinction between the native British workers and immigrant workers, women workers, Irish workers, students and 'newly unionized sectors'.

**Sceptic**

Black workers, according to this incorrigible sceptic, are



"I have been accused of providing instant mobs, a kind of raise or rent-a-crowd service that will include agitators, men of violence, and foreign students. Maybe this is right. What it means is that I can pick up a phone, write a few letters and get people to demonstrate."

Pat Jordan as he appeared in the British capitalist newspapers and his words which were quoted by them.

private property and the national state, but rather by the structural adaptation of neo-capitalism. Hardly new and atrociously banal, Jordan's interpretation of Mandel's revisionist thesis is well worth recalling:

'3. British imperialism's economic, political and social institutions were built on the basis of its world dominant position—hence their archaic and parasitic features. Now the basis for these institutions has almost completely eroded they are thrown into a deep structural crisis in adapting themselves to the new situation.' (Our emphasis.)

**Crisis**

What then follows?

'None of these parties (Labour, Tory, Liberal) has an answer to the crisis (!)—principally because there is none and all are thrown into a crisis just trying to find a policy to ameliorate the position.

'The two principal reasons for the crisis are both aspects of the development of the world revolutionary process. Britain's decline vis-a-vis the colonial revolution, other imperialisms, and the workers' state; and the changed relationship of forces

ment seems no more likely to succeed. So much so that sections of bourgeois opinion are by no means certain that they want the Tories to win the next election . . . there is no body of opinion in Britain which really thinks that the Tories have the answer to Britain's crisis.'

**Trite**

Read it whichever way we like, the only conclusion we can draw from this trite assumption of the chief Mole is that a Tory government in May 1970 was not a desirable prospect, least of all for the Tories. This is further developed by Jordan in a way that must have left his readers breathless:

'Thus we have a perspective of continuous crisis . . . with no bourgeois leadership capable of presenting a decisive policy for solving it in the immediate future.'

Mr Jordan, had, presumably not heard of the Tory conference at Selsdon, January 1970. If he had, he seemed singularly unimpressed by policies which petrified even the hardened reformists in Labour's front bench. To continue:

'At present no bourgeois leadership (or its agencies) seems

since June 1970 has confirmed the prognosis of the SLL that the Tories were spoiling for a fight with the unions.

The first thing that the Tories did was to take on the dockers, miners, dustmen, powerworkers and postmen. They followed that by ramming through the vicious anti-union bill, attacking immigrants, as well as stepping up repression in Ulster, cutting social services and increasing unemployment.

Marxists were not surprised at the scale of the Tory attacks because we base ourselves on the basic premise of Marxist political economy that extended reproduction under capitalism is realized only to the extent that more and more surplus value is extracted from the working class. If this process is interrupted or reversed by the struggles of the working class and there is a serious decline in the rate of profit, then crisis becomes inevitable.

The only way out for the capitalists is to increase profit rates by attacking wages through inflation, unemployment, anti-union legislation, and floating currencies.

This is what explains the dissolution of the Bretton Woods agreement and the present offensive of the Tories against the

like approaching this and there is no sign of such a leadership arising "spontaneously" from the present struggles. . . . Thus we have at most [sic] a few years to help to create a conscious leadership largely from our own efforts. The alternative is clearly a decisive defeat for the working class and a period of reaction.'

If a conscious leadership was not reached in the 25 years of boom, what reason is there to believe that such a leadership can be created 'in a few years' by these revisionist humbugs? What reason indeed? Mr Jordan is not sure at all. In fact he is so uncertain that he combines two diametrically opposed prognoses in his usual eclectic manner. For the optimists in his group he has this to say:

'In the longer term one can say that in the next few decades (!) (maybe only one or two) we must create a conscious leadership. . . . This is supposed to be Marxism!

This, however, is not the end of the confusion and contradiction which revisionism creates in Jordan's mind. The working class, according to him is almost finished as a revolutionary force:

'(10) If the bourgeoisie has a

somehow more revolutionary than British workers because they 'are completely alienated from all the traditional parties of capitalism'. If this is true—which it isn't, because there are thousands of black workers who pay the political levy—it only proves that black workers stand at a lower level of political consciousness than their white brothers.

To Jordan, however, backwardness is a singularly indispensable virtue.

Similarly new unionized sectors — such as clerical and administrative workers — are destined to play a unique role because 'not having a history of struggle, they are not held back by leaders with a former "left" prestige'. This is not only ridiculous—it is untrue. Most white-collar unions—DATA, ASTMS, NUPE—have centrist leaderships and those workers are no more, nor less, revolutionary than their manual counterparts.

On the Irish, Jordan departs from all objectivity to indulge in sheer blarney.

'The Irish in this country are mainly workers in industry, building, etc. and tend already to be more militant than their English counterparts.'

It seems a common fault of the English petty bourgeois that he is always more contemptuous of his own working class than he is of workers in other countries. For the petty bourgeois as for the working class, the slogan of Liebknecht applies: the main enemy is at home.

Jordan's contempt and scarcely concealed hatred for the British working class and British Marxists who fight to unite the class and elevate its consciousness is a recurring and constant feature of his revisionism.

**INTERNATIONAL Marxist Group Secretary Mr Pat Jordan's insidious contrasting of Irish and British workers assumes an especially malevolent form in his recent attack on the Socialist Labour League's policy on Ireland.**

In his article called 'Ireland — Armed Struggle and the British Left', Jordan writes:

... the major task of British socialists is not to tell the Irish people how to wage their struggle but, on the contrary, it is to end the position where the British working class, and especially the leadership of its organizations, are direct accomplices in the oppression of the Irish people. This means coming to grips with the rampant racialism of the British working class towards the Irish.

#### 'Exploitation of the Irish'

'For centuries the British ruling class has "justified" and "rationalized" the exploitation of the Irish people in racialist ideological terms. "The Irish are stupid, strange (at best whimsical) and ignorant people"; "they have pigs in their living rooms"; "the Irish like fighting (especially after a few drinks)"; "the Irish are lazy and good for only labouring jobs"—such filth has been drummed into the heads of the British people for hundreds of years. The prejudices engendered are so deep that they have entered the English language. We would be highly mistaken if we thought that even revolutionary Marxist were free of such ideas.'

#### Jaundiced

The reader does not have to take a second glance at Jordan's jaundiced appraisal of the British working class (not groups, or individuals, mind you) to know what he is getting at. In his article on the Labour Party and the General Election referred to yesterday, Jordan 'proved' with

his inimitable metaphysics that British workers — by voting Labour—were the accomplices of their own degradation.

He has now satisfied himself—if no one else—that the loutish, ignorant British working class is not only racist, but the accomplice of the Irish oppression as well! Truly there is no hope for the British working class according to this wretched reformist pygmy anyway!

That Jordan should unashamedly libel the British working class in this way is neither surprising nor accidental. It proves incisively the truth that in order to slander the Socialist Labour League you have to libel the working class.

#### Narrowness

ONE CHARACTERISTIC of revisionism is its subjectivism, narrowness of outlook, one-



Police attacking student demonstration. Jordan of revisionist IMG feels things would be "pretty gloomy" without the students.

sidedness and inflexibility. Another characteristic is its refusal to take an all-sided and objective view of phenomena, to view them concretely in motion and development, in their connections, intermediators and mutual transitions. Above all—the chief characteristic of all revisionists is their absolute refusal to view all phenomena from the standpoint of contradiction and to see—as well—the interconnection of the manifold contradictions that constitute the objective material world.

Jordan expresses all these anti-dialectical tendencies in this article—more crudely and clearly than any other representative—with the possible exception of Purdie.\*

Instead of analysing all the various aspects and historical, cultural, national factors which make up the British working class, instead of studying the various opposites within the working class and their relation to the conflict between the class and the bourgeoisie, Jordan isolates one aspect of a sector of the class — racialism—and generalizes on it.

