

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Workers League
Endorses SWP
Candidates

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HOOVER

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER NINETEEN 228

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Fourth
National Conference**
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Workers League Fourth Convention**Capitalist Crisis
Poses Fight For
Marxist Theory**

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK—Some 200 workers and youth participated in the Fourth National Conference of the Workers League and the first meeting of the Young Socialists Steering Committee held here recently. The conference, nearly double last year's, concentrated on an assessment of the capitalist crisis and the necessity to develop Marxist philosophy and theory in this new period.

After a thorough discussion the conference pledged the full support of the Workers League behind the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Jenness and Pulley. Precisely because the sharp capitalist crisis poses the question of socialism, support for this campaign is a critical part of the Workers League's struggle for the trade unions to break from the two capitalist parties and set up their own labor party.

The Workers League Conference pledges its aid to placing the SWP ticket on the ballot in as many states as possible. It will conduct its own electoral activity around the program and perspectives of the Workers League.

INTERNATIONAL

The conference opened with an International Report given by Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary. Comrade Wohlforth began with a discussion of the capitalist crisis in light of the August 15th decisions of Nixon and the devaluations of the dollar.

"More basic than even the wage freeze and the attack on Europe, was Nixon's decision to remove the gold backing of the dollar," Wohlforth stressed. "This means that the basic process of capitalist production itself has broken down as there is no longer any measure of value. The essential analysis of Marx in Capital becomes the source for understanding the actual events now unfolding in the world."

Comrade Wohlforth explained that while production continues as before in consumer industries, and even in some cases like auto increases, it is in basic industries that the crisis is developing at a fever pitch. Here capitalists must make a decision as to whether to start the productive process by forming raw materials into products through the use of human labor. They now wonder what they will in the end get in return—that is what actually the pieces of paper called money are worth. So underneath the relatively normal production and circulation of commodities develops a tendency to develop shorter and shorter range plans, to circulate capital as fast as possible, to curtail actual production to a minimum. Right now production is falling in all basic industries in every country of the world, particularly steel, and at any moment it can freeze up altogether.

Wohlforth explained that this

brings the struggle of classes to the absolute point of the struggle for survival of the working class and of humanity itself. On the surface this is expressed in Nixon's drive to hold down wages and encourage a speedup in the shops. It would, however, be a mistake to think that anything will be accomplished on this level for the capitalists. It is not a matter of a few cents less per hour for wages or some more production. It is that more than 75% of the capital in the world is fictitious. They are talking in London of gold going to as high as \$140 an ounce!

Nothing can be solved for capitalism outside of the wholesale destruction of much of the wealth in the world and the wholesale destruction of the one source of all wealth, the working class. The capitalist system cannot be saved short of changing the very subsistence level which workers enjoy in the major countries of the world. This means the destruction of civilization itself as we know it. This means removing millions of workers from production. This is why we say the crisis today is far, far deeper than that of the depression of the 1930s.

Wohlforth explained in this context the meaning of the revolutionary movement of the 70 million people of Bangla Desh who faced nothing less than extinction and how this movement, which only the International

Committee supported, has so disrupted the international situation for world imperialism. It is only through an understanding of the depth of this crisis that we can appreciate the meaning of the turn of working class youth toward Marxism, youth who immediately face no future at all, and how these youth can give leadership to the class as a whole which faces the same fate in the coming period.

HISTORY

Wohlforth then detailed the history of the International Committee with particular attention to the relations with the French Section. He emphasized that the International Committee proceeded at every point on the basis of principle and approached the question of discussion of differences with patience and seriousness just as it had with the Socialist Workers Party. It was the Socialist Workers Party, he emphasized, and not the International Committee, which precipitated a split to avoid a discussion and the French have now followed in their footsteps.

The French, British and SWP stood together on a principled basis around the Open Letter of 1953 against Pablo. In 1961, the French, British and American minority stood together around the international resolution of the Socialist Labour League, "World Prospects for Socialism," against the return of



Crowded Young Socialist Steering Committee meeting last Saturday discuss plans for building YS (above). Gil Gonzalez of East New York speaks at the Steering Committee meeting (below).



the SWP to Pabloism. In 1962 the French, British and our section of the minority stood together on the basis of internationalism and the fight for a serious approach to the discussion in the international movement against Robertson. In 1966 a common fight was waged against both Robertson and the Voix Ouvriere group in defense of the continuity of Trotskyism.

Wohlforth explained that for a long time there had been differences in the International Committee which stemmed from the failure of the French to probe the struggle against Pabloism to its roots in the abandonment of the Marxist method and to train their cadre in this struggle. But the International Committee felt that time must be given for the French to go through a common experience in

the new situation opened up by the crisis of capitalism.

This period of principled collaboration, combined with a struggle for a theoretical development with the French movement and in fact the whole International Committee, persisted until Essen when the French broke with all principles and united with centrists to vote down International Committee members over the question of Marxism itself. Even then, while collaboration could no longer proceed, we fought to hold an international conference. This became impossible when the French publicly broke from the International Committee denouncing the majority of its sections.

Wohlforth explained that at the heart of the dispute with the

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YS Plans Unemployment Demonstration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The first meeting of the steering committee of the Young Socialists met on January 8 to discuss the program and to plan for building the YS in the next period.

The Young Socialists was launched on December 18 at the Workers League Conference of Revolutionary Youth.

Over a hundred youth attended the meeting which was held after the showing of the new film on the construction of the revolutionary youth movement at the Workers League National Convention.

Members from the Canarsie, East New York, Brownsville, Jefferson High School, Fort Greene, Brooklyn College, New School, Community College, Stuyvesant, Seward, Upper Manhattan and Queens branches of the Young Socialists in New York were represented at the meeting. YS representatives were also present from Boston, Philadelphia, Connecticut, Newark and Baltimore.

Gil Gonzalez of the East New York Young Socialists opened the meeting with a presentation on the crisis and the urgent necessity to construct the Young Socialists.

"The working class and the youth are now faced with a fight for survival. The capitalists are now prepared to destroy millions of lives to save their system. We have already seen what they did in Bangla Desh and here in Attica.

HARDEST

"Youth are hit the hardest. Capitalism offers no future for us but unemployment, poverty and war. If we fight back we are met with the power of the police and the state.

"The nationalists, and revisionists say we should fight for reforms but we are fighting for our lives. This is why we

must build the revolutionary youth movement, the Young Socialists, which is based on Marxist theory to arm us for our fight.

"The Young Socialists is calling a massive demonstration of youth in March to take up the fight against the attacks and pose a real alternative for the youth. What is raised to the youth and the working class today is the fight for socialism. This is why we must take sides in the 1972 elections and support the Socialist Workers Party campaign candidates for President and Vice President, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, as a socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. We will campaign for them on the basis of our program."

Comrade Gil made three proposals to the Steering Committee, that it meet once a month combined with a dance in the evening, that the demonstration against unemployment and the budget cuts be held on March 29th at Foley Square and that the Young Socialists support the SWP campaign of Jen-

ness and Pulley.

DISCUSSION

A lively discussion followed on the crisis, nationalism, the SWP campaign and the building of the Young Socialist Clubs.

A student at Bronx Science High School asked about the YS program and said he did not think the students should support the teachers because the teachers were the same as cops.

A member of the Jefferson High School Young Socialists said that it was not the teachers that were the cause of the problem but the capitalist system itself which was attacking both workers and youth. Rockefeller's budget cuts meant that not only would student activities be cut but that 13,000 teachers would lose their jobs. He said the teachers and students had to unite in a common fight against the government.

A member of the Canarsie Young Socialists said they were building a club at Canarsie High School where there was a lot of interest in the program. She

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Young veteran applying for unemployment benefits.

Unemployment Jumps To 6.1%

BY JEANNIE COOPER

After 4 months of Phase 1 and Phase 2, after 4 months of wage freezing and elimination of retroactive pay, the American working class now faces vicious new attacks in the form of mass unemployment. This has already been reflected in a rash of plant closures and mass layoffs, and now in the official government figures for the year 1971.

Unemployment in December rose again, according to the official figures, to 6.1 percent. The yearly average is recorded at 5.9 percent, or, as the government says, the unemployment rate "stabilized" around 6 percent, the highest average since 1961.

As the Bulletin reported on December 6th, however, an independent survey conducted by the United Auto Workers showed almost double that figure. The UAW survey included those who were only able to find part time work and were seeking full time work, those who are chronically unemployed, those who have given up looking for jobs. The government estimated "around five million" unemployed during 1971. The UAW survey showed 8,805,000, or 10.2 percent.

AUGUST 15

Nixon's August 15th measures mean trade war internationally, and an attempt by the ruling class to throw millions onto the unemployment lines and squeeze intolerable productivity out of the American working class. Secretary of Labor Hodgson is quoted in the New York Times in reference to the unemployment figures that they "demonstrate the need for the employment-stimulating measures proposed by President Nixon last

August..."

Hodgson said he was referring to the tax cuts being dropped into the laps of the corporations, but central to the government's strategy in keeping these corporations going are the most vicious attacks on the working class. The climbing unemployment figures indicate one way in which the capitalists are trying to get out of their crisis. These attacks hit the youth primarily, with teen-age unemployment being recorded at 16.2 percent as of last July, and unemployment among minority youth at almost 35 percent!

When this reporter interviewed some unemployed in New York, the feeling was similar between older workers, younger workers and recently discharged GI's that it's harder than ever to find a job, and that the government is responsible for unemployment. One older worker, in the restaurant workers Local 89, said that he was on social security and also had to work as much as the law allows to make ends meet. He was very bitter that the benefits supposedly coming to his son have been discontinued.

A young Spanish man, recently discharged from the army said he kept hoping while he was in the army that he could come home and have everything be like it used to be. "But I see that things are different now, and something has to change." When

asked if that meant he had to take part in changing things he said he thought that would be so. Another ex-GI had been in District 65 before he was drafted. He said the unions should take up the fight against unemployment, and that the government should provide more jobs. To Nixon's wage freeze he said, "Everything should be frozen except wages."

The fight against unemployment is now critical. The Young Socialists are calling a demonstration on March 29th against unemployment, the educational cutbacks, and for the construction of a labor party pledged to fighting unemployment—for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay, for real job training programs for youth at union wages, for guaranteed unemployment insurance upon leaving school.

Many of the unemployed we spoke to on the lines said they weren't sure how unemployment could be solved with this government. The fight against unemployment poses the fight for nationalization of industry under the control of the workers, to run the industries in the interests of the working class, to provide jobs for all and not millions in profit for the capitalists.

The revolutionary youth movement must take these demands to the trade unions. The Young Socialists are fighting for union support to the demonstration in March. The fight to organize the unemployed into the unions is critical in this period as the capitalists seek to split the working class, to whip up racism, to pit the younger workers against the older workers, and to keep the employed and unemployed at each others throats. We must build a massive demonstration of youth on March 29th. The right to a decent job at decent wages is today being threatened by Nixon, his Pay Board and his "employment-stimulating measures."

As Lane Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO said about Nixon's promise to bring down the unemployment rate: "Not one word of that prediction has come to pass, instead more Americans are unemployed, more are under employed, more have given up the fruitless search for jobs and more are afraid of losing their jobs than was the case one year ago."

The working class will not tolerate having its livelihood destroyed. The fight against unemployment takes a central place in the construction of the revolutionary youth movement and the revolutionary party.

- End unemployment and budget cuts!
- Support the Young Socialists demonstration March 29!
- Build a Labor Party for '72!

ILA Leaders Push Guarantee Sellout

BY DAN FRIED

The agreement arrived at by Teddy Gleason of the International Longshoremens Association (ILA) and Harry Bridges of the Longshoremens and Warehousemens Union (ILWU) to shut down both coasts in a nationwide strike if the Pay Board trims the wage increases negotiated in their contracts, must now be taken forward by the rank and file of both unions to win the full 40 hour weekly guaranteed wage for every dockworker in the United States.

The leaders of the two unions have been forced by the crisis facing the dockworkers, by the unprecedented attack on the unions, to make this joint agreement.

CONCESSIONS

At the same time, there is absolutely no doubt that Gleason and Bridges are attempting to use the ILA agreement on wages to allow fundamental concessions on the all important question of the Guaranteed Annual Income. These concessions, if allowed to go through, open the door to the destruction of the vast majority of the jobs and the smashing of all the rights and conditions of the dockworkers on both coasts over the next three years.

The New York Times gave the game away when it referred to a management source which stated that the ILA had agreed, "as one of the trade-offs of the proposed wage settlement, to a number of changes that would tighten up policing the GAI."

Even though a final agreement has not been arrived at in New York over "local" issues—the key issue, of course, being the terms of the GAI—management made it crystal clear that they were delighted with the master contract on wages and fringe benefits. So much so, that they have indicated that they will support this shutdown of the nation's docks, together with the unions, should the Pay Board trim the wage agreement which amounts to 32.6% over three years.

Can it be that the billionaire shipowners have suddenly turned from being the most tightfisted Scrooges, out to amass profits off the backs of the workers into kindly, humane men whose only thought is to

give their employees a generous wage, without so much as the pressure of a strike?

No! The shippers are anxious to get this deal through because they are well on their way to an agreement with Gleason that will accelerate productivity through containerization, while tearing apart the 40 hour guarantee in New York, and limiting its hours and availability in all ports, East and West. That is their hope if they are able to push through such a contract in New York City. This means the need to begin NOW, to gather the biggest NO vote in the history of the ILA to reject this contract.

Again the Times lets the cat out of the bag as far as the

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TWU Ranks Fight NY Transit Pact

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—A full scale rebellion by rank and file bus and subway workers against the new contract agreed to by the TWU leadership is under way. The contract, which calls for a 6% yearly wage increase during the next 27 months still must be ratified in a mail ballot.

The contract agreement was announced following an all night bargaining session on New Year's Eve. It was consciously kept at 6% so as to be roughly within the framework of the Pay Board's guidelines of 5.5%. The agreement thus represents an attempt by Nixon and the ruling class to push back the unions as more vicious attacks take place in the form of inflation and mass unemployment.

But the ranks are not buying it. Last Friday, January 8, more than 1,300 Brooklyn transit workers engaged in a "sock-out," a wildcat action which disrupted most bus service in the borough.

PROTEST

On Saturday, more than 1,000 rank and filers picketed the TWU headquarters in Manhattan in protest against the contract, and against the mail ballot. Most of the men favor a direct, personal "booth" for voting on the contract. Continual demonstrations were held during the past week at TWU headquarters and in Brooklyn at the offices of the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

In Queens and Staten Island, 2,000 transit workers, members of the Amalgamated Transport Workers Union have already turned down the contract.

Typical of the reaction of the transit workers, which under-

lies their hostility to the contract was a statement by a Transit Authority Ironworker: "When I heard the union only got us 6%, I thought, well, there must be something else in the contract, a four day week, a cost of living increase, something—there had to be. But no. How come we had to take 6% when the mine workers and everybody else is getting more. The union sold us down the river."

The fight to get the biggest NO vote against this contract and force a renegotiation to win everything that the leadership sold out, now forms the basis for a new leadership in the TWU, a leadership that can take this struggle forward politically. This means above all, preparation for a fight against the Pay Board:

- Labor off the Board.
- General strike to end Phase II.
- Fight now for a labor party in '72 against Nixon.

Local 1199, New York City Hospital Workers Union has called a demonstration on Saturday, January 15th in support of the Forest Hills low income housing project. The demonstration will be held at 1:30 p.m. at 108 St. and Long Island Expressway in Forest Hills. We urge all workers and youth to participate as part of the fight against the vicious racism that the government is now whipping up.

Yonkers Teachers Unite In Defiance Of Strike Injunction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

YONKERS, N.Y., Jan. 11—School teachers here have been on strike for over a week in defiance of an anti-strike injunction obtained under New York State's reactionary Taylor Law on January 4.

The strike continues to be solid with most of the students absent and over 94% of the teachers out. According to one of the strikers on the picket line at Lincoln High School, the attempts by the Board of Education to recruit scabs from among students at Iona College in New Rochelle were unsuccessful after the teachers explained the strike to the students.

One of the teachers explained

Local Bureaucrats Call Cops Against Bulletin Salesmen

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

St. Paul, Minn.—The bureaucrats of Armour Local 4 and Stockhandlers Local 160 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, aided by a dozen goons, three squad cars of cops, including the chief of police, failed to intimidate four Bulletin salesmen in front of the South St. Paul yards on Tuesday afternoon. After failing to frighten the salesmen, the goons stopped each car of workers as they left the plant and by red baiting and threats, ordered them not to buy the Bulletin.

The Armour leadership is terrified by the sales of hundreds of Bulletins in the last ten weeks. Adding to their fear was the successful meeting held last week by the Workers League attended by packing house workers and other Twin Cities unionists to begin to rally support for the 155 beleaguered stockhandlers whose strike has now entered its eighth bitter cold week.

