

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Bukovsky Speaks On His Trial

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY TWO 231

FEBRUARY 7, 1972

FIFTEEN CENTS

# MASSACRE IN ULSTER

Pages 3 & 6



Lively discussions at the Young Socialist Steering Committee meeting last Saturday.

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### Bulletin Reporting Team

CIVIL WAR AT LORDSTOWN

GM PLANT

BF GOODRICH THREATENS CLOSURE IN AKRON

DAYTON WORKER EXPOSES FRIGIDAIRE WAGE CUT

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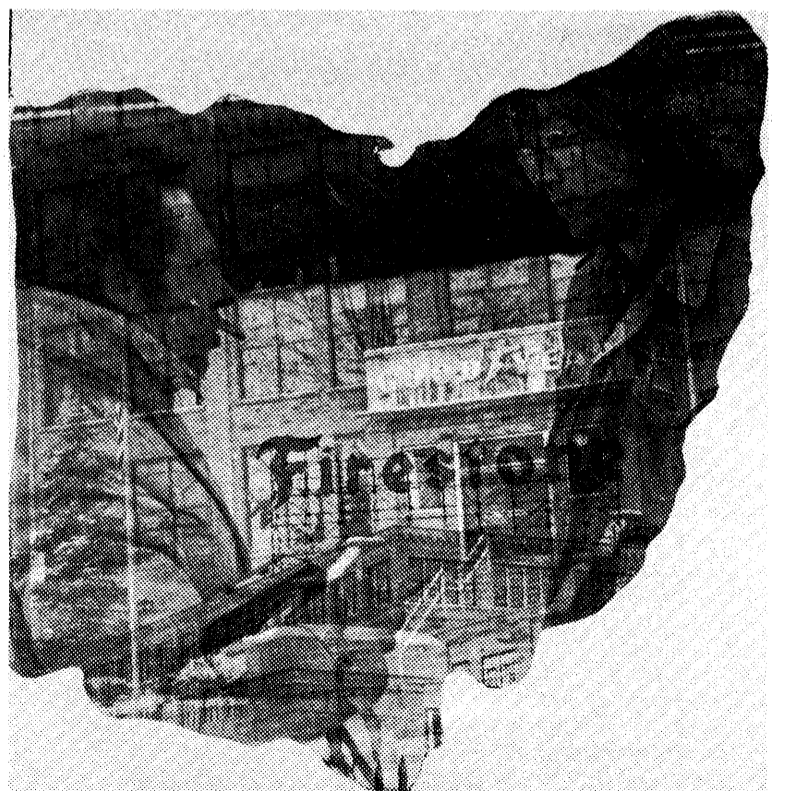
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# Egypt's Youth Demand Soviet Aid

BY ED SMITH

Thousands of Egyptian students were gassed, clubbed, and charged with yard-long bamboo staves last week and nearly 1,500 detained by police in demonstrations and occupations opposing Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's attempts to compromise the Arab-Israeli conflict and demanding the end of press censorship.

Sadat charged the students had been stirred up by "outside elements." Thirty of them were detained for trials by special Egyptian security courts. At an extraordinary meeting of various "representatives of Egyptian society," Sadat proclaimed that war with Israel was "inevitable," but added that there were obstacles in the way that had to be overcome. He admonished students to be patient.

The student demonstrations were the boiling over of discontent with the Sadat regime's continued retreat from a confrontation with Israel over the continued Israeli occupation of the Sinai and a war of liberation for Palestine.

## SEIZURE

But the students' demands went beyond the call for no compromise with Israel. The students smashed a window of a Soviet bookstore to protest the bureaucracy's failure to back up the Arab struggle and its accommodation with Zionism and imperialism. This is precisely what the Stalinists are also doing in Vietnam where they send outdated equipment to the NLF. The students shook the foundations of "Arab socialism" with a call for seizure of U.S. economic interests.