He cannot see the proletarian wood for the racist trees. Marxists frankly acknowledge racialism in sections of the working class in the same way as Lenin acknowledged the existence of Great Russian chauvinism within sections of the Russian working class and even within the Bolshevik Party.

#### Poison

But Lenin did not succumb to this poison by suggesting, as Jordan does, that racialism or anti-Semitism was 'rampant' in the Russian working class.

A recent publication of an interview with Georg Lukacs taken before his death serves to illustrate this point admirably: Lukacs, asked about Lenin's influence on him, replied:

'At the time of the disputes

around the 1917 October Revolution, Zinoviev, in one of his articles, wrote amongst other things, that there was no truly revolutionary situation because in the suppressed masses there were very strong reactionary trends, and some sections even belonged to the "Black Hundreds", Russia's ultra-reactionaries, Lenin, with his customary sharpness, rejected Zinoviev's evaluation. The basis of his train of thoughts can be summarized as follows: if the great crisis of society occurs, that is to say people do not want to live in the old way any longer, this unwillingness can manifest itself, what is more must manifest itself, in a revolutionary and reactionary way.

'Here, the subjective factor, to a certain degree is squared (raised to the second power) and the Party's task is precisely to bring influence to bear on the possibilities offered by the sub-

unmistakable sign of the approaching revolutionary storm, Jordan sees only another economic drizzle. In place of 'indefinite expansion' he now talks of 'indefinite crisis'—anything, in other words, except a revolutionary situation posing the question of state power:

'a) The combination of a semi-permanent crisis with the inability of any bourgeois leadership of the traditional workers' organization are less and less able to disarm the workers and youth, means we can look forward to a whole period [sic] of political economic, industrial and social struggles, leading in some cases [?] to explosions [!].'

#### Attack

THIS EXPLAINS Jordan's need to attack the Socialist Labour League on Ireland. He sees the Irish question in an entirely different and opposed way to the SLL. Since this is the epoch of 'semi-permanent crisis' and 'neo-capitalism', the task of British Marxists is not to utilize the Irish crisis to overthrow British imperialism, but rather to give uncritical support to the bourgeois nationalist forces in Ireland in order that some unprincipled deal can be achieved with Whitehall.

Before proceeding further, let us make some things clear for the professional distorters in Pentonville Road. The Socialist Labour League stands unequivocally for the unity and independence of Ireland and the immediate and unconditional eviction of British troops from Ulster.

We are also opposed to every expression of racialism or paternalism in relation to the Irish people. But this does not exhaust the tasks of British socialists, nor does it transcend the complexities of the Irish question. Marx had difficulties with the Irish question and no doubt British Trotskyists will too.

#### Understanding

But no comprehensive solution is possible unless it is based on a clear understanding of all the forces involved. This means a firm grasp of the theory of permanent revolution as it applies to Ireland.

The Irish problem resolves itself primarily into two questions:

- 1) What are the task of British Marxists? and
- 2) How can the unity of Ireland be secured?

The first task of British Marxists is to assist the Irish people liberate themselves by following a revolutionary defeatist policy in relation to the Tories and the capitalist class.

This objective will not be attained by the kind of radical protest planned by the revisionists in the Irish Solidarity Campaign and the Anti-Internment League.

The Tory government — even more than its Labourite predecessor—is singularly impervious to these forms of pressure. As Heath's reaction to the allegations of torture show, the Tories have nothing but contempt for those who ask them to stop behaving like Tories. It is only by mobilizing the working class—not on the 'single issue' of Ireland—but on all the issues facing the working class that the Tories can be forced to resign.

A Labour government elected under such conditions can be forced by the strength of the working class to withdraw the troops. If it doesn't it will be forced to resign in favour of one that will.

Jordan, however, has nothing to say on this score, despite his rhetoric about 'making a fight in Britain on a clear basis' and 'building a body of opinion (!!) which is prepared to use revolutionary violence in Britain to overthrow the British ruling class'.

History has still not recorded 'a body of opinion' overthrowing any institution in society

with or without violence. Fetishistic evocations of 'violence' and 'revolution' do little except to testify to the bankruptcy of these subterranean 'revolutionaries'.

The task of British Marxists is to assist the Irish workers to break from the reactionary influences of nationalism, republicanism and the Catholic Church and create a Marxist party embracing Catholic and Protestant workers.

#### Contortions

This is the most difficult task of all, and it is not rendered any easier by the opportunist contortions of Jordan. Admittedly he pays lip service to this—like much else—but that is all. Pointing a finger at his critics he says:

'... none of this means that we are obliged to keep quiet about our possible criticisms of the tactics of Irish revolutionaries. On the contrary to do so would be to indulge in a kind of condescending "radicalism in reverse". While giving complete support to the Irish people's struggle, and full support to their right to struggle by whatever means they see fit, we are also obliged to contribute to the debate about the best method of defeating British imperialism. But again there is no simple formula for doing this.'

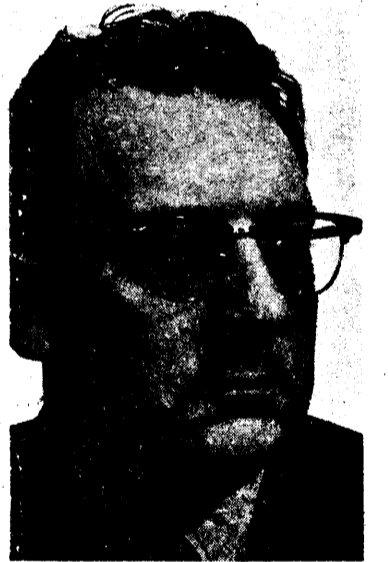
Jordan is as incapable of criticizing the IRA as he was of criticizing the reformist-pacifist rubbish of the Late Lord Russell or his secretary, Ralph Schoenmann.

Search any issue of the 'Red Mole' and we dare you to find a single criticism of the IRA—official or Provisional. On the contrary, 'Red Mole' policy all along has been to identify itself politically with the IRA, its programme and philosophy.

Mr Bob Purdie—specialist in apologetics—blandly stated in a reply to one correspondent:

'We think that it is not true to say that the Republicans are out for a capitalist Ireland...' ('Red Mole', October 16-31, 1970, page 7.)

Not true. The constitution of Sinn Fein, Purdie and Jordan to the contrary notwithstanding, makes clear the capitalist objectives of this organization. Point (c) states:



'To establish in the Republic a reign of social justice based on Christian principles, by a just distribution and effective control of the nation's wealth and resources, and to institute a system of government suited to the particular needs of the people.'

The reference to the establishment of a democratic socialist republic in point (a) is demagogic whitewash to conceal the real aims of the Republican bourgeoisie. What are 'Christian principles' if not the principle of private property and bourgeois morality? Predictably the Constitution keeps silent on the vexed question of the Church and its property. Obviously, this is another Christian principle that must be retained!

Their uncritical and craven support of bourgeois nationalism in Ireland effectively stops the IMG from assisting the Protestant workers to break with Paisley.

CONTINUED

(\*R. Purdie—a leader of IMG.)

# Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

I am writing this letter in response to the film review appearing in the December 10 *Militant*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party. Tony Thomas, in reviewing the film "WR-Mysteries of the Organism" takes issue with my review appearing in the *Bulletin* on November 22.

Thomas, in fact, lauds the film and defends Reich against Lenin, choosing to ignore the fact that Reich left the communist movement after the aborted German Revolution in 1923. Because Reich never understood the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy, and this I pointed out in my review, he refused tenaciously to take sides in the struggle waged by the Left Opposition against the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

It was on the basis of the theoretical revision of Marxism by the Stalin faction that the depraved cultural political and economic distortions within the first workers' state arose.

Thomas sees the "sexuarevolutionary" aspect of Reich's work as central, empirically and completely abstracted out of all historical development, out of the class forces at work not only within the Soviet Union but within world capitalism as well. For the Stalinist bureaucracy as Trotsky pointed out, was not a ruling class, but a social caste whose power and privilege was based not in the ownership of the means of production, but in the sphere of consumption. This bureaucracy reflected the pressures of imperialism on the isolated workers state.