The leaflet calling the meeting condemned the treacherous role of the leaders of both unions in granting permits to the three thousand employees of Armours forcing them to "legally" scab on their own brother stockhandlers. In addition the leaflet urged the Armour workers to take action by refusing to cross the picket lines. At the meeting a group of packing house workers launched a struggle to build a caucus around the mobilization of the Minneapolis labor movement in support of the stockhandlers and around the following demands:

- Call back the hundreds of workers laid off Christmas eve!
- Jobs for all with the thirty hour week at forty hours pay!
- No plant closings! Nationalize the plant under workers' control!
- Fight Phase 2! Labor off the Pay Board!
- For a general strike to end all wage controls and end the layoffs!

that most of the students at Lincoln were enthusiastic supporters of the strike, despite the attempts of School Superintendent Robert Alioto to divide the teachers from the students and parents.

This is done by attempting to eliminate the restriction on class size and then to say that the teachers' demand for increased wages is the cause of this. This is being done in the form of the Board's demand that the teachers give up the strict 30 pupil class size and replace it with "flexibility."

BLOW

Although the Board claims this "flexibility" is to improve the quality of the education, the teachers insisted that it is obviously a blow at quality education, intended to save money through greater productivity.

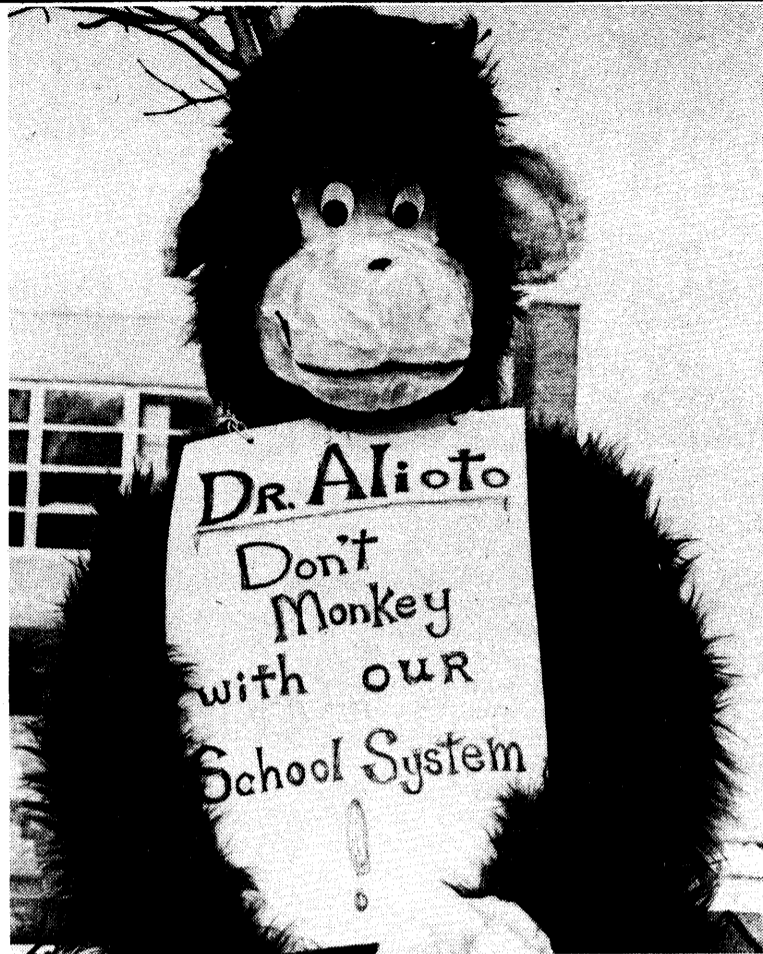
One of the strikers who the Bulletin asked what he thought should be done to defend the contract increases of workers, such as in aerospace, whose gains are vetoed by the Pay Board, said, "You've got to have a general strike—that's the answer."

The attempts to break the strike through court injunction which now means the threat of fines and jailings, now brings up all the questions of last year's Newark Teachers strike which was a precursor of the vicious attacks on the unions now taking place under Nixon and the Pay Board. The defiance of the injunction represents the massive rebellion against this stepped up attempt to smash the unions through the courts and Phase II.

The attitude of many Yonkers teachers was summed up in the reply by one of the strikers when asked what he would do if teachers were sent to jail for striking. "Well, it's warmer in jail than out here. We're not going back."



Pickets at Salvation Army HQ in NYC protesting retaliatory layoffs of 5 shop stewards of Local 1707. Army pays lowest wages of all similar institutions. 1707 leaders are now asking 1199 which organized an Army hospital to help defend the workers.



Mascot of striking Yonkers teachers.

GM Shuts Down Fisher Plant

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—With the new year less than a week old, General Motors announced that it would be shutting down for good Fisher Body Plant 23.

This means that about 1,100 workers, mostly tool and die workers, will be put on unemployment for an indefinite period. The reason GM gave for the closure was one of its favorite excuses—the high cost of meeting the government's safety and pollution standards.

The United Auto Workers bureaucracy was quick to reply. Irving Bluestone, one of the men chiefly responsible for the 1970 sellout contract, said the shut down was due to GM's drive to change model styling less often. This of course cuts the need for the tool workers. Bluestone then referred to GM's decision as "cruel, bitter and frightening."

But what does the UAW leadership intend to do about this shut down? Bluestone plans to meet with GM to discuss the cor-

poration's "contractual and moral obligation" to the workers. This will not get the ranks off the unemployment line.

Layoffs have been a constant factor in the auto plants for the last few years.

Nixon's August 15th economic measures will intensify the closures and massive layoffs as the productive process slows down.

The layoffs of the UAW came suddenly. One worker of Plant 23 said, "Some Christmas presents they give you. I've put in 16 years here and then have to find out in the newspapers that pretty soon I'm going to be out of a job."

It becomes clearer each day that Woodcock, Mazy, Bluestone, and Company plan no fight against these attacks. This is the meaning of Woodcock's presence on the Pay Board and Bluestone's remarks on Plant 23's closure.

1) Stop Phase II—General Strike; Labor off the Board; Build a Labor Party for '72.

2) End the speedup—Workers control of production.

3) 30 hours work at 40 hours pay; unlimited SUB at full wages for all workers.

4) Full parity for all UAW members including full cost of living escalator and 30 and out at \$500 monthly at any age.

The UAW ranks must demand that GM be shutdown to stop this closure and that the company's moves be answered with the fight for the nationalization of the company under workers control.

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Gibson Threatens Layoffs, Pay Cut

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK—Mayor Kenneth Gibson announced last week that he will lay off 700 workers from the City's work force unless they decide to take a 15% pay cut.

Most of the jobs would be slashed from the Department of Public Works, reducing and even eliminating some public services.

Gibson's layoffs come at a time when the Northern New Jersey area has just lost 20,000 jobs in the last year, the first actual decline in the total number of jobs since 1958. Most of these job cuts came from manufacturing industries which have shut down or cut their work force.

Gibson's concern is not for the hundreds of workers he is throwing onto the streets. Instead, he is now devoting much time and effort attempting to acquire an immediate 20% pay raise—from \$20,000 to \$25,000—for Newark Police Director John Redden. Redden has decided to resign from his position unless he is given this pay boost by February 1st.

CITY COUNCIL

The Newark City Council has so far tabled Redden's pay claim, but they recently reaffirmed a proposal to hire 200 additional policemen to swell the force. Gibson has vowed to fight for Redden. On WNBC-TV's "Newsight," Gibson stated that Redden's job "is worth at least \$25,000. I'm going to work to make sure he remains in that job."

IMPERIALE

Essex Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale, the racist right-winger, has also supported Gibson's actions.

Last year during the Newark Teachers strike, the Communist Party called on workers to support Gibson and his strike-breaking policies. Now the true class nature of Gibson and his "liberal" administration is being clearly exposed.

The CP must bear responsibility for these developments as well as for the jailing recently of 186 Newark teachers which resulted from the 1970 strike.

Workers in Newark and Northern New Jersey must now fight to build an alternative to Gibson, Imperiale and the Stalinists through the construction of a labor party in order to defeat the job cuts and attacks on the living standards of workers and youth.

British Miners Begin Strike Against Tories

BY A CORRESPONDENT

The coal miners of Great Britain, historically the backbone of the English working class, began Sunday their first nationwide strike in 46 years.

The battle of the 280,000 miners against the most reactionary British government in living memory poses the most decisive political questions. The last national coal miners strike generated the great General Strike of 1926. Now, with the entire British working class seething with hatred for the Tories, a similar development is very possible.

The National Coal Board, which runs the "nationalized industry" in the interests of British capitalism under the supervision of Prime Minister Heath, has given the coal miners no alternative but strike action. The workers have demanded pay increases up to 47% but the NCB is sticking to its final offer of about 8%.

CONFRONTATION

The salary which the miners receive for their grueling work is incredibly low. Most of the workers make less than \$80 a week. Not only do they work for low wages but also have hardly any job security. In the last ten years, the number of miners has dropped from 536,000 to 280,000 and the number of working pits from 669 to 290. The fact that it is impossible to avoid a strike was expressed by an official of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM): "The strike will be on and I don't think there will be approaches from anybody. I think the Government is determined and I think the Coal Board is doing what the Government is telling it to do. I think the Government wants a confrontation."

The Heath Government has made no secret about its war on British trade unions. It has already passed the Industrial Relations Bill. Now the Tories want to defeat the miners to gain the power to use it.

Soviet Dissident Gets 12 Years

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Soviet bureaucracy is deepening its assault against the anti-Stalinist opposition and reviving the methods of its infamous teacher to do so.

Vladimir Bukovsky, the young opponent of Stalinism who exposed the use of psychiatric wards against political dissidents, was given a secret trial last week on trumped up charges and received a vicious sentence: two years in prison, five years in a hard labor camp, and five years in exile in the waste lands of the USSR.

The indictment handed down against Bukovsky damns the character of the Kremlin rulers. He is charged with "trying to per-

suaude Soviet army officers to transmit information abroad; trying to organize illegal smuggling of printing machinery from abroad for duplicating illegal anti-Soviet material; and circulating among Soviet citizens, and in some foreign publications, slanderous inventions about the social and political system of the USSR."

The movement of the working class internationally is forcing the bureaucracy to fight against every expression of independent thought. The parasites in the Kremlin want to keep all printing presses in the workshops of the bureaucracy.

The indictment shows the terror the leadership has for the opposition's opinions penetrating the population. It is also interesting that the bureaucracy is sug-

gesting that Bukovsky found support within the army. It would seem that trouble is brewing for the Stalinists wherever masses congregate.

This is not the first time that the Kremlin clique has unleashed its vindictiveness upon Bukovsky. He is only 29 years old but has already spent six years behind bars or in the psychiatric wards of the KGB, the Soviet secret police. His first "crime" was reading Milovan Djilas' *The New Class*, a condemnation of the bureaucracy. His second imprisonment came after Bukovsky's participation in a demonstration in defense of Daniel and Sinyavsky.

The anger of the bureaucracy has failed to intimidate the opposition. Drawing courage from their hatred of Stalinism the opposition is expressing disdain with ever greater audacity.



Young coal mining apprentices in South Wales prepare for coal strike.

Pakistan Documents Reveal U.S. War Plans

BY ED SMITH

Jack Anderson, a syndicated columnist, has released secret transcripts of high level meetings held last month during the course of the defeat of West Pakistan by Indian and Bengali forces.

These meetings were attended by such top imperialist figures as Nixon's chief advisor Dr. Henry Kissinger, General Westmoreland, CIA Chief Helms, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Thomas Moorer, and high level functionaries from the Departments of State and Defense.

These transcripts make absolutely clear that the whole genocidal policy of the Pakistani regime was wholeheartedly and actively supported by American imperialism from Nixon on down.

"I am getting hell every half hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India....He wants to tilt in favor of Pakistan," remarks Nixon's henchman, Kissinger. Discussion in the transcripts then ranges over proposals to cut aid to India, transfer weapons sent to imperialism's client states in Jordan and Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, and even direct military aid to the Pakistani rulers. This subject should be examined, say the documents, "on a very close hold (secret) basis."

In the end the nuclear aircraft carrier Enterprise, with 2,000 Marines aboard, was sent into the Bay of Bengal, ostensibly to

aid evacuation efforts, but in actuality to aid the Pakistanis by diverting Indian intelligence and military efforts away from the Pakistani forces. Such was the solicitude of Nixon for the minions of Yahya Khan who, when they ran out of bullets to kill Bengalis, proceeded to bury them alive.

Perhaps most revolting of all in these documents are the cynical references to the Biharis, many of them collaborators of the West Pakistanis in the slaughter of the Bengalis. Apparently Kissinger and others present considered their "plight" a possible means of turning the Bangla Desh situation on its head. The real victims, they claimed, were not the 10 million refugees and perhaps a million Bengalis killed by Yahya Khan's murderous client state, but they the victims were the accomplices in this policy of genocide.

BLOODBATH

"Perhaps an international humanitarian effort could be launched on their behalf" remarks one conference participant. Dr. Kissinger, the transcript adds, "suggested that this be done quickly to avoid a bloodbath." Meanwhile Kissinger and Nixon were doing their utmost to prop up Yahya Khan so he could continue one of the greatest bloodbaths of the twentieth century. As Kissinger stated, "it is quite obvious that the President is not inclined to let the Paks be defeated."

The policy of Nixon and imperialism was baldly to continue the reactionary religious partition of India and suppress the national aspirations of the Bengalis. This meant the murder of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants.

But perhaps the most ominous note was contained in a rather obscure sentence buried near the end of the document and completely ignored by the press:

KISSINGER: "...We need to think about our treaty obligations. I remember a letter or memo interpreting our existing treaty with a special India tilt. When I visited Pakistan in January, 1962, I was briefed on a secret document or oral understanding about contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context. Perhaps it

was a Presidential letter..."

"Contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context" puts the maneuvers of the Enterprise Contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context" puts the maneuvers of the Enterprise in an even more sinister light and lends credence to columnist Anderson's informants' fears that the Bay of Bengal would become another Tonkin Gulf. It would become the site of an imperialist provocation as pretext for another war on the colonial peoples.

INVOLVED

American imperialism must become much more involved than Kissinger's disgusting characterization of Bangla Desh as "somebody else's basket case" would indicate. We must understand that it is quite possible that it is in the cards the carrier Enterprise may do more than steam around the Bay of Bengal.

By the end of the Anderson documents the desperate participants broach the plan of "Bengali autonomy" but the situation has gone far beyond that.

The true meaning of Nixon's separation of the dollar from gold, from the crackup of the whole foundations of the capitalist system, is being written out in letters of blood in the colonial countries of the world. The history of Bangla Desh confirms the example of My Lai and all of Vietnam.

What is being revealed is that capitalism in the form of the Nixon government not only applauded and supported Yahya Khan's war of extermination against the Bengali people but in fact was preparing to participate in this genocidal venture directly. Genocide is what capitalism has in store not only for the colonial peoples such as in Bangla Desh but in the heartland of imperialism itself—the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and the United States.

The rights, aspirations, and future of the Bengalis and the masses of the whole Indian subcontinent can only be guaranteed by the socialist revolution. This is the reason the imperialists, Mrs. Gandhi and the Awami League leaders all find themselves riding a tiger.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Support SWP In '72 Elections!

1972 will bring even more vicious attacks on the American working class. The effects of Nixon's August 15th measures and the devaluation of the dollar have hardly begun.

In a secret memorandum written by Nixon's legal advisors the government is now preparing to halt and reduce the retroactive pay increases millions of workers expected to receive. This will be done through the loopholes left in the law passed by Congress to grant these raises.

American workers are having their wages cut and their jobs decimated as unemployment soars to a new high. The youth face no future at all. Capitalism can promise the working class nothing but poverty, unemployment and war.

The government and the employers are preparing. In Baton Rouge this week Black militants were clubbed, beaten and shot down in the streets in cold blood as they simply sought to hold a demonstration in the Black community against the conditions. Cops patrolled the streets with machine guns. This is what the working class and the youth face in this period.

In the struggles now ahead millions of workers will clash with the government and its policies. The unemployed workers and youth will not accept unemployment as a way of life.

The agreement by the longshoremen's unions on the East and the West Coasts to call a nationwide strike if the Pay Board cuts their wage increase brings relations between labor and the government to the breaking point. The employers' attempts to destroy the livelihood of thousands of dockers through containerization raises the question that faces the entire working class.

The sharp crisis today means there is only one solution—a socialist one and therefore a political one. What is involved is putting an end to capitalism through the struggle for political power by the working class, not the fight for reforms.

This is why the Workers League at its recent national convention voted to support the Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President in the 1972 elections. In running against the Democrats and Republicans in this critical period the SWP campaign is raising the question of an alternative to the two parties of capitalism.

The Workers League sees support to the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley as a critical part of breaking the trade unions and the entire working class from the two capitalist parties.

The Workers League will fight to get the SWP candidates on the ballot in every state and will campaign for endorsement and support in the unions, schools and communities.

We will fight for this support on the basis of the only program which can pose an alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and defeat capitalism.

- Labor off the Pay Board!
- For a general strike to smash the wage freeze!
- Substantial wage increase and cost of living clauses!
- Full employment through the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!
- Immediate withdrawal from Indochina!
- For the nationalization of basic industry under workers control!
- Build a labor party in '72 to carry out these policies!



Victory Threatened

What we think

Spartacist Rediscovered Shachtman

In 1940 Trotsky wrote of the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman-Abern-Burnham: "Throughout all the vacillations and convulsions of the opposition, contradictory though they may be, two general features run like a guiding thread from the pinnacles of theory down to the most trifling political episodes. The first general feature is the absence of a unified conception...History becomes transformed into a series of improvisations. We have here in the full sense of the term the disintegration of Marxism, the disintegration of theoretical thought, the disintegration of politics into its constituent elements. Empiricism and its foster brother, impressionism, dominate from top to bottom...Throughout the vacillations and convulsions of the opposition, there is a second general feature intimately bound up with the first, namely, a tendency to refrain from active participation, a tendency to self elimination, to abstentionism, naturally under cover of ultra-radical phrases...Hot on the trail of 'concrete' political tasks in words, the opposition actually places itself outside the historical process."

Now as the struggle of classes moves towards the absolute point of conflict all the petty bourgeois tendencies take the same methodological and class position as the Shachtman group in 1940. This is why the Spartacist, the Socialist Workers Party, the Red Mole in England and the OCI of France all abstained on the question of the war of the Bengali masses and the Indian army against Pakistan for the independence of Bangla Desh. Lacking a unified conception they could not see the events in the Indian subcontinent in the perspective of the international crisis. Not seeing this crisis, the crisis nevertheless has its effect on them. These tendencies move sharply away from taking sides in the actual struggles going on reflecting the position of the petty bourgeoisie in capitalist society.

The direct connection between the present-day abstentionists and their Shachtmanite ancestors is Spartacist. They write: "In a polemic with the SWP in 1942 it fell to Max Shachtman's lot to place the general principle of support to self-determination struggles within a context of Leninist regard for concrete reality. The issue was China. Should socialists support China's war against Japanese imperialism on the grounds of self-determination for China, or had such support become merely, as Shachtman charged, back-handed assistance to U.S.

imperialism which not merely assisted, but controlled the Chinese Forces."

Every word is like a textbook example of the reactionary empirical method of the petty bourgeoisie. First Max Shachtman is abstracted from...Max Shachtman. It just happened to "fall" to Shachtman, who had just completed a criminal split with Trotsky deserting the defense of the Soviet Union under the class pressures of imperialism, to defend Leninist principle! Shachtman himself is broken up into a series of episodes and positions some of which are correct and some incorrect. This in itself represents a complete abandonment of theoretical thought.

Next we are told that what "fell" to Shachtman was to place "general



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

principles," this time self-determination, within the context of the "Leninist regard for concrete reality." This task certainly fell to the right man. No one else, with the exception of Burnham who by this time had left the workers movement altogether for the right wing of the bourgeoisie, was better equipped for this task. After all, had not Shachtman broken from Trotsky precisely because he placed the general principle of defense of the USSR within the context of regard for the "concrete reality" of the events of Finland and Poland. The conclusion he came to was that the principle of defense had to be abandoned under the concrete circumstances.

Trotsky pointed out that Shachtman's theories on the Soviet Union and on the "third camp" would lead him to also abandon the colonial peoples: "India is participating in the imperialist war on the side of Great Britain. Does this

mean that our attitude toward India—not the Indian Bolsheviks but INDIA—is the same as toward Great Britain? If there exists in this world, in addition to Shachtman and Burnham, only two imperialist camps, then where, permit me to ask, shall we put India? A Marxist will say that despite India's being an integral part of the British Empire and India's participating in the imperialist war; despite the perfidious policy of Gandhi and other nationalist leaders, our attitude toward India is altogether different from our attitude toward England. We defend India against England."

The Transitional Program, written as we know by Trotsky, states on this question: "Some of the colonial or semi-colonial countries will undoubtedly attempt to utilize the war in order to cast off the yoke of slavery. Their war will not be imperialist but liberating..." With this understanding the American Trotskyists defended China against Japan during World War II. They did so with their own methods and independent of and against their own bourgeoisie. They warned the Chinese masses of the dangers inherent in its bourgeois leadership under Chiang Kai-Shek and Chiang Kai-Shek's political reliance on American imperialism.

So today the International Committee supported the war of the Bangla Desh people against Pakistan and their utilization of the Indian Army in this struggle. At the same time we warn of the dangers which come from the Indian bourgeoisie as well as from the bourgeois leadership of Sheikh Mujib and we carry on our defense of Bangla Desh with our own class methods.

The stand of Spartacist exposes the real position of the SWP and the OCI. These forces are wedded to the petty bourgeoisie which will not take a stand on the class issues today. Like the Shachtmanites in their day this right wing position is put forward, as Trotsky said, "under the cover of ultra-radical phrases." Not taking a stand means standing with the bourgeoisie. The SWP, which supported every petty bourgeois adventurer in the colonial world in years past, finds itself paralyzed in this period, unable to actively fight for the elementary principle of self-determination. This is because this principle becomes directly connected with the struggle to actually construct Marxist parties based on the working class. It is no longer a matter of a poster on the wall but of the struggle of classes.

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP secretary Pat Jordan's contempt for British workers finds its reflection in Ireland in his contempt for the Protestant workers.

The IMG, having pinned its hopes on the Catholic petty-bourgeoisie, is quite reconciled to leaving the Rev Ian Paisley in full control of the Protestant workers.

This is the real measure of their desire to 'assist Irish Marxists to develop a revolutionary Marxist current in Ireland! No doubt we should not be surprised to see the IMG—like the Communist Party—conducting its own sublime 'dialogue' with Pope Paul's representatives soon!

If Jordan's predecessors in Ceylon (Colin de Silva and company) could become devout Buddhists, there is hope for Jordan!

Unity of Ireland can never come about through the bankrupt policies of Republicanism. Neither the bourgeoisie nor the petty-bourgeoisie of Ireland can unite the country and carry out the tasks of a belated bourgeois revolution. Only the working class can.

So while we defend the Republicans from British oppression, we give no confidence or support to their policies.

This applies in particular to

intervention. They will convert Ireland into a base for military operations against the Irish and British workers.

We must prepare now to see that it does not take place. We can do this by fighting for the withdrawal of British troops through the resignation of the Tories and the closest unity and solidarity of Irish and British workers.

Hypocritical

LET US now examine the utterly hypocritical charge of Jordan and company that we distorted their attitude on troops in Ireland. (See 'Red Mole' No. 28—September 15, 1971.)

The entire experience of Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has shown how the IMG used radical slogans like 'No negotiations! Victory for NLF!' to trap unwary students and pursue the opposite policy of appealing to Wilson to dissociate from Johnson.

By their actions, by their refusal to even pose the demand for a campaign to force the Tories to resign and by their consistent support of rallies organized by the reformist and Stalinist lovers of British troops in Ireland, these unprincipled revisionists have forfeited what-

The withdrawal of troops demand from Marxists is a principled demand—and a revolutionary one—because it reveals the inseparable connection of the British and Irish workers in the struggle to overthrow British imperialism.

The manner in which it is presented will vary according to circumstance. When Labour was in power, Marxists addressed this demand directly to the Labour government, in order to expose the imperialist character of Wilson's policies and destroy his credibility amongst Labour supporters.

Demand

It could, however, be ridiculous to address such a demand to a Tory government. To do so would be to cultivate an illusion that the Tories could be pressurized into acting in an anti-imperialist manner.

The only way to secure the withdrawal of troops from Ireland—or anywhere else—is, as we have already pointed out, to force the Tories to resign and replace them with a Labour government which can be forced to do so.

Marxists, we repeat, do not equivocate on the 'emphasis given to this demand'—any attempt to do so would be to belittle the revolutionary tasks of the working class in Britain and betray the Irish workers.

Secondly, and more important, all those who separate the question of the withdrawal of troops

(Vol. 2, No. 10) published the Manifesto of Saor Eire—a left-wing terrorist movement which broke away from the Republicans in the 1960s.

'Red Mole', in publishing the manifesto, commented that it is an 'important contribution to the discussion on the way forward for the Irish revolution'. Whether the manifesto was politically correct or not was never revealed by the editors.

In our opinion, much of what it said was indefensible politically, but what it did say about the Republican movement is worth recapitulating, because it is factually correct and exposes the conveniently short memories of these revisionist distorters:

'Fianna Fail, having failed in the 1930s to build an independent capitalist economy, have been forced further and further back into the Empire and depend for their very existence on British imperialism. All they amount to are the financial supervisors of England's investment in Ireland.

'For this reason, it is necessary to face the fact that owing to their watch-dog role . . . Fianna Fail are as big an enemy to Irish independence as imperialism is. [This is an understandable but incorrect exaggeration, imperialism is the major enemy—Ed.] The Irish Free State since its inception has murdered far more Irish patriots in suppressing the independence struggle than the forces of imperialism have.

'This necessitates that at some

dominates this movement? And isn't the two-stage theory of the Sinn Fein-IRA identical with the reformist and counter-revolutionary theory of Stalinism?

Jordan's silence on this vital question can only be construed as tacit consent for the betrayal of the Irish revolution by the Irish bourgeoisie and the retention of British imperialist influence in the 32 counties. That is why he equivocates on the withdrawal of troops.

It is not difficult either to elicit the implications of Jordan's rationalization that the slogan of withdrawal of troops is an 'educational' one.

This can only mean that you advance the slogan in the manner of a Fabian pedagogue from time to time—but do not fight consistently for its implementation against those who oppose it and break completely from those who support troops in Ireland.

The task for Jordan is to preserve the radical image of the IMG while emasculating revolutionary slogans and policies. As we have already pointed out he was the pioneer of this new form of politics in post-war Britain; a form of politics which is aimed solely against revolutionary Marxism.

Credo

JORDAN OUTLINED his new model popular-frontism in an article in the April 1969 issue of 'The International', which could arguably be called his credo.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVISIONISM



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

the Irish Republican Army (IRA) whose bureaucratic centralist structure is eminently suited not for democratic socialism, but for a Bonapartist take over. Its anti-working class character is explicitly expressed in Article 3 of General Order No. 2:

'Membership of the Communist Party is forbidden. Any volunteers found promoting Communism or distributing its literature is automatically dismissed.'

Of course, no such proscription applies to the Catholic Church!

Unity

Because of the close and long association of the British and Irish working class and the interdependent interests, the struggle for the socialist revolution in Britain is inextricably connected with the struggle against the pernicious influence of the Catholic and Protestant bourgeoisie and for the unity of British and Irish workers against their common enemy—imperialism.

We believe profoundly that what the working classes of Eire and Britain failed to achieve in 1913 and 1920 will be achieved in the coming struggles.

When that day arrives, the Republican bourgeoisie, no less than the Protestant rulers, will turn with the utmost savagery against the working class. They will drop their sectarian feuds and unite solidly against their expropriators.

The Irish bourgeoisie will not hesitate, in such circumstances to do what the Ukrainian, Finnish, Polish and Georgian bourgeoisie did in the war of

ever right they might have had to protest about so-called distortions of policy.

Jordan himself supplied the answer to Bob Purdie's questions in the 'Red Mole', when he wrote in his magazine 'The International':

'The demand for the withdrawal of British troops is one which the British movement must adopt if it is to correctly implement a policy of fighting for self-determination. The emphasis given at a particular time to this slogan is a tactical question.' (Our emphasis.)

And again:

'The slogan demanding the withdrawal of British troops is an educational one designed to clarify the actual relationship of forces.'

Jordan's effort to reduce the question of 'Withdrawal of troops' from a principled issue to one of expediency by inserting the reservation about 'emphasis' being a 'tactical question' succinctly summarizes his liquidationist method.

This is nothing more than a caricature of the Leninist attitude to principles and provides the vehicle for the most unprincipled combination with tendencies, such as International Socialism, People's Democracy and the Stalinists, who initially supported the imperialist troops when they landed in Ireland.

Through the medium of the Irish Solidarity Campaign, the IMG done what it did with Vietnam Solidarity Campaign—it has tried to confuse the principled class issues posed by the Irish events with an orgy of middle-class protest and so-called 'solidarity'.

from the struggle to make the Tories resign—as IMG members do—are reducing the withdrawal slogan to a harmless, meaningless and farcical gesture.

Jordan's attempt to smother this principled issue is even more reprehensible than that of the IS because he does it in a furtive and dissembling manner, whereas the IS do it openly and shamelessly.

The IS was in the beginning opposed to the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland because it is, in essence, a conscious counter-revolutionary agency spawned by the middle-class and labour aristocracy. The IMG is opposed to such a defeat because its petty-bourgeois politics and methods lead it inexorably to give political support to the petty-bourgeois official IRA, which it describes as 'clearly the armed vanguard of a mass anti-imperialist movement among the nationalist population'. ('Red Mole' No. 8, August 1971.)

'Support' for the IRA — as opposed to the unconditional 'defence' of IRA militants and leaders against imperialist repression—connotes political betrayal of the Irish working class and a political separatism of the Irish revolution from the British socialist revolution.

Messrs Jordan and Purdie will no doubt protest that this is a distortion. Let them do so. If anything, this is an understatement of the truth, which can be verified from the very same revisionist sources from which the anti-Trotzkyist calumnies emanate.

Here are the facts.

Manifesto

IN JUNE 1971 the 'Red Mole'

time during the Irish Revolution it will be necessary to defend ourselves against the forces of the Free State.

'If the political reality of such a position is not grasped, then we are doomed to failure. During the last campaign (1955-1962) this was precisely one of the contributing factors to the defeat of the IRA. Young men who had risked their lives in border raids were ordered by an opportunist leadership to walk mildly into the Curragh concentration camp. The political leadership of the "Official" movement today are still no nearer discovering a political solution.

'These so called "left wingers" are more reactionary than any so-called "right-wingers" they might have deposed. . . .

'They talk of two stages in the Irish revolution. First we establish territorial unity and then we tackle the question of property relations in the 32 counties.

'What do they think the Free State will be doing while they are trying to unite the country? There can be no distinct separate stages in the Irish revolution. . . . Unless this lesson is grasped by Republicans we are assigning ourselves to endless defeats.'

Criticism

Where do Jordan and company stand in relation to this criticism today? Has the IRA's opportunist and bourgeois character changed because British troops patrol the streets of Belfast?

Isn't the prospect of 'endless defeats' still present so long as bourgeois nationalism

'The feeling for unity has impressed itself in many ways: the adoption of a new technique (the all-inclusive ad hoc committee, pioneered by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign); the creation of unifying campaigns and organizations, which allow different tendencies to work together (the VSC itself, the workers' control campaign, RSSF [Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation—a motly collection of anarchists, young Liberals, 'state capitalist' etc.]; and, in a distorted way, the International Socialism unity offensive of last year.'

That Jordan's 'unifying techniques' are put forward as an alternative to the building of a revolutionary party is seen clearly from what follows:

'First, it needs to be said that such an effort needs to be seen for what it is: a temporary and transitional organization, existing only because, as yet, revolutionaries have not succeeded in laying the basis for a revolutionary party.'

But what about those who were fighting to lay the basis for a revolutionary party in Britain? Jordan's answer shows just how far a disregard for Marxist theory can carry the Philistine:

'A thoroughgoing analysis of a sectarian organization's policies will usually reveal that they have a wrong theory of the present political situation and a wrong theory of the relationship between the vanguard and the class.

'The SLL, for instance, has held a "catastrophic slump" perspective for the British economy. In their documents they have even referred to 5 million unemployed and the disappearance of the middle class. This

organization has an idealist theory of how consciousness of the working class changes: it behaves as though the constant reiteration of the charge of betrayal against all and sundry will enable the working class to lose its social-democratic illusions.'

Invention

The reference to 'catastrophic slump' is an invention of the not-too-vivid imagination of Mr Jordan—yet the quote from Jordan in itself is sufficient to demonstrate the complete bankruptcy of revisionism. Anyone who pointed out that the boom would turn into its opposite, anyone who doubted the precarious stability of post-war capitalism was (and probably still is) a sectarian!