Politically it meant the disarming of the working class and the usurping of the political power by the bureaucracy. Economically and culturally it meant forced methods of work, high productivity quotas and a minimal utilization of leisure time. For the peasantry it meant continued illiteracy, economic impoverishment and famine. The sexual repression which the bureaucracy visited upon the workers and peasants Thomas sees as primary. No explanation of the social roots of the repression, the laws against abortion, the continued subordination of the woman to the family structure.

Thomas makes several factual errors in the review. The political methodology is brazenly clear. He states:

"One error in the section of the film is an apparent attempt to associate Lenin with Stalinist concepts. The Russian ice skater is named Vladimir Ilyich and notions attributed to Lenin (his stated antipathy to music, for instance) are expressed by the ice skater though the connection is only implicit. Yet Reich himself, especially in the 'Mass Psychology of Fascism,' clearly counterposed Lenin's and Engels' views on the state and the family to the Stalinist view. Elsewhere, Reich pointed out that Lenin's theory of the necessity of building a revolutionary party was consonant with his own ideas." (my emphasis-LB)

In fact Reich was a bitter opponent of Marxism after leaving the Austrian Communist Party. In point of fact if his views were consistent with Lenin's then why did he not remain in the Third International and take up the struggle with the Left Opposition against Stalinism? The struggle against Stalinism and for the continuity of Leninism was the struggle for the revolutionary party.

Reich came into the communist movement through the German and Austrian Social Democracy. His chauvinist position in the first world war was consonant with Kautsky's and Bauer's, Renner's and with the psychologist Adler's. He came into the movement as a psychologist, having broken with Freud and seeking a new spiritual and intellectual watering trough. His work in the field of psychology was completely unscientific and idealist. He proceeded always from himself and his work. The betrayals in Germany and Austria were lost upon him, and demoralized him. He opposed the decisions of the first four congresses of the Third International.

The director of this film, Makavejev, is not only cynical, but his position politically is that of Reich—a plague on both their houses. Makavejev, like Reich, equates imperialism and Stalinism, and refuses to defend the workers' states.

It is reactionary, as Thomas does, to mildly rebuke Reich for his "anti-

communism" and call his views consistent with Lenin's. Culturally and politically he lines up with Makavejev and other cynical artists in a vicious (Thomas calls it unfortunate) parody of Lenin with the Soviet ice skater and of the Yugoslav workers with the caricature of the sexual chauvinist and satyr who chases the "sexually oppressed and liberated heroine" around.

This characterization is typical only of Hollywood and television's caricatures of the working class and the poor. We of course oppose the Stalinist cultural conceptions expressed by those like Lysenko (biology), the socialist-realist paradigms thrown out by Dzdhanov and Ehrenburg, as Trotsky collided with the proleculists in the early twenties.

But we equally oppose and condemn as absolutely counter-revolutionary "cultural material" which slanders Lenin and Marxism and the international working class, and counterposes to Lenin such quacks and renegades as Reich.

Fraternally,  
Lou Belkin

## BOOKS

BOB MICHAELSON

## Slaughterhouse -Five

**SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE** or *The Children's Crusade (A Duty-Dance With Death?)*. By Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. Published by Dell Publishing Co., Inc. New York, N.Y. 1971.

"Vonnegut's best!" the blurb on the cover quotes the *New York Times* of the *Slaughterhouse-Five*, Vonnegut's most recent piece of cynicism. The ruling class and its intellectual prostitutes have every right to enjoy reading this book. It's a masterpiece which feeds every aspect of the moral feelings and cynical pessimism of the middle class.

All of Vonnegut's works have expressed the same tendencies but the *Slaughterhouse-Five* takes the cake. His belief in the essential rottenness of men toward one another and the inevitability of a nuclear holocaust which may as well happen for all the good man does anyway is brought to its highest development in

*Slaughterhouse-Five* takes the cake. His firebombing of Dresden, Germany at the end of World War II. Vonnegut was a prisoner of war in Dresden at the time and, according to him, he has since ached to write a book about his experience. Apparently, the death and destruction of the imperialist war in Vietnam finally pushed him into consummating that desire.

### MEANINGLESS

In the first chapter, Vonnegut explains in a roundabout way that the book is really meaningless. When a movie-maker had asked him if his book was to be an anti-war book, and he answered, "Yes, I guess," the man came back with, "Why don't you write an anti-glacier book instead?" Vonnegut understood him and explains: "That there would always be wars, that they were as easy to stop as glaciers."

The whole book is an attempt to put forward the theory that war and butchery

are a part of man's nature and that the firebombing of Dresden, which caused the incinerated deaths of over a hundred thousand civilians and had no strategic importance, was terrible. But Vonnegut concludes it is also a part of that nature and there really isn't anything you can do about it.

The vehicle Vonnegut used to put this forward is the fact that the "hero," Billy Pilgrim, "has come unstuck in time." Billy, it seems tends to flip back and forth into past and future of his life for no particular reason. Through a coincidence, he also comes into contact with creatures from outerspace—from the planet Tralfamadore.

Surprisingly, the Tralfamadoreans themselves exist not only within the confines of the three dimensions—height, width and mass—they also flit around through Time. As a matter of fact, since they are lucky enough to be able to see their birth, death and every other portion of their life and live it as often as they care, they do not especially pay attention to questions like death, war, hate, the class struggle and other similar human frailties which are so distasteful to Vonnegut. If they have a war, they have a war. If they die, they die. It is all the same.

Billy naturally admires and accepts their philosophy and the Tralfamadoreans' favorite and most used phrase becomes an organic part of Billy's own personality. Was a man just squashed under a falling elevator? "So it goes." Were six million Jews not to mention another 50 million workers butchered by fascism and imperialism for twelve years? "So it goes."

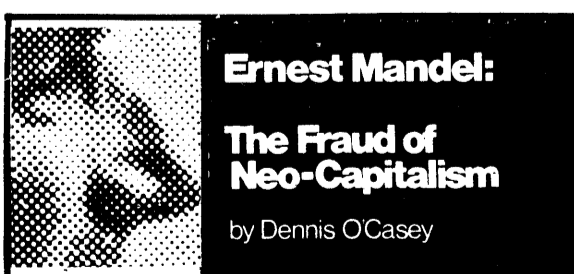
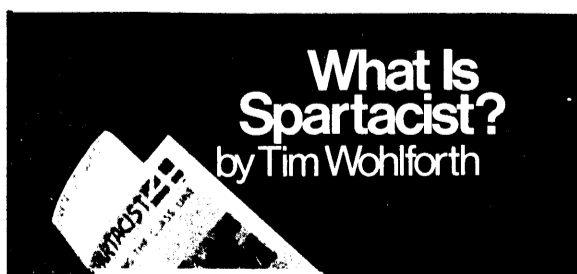
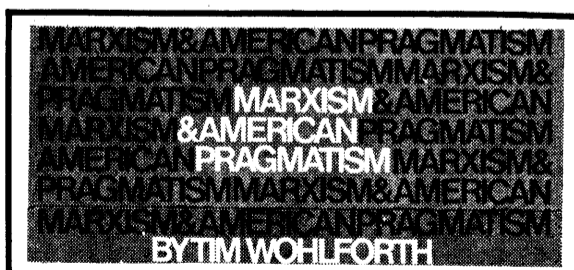
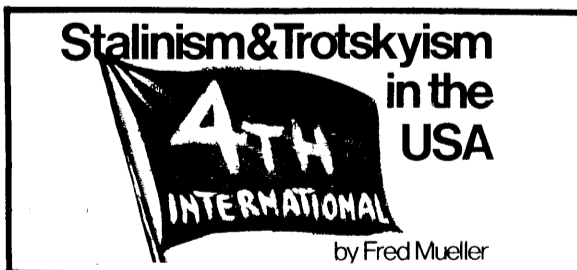
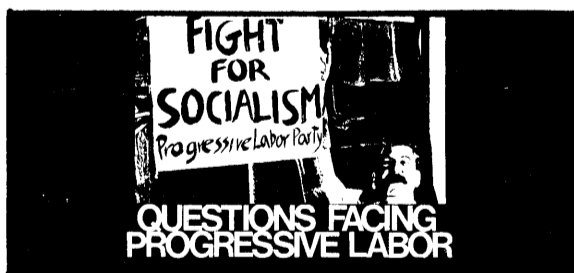
### CYNICISM

So it goes with Dresden, too, and every other disaster which Billy has to face in life. This expresses the despair of the most demoralized sections of the middle class just before they turn to fascism as the answer to their dreams.