What's more, anyone who denounced the bureaucracy had a 'wrong theory of the relationship between the vanguard and the class . . . !' In other words: Don't doubt the viability of capitalism and don't fight the treacherous labour bureaucracy.

What precisely does he want to put in place of 'sectarianism'? Let Jordan answer:

'Elaborate structures are a mistake when one is merely building a transitional organization. Unifying issues should be the theme of the discussion.'

It was this opportunist liquidationist formula that enabled the IMG to collaborate with counter-revolutionary Stalinism and 'state capitalism' on Ireland and play down the principled question of British troops.

Explicit proof of this collaboration can be adduced from the editorial statement of 'The International' for May 1969, 'Permanent Revolution reaches UK':

'All British left-wingers should support the newly-formed British branch of the People's Democracy in its endeavour to get a massive solidarity campaign going.'

Need it be said that PD during that period supported British troops being in Ulster?

Jordan's faithful acolyte Murry Smith took this 'unification' business to its logical and ultimate end in another issue of the same magazine (March 1969):

'The task of socialists in the Republic should be to fight in the Labour Party [!] for an even firmer socialist programme. . . . In addition, the demand should be raised to reunify the Irish Labour Party and the Northern Ireland Labour Party . . .'

Join the VSC, Join the People's Democracy, Join the National Convention of the Left, join the Institute of Workers' Control, join the reactionary Irish Labour Party—the accomplice of Fine Gael—join any reformist body, but, for Jordan's sake, don't build a revolutionary party because that is . . . SLL sectarianism!

The more we read Jordan, the more we are reminded of Trotsky's definition of Leninism which should be branded on the forehead of this political bankrupt:

'Leninism is warlike from head to foot . . . Leninism is supreme revolutionary honesty towards the party and the working class. It admits of no fiction, no bubble-blowing, no pseudo-grandeur.' ('The New Course.')

NO COMMENT on the method and tactics of the International Marxist Group would be complete without an analysis of its chief political 'theorist'

Robin Blackburn.

At the time he joined forces with 'Red Mole', Blackburn was an ardent advocate of the 'New Youth

Culture', urban guerrilla war and student confrontation.

So much so that he earned the title of 'British Weatherman' from his revisionist colleagues in the USA.

The 'Weathermen' were a group of American middle-class anarchists, who, in the wake of the student revolt in the US attempted to change US foreign policy by bombing public buildings and practising karate on their political opponents on the left.

Blackburn predictably, gave them eager support. In an article to 'The Times', January 12, 1971, he praised them in the following terms:

Links

'The Weatherman consciously tries to extend the links between the cultural and political underground, which is why it sprung Timothy Leary from jail, winning him over to its political line in

cast a curious light on the freakish idealism of Mr Blackburn.

Mr Leary opposes revolutions on the ground that they only replace one set of dictators by another. He has set out to provide a philosophical exit from his vicious cycle and this is how he conceives it:

'In order to break this cycle, I firmly believe that you must liberate people's nervous systems. Free their nervous systems and the rest follows. . . . Internal liberation must prelude external. And you must move from neurological liberation to the religions, to the sexual, to the cultural, to the economic, to the political, to the armed—instead of the other way.' ('Good Times', February 19, 1971.)

Leary's philosophy is unequivocally idealist. It is a tedious repetition of Bishop Berkeley's* view that the 'world is my idea'.

He believes that the alienation of man can be overcome by a purely individual struggle based

ductive forces of society must be liberated from the private property relations that bind them and a classless society built. Only the socialist revolution of the working class can achieve this.

When that happens 'the extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, with full consciousness, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of Freedom.' (F. Engels—'Anti-Dühring'.)

The building of the revolutionary party on a scientific theory is the first step towards the conscious application of the laws of history. Blackburn in supporting the 'Weatherman' outlook consciously rejects the method and outlook of scientific socialism and helps to betray the working class.

'Of course such a position would be irresponsible if we really believed that a Conservative government would be, in some fundamental respect, different from a Labour one.'

If in 1970 it was difficult to discover where the insufferable arrogance of Blackburn ended and where total disorientation began, it is at least a bit easier today. Now listen to Mr Blackburn in 'Red Mole' (October 5, 1971):

'A serious assessment of the Heath government and what it represents in terms of the development of British ruling-class politics is now overdue.'

Expense

'For too many on the left [Blackburn for example?] it is enough to reflect periodically that the Tories are trying to solve the problems of British capitalism at the expense of the working class. This statement is absolutely true, but it would seem to be equivalently true of every bourgeois



Robin Blackburn, the British Weatherman, speaking at a demonstration against the deportation of Rudi Dutschke from England.

the process. The Weatherman claims that the prevalence of the youth culture, renders revolutionaries much less visible to the agents of repression. It has now been underground for over six months and none of them has been captured in spite of the fact that all their leaders are on the FBI's most-wanted list.'

Blackburn's championing of the 'strategy' of armed struggle in the US, however, proved short-lived and abortive. A few weeks before his article appeared the leaders of the Weathermen issued a statement repudiating the armed struggle strategy when three members were killed in a bomb explosion in Manhattan.

Bernadine Dohrn—their leader—stated tersely:

'The deaths of three friends ended our military conception of what we are doing. . . . This tendency to consider only bombings or picking up the gun as revolutionary, with the glorification of the heavier the better, we've called the military error. . . . We became aware that a group of outlaws who are isolated from the youth communities do not have a sense of what is going on, cannot develop strategies that grow to include large numbers of people . . .'

Blackburn, however, remained silent on this honest yet despairing self-criticism as well as on the subsequent split which the letter provoked in the Black Panthers.

Freakish

Blackburn's support for Timothy Leary—patron saint of LSD—was interesting because it

on the idealist prejudice that consciousness does not reflect material reality and, what is more, creates it.

This fetishistic view of individual man's relation to society turns everything on its head. The individual's liberation is not seen as being dependent on the analysis and the changing of social and economic relations by the working class, but rather as a personal struggle against things.

Nonsense

In Leary's case it is the neurological system; in Cleaver and Marighela's case the 'power structure' in the form of the uniformed 'pig'; and in Blackburn's case the iron gates of the LSE.

Marxists reject this reactionary nonsense in favour of the materialist conception that states 'it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness'.

The blind, violent and often destructive tendencies of social development cannot be overcome by individuals who try to transcend their alienation with the gun or drugs. The root cause of man's enslavement by social forces alien to him lies in private ownership of the means of production.

This property form does not allow men to consciously direct the development of society as a whole. The splitting of society into antagonistic classes has meant that society has no common will that could guide its development in the direction indicated by objective laws.

For this to take place the pro-

IN WRITING this critique we must confess that we have faced difficulty in keeping abreast of the unpredictable and inconsistent leaps of such intellectual grasshoppers as Blackburn.

Since he wrote his 'thesis' on the Labour Party and the non-prospect of a Tory government, he has, it seems, suffered a change of mind. In 1970 Mr Blackburn was opposed, on principle (the only principle he seems to recognize) to the election of a Labour government on the grounds that there was no significant difference between the Tory and Labour regimes.

Refusing to recognize the election of a Labour government as the distorted but objective expression of political consciousness in the working class and as a tactical gain for the class, Mr Blackburn pontificated in 'Red Mole':

'All the evidence suggests that the decision of which Party to vote for will be determined less by class loyalty of any kind and more by a calculation of which Party can run British capitalism better. In such a situation it would be absurd [sic] for socialists to muddy their propaganda and activities during the election campaign by commitment to any of the bourgeois parties . . . Our aim in the campaign should be to do two things:

Reject

'1. Make it known as widely as possible that we reject Wilson as much as we reject Heath . . . (Bold in original.)

Blackburn, anticipating a response from the Socialist Labour League, then added:

government and tells us nothing about the special situation of the British ruling class; nor about what differentiates one bourgeois government from another, in particular what differentiates the present Conservative regime from its predecessors—both Labour and Conservative.'

Surprise, surprise!

Having tilted with the windmills of Toryism our revisionist Don Quixote has ruefully discovered that there is a significant difference between a Tory government and a Labour government!

At the risk of taking the credibility of our readers still further we shall continue with some more of Blackburn:

'To begin with, there are differing degrees of potential success with which a bourgeois government can seek to place the burden of readjustment [sic] on the workers. Secondly, in addition to attempting to exploit its own proletariat more intensively [sic], capitalist governments are engaged in a permanent struggle against the ruling classes of every other imperialist power and frequently seek to solve their problems at the expense of their rivals.

'Thirdly, the bourgeoisie of each capitalist country is not homogeneous—very often they are quite prepared to see the weaker members of their own class go to the wall and if it strengthens the position of the class as a whole. There is good reason to suppose that the Heath government has been exploring these variants more systematically and ruthlessly than any British government for decades . . .

'This means that it is thoroughly

mistaken to treat the Conservative administration as just a capitalist government like any other whose only special feature is to be found in the personal idiosyncrasies of Edward Heath.' (Our emphasis.)

Fair enough. We shall ignore the idiosyncrasies of Heath in order to investigate the political idiosyncrasies of Blackburn, which, regrettably, are too numerous to enumerate in the compass of this analysis.

But if anyone imagines that Blackburn is approaching a Marxist standpoint in relation to the Tory government he is grievously mistaken.

The 'discoveries' of Blackburn have as much relevance to Marxism as the accidental discoveries of a witch doctor have to modern pathology. Blackburn cannot teach the working class anything because he is a crude pragmatist who denies the possibility of equipping the working class with a scientific knowledge of the laws of development and transformation of the objective world.

Thus he does not proceed to analyse the Tory government or

That is why we maintain that Marxism is both a method of cognition and a guide to action.

The correctness of any theory or prognosis for the SLL is proved by the concrete practice of the class and the party. For Blackburn, no such criteria exist.

He is incapable of orientating himself or the working class correctly in any situation—because there is an unbridgeable gulf between his idealist theories and the practice of the working class, which he systematically ignores.

Consequently the SLL enriches its knowledge of reality and expands its organization while the International Marxist Group grows more and more opportunist and Blackburn staggers from one preconceived idea to another totally contradictory one guided only by his ego and his ignorance.

Egoism

Blackburn's enormous egoism is supplemented by a crass political dishonesty which, no doubt, qualifies him to be the 'theoretical' leader of the IMG.

of printed material which proves that his discovery about the Tory government is as phoney as Jordan's claim to be a consistent anti-imperialist in relation to Ireland.

Almost 20 months before 'Weatherman Blackburn', the Workers Press warned of the dangers of a Tory return. In welcoming the publication of the Young Socialist anti-Tory manifesto, the Workers Press in its editorial column headed 'How to keep the Tories Out', warned: 'It [the Manifesto] is a timely and urgent reminder to youth and adult workers alike on the menace of Toryism and the necessity to fight it to the death.'

'It is also a warning against a complacent and passive acceptance [Blackburn please note] of the inevitability of a Tory return in 1970.'

'Some workers imagine that the Tories—even if they come to power—can do no worse than the Labourites and that having defeated the anti-union laws of Wilson, workers can do the same with Tory legislation.'

Fight

'This outlook is the product firstly of an over-estimation of the capacity of trade union leaders to fight, and secondly—more dangerous—an under-estimation of the political threat of Toryism.'

'As the YS manifesto states correctly, the Tory Party is "the party of wealth, power and privilege".'

'It is not based on the trade unions—like the Labour Party—but on big business, and is therefore not susceptible to the same pressures as the Labour leaders.'

'It is only susceptible to the demands of big business, which wishes to put the labour movement in a legal strait-jacket and smash the shop stewards' movement.'

'The relationship is qualitatively different . . . We say, together with the YS, "Keep the Tories out whilst building the revolutionary alternative to Wilson!"' (Workers Press, February 12, 1970. See also issues for February 3 and 4, 1970.)

Not only has the SLL and Workers Press nothing to retract on this statement, but the analysis of the Workers Press in February—in contradistinction to Blackburn—derived the reactionary nature of the government from its relation to the major classes in British society and the crisis.

the Labour Party does not have an organic link with the working class—rather it has a cash link with the trade union bureaucrats . . . In Britain the trade unions have been the primary repository of the consciousness of the working class



According to Blackburn, a general strike like the one in 1926 has no chance of winning today.

Blackburn's deliberate minimizing of the political consciousness of the British working class and his glorifying of the limited trade union consciousness of the class is a violation of everything that Lenin, Trotsky and Engels fought for.

The formation of the reformist Labour Party and the payment of the political levy were two major steps forward in the political development of the working class towards a socialist consciousness.

This development is conditioned just as much by the attacks of Tory regimes as it is by the policies of Labour cabinets. If Labour had won the 1970 election there is little doubt in our minds that the present radicalization of the working class would have taken an entirely different form and content from that which presently exists.

The crisis in social democracy would be enormously accelerated and the conditions for building a revolutionary alternative would be far more favourable. Instead we now have a temporary strengthening of social democracy and the 'left' trade union leaders who follow Wilson and Callaghan.

The working class cannot skip the experience of another Labour

Blackburn distorts the consciousness of the working class because he omits from his scheme the unprecedented crisis of imperialism and the inevitability of revolutionary situations arising, which will accelerate rather than retard the development of political consciousness in the working class. Conversely he exaggerates the strength and ability of the ruling class.

In one place he writes in his: 'Heath intends to jettison the political backwardness of British bourgeois politics . . . and to exploit the political backwardness of the British working class—its parliamentarism and political caution.'

In another section he writes disdainfully:

'It seems that the core of Heath's policy in this area [industrial relations] is to use the political strength of the British bourgeoisie to help liquidate its economic weakness. There is a precedent for this in the 1920s and 1930s when an aggressive bourgeois prosecution of the class war . . . helped to resist the decline of British capitalism (!) . . . the feeble threat of a re-run of 1926 holds no terror for him [Heath]—indeed the defeat and demoralization that would inevitably attend any General Strike dominated by the TUC would be the most [sic] that any bourgeois government could hope for.(!)'

Oracle

In other words Blackburn is opposed to a General Strike because it would be defeated. And how do we know it will be defeated? Because Blackburn, the oracle extraordinary of Pentonville Rd, tells us so!

But what about France in May-June 1968? Blackburn has thought of everything—'Super-Ted' is unbeatable:

'But Heath knows full well that nothing remotely like this is possible in the present state of the British labour movement.'

Blackburn's contempt for the British and US workers borders on the paranoiac. It must be read to be believed.

'In the coming period we may expect the British and American bourgeoisie to attempt to use the relative political backwardness of organized labour in their countries to recoup their positions . . .'

'Despite the feeble centrism of the leadership of the Communist and left socialist parties in Japan, France and Italy, such a policy of class confrontation would entail significantly greater risks there simply because of the more aggressive political tradition of the workers in those countries. Not only are the groups of the revolutionary left [the Krivine-Frank circus?] stronger, but these political traditions [anarchism and syndicalism?] give them greater purchase over the mass of the organized working class.'

To Blackburn, what is decisive is not the struggle for consciousness and leadership, but the 'traditions' of the working class which in France and Italy are the traditions of republican radicalism and syndicalism.

What then are the British workers supposed to do? Take off their caps and salute like the proverbial moles, as Mr Hansen suggested, or go home and wait for this intellectual carpet-bagger to call them?

Acrobatics

AFTER THIS fantastic demonstration of mental acrobatics Blackburn in fact proposes nothing—except to attack the SLL with the grotesque charge of not breaking with 'Labourist cant'.

Anyone who believes this could conceivably believe that he was dealing with a literal mole and not a metaphorical one. It is, to say the least, rather hypocritical for a group that collaborated with the right-wing Labourites in witch-hunting the Trotskyists in the Labour Party and Young Socialists in the early 1960s, which supported Ralph Schoenmann's defence of the extreme right winger Colin Jordan and which ganged up with the Stalinists and the Social Democrats against the SLL in the years of the Labour government to accuse the SLL of maintaining an unprincipled relation with Labourism.

It is just as nauseous as Blackburn's advice to Marxists: 'Of course really revolutionary politics can only be forged in this country by breaking with the



Above, Reactionary British Prime Minister Edward Heath. Below, IMG demonstration dominated by middle class protest.

the Labour government with the help of a theory which reflects the laws and necessity that govern the decline of British imperialism. Instead, he tries to substitute his academic intuition for an objective process.

Guide

BLACKBURN intuitively what he mistakenly thinks is the truth out of his mind. The Marxist arrives at the truth through a struggle with objective reality which is guided by a scientific theory.

In order to cover up the manifest falsity and absurdity of his attitude to the Labour government in 1970, he must distort the arguments of the SLL and tear them out of context. Disparagingly he states:

'Unfortunately, one can scan the pages of the left press in vain for any analysis of the Heath government which goes beyond stereotyped phrases.'

Unfortunately for Mr Blackburn, there does exist a wealth

of printed material which proves that his discovery about the Tory government is as phoney as Jordan's claim to be a consistent anti-imperialist in relation to Ireland.

Mr Blackburn refuses to see this most vital connection even now. He is a Red Mole in more ways than one.

'TODAY, more clearly perhaps than ever before, we can see that

government no more than Blackburn—for all his political somersaults—can jump over his own shadow.

Lenin countered the sophistry of incurable sectarians like Mr Blackburn many years ago when he wrote:

' . . . politics is more like algebra than arithmetic; it is more like higher than lower mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the socialist movement have been filled with a new content . . . ' (Left Wing Communism.)'

stiflingly narrow national context. An internationalist practice as well as rhetoric is needed.

What Blackburn really means is that British Marxists should abandon their class approach to politics and adopt the unprincipled, flexible and experimental politics of Blackburn and his international petty-bourgeois, revisionist circus.

The road of Blackburn is the road to chaos, uncertainty and disorientation. As he admits:

'It remains too early [!!!] to draw up any definite balance sheet of British capitalism under Heath.'

Having abandoned the Marxist method he cannot even elaborate a perspective! Blackburn—like Kautsky—has ended up with Kant.*

If Blackburn provides the conceptual framework, the political conclusions are drawn not by him, but by others. What is the policy of the revisionists? In so far as they have one it can be stated on the formula of Chris Hampton ('Red Mole', October 5, 1971):

'Outdated slogans such as "Labour to Power on a Socialist Programme" or other more "subtle" variations... do not serve any useful function... to wage a successful fight against the Tories, the workers will have to take control of their organizations. This fight is part of the struggle to break the workers from the stranglehold of reformism i.e., the Labour Party. That is why "Red Mole" and the IMG have, over the last year, developed an orientation based on the demand for a Workers' Government Based on the Trade Unions.'

This slogan is diametrically opposed to the real level and direction of development of working-class consciousness in Britain. The big swing to Labour in the by-elections and the policy decisions of the last Labour Party conference on the Common Market prove conclusively that the British working class is once again looking to the Labour Party to provide a political solution to the crisis and to throw the Tories out.

This is an irrevocable fact of political life. No class conscious worker will care to call for a 'government based on trade unions' because his class instincts, which are far better developed than the non-class conscious revisionists, inform him that trade unions cannot form governments and only political parties do.

The only 'working-class' party that can at present form a government is the Labour Party. The worker, not unnaturally, looks to the Labour Party to form a government. Does it mean that he is voting confidence in Wilson and capitalism? No!

In fact in the context of the present severe crisis of imperialism every worker who votes Labour is exacerbating the crisis of social democracy, not mitigating it.

The growth of unemployment to over a million, the Ulster events, the passage of the Industrial Relations Act and the projected entry into the Common Market have convinced millions of trade unionists that the trade union struggles alone offer no solution.

This reinforces the demand for a Labour government. The logic of this trend is that, as the crisis worsens, and, as the Labour leaders continue to retreat behind a screen of constitutional phrases, a synchronous movement for industrial action to secure a Labour government is bound to grow.

If in 1968 the workers at Renault, without any clear directive and in spite of the confusion created by the Stalinist bureaucrats, immediately raised the demand for a 'Popular government' to replace the reactionary Gaullist dictatorship, then there is little doubt that the first demand of a General Strike in Britain will be for a 'Labour government with socialist policies'.

One of the most lamentable features of the French General Strike was the failure of a single left organization to demand a Communist Party—CGT government and in that way crystallize the political alternative to de Gaulle and expose the treachery of the CP leaders at the same time.

You cannot separate the trend towards a General Strike from the growing support for a Labour government. That is why those who oppose the demand for a

Labour government, like Blackburn, are also opposed to a General Strike.

THE IMG'S POLICIES on concrete issues such as Upper Clyde Shipbuilders shows incontestably that the aim of these revisionists is to subordinate the developing anti-Tory movement to the left trade union leaders and the Stalinists.

Their fetishistic worship of trade unions is an integral part of their unprincipled alliance with sections of the trade union bureaucracy.

This was clearly revealed by the IMG attitude to the seventh Workers' Control Conference in March 1969. The Institute of Workers' Control, as most workers know, has been, from its inception, a bureaucratically conceived diversion from the struggle for political power.

Its sole aim has been to persuade workers that workers' control is compatible with capitalist ownership and the existence of the capitalist state. As Mr Ken Coates, leader of the IWC himself stated in a letter to 'The Listener':

'Bodies like the Institute for Workers' Control do not condemn out of hand any of the existing democratic institutions, but rather work to ensure that all the democratic potential within them is taken.' ('The Listener', February 11, 1971.)

Another IWC function has been to provide a radical image for certain left trade union leaders like Hugh Scanlon of the engineers and transport union chief Jack Jones. The SLL correctly refused to give any kind of support to this reformist diversion.

What was IMG's attitude? Let Mr Mike Martin, editor of IMG review 'The International', speak:

'The workers' control campaign in Britain, does not concern itself with building a revolutionary organization, and as yet has not applied its ideas in practice. These two weaknesses need to be overcome, but in fact flow from what has been in the past the strength of the campaign: this has been its capacity to draw together a cross section of the radical currents [sic] on the left in Britain and provide them with bridge to a growing body of trade unionists now becoming disillusioned by the behaviour of the Labour government... Its all inclusive nature is a major strength...'

Hostility to revolutionary organization and a desire to siphon off the growing militancy into non-political channels united every tendency in this conference—IMG included.

This rejection of revolutionary organization and conciliation with the trade union leaders was made even more explicit in an unsigned editorial in the February 1969 issue of 'The International'.

Referring to the attacks of the Wilson government on the working class in 1969, the anonymous mole states:

'The latest attack makes it all the more urgent that forms of action and organization are found which make for a meaningful and offensive response. Wider sections of the left are groping towards this end.' ('Groping' was indeed the right word!)

'Two conferences will provide a means to fight for the concept of united action based upon an offensive strategy: the Workers' Control conference in Sheffield, March 30 and March 31 and the National Convention of the Left, in mid-April.'

'The National Convention of the Left has set itself the task of unifying and helping to co-ordinate [?] the left. It seems to be applying lessons learnt in the Vietnam campaign (non-exclusiveness etc.).'

The editorial ended with a dire warning which, because of its sheer pomposity, could only have been written by a charlatan like Jordan.

'We call upon all groups on the left to support these two conferences, those who stay out or have a sectarian attitude towards them will run the risk of the same fate as those who boycotted October 27.'

It is no accident that those who boycotted October 27 are today in far better political shape than those who did not.

What was the Convention of the Left? It was a gathering of assorted reformists, Stalinists, revisionists and centrists—not excluding Young Liberals and Zionists—which tried, abortively,

to found a right-centrist movement in competition with the Labour Party.

Like IWC, its purpose was to exploit the crisis in social democracy and divert radicalized workers away from a struggle for revolutionary policy and leadership.

The SLL refused to participate in this unprincipled farce and opposed it.

Unable to get satisfaction from these sources, the IMG veered off towards the Stalinist-controlled Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. Despite its servility to this Stalinist body which it described as 'the most significant force in the campaign against the Bill' it got little satisfaction.

Unable to construct an apparatus of its own and unable to get a place on the Stalinist apparatus, the IMG came up with a novel reformist device—the Committees of Action. These Committees were supposed to short-circuit the painful business of fighting bureaucracy and doing patient work in the established trade unions—and of building a revolutionary party.

The entire concept was based on the Utopian hope that workers would leave their trade unions and turn spontaneously to these Committees if the Tory government implemented the anti-union laws. Not surprisingly this revisionist venture ended before it began.

Whatever the form, the method is invariable: to decentralize the struggle and prevent the construction of a political leadership in the unions.

That is why the IMG has never publicly supported a single conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance or given any publicity to the Charter of Basic Rights or the conference held to support the victimized Pilkington workers.

IN CONCLUSION the International Marxist Group's most clear cut demonstration of political bankruptcy so far has been its attitude to the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' carve-up.

The collapse of this consortium was a major event in the British capitalist economy. It has also shown that there could be no specific Scottish solution to the problem and that without a socialist government in Westminster the Tories would butcher UCS.

This was hardly the attitude of Red Mole, whose front page carried the bold—if not bizarre—headline: 'The Occupation of Clydeside: First step towards the Scottish Workers' Republic!'

Instead of a joint struggle of Scottish and English workers to overthrow British imperialism and build an integrated socialist economy the 'Red Mole' resurrected the reactionary myth of Scottish nationalism.

'Thus the implication of the present situation is that only by pursuing the question of power in Scotland can the Scottish working class avoid catastrophic defeat. It is make or break. At the same time, this battle over the future of the linchpin in the economy of Scotland raises the national question.'

'The British bourgeoisie have no future for Scotland. At the same time they can't tolerate the loss of it. Its future must lie in the hands of the working class.'

This is probably the most reactionary piece of drivel to be written on the UCS closure. Not even the Stalinists could exceed it.

By raising the 'national question' 'Red Mole' was once again seeking to split the joint political struggle of Scottish and English workers against Toryism and divert it into 'national' channels.

To pose the question of 'power' in Scotland isolated from the rest of Britain is to condemn Scottish workers to certain defeat. At the same time to suggest that the British bourgeoisie have no future for Scotland is only part of the truth.

As Tory Hugh Stenhouse and Archibald Kelly showed, the Scottish bourgeoisie are equally bankrupt.

UCS is not a Scottish question, but a class issue of the first magnitude. Anyone who approaches UCS from a chauvinist standpoint is playing the game of counter-revolution.

The statement of 'Red Mole' editorial board, although it avoided any reference to the 'Scottish nation', supplemented the bankruptcy of the Scottish correspondent, Bailey, by avoiding any reference to politics. It included with the following demands which were syndicalist to the core:

- 1) Full solidarity with the UCS workers
- 2) No redundancies
- 3) Extend the struggle
- 4) Occupy the yards

These 'revolutionary'-sounding slogans were tied in with a completely reformist perspective summarized in the penultimate paragraph:

'Thus the workers in supply firms actually have a direct interest in supporting in the most militant possible fashion the struggle to keep UCS open.'

To keep UCS open! This was exactly the same objective pursued by Stalinists Airlie and Reid. On page 8, the 'Red Mole' interviewed a shipyard worker and reprinted the following dialogue:

'What do you think of the statement by Jimmy Reid reported in "Tribune" on June 27 that "We are not in business to indulge political dogma either from the right or the left, we are in business to retain shipbuilding on the upper reaches of the Clyde?"

'A. He's quite correct there, that's our job...'

'Red Mole' comments that this remark 'reflects a lack of understanding of the technical and political implications of the proposed occupation'.

If this is so, this 'lack of understanding' is only on a marginally lower level than that of 'Red Mole', which consciously refuses to draw the political conclusions posed by UCS.

An attempt to rectify this omission only aggravated matters. Mr Tony Southall, writing from Glasgow, attempted to put the group right in August—one month after the 'work-in'—with this advice:

'What is demanded in the yards themselves is a reversal of the present passive policies of co-operation with the management and the transformation of the "work-in" into a "sit-in" involving the continued occupation of the yards along with a refusal to proceed with work in hand until they are fully nationalized under workers' control with the guarantee of employment for the entire labour force.'

Conspicuous by its absence, however, is any demand to force the Tories to resign. The differences with the Stalinists thus revolved not on fundamental class questions relating to power—but to the most efficacious method of keeping the yards open.

Finally in September—the 'Red Mole' made its last assay on UCS and came up with the demand for a 'Workers' government based on the trade unions'. This is, in fact, even worse than the previous demands because it reduces the struggle to an empty abstraction—'workers' government'—which effectively paralyses the opposition to the Tories.

IN CONTRAST to the 'Red Mole'-IMG, the SLL campaigned consistently on a unified political line which called unequivocally for the occupation to the starting point for generalized political action to force the Tories to resign and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies. This campaign received a wide response—not so much in UCS, but outside, and particularly in factories like Plessey at Alexandria, near Dumbarton.

We gave and give no concessions to the Stalinist stewards and, consequently the Workers Press was seriously read and accepted by a minority of the most class-conscious stewards.

Because of a principled political line, Workers Press has built a secure political base in UCS from which it will fight to assemble the elements of a new revolutionary leadership in opposition to the Stalinists.

This action demonstrates more

than anything else the incontestable superiority of Marxism over revisionism.

It is evident from the foregoing analysis of the IMG that what we are dealing with is not a tendency moving away from the working class, but rather of one moving viciously against it.

Let us recapitulate its main features.

1) Opposition to the revolutionary, independent, role of the working class.

2) Denial of the antagonistic nature of capitalist contradictions and the inevitability of revolutionary situations arising in every capitalist nation.

3) Opposition to democratic-centralist organization in favour of 'all-inclusive fronts'.

4) Total rejection of the Marxist theory of knowledge, and, in particular, the decisive importance of practice as the criterion of truth.

5) Indifference to principles and an opportunist adaptation to backwardness in the labour movement. A consistent relativism on all questions of tactics and strategy.

6) An increasing political reliance on non-working class groups, e.g., students and petty bourgeoisie.

7) Extreme sectarianism—haughtiness towards the working class and its reformist dominated organizations. Refusal to share the political experience of the masses and an organic deafness to Lenin's principal contribution to the art of revolutionary leadership: 'the millions of people will never heed the advice of parties if this advice does not coincide with what the experience of their own lives teaches them.' ['Left-wing Communism']

Hence:

8) Opposition to the demand for a campaign to make the Tories resign and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies. Counterposing of the trade union bureaucracy to the Labour Party.

9) Anti-internationalism—unprincipled support of bourgeois nationalism, e.g., Scotland.

10) A pervasive flabbiness, inconsistency and impetuosity on political questions. The encouragement of passivity by exaggerating the strength of the ruling class and the cultivation of political complacency by the conscious minimizing of the social and economic crisis.

11) Conciliatory and unprincipled relation with Stalinism and reformism.

12) Deep hatred for the SLL and everything it stands for.

The struggle against revisionism is unsparing and inevitable. Without this struggle there can be no development of Marxism, no liberation of the working class.

THE BETRAYAL by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party in Ceylon and the recent bloody repression unleashed by this traitorous clique; the defeat in Bolivia and the failure in France in 1968 are ample warning that the defeat of revisionism is the decisive precondition for the overthrow of imperialism.

As Lenin said, revisionism is 'one of the chief, if not the chief, manifestations of bourgeois influence on the proletariat and bourgeois corruption of the worker'. [Lenin, 'Against Revisionism', FLPH, 1959.]

The British revisionists, mesmerized by the apparent 'success' of the Tory government and reflecting the retreats of the labour bureaucracy, try to divert the working class from its historic goal into the blind alley of reformist protest, confrontation and adventure.

Significantly, they do this at the same time that the ruling class introduces its own diversions by banging the hoary old drum of religion, morality, family, law and order.

Positivist scepticism—represented by Blackburn and Jordan on the left—is complemented by raving idealist revivalism on the right by Malcolm Muggeridge and Lord Longford.

Lenin was right:

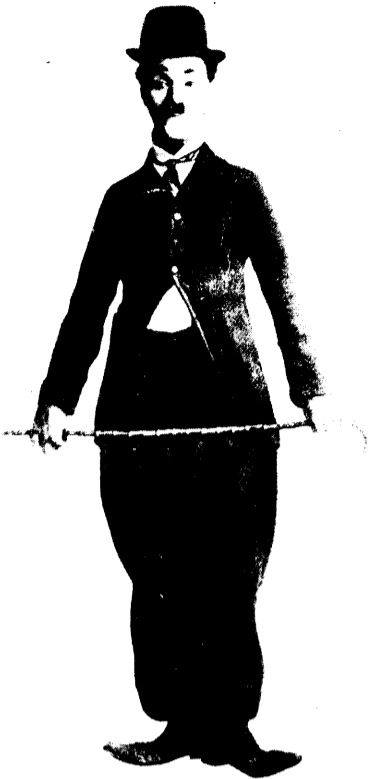
'The bourgeoisie, out of fear of the growth and increasing strength of the proletariat is supporting everything backward, moribund and medieval.' ['Selected Works', Vol. 1, part 2.]

The theoretical exposure and defeat of this revisionist cancer is one of the central tasks of the revolutionary movement today. Only the SLL can do it.

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Modern Times



MODERN TIMES. A film produced, directed, edited and written by Charlie Chaplin.

When Charles Chaplin was ordered to testify before the Dies Internal Security Subcommittee in 1950, he reluctantly complied. After being asked why he was friendly with known "communists" such as Hannes Eisler (the great stage designer) and Berthold Brecht (the noted writer-playwright), he replied, "My friends aren't chosen by me on account of their political beliefs. My freedom to choose my friends and acquaintances, I trust, still exists?"