*Slaughterhouse-Five* fails to cover up any of Vonnegut's cynicism with the light-hearted antics of his earlier works. His scepticism now turns into the deepest pessimism about the ability of men to solve the problems of society. The struggles of the working class only feed Vonnegut's cynicism.

So it goes with those who do not begin with a materialist understanding of class society, wars and revolution.

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BY JEANNIE COOPER

On December 18, 1971, the three hundred youth that participated in the Conference of Revolutionary Youth voted to launch the Young Socialists. Since the conference, the construction of the revolutionary youth movement has been taken forward throughout the New York area.

As Comrade Dany Sylveire said in delivering greetings from our sister Young Socialist movement in England, "It is not enough to call a conference to launch a Young Socialist movement. We must understand that from now on everything we do is vital to the future of the youth and working class in the United States and we will be judged by the responsible way we carry out our work."

Young Socialist clubs have been set up in East New York, Brownsville, Jefferson High School, Canarsie High School, Fort Greene, Brooklyn College, Seward High School, Stuyvesant High School, the Lower East Side area, Cooper Union, the New School, City College, Bronx Science, the Upper West Side and Queens. The clubs have begun to plan a wide variety of activities: football games, field trips, socials, as

well as classes which take up the critical struggle to understand Marxist theory.

The initial meetings that have taken place have begun to deepen the discussion and political fight that was taken up at the conference. The clubs have discussed the meaning of Nixon's pay board, the devaluation of the dollar and the construction of the revolutionary movement in this period. The discussion of how to build this movement has led to struggles in all the areas about the political principles on which the Young Socialists is based.

In one of the meetings a discussion began over the question of compromising with other organizations in order to build a movement. One youth took up this question by saying that we can't build a revolutionary movement that compromises with capitalists. He said if you compromise your principles and end up on a platform with Hartke or Bella Abzug, you

couldn't lead the working class against the whole capitalist class.

When another youth was asked to join the Young Socialists and begin to take up the fight for Trotskyism among the youth, she said she felt she didn't know enough about theory yet and thought she should go home and read Lenin and Trotsky for five years and then she would feel more ready to fight in the working class.

Another youth spoke on this saying, "Look, Nixon is preparing, and we have to prepare too, by building this movement against him. It's like being in a boxing ring, you have to know your opponent so you can make the right moves against him. We're in the boxing ring now."

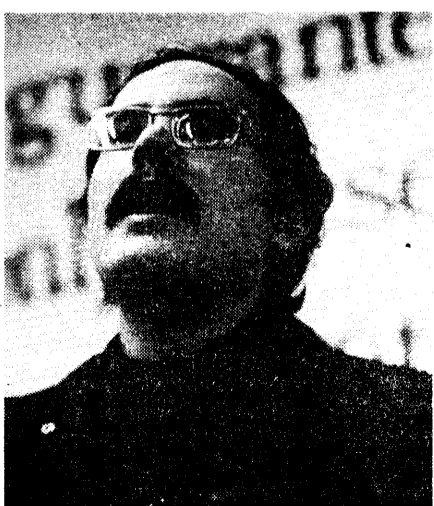
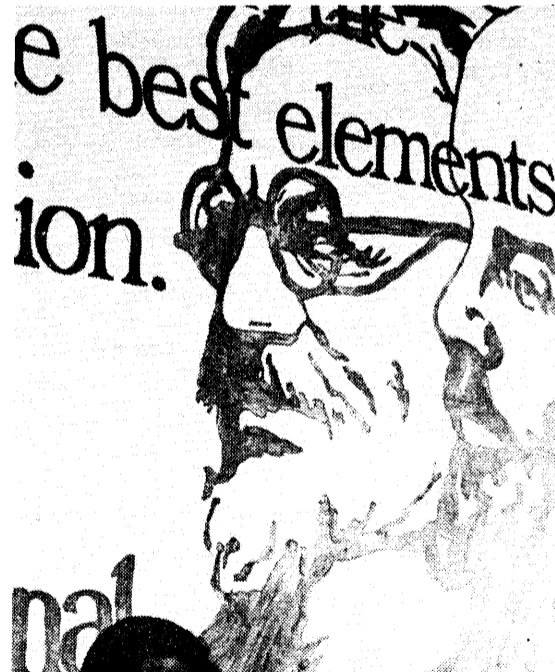
These questions were at the heart of the conference itself—the relationship of theory to practice, what theory is, and how to build a youth movement on the basis of this conscious fight for theory among the youth and the working class. It was this actual struggle that emerged at the conference itself. The youth who participated in the conference went through this struggle to understand how a conscious leadership is developed in the working class.

A struggle was begun at the conference against the method of thinking that is in-

stilled in the working class by capitalism. The conference fought out these basic questions of constructing a revolutionary youth movement, one that can only be built by fighting those who seek to compromise with capitalism, to tie the working class and the youth to the capitalist class.

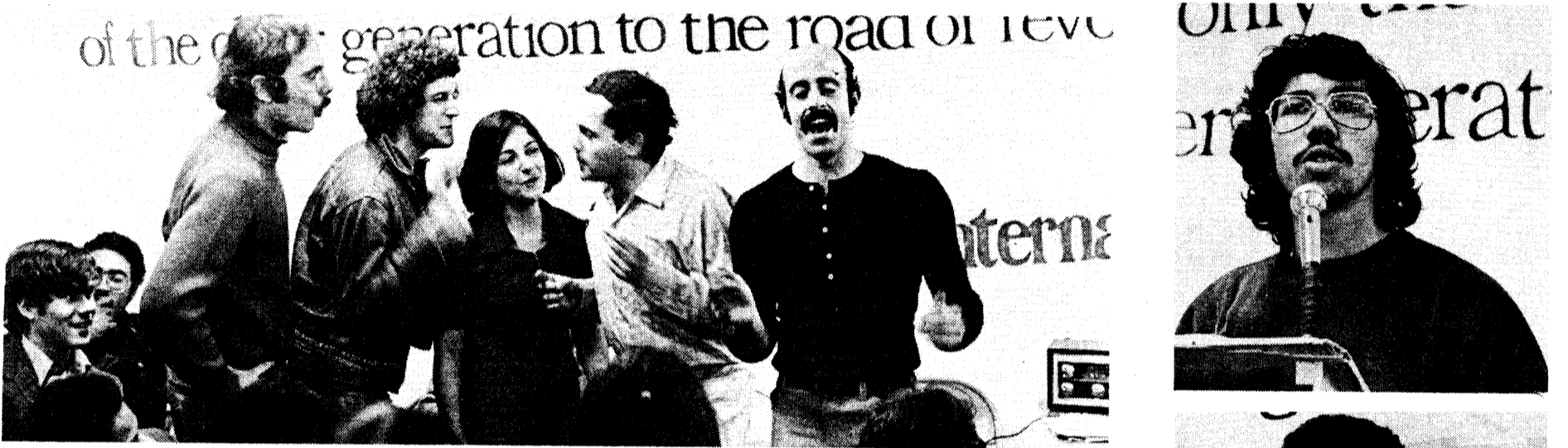
With the activities of the local clubs, a demonstration is being prepared for the early spring around the program voted at the conference as the program of the Young Socialists. The campaign to bring masses of youth into the Young Socialists to fight for this program and to build the revolutionary party that can lead the working class to power is being taken forward in the building of the Young Socialists clubs.