Senator Dies was taken aback. He asked Chaplin if his film *Modern Times* wasn't "communist inspired" or at least "critical of our way of life." Chaplin was beside himself. Recollecting the difficulties he had producing this picture (he hadn't made a film for 5 years) he replied that he thought *Modern Times* was objective, realistic and "as accurate as one can portray reality on celluloid."

Modern Times is, firstly, a silent film with some voice-over. It is about the trials and tribulations of Chaplin's tramp character during the period of the Depression. The film is divided into sequences which pit our hero against industry, strikes, the law, the bosses, the state (police), and love itself. In the end, of course, love triumphs. But before the famous final sequence, we come up against our hero who, preferring not to work is forced to work, lose his job, get thrown in jail, find love and all within definite time periods. *Modern Times* is a silent in the sound movie era, at once a play on words and a plot development in space and time overseen by a battering ram of forces beyond "the little fellow's" control.

The opening sequence is perhaps the most famous. The establishing parallel cut between sheep being led to shearing or to slaughter and workers huddled together en masse on the way to work and the time clock fixes the mood straight away and recalls Eisenstein to mind. (Chaplin was a great admirer of the Russian director and Eisenstein stayed with Chaplin during the former's visit to Hollywood).

We are next introduced to the modern times of the modern highly automated and complex Electro Steel Corporation, with turbines and generators blown up out of all proportion. The boss watches each section

with his theatre-size television screen, and he shouts his orders to a Stakhanovite foreman, a hulk of a man, shirtless and with tennis sneakers who runs about (he never walks) the factory floor, increases the assembly belt speed, increases the power output, at all times keeping a watchful eye on things. "More power in section five," the boss exhorts his foremen and we dissolve to the assembly line and to Chaplin, fixing screws on a small device and by this time an automaton. He catches himself in a conveyor belt and in an almost dream-like, semi-slow motion take travels the breadth of the conveyor belt. He is slowly breaking down. The speedup, the monotony, drive him to the point of miming the twisting motions even when not working.

EXPERIMENTATION

He has been goofing off constantly and his employer realizes this, so that when a Professor Bellows introduces a feeding machine, to be attached to the workers on the assembly line, Chaplin is singled out for experimentation purposes. Of course the feeding machine (which Chaplin invented and helped construct) breaks down completely and we see the corn feeder, greatly accelerated, make an almost dentist drill-like effect on our subject.

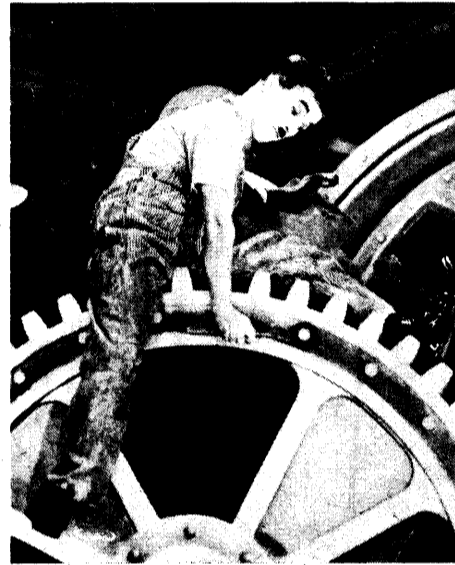
This scene might be the most hilarious in the movie. In any case it finishes Chaplin and he goes completely haywire, stopping machines, increasing outputs to the point of explosion, running about the factory with a grease can squirting the foreman, his workmates, the boss and the police who have arrived to put him away.

Out of the sanitarium, he inadvertently picks up a red flag that has fallen from a utility truck and, running after the vehicle to return it, is immediately followed by a demonstration of workers demanding "Jobs and Liberty." The completely distraught Chaplin is whisked away to jail as "a communist leader." While in jail he helps suppress a jailbreak and is given more comfortable cell quarters. When parole is granted he does not want to leave. He has previously read that factories have been shut down, that strikes are rampant, the economy is dwindling. Armed with a letter from the sheriff, his first job is short-lived. At a local shipyard he is instructed to match a wedge of wood for a ship hulk. Chaplin proceeds to the launching block and unwittingly hammers out a wedge of wood. This activity triggers off an immediate response. The launching block

slides and a half-completed ship rolls out to sea.

ACCURATE

One could go on and on really. The scenes between the workers and the police are of course historically and actually quite accurate and brutal. The factory sequence and the tremendous speedup and overwork, the brutalization of millions of workers who land on the street when the bottom drops out, is depicted with great bias towards the workers on Chaplin's part. But the entire conception of course is more than the depiction of the class struggle. It is in a sense a contradiction, a real-life fantasy in which dreams and reality merge throughout, in which brutalization and victimization melt into tenderness, affection and pathos. And of course sitting on top of everything, majestically, is the great master himself. He was 45 years of



CHARLIE CHAPLIN IN "MODERN TIMES" (1936)

age, still slight of figure but moving about with the facility of the youthful Chaplin of *The Immigrant* and *The Cure* (both produced in 1917). We also were impressed by the superb photography and editing. Although Chaplin is not considered a "technical director" per se, as far as we are concerned, the set-ups are masterful and well executed. Chaplin always thought everything through to the end—exactly in place. Nothing is ever superfluous.

The theater of course was packed with young and old alike. Chaplin's greatness lies in his appeal to all ages, to all perceptions and tastes. Great, bawdy

slapstick humor embraces subtle mime techniques and sentimentality. We only hope this film, as do the others in the series, reaches across the country so that those who haven't before, or who want to again, can see Charlie Chaplin.

It needs only be added that this testimony was later used against Chaplin when the Immigration Authority, under direct orders of President Truman, and during the height of the McCarthy period, ordered Chaplin (who was not a citizen) out of this country.

Chaplin was quite bitter over the deportation. After all, he had spent more than 30 years in this country, produced all of his films (with the exception of *A King in New York* made in 1956) in America, and preferred to live in this country. He withdrew all of his films (which he owned) from the American market. In 1962 a retrospective was presented at the Plaza cinema in New York for five months. Literally hundreds of thousands of people, young and old, saw "the little fellow." And now, after an absence of 8 years, we all have another chance to see the 9 full-length features made between 1926 and 1957.

Modern Times, the first in the current series, was made in 1936, but first realized, as Chaplin recalls, "as early as 1916 when I witnessed deplorable poverty in London and Europe after the First World War. I suppose the fact that I came from a poor workman's family contributed most significantly to my decision to be in theatre."

DEPRESSION

Prior to making *Modern Times*, Chaplin had produced and directed *City Lights*, a silent picture, quite romantic and sentimental, but with unmistakable Chaplinesque touches of slapstick, acrobatics and riotous pantomime. With the advent of the Depression, and its profound impact upon all aspects of life, and not least upon Hollywood itself, Chaplin sought to come to grips with the dilemma. Although he approached the misery and mass unemployment in a very subjective way, from the point of view of downtrodden masses whom he, above all others, sought to portray ingeniously and respectfully, Chaplin was repelled by the conception of escapist fantasy. He was not pleased with the supramantic, forget-your-troubles stuff put on celluloid by the Hollywood financiers. Yet he was also interested in projecting a sense of pathos and dramatic fantasy but with "real substance and feelings."

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Crisis Poses Fight For Marxist Theory. . .

(Continued From Page 2)

French stands the question of the Marxist method. The French held that to view Marxism as a theory of knowledge and to insist on a discussion of the Marxist method is going over into "ideology" and is "babbling." They state that there is only the program which incorporates this method and this is sufficient in and of itself.

Lenin, of course, wrote that:

"Dialectics IS the theory of knowledge of (Hegel and) Marxism."

Trotsky wrote in 1940:

"Following in the footsteps of Burnham, Shachtman teaches the young revolutionary party that 'no one has yet demonstrated' presumably that dialectical materialism affects the political activity of the party.

'No one has yet demonstrated,' in other words, that Marxism is of any use in the struggle of the proletariat. The party consequently does not have the least motive for acquiring and defending dialectical materialism. This is nothing else than renunciation of Marxism, of scientific method in general, a wretched capitulation to empiricism."

And:

"The question of a correct philosophical doctrine, that is, a correct method of thought, is of decisive significance to a revolutionary party just as a good machine shop is of decisive significance to production."

What this means, Wohlforth explained, is that the French really deny the whole role of consciousness which is the critical question of the construction of the party today. They deny that socialist consciousness must be brought into the working class from outside, that it is developed in a struggle against the bourgeois ideology of the working class, that there is really any negation, any conflict at all in the world. They see only the unity of theory and practice, form and content, tactics and strategy, consciousness and the material world. What they deny is what is the essence of dialectics that unity itself is only a moment in the struggle of opposites.

They end up accepting the bureaucracies which dominate the working class and seeking only to maneuver them into united fronts rather than standing on the position of the Transitional Program that:

"The laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus."

YS STEERING COMMITTEE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

asked how to reach the middle class students who don't see the crisis as sharply.

A comrade from Brooklyn College said that the middle class too was deeply affected by the crisis and that the Young Socialists had to unite all the youth.

A comrade from East New York spoke about how the capitalists were now threatening every gain the workers and youth had won:

"The capitalists try to make us think that we have great opportunities and a future but this is a lie. Many students who have planned to go to college cannot go now because all the scholarships are being cut. Now they are talking about making us go to school for five years, as if four in the rotten overcrowded schools are not enough. Then when we get out we face no future at all. This is beginning to change people's consciousness."

UNITED

"A couple of years ago there were fights between Black and white students at Canarsie because the Administration tried to divide them and prevent them from fighting back together. The Young Socialists can unite all the youth now, Black, white and Puerto Rican in a common struggle against their real enemy."

Mark, from the East New York Young Socialists said that he had come to the youth conference on December 18th and had really begun to understand the

So they support Lora who in turn simply reflects the "process," a process dominated by Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism. So they call for abstract "workers governments" and united fronts of the existing mass parties rather than fighting for a strategy to construct our party through exposing and breaking up the French Communist Party demanding that it form a workers government.

It is precisely this question of consciousness which exploded at the YSA Conference, Wohlforth stressed. This is always the heart of revisionism. It is also at the heart of those tendencies in the Workers League which resist its development in this period through the construction of a working class youth movement.

UNIONS

The National Perspectives Report was given by Lucy St. John. The report stressed the changes taking place in the trade unions because of the crisis and Nixon's decisions. These in turn require our intervention in the unions. At the same time the sharpest expression of changes in consciousness is taking place among working class youth. It will be the development of a youth movement, confronting at each stage the task of constructing Marxist cadres in the trade unions, which will be key to building the mass revolutionary party.

Comrade St. John pointed out that the revisionists, when they attack the labor bureaucracy, appear to be very left. But when one looks deeper into it, it represents a rejection of the actual movement of the working class. In this period the underlying movement of the working class can find expression at certain moments only through the reactions of the labor bureaucracy. Thus Meany's actions at Bal Harbour against Nixon are not to be ridiculed nor scoffed at but seen as expressing the collision between classes now developing because the issue today is the very survival of the working class. Similarly while Gleason and Bridges get together for their own purposes and will together do their best to prevent the action of the dockers, their getting together is the only way at this point the dockers of the two coasts can unite and this will, in turn, have explosive impact upon the bureaucrats of both unions.

Comrade St. John discussed the recent

seriousness of the crisis in fighting to build the Young Socialists.

"Things are changing so fast every day. The crisis hits out in new ways against the people. Now they are charging .35 to take the subway. This is like what happened during the American Revolution. This is taxation without representation. They are taking away our rights. Everyone is being affected by these attacks and we have to reach them. What we need in East New York now is the Young Socialists."

A youth from the Fort Greene Young Socialists said he felt that the crisis in the system had to be solved by the individual inside himself, first.

CHANGE

A comrade from the Lower East Side pointed out that the crisis was objective. If it were personal we could just change individuals and everything would be all right. But the objective crisis now threatens our very lives. We must organize into a revolutionary youth movement and fight to change the system that is responsible for the problems.

The meeting turned to a discussion of nationalism when a member of the Brooklyn College YS raised the question of how we should approach the nationalist organizations on the campuses and if we had to go through the stage of nationalism before we could unite.

Many of the YS members spoke about their own experiences in the nationalist movements and how these organizations were leading the youth into a deadend.

YSA Conference in the light of the crisis. She stressed that the revisionists have moved sharply to the right in response to the movement of the working class going over more and more openly to liberalism and reformism. In every arena of activity they put forward only democratic demands which unite them with the liberal bourgeoisie and lay the programmatic basis for a reactionary rebirth of reformism. At the same time they publish Trotsky's works and are forced in other ways to acknowledge a heritage in absolute opposition to their present course.

Centrism is weakened by the movement of the working class and by its strengths. So this is a period when, while the YSA may or may not grow here or there, it is actually being weakened as each day's events undermine its perspective, and each action of the class throws the middle classes it rests upon into panic.

Precisely because of the nature of the crisis as the crisis of humanity itself, the struggle for a political road for the American working class takes on a new urgency. Comrade St. John stressed that the fight for the labor party now must take on an agitational character in the unions and among the youth. The objective situation requires it and the sharp changes in consciousness make the labor party the central question today in the working class.

To fight for the labor party but to take no stand on the SWP election campaign would be a turning away from the objective requirements of this period, St. John stressed. The Jenness-Pulley campaign is forced to pose the question of socialism against the capitalist parties. This is the central issue today. Only the Workers League understands why this is so, and only the Workers League is capable of supporting the SWP election campaign on a programmatic basis which confronts the real situation facing the working class.

YOUTH

The sharpest discussion took place over the youth report which was given by Karen Frankel. A section of the Workers League, pulling back from the requirements of the new period, reacted with hostility to the development of a working class youth movement seeking to lecture

A comrade from Newark where the nationalists have tried to divide the working class, said:

"We are building the Young Socialists at Essex Community College in Newark. There are a number of nationalist organizations there. But they have no alternative. Nationalism isn't helping anyone and isn't doing anything in the Black community. They do not have a program which can meet this new situation. The government is trying to separate us. Nationalism accepts this. We have to fight to unite the working class. This is what the Young Socialists is fighting for, and we are reaching many students who are fed up with nationalism."

SEEK

Also discussed at the meeting were the budget cuts and the attacks now coming down on SEEK students. The Young Socialists will fight for a demonstration of SEEK students against these attacks and bring this into the demonstration on March 29th. The meeting also took up the question of the fascist Jewish Defense League and the need to unite all the students on the campuses against their attacks.

At the end of the meeting the members voted unanimously for the proposals to have the Steering Committee meet every month, to organize a massive demonstration on March 29th and to endorse the SWP campaign. The youth were enthusiastic about going back to their areas to build the Young Socialists.

the youth and in other ways prevent their development. This was sharply fought against by the youth comrades and others in the party laying the basis for a development of the youth movement in the coming period.

Underlying this situation was the capitalist crisis itself. Sections of the middle class do not wish a situation where class is pitted against class. They seek to take a neutral stand in the class struggle but are forced by this position into opposition to the working class. At the same time the working class youth come forward because they face today the necessity to struggle for their very survival. They face today what the whole class faces in the coming period. Thus the turn of these youth towards Marxist theory. Thus the necessity for the party to fight bitterly for the development of the youth movement as the heart of constructing a mass revolutionary party to lead the working class as a whole.

The Conference concluded with the election of a National Committee which brought into the central leadership of the party those who had played an important role in fighting to construct the youth movement.

One of the highlights of the conference was the showing of the Workers League's first film—though not completely finished. This film is based on the struggle to construct the youth movement which led up to the December 18th founding conference of the Young Socialists. A collection of \$1,017.85 was raised after the film and over \$175 worth of literature was sold during the conference.

Tim Wohlforth outlined the future tasks of the Bulletin in a special expansion report. It was unanimously agreed to launch a campaign to raise the circulation of the Bulletin to 16,500 by April 15th as part of a campaign to have a minimum of 20,000 circulation by the fall. Some \$70,000 will be raised in two fund drives this year to make it possible for the League to install web offset equipment by the fall.

Juan Farinas spoke in behalf of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee. Comrade Farinas is appealing to the Supreme Court a two year sentence for distributing a leaflet in an induction center opposing the war. Farinas outlined an extensive campaign for the next two months to rally working class support for this case at this critical time when the working class faces attacks from all quarters.



Abby Rodriguez from Brownsville speaks at YS steering committee meeting.

Daily World And Mao

Gus Hall Defends Kremlin Position

BY DAVID NORTH

THE DECISIVE TURN of the Chinese Stalinists toward open collaboration with American imperialism has thrown the Soviet bureaucracy into something of a panic.

The anxiety in the Kremlin does not flow from the fact that the international working class is now threatened with new betrayals, but rather from the possibility that the Maoist Government will gain preferential seating at the table where imperialism spills its crumbs.

For an entire historical epoch it was the Kremlin bureaucracy that dined at the left hand of imperialism. Now that the Chinese Stalinists are trying to wedge themselves in between, the Kremlin clique is forced to launch a bitter fight in defense of its old prerogatives.

It is the desire to preserve the traditional relationship between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism that is the inspiration for the series of articles on Chinese foreign policy that appeared last week in the Daily World, newspaper of the American Communist Party. These articles, sharply critical of China's rapprochement with the United States, reflect the growing uneasiness enveloping the Kremlin as President Nixon makes the final preparations for his trip to the People's Republic next month.

The articles are doubly important because no less a scholar of the Stalinist school than Gus Hall, General Secretary of the American CP, is unable to avoid a discussion of the Marxist conception of the irreconcilable conflict of social classes. But Marxism is an unstable element in the hands of the Stalinists; and although Hall and Erik Bert (who contributed two articles on China's foreign policy) attempt to use it only against Mao, it blows up in their faces as well.

HALL

It was Gus Hall who opened the week's discussion with an analysis of "Maoism in world area." His main thrust was against the statement of Chou En-lai that the Soviet Union, as one of the "two super-powers," shares equal responsibility with American imperialism for the troubles that besiege the earth. Hall declared in response that the "super-powers" slogan

"... is a slogan directed against socialism. It is a slogan that covers up for U.S. imperialism." Hall then continued:

"There are no classless powers, super or otherwise. There are no classless interests. The struggle is not between big and small powers—it is not a struggle between continents and hemispheres. It is not a struggle between an East Wind and a West Wind.

"It is a struggle between capitalism and socialism, between the working class and the capitalist class, between imperialism and national liberation—between progress and reaction. Whether in the East, West, North or South—sooner or later all forces will have to decide—which side of this class struggle are they on?"

"For Communists who use the 'super powers' farce, it is a cover for opportunism. It covers up opportunistic relations with imperialism."

These are powerful words from a past master of "opportunistic relations with imperialism." But they are forced from Hall's pen by the dangers posed to the Soviet bureaucracy by a new relationship of the Chinese Stalinists with Nixon. It is important to understand that Gus Hall defends the Soviet Union against Chou En-lai's slanders not from the perspective of a revolutionary. His sole concern is to defend the theory of "Socialism in One Country"—the foundation of international class collaboration for the past four decades—as the private property of the Soviet bureaucracy.

SELECTIVE

Even when recalling the past defeats of the working class, Hall reveals a rather selective memory. While he remembers only the crimes of Maoist Stalinism, the betrayal of Soviet Stalinism slips his mind. The Trotskyist movement does not suffer from partial recall, and so we remind Mr. Hall that the role of the Kremlin clique in the Sudan disaster was as criminal as that of its Peking competitors. Less than a year before last summer's massacre, the Kremlin was paying unrestrained tribute to General Numeiry. And even after the

murders began, it took some time before Moscow would issue a timid reprimand.

The line put down by Hall was continued later in the week by Erik Bert. He wrote that the "two powers" slogan "betrayed total disregard for the difference between capitalism and socialism." Replying to Chou's assertion that world peace required the disarmament of the Soviet Union as well as the United States, Bert stated:

"Behind this lay, however, a strange confidence in the good will or something of U.S. imperialism...Chou's confidence in the word of the chief imperialist power is unbecoming for a Communist. The Pentagon Papers demonstrated in great detail the quarter of a century of falsehood by the White House against not only Vietnam, but China also."

It is strange to hear the Stalinists of the Daily World speak of misplaced confidence in imperialism. The entire history of international Stalinism is its dependence upon imperialism to prop up the parasitic bureaucracies of the workers states and labor movement. The only thing that moves the Daily World to take up the cudgels against Chinese collaboration is the fear of its effect on the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy.

TURN

The analysis of Maoism offered by Hall and Bert indicates a certain turn in the Kremlin's explanation of China's role in the revolutionary movement. In the past, Moscow has justified its own class collaborationist policies by damning the ultra-leftism of Mao. At every point it sought to portray Mao as a student of Trotskyism. In the pamphlet *Anarchism, Trotskyism, Maoism*, written in 1969 by a Kremlin "theoretician," the Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence" was defended through a vicious assault on Trotskyism which was deceitfully linked to Maoism. But it is interesting to note that Moscow defended the perspectives that it now assails the Chinese for holding.

The author of the pamphlet, B. Leibzon, wrote:

"In their propoganda, the Maoists have been repeating, with very slight modifications, what Trotsky used to say about war and peace 30 or 40 years ago, and what present-day Trotskyites are saying on this score.

"The Maoists have declared that the



struggle for peace and the line towards the peaceful coexistence of states is an abandonment of the world revolution, and all but a betrayal of the working people's interests."

While Hall now chastises the Maoists for forgetting about the irreconcilability of social classes, Leibzon was criticizing the Maoists just two years ago for failing to understand that the struggle for peace taken up by the Kremlin can unite the working class with "even a section of the bourgeoisie which is aware of the dangers of thermonuclear war."

As we have already stated, Hall and Bert are forced to criticize the class collaborationist policy of Peking only because it poses certain dangers to the Soviet bureaucracy.

What emerges from the articles on foreign policy that appeared last week in the Daily World is the anger of the Kremlin Stalinists over the competition of the Chinese Stalinists. The bureaucracies of both states fight for the favored first customer status in relation to American imperialism. The response of the Kremlin to the threat posed by the Nixon visit to China next month will be to collaborate with imperialism even more generously. Kosygin and Brezhnev will make every effort to remind Nixon that they can serve imperialism more effectively than Mao and Chou.

ILA

(Continued From Page 3)

thinking of this "management source," which reportedly said that "among the changes" agreed to in order to "police the guarantee" were "procedures that would force longshoremen to sign on for regular list jobs, make it more difficult for them to plead lack of qualification for a job, and a prior-day ordering system that would further eliminate casuals from the industry."

But these "casuals" that management talks about "eliminating" with a snap of the fingers are the bulk of the longshoremen in New York. If they do that, then the bulk of the dockworkers all across the country will be thrown on the scrapheap as well, and the remainder of the men forced to do any kind of work, any where, any time with the threat of loss of guarantee behind it.

The aims of the shippers are clear. They are only holding off from going ahead with entire new container facilities such as the nearly completed container terminals in Jersey City, until they get a contract that greatly reduces their GAI payments.

PDO

At the center of their plans is the PDO (Prior Day Order). That is why they instituted it

over a month ago, in preparation for the new contract and the elimination of dockworkers. That is why there has been an elemental outburst, a revolt against the PDO. Even though it means loss of guarantee money, it is estimated that at least 25% of the New York dockworkers refuse to call up for hiring each day as is demanded by the PDO agreement. They sense that PDO is the framework for the absolute dictatorship of the ship-owners on the docks.

That is why they call it "like Hitler." That is why the checkers at Greenwich St. hiring hall walked out after finding out that seniority had been violated.

RANKS

But the longshoremen and checkers in New York are not going to be dismissed with a snap of the fingers. Gleason and Scotto are walking on eggshells in their efforts to get this contract through. How many men believe them when they try to assure them that the GAI will be kept just as before?

Gleason is fully aware of the danger of rank and file opposition. That is undoubtedly why last Monday's checkers local meeting, at which the issue of PDO would have arisen, was hastily postponed until January 23.

The fight to smash PDO, to refuse any further cooperation with this procedure must now be carried into the January 23 meeting. Carrying a motion to end PDO at that meeting will set the stage for a national strike that can win a decent contract on all issues.

The ILA bureaucracy is deliberately trying to cover up the kind of deal they are willing to make on the guarantee which they know full well spells the destruction of the workers, and the unions themselves, on the docks. The Gleasons, Scottos, the Anastasias and their lackeys are not feathering their own nests for nothing.

THREATS

At the same time, they are beginning all the old goon squad methods to squelch any opposition. That is what lies behind the threats of physical violence and bloodshed directed against Workers-League supporters at a Brooklyn hiring hall last week by Bobby Anastasia and other Local 1814 thugs.

At the same time, a supporter of the Communist Party on the docks in Brooklyn has been openly telling longshoremen to have nothing to do with Workers League supporters in the fight against the contract, branding them as "CIA agents."

In their frenzy to line up with the labor bureaucracy of the ILA the Stalinists revive all the discredited slander and filth of the 1930s and '40s.

It is no accident that the Communist Party paper the Daily World, in its January 8 issue, deliberately turns the meaning of the proposed contract inside out when they write, "The agreement also includes a concession to the union demand for a guaranteed annual wage for longshoremen."

UNITY

The bureaucrats of both unions are trying to use the wage agreement to cover up the sellout on the guarantee. They are also attempting to use the joint strike agreement as the basis for Bridges again postponing the strike deadline date of January 18. His suggestion that the West Coast wait until mid-February for the Taft-Hartley to expire on the East Coast is simply an excuse to avoid a struggle.

This should be turned around. Unless there is an agreement on the 40 hour guarantee for all men on the West Coast and on the other demands by January 18, they should go out again. The joint agreement with the ILA has already laid the basis for them to be joined by the East Coast, rather than crawl before

the strike breaking Taft-Hartley for another month. The East Coast, particularly the men in New York, are looking for a lead from the West Coast. The situation under PDO in New York is near a breaking point. A tremendous movement can be built now of support for a West Coast strike and a rejection of Gleason's contract through the men "voting with their feet."

OWNERSHIP

The private ownership of the docks and shipping by the capitalists is aimed at the destruction of everything the dockworkers have fought for. These capitalists and their colleagues—the entire ruling class—are prepared to destroy the working class, to destroy civilization as we know it in order to continue to make profits off the labor of the working class.

That is why in our fight for a decent contract, for the right of dockers against the profits of the employers, we raise the need for the nationalization of the docks and all industry under workers control as the only solution. This is why we see that the fight for the dockers' rights and conditions demands that they take up the fight for their own party, a labor party against Nixon and the Democrats.

Economy

A Forboding Year For Capitalism

BY AN ECONOMICS
CORRESPONDENT

World capitalism has had its worst year since World War II and is now plunging into a deep depression.

An epoch in the post-war capitalist history came to an end when, on August 15, 1971, President Richard Nixon declared the dollar non-convertible into gold, slapped a 10 percent surcharge on imports and imposed a wage-price freeze in the United States.

With one carefully-prepared blow, kept secret from America's "allies" and launched at the height of the holiday season, Nixon swept away what was left of the monetary arrangements worked out at Bretton Woods in 1944 and prepared to do battle with the other capitalist powers.

The first half of 1971 had seen a considerable deterioration in the U.S. balance of payments, and the Fort Knox gold reserves had reached the danger level of 10 billion dollars at the then parity of \$35 per ounce. Approximately 50 billion dollars, representing claims on this gold reserve, was by that time circulating in one form or another in the rest of the world.

This massive outflow of dollars caused by U.S. military spending and the export of capital was the principle factor in permitting the continued expansion of capitalism after the war. Only in this way was the working class, sold out by its reformist and Stalinist leaders after 1945, held back for a further period by policies of full employment, large-scale consumer credit and inflated money supply.

The succession of monetary crises in the late 1960s came to a head in May 1971 when West Germany revalued the mark.

With interest rates low in the U.S., in an attempt to combat the recession which had started at the end of 1969, and the high rates in Europe maintained to fight inflation, dollars were being sold for stronger currencies at a hectic rate.

Nixon's aim was: first to force other countries to follow the German example and to revalue their currencies by substantial amounts. This would limit their exports and favor U.S. goods.

Secondly, the U.S. Administration set out to wrest a whole series of concessions from the other capitalist countries to bring about a turn-around in the U.S. balance of payments of no less than \$13 billion per annum.

Nixon's August 15 measures made the slump in Europe and Japan certain and aggravated tendencies which had already been apparent earlier in the year.

So 1971 saw the start of the great slowdown in the growth of industrial production. This is the trend which will now predominate.

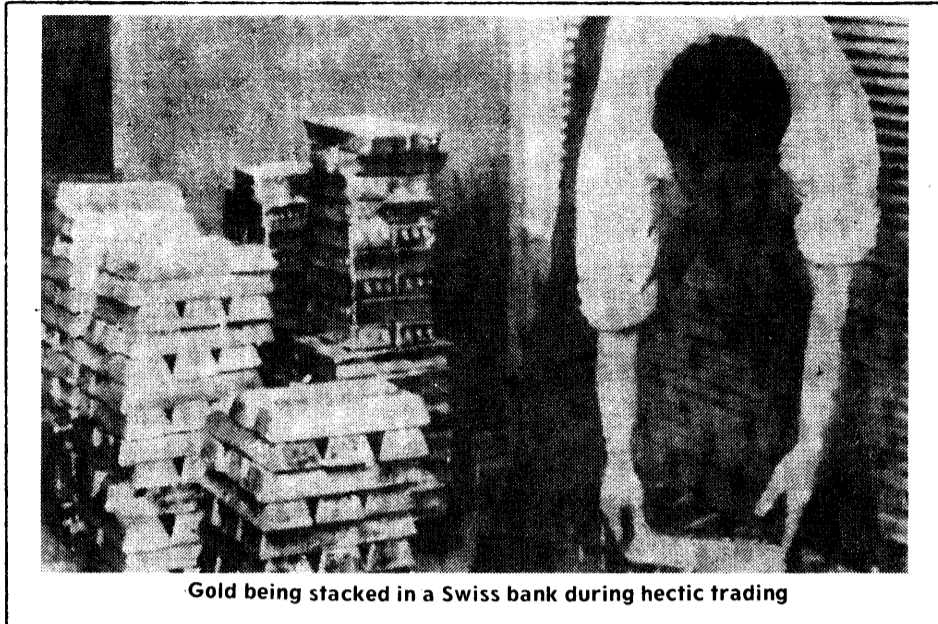
Germany and Japan, held up in the past as glittering examples, were severely hit by the crisis. Many businesses, heavily in debt to the banks, were near to collapse by the end of the year.

Especially puzzling for conventional economists was the persistent inflation and an actual leap forward in prices simultaneously with industrial stagnation. According to past experience prices should have fallen off, enabling the recession to be dealt with by Keynesian techniques, increased government spending, lower interest rates, reduced taxation and so on.

But when increased prices and unemployment and stagnating industry combined with the overriding international monetary crisis, Keynesianism was helpless.

The contradictions of the capitalist mode of production were asserting themselves in the most powerful way.

The Marxist analysis was being proved right, against the claims of those who said that capitalism had changed or that it had found a new way of ensuring continued



Gold being stacked in a Swiss bank during hectic trading

prosperity through arms spending, state intervention or what have you.

The crisis was basically one of value, inherent in the very nature of commodity production itself, as Marx had analyzed it in the very first chapter of *Capital*.

Nixon's August 15 decree brought to an end the fiction that the dollar was "as good as gold." The value of every currency in the world was put in question.

To restore value to the currency by sweating more surplus value out of the working class became a necessity for the capitalist class of every nation. But surplus value is included in the concrete form of commodities which have to be sold on the market.

Capitalist production can only expand if commodities can be sold at a profit and if part of the proceeds are incorporated into new means of production.

A crucial part of total output for every advanced capitalist country has to be sold on the world market. And to sell means to exchange for money.

The downward pressure on profits visible in almost every capitalist country discouraged new investment. Uncertainty about the future value of the currency aggravated the situation.

Unemployment was growing everywhere. In the U.S. the official rate was over 6 percent, in Britain 4 percent. Full employment policy had gone out of the window, and capitalist politicians quietly dropped it from their speeches.

The need to put value back into the currency meant that every effort was made to increase the intensity of work in industry. So productivity began to rise while employment fell.

But as capitalists struggled to cut costs by turning to more highly-mechanized and automated production methods, they met fresh problems because an increase in the proportion of capital in machinery brings a decline in profit rates.

Nixon tried to cut a path through the economic jungle by forcing the other capitalist countries to revalue and make a bigger place for U.S. exports in the world market by curtailing their own.

More directly and immediately hit by the slump and the currency crisis were the less-developed countries dominated by imperialism.

Here the masses of the population live in indescribable misery and poverty at the best of times. In 1971 falling primary product prices and continuing inflation made it impossible for the national bourgeois governments to obtain sufficient investment capital from abroad to permit economic development to take place. The coming year promises to see the aggravation of the crisis throughout Latin America and Asia.

From September to December, at successive meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the Group of Ten and finally in face-to-face meetings with other political leaders, Nixon and his aides—notably Treasury Secretary John Connally—fought to impose the U.S. line on reluctant governments and central

bankers who knew full well what the risks were.

The American negotiators' arrogance and intransigence shocked the Europeans and Japanese and set the tone for the hard bargaining to come.