The Young Socialist movement is now seeking to reach the thousands of youth coming into struggle against the government around the central issues of unemployment and the massive budget cuts and teacher layoffs now hitting the high schools and universities. The youth at the conference decided to take up the fight begun at the conference to build a mass revolutionary youth movement that can defeat the capitalist class in this period.



Young Socialists cap off historic Conference with lively entertainment (above) which included live bands, singing groups other interesting shows. Comrades who spoke and the crowds of youth attest to the success of the Conference.

# YOUNG SOCIALISTS MOVE FORWARD



This program was passed by the 300 youth at the Conference of Revolutionary Youth on December 18th. All youth who are interested in this program and want to join the fight to build this movement are urged to come to the Young Socialist meetings and activities in their area. In New York call 924-0852.

### JOBS

- For full employment! Jobs for all!
- Real training in school under union and student control. On the job training at union wages. All youth have the right to learn a meaningful trade.
- Unemployment benefits upon leaving school. The government must pay us until we find a job.
- Equal pay for equal work. No discrimination because of age.
- For the thirty hour week at forty hours pay to provide full employment.

### EDUCATION

- For an education that prepares us for a job. Rather than cuts in education we must demand that billions of dollars be put into the schools for more schools, smaller classes and more activities.
- Students and teachers have a common enemy. We must give full support to the demands of the teachers and their right to union wages and working conditions.
- Students must be guaranteed all democratic rights, to hold meetings, to form organizations, to distribute leaflets and petitions in the schools without official

### harassment.

- No cops in the schools!
- For free higher education for all. Youth have the right to a living wage while they are going to school.

### WAR

- Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina.
- The war in Vietnam is a class war, it is a war against the workers and peasants in Indochina and the workers and youth in the U.S. We must demand that labor call a general strike against the war.
- We must give full support to the struggles of our brothers in the army against the war and against the brass.

### RACISM

- No discrimination in pay. Minority workers must earn the same as white workers on the job. No discrimination in training, upgrading and working conditions.
- The unions must open their doors to all.

### REPRESSION

- Free all political prisoners. The unions must take up the fight for all those

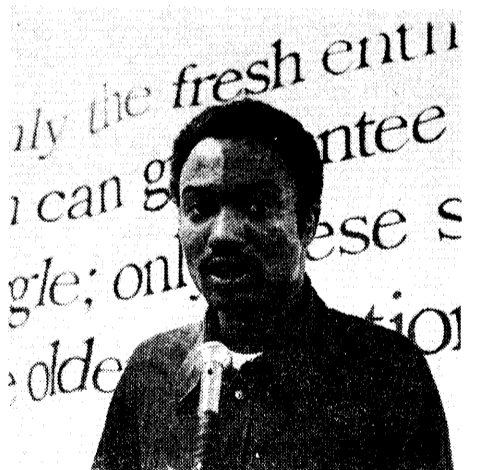
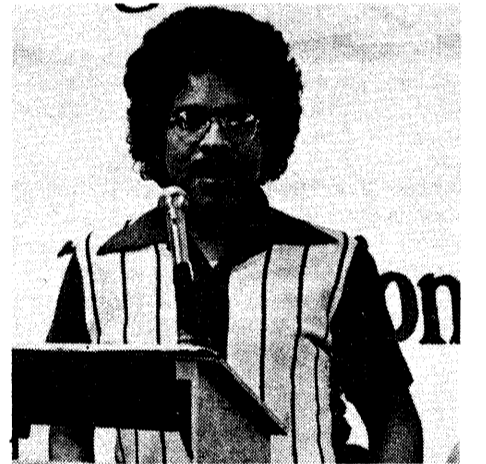
### victimized by the government.

### NATIONALIZATION

- The employers and the government are now saying that in order for the corporations to make their profits wages must be cut and jobs must be slashed. We must answer this by saying that if they cannot provide a decent standard of life for all, then the working people will take over the industries and run them in their interests.

### LABOR PARTY

- It is absolutely clear who is responsible for these attacks. It is the government and all the politicians in the Democratic and Republican Parties who rule in the interests of the big corporations and the banks. We must build our own party, a labor party, which is based on the power of the trade unions and a socialist program, which fights for the interests of youth, the employed and unemployed, the minorities against capitalism.
- We must fight for the labor movement to call an assembly of labor, minorities and youth to build a labor party for the 1972 elections.



Top of page, New York longshoreman greets Young Socialist Conference on December 18th. Bottom: Youth speak at Conference. Lower left, Juan Farinas talks about his case, Tim Wohlforth greets Young Socialists for the Workers League, and Dany Sylveire sends greetings from the British Trotskyists of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists.

# YSA CONVENTION. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

revolution in the colonial countries could not be achieved except through the fight for the socialist revolution and under the leadership of the working class organized in the revolutionary Marxist party in the colonial countries. The crisis of imperialism which finds a sharp expression in the colonial countries both with the movement of the working class and the growth of the right wing dictatorships is completely ignored. The democratic rights campaign becomes the vehicle for alliance with the bourgeois nationalists and the liberal bourgeoisie and the rejection of the necessity to construct revolutionary leadership for the struggle for power.

This same turn to liberalism was expressed in the Political Report given by Andy Rose which followed the International Report. Rose spoke about the devaluation of the dollar and the difficulties U.S. capitalism faces in restoring its "competitive advantage" internationally.

Rose said the crisis flowed from the war and not from the fundamental contradictions in capitalism. He said the state apparatus will be used against the entire working class and that the labor bureaucracy on the Pay Board is aiding it. He said there has been a "qualitative sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism" and that this would "be reflected in the radicalization of the working class sooner or later and it will fight on a political level."

At the same time Rose made absolutely no assessment of the perspective of the "New Radicalization" and its failure in coming to grips with these changes, the fact that it stands in direct contradiction to the actual movement of the working class and how to take the struggle forward politically. Instead he again reiterated the perspective of the "new radicalization" that the struggles today would develop out of the mass movements which are distinct and have their own demands. Rose states that the struggle is for democratic demands raised in these movements which today come into conflict with imperialism. This, he said, is the perspective of the permanent revolution.

## PESSIMISM

The inability of the YSA to confront the new period was reflected in the complete pessimism which flowed throughout the political report and the antiwar report. The YSA developed a rationalization for the failures of the recent antiwar and abortion rallies saying that because of the elections the mass movements would be diverted into the election campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans.

Rose said that while the 1972 elections could not reverse the radicalization it would be successful in tempering mass actions and that the YSA would have to be prepared for smaller demonstrations. He took up the CP who he said was the main opposition for diverting the struggle into the Democratic Party.

Although the leadership sought at every point to avoid confronting the Workers League and the International Committee, it was forced to attack it throughout the conference. Rose was forced to take up the question of the labor party raised by the Workers League but was completely unable to deal with it and simply tried to by-pass it by saying this "schema was wrong" and would "derail the mass actions."

The turn outlined by Rose on the election campaign was towards the youth around the Democratic Party. He said that the deepening radicalization was reflected in the development not only of the La Raza Unida Party, a bourgeois nationalist party, but in the formation of the Congressional Black Caucus which was "adapting to the deepening radicalization." This contention that sections of the Democratic Party are moving to the left under pressure really becomes the basis for the perspective which the YSA is beginning to advance of open overtures to and intervention into the Democratic Party.

## OPPOSITION

While the Political and International Reports raised formally the questions of the Fourth International and the crisis every attempt was consciously made to suppress any discussion on these questions. For the first time no discussion was held on the International Report and the discussion on both major reports was cut down. It is precisely on the International document that opposition has arisen from the ranks in past conventions.

While the leadership was successful in suppressing most opposition it did come out in the contributions made by Peter Grey, a delegate from Amherst, who was a former member of the International Marxist Group and is now in the YSA in the U.S. Although this was really the only opposition, it is also the most significant. Grey raised the central question today and that is the construction of a Marxist leadership in the working class against the perspective that revolutionary consciousness is a spontaneous reflection of the mass movements and will develop through them.

Grey took up what he said were the "fundamental theoretical errors" of the YSA leadership's position. Grey pointed out that

Trotsky drew a sharp distinction between transitional demands and the minimum program of democratic demands. The purpose he said of the Transitional Program is not to fight for reforms but is a program with which the revolutionary party raises the consciousness of the working class in its struggles and raises the question of power.

Grey pointed out that the Transitional Program flowed from the understanding that there are only two ideologies—bourgeois consciousness and revolutionary consciousness. Revolutionary consciousness does not appear spontaneously from the mass movements but is brought into the struggle by the intervention of the revolutionary party. Grey developed this further in his opposition to the Women's Liberation document when he quoted from Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* that socialist consciousness does not come out of the working class but from without, from the revolutionary party. The Transitional Program does not come out of the current mass movements but from the Marxist party.

It is significant that this question is raised today and comes out of the whole break-up in the Pabloite movement. Grey was essentially forced to go beyond the IMG and the opposition raised at the last YSA convention and in the SWP itself. The question of the turn to the working class must be a turn to Marxist theory and a fight for this in the working class and among the youth.

## ATTACK

Grey was viciously attacked in the discussion. The leadership refused to come to grips with the questions he raised. This was sharply expressed in the attack by a delegate from Atlanta, Mike Weisman, who said that Grey didn't know what he was saying and should have put forward a document. Expressing the complete contempt for Marxist theory he said that "it would be a mistake to waste a lot of time on mumbo-jumbo." In a vicious factional way he said that Grey should leave because if he holds to these positions he is not even a liberal but stands with the "sectarians."

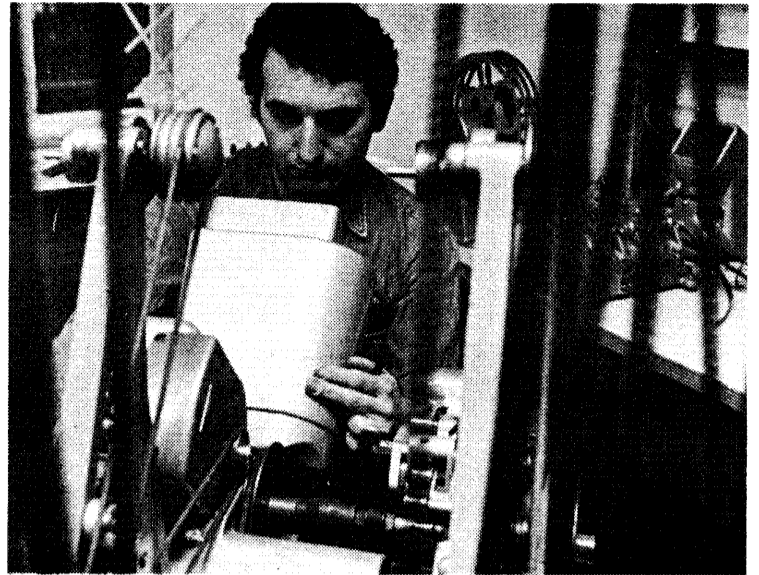
This attack reflected not only the crisis within the international Pabloite movement but also the tremendous fear of the questions which Grey himself is raising.

## DEMOCRATS

In the course of the reports and discussion the real right wing character of the turn of the YSA was exposed. Despite attacks on the CP, and its relations with the Democratic Party, the YSA laid out the basis for its maneuvers with the Democratic Party.

Debby Bustin, the head of the SMC, in the discussion of women's liberation stated that the YSA should not attack Shirley Chisholm because she expressed the pride of Black women and that the problem was not Chisholm but the Democratic Party. This was also expressed by another delegate who stated that Dellums was fighting for the same things the YSA was. The turn to the Democratic Party was sharply brought out when a delegate proposed that the YSA take a large force to intervene in the Democratic Party youth conference.

The real crisis of the perspective of the YSA found a sharp reflection in the reports and discussion on the Black and Chicano movement. All mention



Marty Jonas edits film that will show the struggle to build the revolutionary youth movement.

of the working class and the problems facing minority and working class youth were left out. Uncritical support to the bourgeois nationalist La Raza Unida Party and to Black nationalists such as Jesse Jackson were at the center of the perspective. The statement was made that there was a crisis of leadership in the Black community but that the YSA could not resolve this crisis or pose as the leadership of the Blacks.

When some opposition was raised in the discussion on the Chicano report of a very confused character, Mirta Vidal in her summary was completely incapable of dealing with it and was literally speechless. This expressed the real dead end of the politics of the YSA and the crisis which it now faces.

The leadership attempted to hide this crisis behind the greetings of the International delegates and a presentation by George Novack on Pathfinder's plans to publish the works of Trotsky, Marx, and Lenin as part of the struggle against Stalinism. It was only at these points and at the election rally that there was any enthusiasm from the audience.

## CAMPAIGN

At the campaign rally on Thursday night the question of a political alternative, a socialist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties in the 1972 election was raised.

But despite every attempt of the YSA leadership to avoid a discussion of the international crisis in the conference this crisis is real and finds its reflection in the breakup of the Pabloite movement itself.

The differences broke out in the International Panel at which the delegates from the various sections of the United Secretariat were asked questions. The questions which were raised in the International and Political reports and suppressed in the conference came out in the course of this panel. But what was revealed was the refusal of either the majority or the minority to confront the origins of these problems in the break with Pabloism in 1953, the reunification in 1963 and the struggle of the International Committee.

The first question raised at the panel by a member of the YSA was a provocative one asking all the international representatives what their position on gay liberation was and what they were doing about it. The representative from the French Pabloites answered by saying that the gay liberation movement was a very small group in France. He said

that the French section had decided not to create a gay movement because it is deeply involved in actions in the working class. The IMG delegate said that the gay liberation movement was growing in England but that the IMG was not going to intervene in it.

A member of the SWP then intervened to ask what the other sections were doing in the working class. They all reported of their turn to the working class and their attempts to build their movement in the working class. While this stood in sharp contrast to the perspective outlined by the YSA throughout the conference, the majority of delegates used this as a left cover against the SWP while they refuse to confront the theoretical and historical questions of the Trotskyist movement and stand with the SWP on the characterization of this period.

This became clear later in the discussion when Don Gurewitz of the SWP asked the international delegates if they planned to print James Cannon's works, particularly *The Struggle For The Proletarian Party* and they answered that they did not think it was relevant for their struggles.

The developments in the objective crisis now bring forward the working class into a major confrontation with capitalism. This now requires that all the issues raised in the history of the Trotskyist movement must be discussed. Particularly the question raised in the International Report of the development of the Fourth International after World War II and the development of Pabloism must be confronted. The refusal to confront this fundamental question in 1963 when the SWP reunified with the Pabloite forces is what lies at the heart of the crisis of the United Secretariat.

These are the questions which the Workers League raised in its open letter to the YSA Convention. The discussion at the international panel shows that these questions cannot be avoided. Only in a struggle now against all those who cling to the theories of Pabloism who reject the fight for dialectical materialism can the Trotskyist movement be constructed today to defeat Stalinism and lead the working class to power.

This is the struggle which the International Committee of the Fourth International has taken up and will continue. This struggle today is a question of the life and death of the working class. The perspective put forward by the YSA at this convention opens the door to Stalinism and the defeat of the working class.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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# West Coast News Nationalists Join Hysteria Against Crime

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

**PALO ALTO**—A large scale campaign to "combat crime" is being mounted by every middle class force in East Palo Alto in order to divert the struggle away from the basic crimes of unemployment, poverty, racism, and repression imposed upon millions of minority workers and youth across the country.

In the face of Nixon's union-busting attacks on the labor movement, cutbacks in welfare and education, and encouragement of racist and proto-fascist movements around the issue of school desegregation, the local clergy, Municipal Council, businessmen, and government funded institutions such as Nairobi College are scrambling to maintain their niche in the status quo by throwing up a reformist diversion.