To carry through the revaluations which Nixon demanded could only mean slump, trade war and the need to do battle with their own working classes. And here there was another problem.

The working class, with many years of full employment and rising wages behind it, was everywhere in a state of industrial militancy, despite unemployment. Inflation only made the working class more determined to win wage increases to prevent their living standards being driven down, which was what capitalism everywhere now had to do.

But to meet the new situation with the industrial militancy of the boom years would mean certain defeat. The need is for political understanding based upon Marxist theory and the creation of revolutionary parties in the advanced countries.

What is involved is putting an end to capitalism through the struggle for workers' power, not reforms.

After prolonged resistance in which the Americans made out that they would not devalue the dollar, or only by a small amount, the monetary year ended with the formula worked out at the Washington Group of Ten meeting.

As a result, all the major currencies were revalued in terms of the dollar, by varying amounts, and the gold value of the still inconvertible dollar was reduced.

By imposing this settlement after a veritable war of attrition, the U.S. prepared to force rival capitalist countries in 1972 to accept changes in the world monetary and trading system as a preparation for trade war.

No change in the U.S. position on such questions as European trade discrimination and farm policy has taken place.

Quite the reverse. Devaluation of the dollar ends the first stage of the American offensive. Now they are carrying out government-to-government talks to hammer out trading and tariff concessions and breaking up the possibility of resistance, if they can, from blocs like the European Common Market.

The Americans are determined that as far as possible the burdens of the crisis shall be passed on to the Common Market countries and Japan.

The revalued currencies will now be at a disadvantage as compared with the dollar, making it certain that the trade of the countries concerned will fall off.

Far from being solved, the problems inherent in the world monetary system are bound to dominate the economic situation in 1972, this time coupled with growing trade depression.

The whole fragile system is now as susceptible to shocks as it was in the period 1929-1931.

No wonder that the supporters of capitalism, when they are not kidding themselves that there is a break in the clouds somewhere, look forward to 1972 with foreboding.

Letter from Prison

The following are excerpts of letters from prison accompanied by an order for Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*.

I thank you for forwarding me the paper.

I notice within the paper an ad about some new reading matter which should prove very interesting. Would you kindly forward it to me.

We are having P.E. classes and I am doing my very best to keep up. Not having an education, such is rather difficult, but the desire shall fill the need. Perhaps some day you could fill me in on your party's history and what your ideas are, so as I might understand better....

Just a few lines to express my sincere thanks to you for the letter and the books. I don't have one left except for *Black Nationalism* which I happen to be rather interested in because I had a rap with some Brothers on it only last week. It seems I need more of the same books. Our class plus the other side makes our need very large. When I open the package you would've thought I had food. It was a beautiful sight, you would have enjoyed seeing how grateful they were received. As you know, these Brothers are not playing. Anything to open their eyes is accepted, and kindness is felt.

Nationalism to me is important only as

a means of bringing about unity. Once that is accomplished it's wise to go on to the next stage. The worker is only oppressed if he is not getting wages worth his labor. When you are a people with nothing, it means you have nothing really to exchange. The Jews prove that when their community extended to Israel which became their homeland, the move was to change their government, not the people....

One book can say but so much because the writer's knowledge covers but so much. Since I've been in the struggle I've had to reconsider many things I thought were right, and at that moment they were. But as I got deeper into things, it became clear that I had much more to learn. So try and understand my position, and help me deal with it. I fear one thing—what I don't know, and understand. Right now, what is happening is not really important, and that's because I can deal with it. The other brothers of the Tombs Seven are strong and very sincere, it's really something very strange, just being a part of such real and beautiful unity....

Yours in the struggle,
Brother Stan.

P.S. Send these books please: Marx & Engels Selected Works, Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*, and Trotsky on *Black Nationalism*.

Prisons Plan New Tortures For Militants

BY DENISE ALEXANDER

While Nixon and American businessmen are trying out tactics devised to control and contain the growing revolt in the unions, their cohorts in the prison system are researching new techniques to be employed against the working class as the struggle intensifies.

The California Department of Corrections has plans to open a new unit for 84 prisoners at Vacaville for the expressed purpose of sending the more violence prone inmates there for "psychiatric and psychological assessment."

The techniques will include drug therapy, brain surgery and aversion conditioning which is done by the application of painful electric shocks to the brain or to the genitals. Another plan produces "chemical castration" when female hormones are administered to male prisoners.

A report by the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) revealed that many of these techniques are currently practiced in California prisons often without consent. For instance, the use of the drug, anectine, is administered by Dr. Arthur Nugent, Chief Psychiatrist at Vacaville. This drug paralyzes the lungs for 60 seconds.

SAN DIEGO . . .

(Continued From Page 16)

with Nixon's visit to NASSCO came out most clearly outside the plant gates. Here a picket line demonstration against Nixon was set up by IAM members currently on strike at ROHR Corporation. This was a demonstration demanding jobs and an end to taking work out of the country in order to avoid hiring union labor.

A Nixon who hurled patriotic demagoguery at NASSCO is the same Nixon who has set up the Pay Board that has torn up the aerospace contract and who will use that as a step towards much stronger attacks on labor in the interests of American capitalism.

LIE

Nixon told NASSCO workers "If you do a good job there may be more contracts like this in the future." Here he is speaking to all workers and saying that their only hope is to crawl on their knees and to beg for jobs from the capitalists and capitalist government that is preparing to destroy workers and their livelihoods.

Nixon's words are a lie. There is no way forward in supporting the capitalists who have vowed to bury the trade unions. Nixon proposes that workers take the road to defeat and bless their executioners.

Full employment can only be guaranteed through the nationalization under workers control of all basic industry. That must be the slogan of the march for jobs that was conducted against Nixon and his proposal for patriotic starvation of the working class.

"The sensation is of suffocating and drowning. The patient feels as if he is on the brink of death," Dr. Nugent is quoted as saying.

"The subject experiences deep feeling of horror and terror, making the experience seem lengthened. He can still listen and concentrate. The therapist tells him that the next time he has an impulse to smash or attack he will stop and think and remember the sensation he is feeling now."

EXPERIMENTS

Due to unforeseen publicity, funds to implement the brain surgery plan have been temporarily held up. This project originally had been conceived of as performing brain surgery on a small number of men with symptoms of a rare type of epilepsy, only to become transformed into a barbaric means of making vegetables out of "aggressive, destructive" inmates.

One doctor active in MCHR told this reporter that in California experiments with sound are being conducted, similar to the tortures used by the British Army in Northern Ireland.

Torture techniques once reserved for prisoners in Vietnam are being prepared to be used against the working class at home, just as they are used in Northern Ireland.

State Workers Defy Reagan's Pay Ceiling

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Governor Reagan last week announced his intention to allow a measly 5% raise for some 180,000 state workers. Under the proposed budget to take effect in July 1972, state college and university teachers would receive 7.5%.

It has been three years since teachers and two years since other state employees won a cost of living raise.

Most workers are calling this offer an insult. State power and hydroelectric plant workers, 16 percent to 25 percent behind their brothers in private industry, have threatened to strike in March unless the new budget includes parity raises.

The United Professors of California are demanding catch-up pay hikes of 15 percent and even the State Personnel Board has recommended 7.5 percent and up for all state employees.

These wage demands, reflecting only the most minimal needs of the workers, are in fundamental conflict with the 5.5 percent ceiling imposed by Nixon's Pay Board. Governor Reagan becomes the chief enforcer in California of the President's strategy for smashing the unions and the entire working class.

In light of August 15, the



Stalinists holding vigil outside courthouse where Angela Davis is being tried. Stalinists' defense relies on middle class liberalism rather than mobilization of workers and youth in a class defense.

SF Taxi Drivers Defend Contract

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Cab drivers are being asked to take on the burden of the economic crisis just to keep their jobs. Last July Teamsters Local 265 settled for a three-year contract which provided no wage increases the second and third years

But this, according to Yellow Cab Company, is not enough of a sacrifice to keep the company out of what it calls "desperate financial shape." Recently the company has announced that in order for it to keep its head above water, the drivers must "renegotiate" their contract and give up the fringe benefits they have already won!

The alternative presented by Yellow Cab is that office staff and dispatchers (Office Employees Local 3) agree to accept

a new contract with no pay raise whatsoever. This alternative is rather timely since Local 3 has just requested strike sanction in its efforts to win a new contract.

A cab driver, member of Local 265, told the Bulletin that the company is enforcing these alternatives by threatening to make all the drivers "independent." Drivers would lease their cabs for \$25 a day or more and keep whatever they make in excess of this amount. This would mean no protection, no guarantee, and no benefits.

Yellow Cab claims that this will be necessary unless the workers all pitch in and sacrifice to keep the company going. Cab drivers and office workers must not be intimidated by this threat—the age-old fraud of "imminent bankruptcy" being used to smash the gains of employees. Local 265 and Local 3 must inspect the company's books and if the company is unable to meet its contractual obligations, must demand that Yellow Cab be taken over by the city and run as a municipal agency. Under no circumstances must cab workers give an inch on their contracts.

If they do, not only will they be digging their own graves, but the way will be opened for every other company to plead "crisis" in order to drive back wages and working conditions of workers.

Air West Mechanics Stay Out

BY A REPORTER

Some 570 mechanics and other ground service employees entered the third week of their strike against Hughes Airwest, as talks continued in Washington, D.C. with a federal mediator. The main demands of the Airline Mechanics Fraternal Association for a 30.5% pay hike over two years and for certain work rule changes, would bring the Airwest workers into parity with workers in the rest of the air industry.

Airwest, owned by Howard Hughes and operating in 74 western cities, has not budged from its original offer of 25.8% and no changes in work rules.

Negotiations were rushed into mediation when pilots, members of the Air Line Pilots Association, began calling in sick in defiance of a court order preventing them from observing the picket lines. Pilots and stewardesses are facing fines and contempt of court charges as Airwest is only able to run six daily flights using supervisors.

Hughes Airwest and the major airlines know that a 15. per year contract is totally unacceptable, that the Pay Board will not grant even the 12. won in the first year of the aerospace contracts.

The spectre of a complete shutdown of air transportation forces Airwest to now rely on the AMFA bureaucracy to compromise on wages and cave in on productivity work rules. For their part the AMFA leaders want no part of an industry-wide confrontation, and think nothing of accepting mediation even while pilots and stewardesses are facing fines and possibly jail for continuing their sick-out.

Nixon's proposals for compulsory arbitration laws against the transportation unions are now moving through Congress. They are designed to prevent strikes such as this one and to force these workers to accept whatever wage cuts and work rules Airwest wants. AMFA must stand firm on their demands, and any punitive action against pilots and stewardesses must be met by spreading the walkout to the rest of the industry.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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UAW Ranks Demand Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Aerospace workers in Southern California are near revolt at the action of the Pay Board in cutting their contract to what will probably be little more than 8 percent. They are particularly angry because all but 3 percent of this 12 percent they were supposed to get is "catch-up" pay owed to them under an agreement in the last contract.

Reflecting the feeling among the ranks that UAW President Leonard Woodcock and IAM President Smith's proposal to sue the Pay Board is worthless, the leadership of UAW Local 887 in Los Angeles has been forced to call for more militant action.

Local 887 President Hank Lacayo said he favored a nation-

wide walkout because "this blow against our members will be felt by all workers if we take this lying down." Bill Leslie, Administrative Assistant of Local 887 told us that "our members and leaders feel strongly that the Pay Board does not have the right to do this...action is long overdue for working men and women to stand up for themselves and call a nationwide strike."

Lacayo and the rest of the Local 887 bureaucracy is under great pressure from the ranks. This was seen in the spontaneous movement by the employees of NAR who, immediately after the Pay Board decision was announced, jammed the Company's financial office for a wholesale cancellation of their Savings Bonds deductions. As one worker put it, "It is our way of saying we have no confidence in the Nixon administration."

The leadership of Local 887 and of the UAW in Southern California still refuse to call for a strike of the aerospace industry itself, however. They argue that

the Companies are willing to grant the increase, "so why strike them?" But these Companies which are admittedly making billions in profits must be forced to give the workers what they are due. On that basis, there will be much greater strength for going to the rest of the labor movement and demanding a general strike against the contract veto of the Pay Board.

DEMANDS

The rank and file aerospace workers must now take up the fight in their own defense, on behalf of the entire working class, for the following demands:

- Full 12 percent—Strike the aerospace industry if necessary—wage reopener in second year—
- General strike action of all labor if this contract is in any way abrogated—
- Labor off the Pay Board—end all "Phase II" wage controls—
- Nationalization of aerospace under workers control—



UAW President Woodcock and IAM head Floyd Smith in St. Louis after delegates decided to sue the Pay Board rather than quit Board and call a general strike to maintain aerospace contract.

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PALO ALTO—On Jan. 5 the Stanford University Advisory Board recommended 5 to 2 for the immediate dismissal of Bruce Franklin, Associate Professor of English, and member of the Venceremos group.

He was charged with significantly contributing to the interruption of a campus speech by Henry Cabot Lodge, inciting occupation of the University Computer Center last February, defiance of a police order to disperse and calling a rally in which violent action was urged.

The call for dismissal came after six weeks, six days a week, of hearings and was motivated in a 150 page document, the conclusions of which demonstrate the hypocrisy, fears and determination of the ruling class to suppress any class opposition wherever it is manifested.

Despite the hypocritical and abstract calls from the liberals for "academic freedom" and "freedom of speech" they are all glad to see Franklin off the campus.

As the working class goes into motion a head on confrontation with the government and the capitalist class it represents, all means of repression are employed by the ruling class to suppress all those who oppose the government.

The nature of this attack is, however, missed by Bruce Franklin and his group.

With Reagan announcing the creation of super modern prisons for hardcore criminals (militants), with the Pay Board ripping up contracts and the right wing turn of the courts, the dismissal of Bruce Franklin is a serious and blatant attempt against the most basic rights of the working people and youth.

Stanford Teaches Racist Filth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Stanford University is one of the largest and wealthiest, universities in the United States. It is a training ground for the future leaders of the capitalist class on the West Coast. Last week it fired Bruce Franklin, a radical. Today it pays a fat salary to William Shockley whose job it is to "study" and pour out racist filth which tomorrow will become the ideological basis for fascism.

William Shockley is a professor of engineering science at Stanford University. He was also a Nobel Prize winner in 1956 for his work in the development of transistors. But the publicity he is receiving today is for his views on the race question.

As the crisis of capitalism threatens at any moment to plunge into an all-out depression and crash, the capitalist class plays up the support it finds among the racists and fascists. On the eve of massive class struggles, the capitalist class uses racists like Shockley.

According to Shockley there is a gap in the intelligence level between Blacks and the rest of the society which is due to heredity, that Black ghettos may persist not only because of dis-

crimination and poverty, but also because of a diminished hereditary capacity. This is because he says the law of survival of the fittest no longer operates in our society. "Where survival of the fittest would have favored selection of only the best of these in past centuries, our abundant American society assures to all the privilege of producing their kind."

Shockley refers to a statement made by the Secretary of Labor, Wirtz, in 1964 to the effect that there are strong indications that a disproportionate number of our unemployed come from exceptionally large families. Shockley: "I interpret this to suggest that a child of an exceptionally large family is less likely to be able to hold a job...My great worry is that, if adequate research along this line were carried out, we might find a dismal possibility turns out to be a fact: Many of the large improvident families with social problems simply have constitutional deficiencies in those parts of the brain which enable a person to plan and carry out plans."

Shockley says: "Why do men and his progeny live for generations in city slums?...I evaluate the marrow of the problem to be our uncertainty about its genetic aspects." Shockley tries to give scientific credibility to the same view that was put

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That was a calculated maneuver to try to show that the ranks of labor are much better Americans and truer patriots than the "arrogant and boorish" labor leaders who laughed at Nixon and refused to hail the chief at the AFL-CIO convention.

However, the chief was not hailed at NASSCO either. The real response of the workers to the contracts was that they might hold off for a time the threat of job loss that constantly hangs over their heads. This was made clear when Nixon summoned all of his arrogance and mingled with the masses to shake hands and ask "Is this a good life?" The response was that it looked a lot better now that they would have work.

What was actually happening (Continued On Page 15)

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Shockley fears that "humanitarian relief programs may be exerting a negative influence...and actually promoting dysgenics—a retrogressive evolution."

REACTIONARY

The response to Shockley's reactionary views has changed considerably in recent years. At first there was a tremendous outcry in scientific circles, but as Shockley continued to campaign vigorously for his views, the scientific community, if not totally won over, has at least agreed with him on the need for more investigation. The National Academy of Sciences has now said that the "study of human racial differences is a proper and socially relevant scientific subject." In speaking before a crowded Commonwealth Club audience in San Francisco a few years ago, it was reported that he was applauded warmly and plied with questions about "welfare programs that pamper inferior segments of American society."

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