The local bourgeois press and police are delighted with the campaign. An ad placed in the December 24th issue of the *Palo Alto Times* by a group called "Black and White Women Against Crime", calling, in effect, for the community to help the authorities to police East Palo Alto against drugs and theft, was wholeheartedly endorsed in the lead editorial of December 30th.

Because they start from an acceptance of the basic conditions of the ghetto, the spokesmen for "community power" now receive open support from the oppressor. They, in turn, openly campaign for capitalist "law and order."

It is precisely the potential now for a massive turn by minority youth to a class perspective and the development of Marxist theory among the youth that leads the capitalist class to champion ghettoist conceptions and the government to finance Black Nationalist and Pan-Africanist institutions such as Nairobi College.

Nairobi College serves as a base in the community for these middle class ideologies. Its function is to wall off the youth from the profound changes taking place in the labor movement, pitted, since August 15th, in direct struggle against the capitalist state.

Behind the dope pusher stand the police, the courts, the military, and the entire exploitative apparatus of the capitalist state. The fight of the trade union movement, the heart of the working class, to defend its historic gains is now a revolutionary fight which must go beyond trade unionism to the construction of a labor party and the fight for political power.

## EDITORIAL . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

ques of the 1930s "

It is these same popular front policies of the 1930s upon which the Stalinists today build their defense of Angela Davis, which, in turn, they seek to use as a vehicle to prevent the working class and youth from breaking from capitalist politics and taking up the revolutionary struggle for political power as a class against the entire capitalist class.

In her interview with the A.P., Angela Davis stated: "I would not really talk about prison reform. I would talk about the abolition of the prison system."

In this she is seconded by millions of youth who, under capitalism, face nothing but unemployment, schools that are being turned into prisons, and prisons that are being turned into torture chambers, and who understand that the prison system is there to defend capitalist "justice." But this is a revolutionary demand that can only be won by the working class smashing the capitalist state and instituting socialism.

That is why after the murder of George Jackson and again after the slaughter of the Attica inmates, the Communist Party joined with the liberals in calling for "prison reform."

George Jackson's total dedication to the struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression led him into a conscious struggle against the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism, in the course of which he was forced to take up a study of the history of the international labor movement and of the fundamentals of Marxist theory.

All those youth in or influenced by the Communist Party who are seeking the revolutionary path must confront the damning indictments of the CP's policies made by Angela Davis. This can only be done by confronting the historical struggle of Trotskyism, to build a revolutionary alternative against Stalin's betrayal of all the principles of Marx and Lenin.

All those youth who wish to fight against the hopeless future facing them under capitalism must take up the fight of the Young Socialists for full employment, billions for education, free job training, freedom for all political prisoners, an end to racism, repression, and the war, and the construction of a labor party in 1972 pledged to carry out these policies.



Yellow Cab drivers picketing against company in San Francisco. This is their first strike since 1934.

## DOCKS. . .

(Continued From Page 1)

to demand a common contract expiration date and the putting up of a common front against any attempt by the Pay Board to in any way abrogate their contracts.

From the very beginning the aim of the shipowners, backed by Nixon and the Democrats, was to divide East Coast from West Coast in order to destroy the 40 hour weekly wage guarantee in the port of New York and to prevent the rest of the U.S. ports from winning the same protection against unemployment. This, they see as a prelude to the bringing in of containerization on a far greater scale, reducing employment on the docks by 90 percent in order to continue to rake in their fat profits.

From the very beginning, both Gleason and Bridges have capitulated to the strategy of the shippers by refusing to oppose the use of Taft-Hartley as a conscious device of Nixon to divide the two coasts.

Whether it is Taft-Hartley, the imposition of a new "transportation" law establishing compulsory arbitration, the use of court injunctions, the use of troops to load cargo, or all of these measures—the dock unions must confront the government with their united power to win anything approaching a decent contract. The alternative is mass unemployment for the dockworkers thrown out by containerization, and slavery for those who remain.

Gleason, Scotto and Bridges would like to compromise, to get some "concessions" from the employers in order to "sell" a contract to the ranks, and get themselves off the hook. But on the central question of job security—the shipping associations on both coasts want blood. For them as with the rest of the ruling class the days of "concessions" are over. They have Nixon and his Phase 2 Pay Board, and the Democratic-Republican Congress behind them.

Right now, the New York Shipping Association wants a "lid" on the guaranteed wage fund and complete portwide flexibility of hiring and job assignments. The kind of guarantee they are now willing to give is worthless. On the West Coast, the PMA is "willing" to allow a guarantee that will amount to little more than nine days a year average for each man.

The Communist Party, rather than fighting for this perspective, is now engaged in a phoney "left" opposition to affiliation, working with a faction of the ILWU bureaucracy that opposes Bridges on the question of merger.

While not openly taking a stand in their newspaper the *Daily World*, the CP has recently devoted considerable attention to Gleason's "hawkish" policies, his flag-waving super-patriotism, his opposition to trade with the Soviet Union, and so on. But never once do they attack Gleason for the same policies that Bridges is now following—selling out the fight against the shippers and Nixon, capitulating to the plans for elimination of the guarantee and the wiping out of thousands of jobs!

While the *Daily World* does not come out openly against merger because they would still like to keep one foot in the Bridges camp, they make clear in what they say and in practice that they are for the ILWU "going it alone."

They have absolutely no perspective of a fight against Nixon. In fact, *Daily World* Labor Editor George Morris writes that Nixon wants a nationwide dock strike in order to get an "excuse" to come in with a law for compulsory arbitration. Even on the question of renewing the strike on the West Coast, Morris does not take a clear stand.

Never once does Morris pose how the fight can be won against the employers and Nixon. He refuses to call for a national dock strike to win the 40 hour guarantee for all men, all ports.

While warning of compulsory arbitration, Morris makes clear he is relying on "the Democratic majority's opposition (in Congress) to the White House" to stop this legislation!

Only the united strength of the longshoremen, under a leadership prepared to fight all the way against Nixon, can win this struggle. The longshoremen have the power to stop the entire country, to win support from the rest of the labor movement and to smash Nixon and his wage freeze.

Gleason and Bridges are looking to side with the bosses and Nixon. The Communist Party helps them. Only a leadership based on Marxism which begins with the rights and needs of the dockworkers, not the bosses, can take this struggle forward on a program which answers the needs of the working class. This is what we fight for.

• For ILA-ILWU unity—national dock strike on January 18—40 hour guarantee for all ports.

• \$7.50 per hour basic wage, 6 hour day—20 and out at \$5.00.

• General strike to end Phase II wage freeze.

• Nationalization of the docks—build a labor party against Nixon.

# YSA In Bloc With Rightist Students

BY A BULLETIN  
REPORTER

**PORTLAND, ORE.**—The Young Socialist Alliance here is seeking to lead students and young workers into a people's front with the Young Democrats, the Young Republicans and even the right wing Young Americans for Freedom.

At a recent meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the YSA leadership, behind a proposed effort to win a student-power reform from the school board, revealed plans to invite the youth supporters of the capitalist parties and the reactionary YAF to join in an action-alliance with the SMC.

The YSA proposes that the youth in this people's front arrange a court case with broad student support to win the right of all political groups to have clubs and meetings in the high schools. This civil liberties reform effort has a single purpose and effect, that is to isolate the movement of the student youth in the high schools from the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership in the labor movement.

The YSA is approaching the YAF through the Society of Strangers, a reactionary youth collective of science fantasy enthusiasts who have formed such anti-communist political arms as Campus Conservatives and the Libertarian Coalition.

At the most recent SMC meeting, the YSA formed a bloc with the Strangers and a representative from the YAF to speak and vote against, as "unrealistic," a proposal put forth by a supporter of the Workers League calling for a rally at the Labor Center around the demands for a labor party and a general strike against the war and Phase II.

## ILWU. . .

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and let Nixon walk all over us. A general strike would be a good way to make that plain.

**BULLETIN: Workers do not have their own political party. We cannot fight back effectively without building a labor party with a program of full employment, nationalization of basic industry under workers control, and an end to the war. Many union locals across the country, and some union leaders, have called for the foundation of a labor party. Do you support that call?**

Longshoreman: I think that we must have a labor party. The Democrats agree with the wage freeze. I don't trust these union leaders who suddenly decide that we need a labor party. They keep it pretty vague. They know that things are getting pretty tight, and they are on a hot seat. In any case, I do support the call for a labor party that they have made. I'd like to see where George Meany and Bridges stand on that.



# West Coast News

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

## Editorial

### Angela Davis Denounces CP's Popular Front Trial Defense

In a recent interview published by the Associated Press, Angela Davis spoke out in a thinly veiled attack on the counterrevolutionary policies put forward by the Communist Party in her defense.

Davis is quoted in the December 27th issue of the San Jose News as saying: "I had nothing to do with August 7th. That's true, and that should be said and I say it also." The interview goes on to say, however, "she worries that some people support her only because they believe she had nothing to do with the bloody August 7th shootout at the Marin Civic Center in which four persons died. She said Americans must understand the forces that led to those deaths and work to eradicate them."

Davis concluded the interview by specifying what those forces are and how they must be eradicated: "As a communist, Miss Davis said she hopes to see the present capitalist economic structure smashed by a revolution."

These statements by Davis, herself a member of the Communist Party, fly in the face of the Stalinists' liberal, civil-liberties defense campaign. The whole point of the Stalinists' pleas for "reasonable bail" and a "fair trial" is to build a reformist coalition based on the fact that Davis is innocent of the charges. That is why they have separated her case from that of Ruchell Magee, who cannot be made palatable to the liberal conscience.

The counterrevolutionary perspective of the Stalinists was perfectly expressed in a New Year's Eve vigil for "Justice in 1972" held outside the Palo Alto courthouse where Davis is being held. This motley assembly of about forty hard-core Stalinists and their supporters ushered in the new year with an affirmation of the very policies attacked by Davis herself.

While American imperialism brings in the new year by stepping up the bombing of North Vietnam, announcing through Nixon's pay board its intention to rip up the aerospace contracts, and jailing two hundred members of the Newark Teachers Union, the Stalinists beg the capitalist class for justice in 1972.

Angela Davis' statements to the Associated Press reflect a deepening crisis within the Communist Party, which now comes into direct conflict with the revolutionary aspirations of millions of working class and minority youth and the struggle of millions of trade unionists to defend their historic gains.

This conflict was expressed by George Jackson who, shortly before he was murdered, took up a struggle against the reformist and opportunist policies of the Stalinists within the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. In the July 24, 1971 Black Panther paper, Jackson and the other Soledad Brothers issued a statement attacking the Communist Party which concluded: "You cannot save me with reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techni-

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## DA Pushes New Soledad Frameup

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Entering its second week of trial, the Soledad murder case is becoming a showcase in the operation of bourgeois justice.

The prosecution which is now presenting its case has been unable to bring a shred of evidence linking the two remaining Soledad brothers, John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo with the murder.

Instead, it has attempted to link Clutchette and Drumgo to the murder by association. The latest example is the connection between the late George Jackson's calloused knuckles, a karate instruction book and the murder of guard John Mills.

The prison's chief medical officer Dr. Daniel W. Boone has testified that in his examination of Jackson a day after the guard's murder he found "callouses developed on the little finger edge of both of Jackson's hands, plus calloused pads on the inmate's knuckles."

This proves according to District Attorney William Curtis that Jackson used karate in the murder of Mills. Since Drumgo and Clutchette were friends of Jackson, they are therefore linked in the murder.

All the officers have testified however that in their hunt of Mill's murderer, none of them saw any of the defendants or any

inmate out of their cells.

The prosecution's main card is the host of recently released "inmate witnesses." These witnesses or "snitches" as they are called in prison are informers who work for the prison administration and in return are granted special privileges and early release.

One such "snitch" is Manuel Green, a former convict at Soledad and now one of the prosecution's inmate witnesses.

Green who had given testimony before the trial which only incriminated Jackson now has "now testimony" which will implicate Clutchette and Drumgo.

The inability of the capitalists to convict militants and revolutionaries in their own courts must serve as a warning to the working class. Nixon cannot allow the Newtons and Seales to go free while he steps up the attack on trade union militants and their leadership.

Only the mobilization of the working class and youth under a Marxist leadership will defend the rights of the class and at the same time prepare the way for power.

## Rebellion Erupts At Pittsburgh High School

BY A CORRESPONDENT

PITTSBURG—From the middle of the week until the Friday before the Christmas break, Pittsburgh High School South Campus was the scene of fighting and rebellion.

On Wednesday at noon fights broke out throughout the campus. Thursday about 75 students refused to go to classes and were suspended. The day was filled

with confusion, with students roaming the campus and sporadic fighting and window breaking.

The local police, school administration, and newspapers, although in complete confusion, try to create the impression that the disturbance and rebellion was caused by racism or drugs. But the truth of the matter can be quickly grasped by looking at the schools in Pittsburgh and the future that youth face in Pittsburgh.

Pittsburg California is a working class town, dominated by the U.S. Steel plant. The town is part of the largest concentration of heavy industry in the Bay Area. Unemployment is over 10 per cent and most of the big plants have had layoffs in the past few months. All the youth of Pittsburgh have to look forward to under capitalism is unemployment and welfare or if they are lucky, a life of backbreaking labor in the factories of Pittsburg and nearby Antioch.

Everyday the youth of Pittsburg face the possibility of seeing their parents lose their jobs and the near certainty that they themselves will not be able to find work. Despite their isolation from the political movements of the working class youth in the cities, these youth are ready to fight.

South Campus itself resembles a prison. It is surrounded by chain link and barb wire fence and separated from the town by nearly a mile. There is only one small patch of lawn on the whole campus. The swimming pool, never used, is overgrown with weeds. The students are treated as prisoners; emergency procedures at the school call for the locking of all doors upon a signal and the expulsion from school of all those not locked inside during an "emergency."

Pittsburg is only an example of the dead end that faces all working class youth under capitalism. The willingness to fight against this, explosively expressed at South Campus, must be turned into the trade unions



West Coast longshoremen reject latest PMA offer.

## Interview With A Longshoreman

### "Can't Let Nixon Walk All Over Us"

SAN DIEGO—December 15, 1971 —The following is an interview with several members of ILWU Local 29 in San Diego:

**Bulletin:** Behind the expiration of contracts on the docks, there lies the threat of automation eliminating the vast majority of longshoremen's jobs. This means that the current struggle on the docks is a fight for survival. Do you see any alternative besides a fight against containerization in order to insure that not even one longshoreman is thrown out of work?

**Longshoreman:** No, we must fight against it. In fact, it was your pamphlet *Showdown on the Docks* that really convinced me. If all the American trade can be done with a few container ships, then we've had it for sure. With employment as bad as it is, losing a job is rough.

**Bulletin:** But the present leadership of the ILWU and ILA is prepared to accept containerization without lifting a finger. It was the M&M agreements that were the beginning of automation on the docks, and Bridges supported that

completely. They are saying that nothing can be done to safeguard jobs on the docks.

**Longshoreman:** I've worked the docks on both coasts for some time now. I remember how Ryan operated in the ILA, and Gleason and Bridges are no different. They aren't going to help us, and I don't support them. You don't get anything without fighting for it.

**Bulletin:** The Taft-Hartley injunction means that from now on the government is going to help maritime companies get the workers in line in order to speed

up automation on the docks. That is another step in Nixon's move against the unions that he began with the wage freeze. We must fight back with a general strike against the wage freeze. Such a strike can begin with united action by the ILWU and ILA against the Taft-Hartley injunction.

**Longshoreman:** I agree, but Bridges and Gleason are not going to push for unity. That could get out of their control. I was against going back to work in the first place, but we still have a good chance now to get together. I do think that we can't just lie down.

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