The Sadat regime had concentrated on building up an image of "moderation," particularly through maneuvers at the United Nations and the purging of Soviet

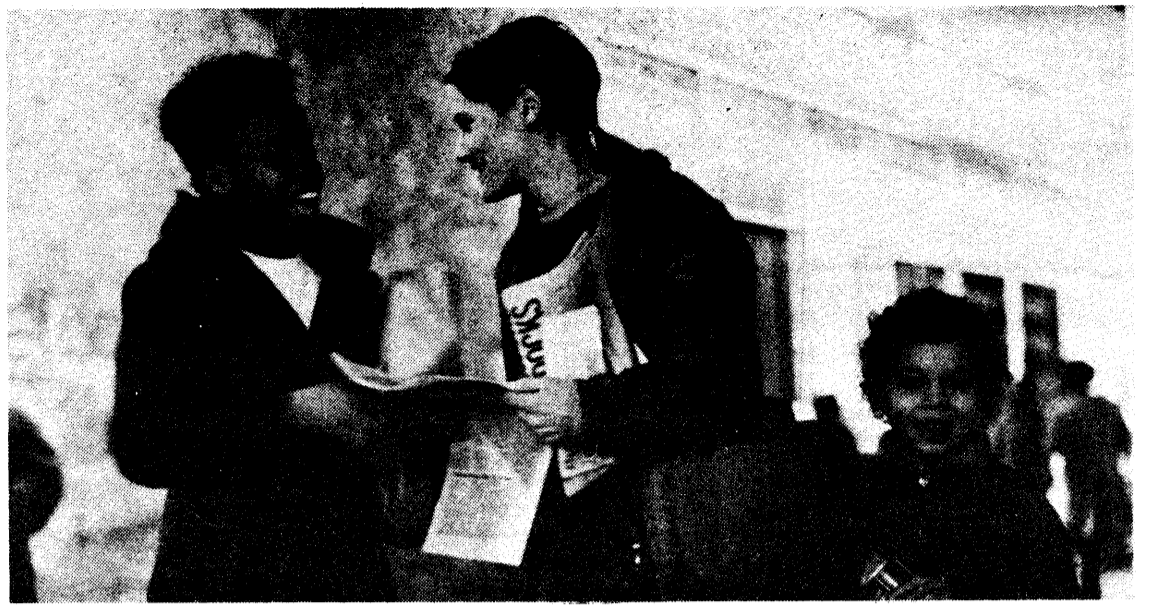
oriented officials like former Vice-President Ali Sabry. In this way the Egyptian bourgeoisie had hoped to prove itself safe for U.S. imperialism. Instead it was rewarded with the resumption of large-scale U.S. military aid to Israel, particularly shipments of Phantom jets which could be used for Israeli strikes beyond the Suez Canal.

## MILITARY

Earlier President Sadat had promised that 1971 would be a "year of decision" in which the war with Israel would be renewed. The last straw that precipitated the student revolt was the revelation that military action being prepared against Israeli forces in December had been cancelled. This came on top of earlier news that Egypt had tried to enlist U.S. aid in opening up the Suez Canal earlier in the year.

## HOME

Perhaps most significant was the anger students demonstrated against Sadat's announcement that the fight with Israel would have to wait on "mobilizing the home front" (developing the national economy). What lies behind this formulation is the real policy of Egyptian capitalism and nationalism which subordinates the fight for national liberation in the Middle East to the requirements of imperialism and the "national development" of the Egyptian bourgeoisie.



Boston Young Socialists build for Steering Committee meeting. See page 13.

# Croatian Nationalism Rocks Tito Regime

BY ED SMITH

Because of the opportunistic adaptation to capitalism and nationalism based on the acceptance of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country," the Tito bureaucracy in Yugoslavia has led the country into the gravest crisis in its history.

At the recently concluded three day conference of the League of Communists (Communist Party) in Yugoslavia, Tito announced his bid to solve the crisis by a governmental and party reorganization.

Besides a shakeup of the League's Executive Committee, there is to be, among other things, a parliament, inter-republic committees, and a twenty-three man collective presidency after Tito's death.

At the same time he warned of possible use of the army in North Croatia if nationalist agitation and subversion in the area was not stopped.

However, at the same time as Tito was announcing governmental shakeups and threatening a show of force against restorationist and nationalist tendencies, the Yugoslav bureaucracy was giving them a boost ten times as large through its new economic measures.

On his recent trip to Washington Tito announced that henceforward big capitalist firms investing in Yugoslavia could retain majority control in ownership and management of Yugo-

slavian enterprises. Even more important, the process of making the Yugoslavian currency, the diner, fully convertible on the world capitalist market is now underway.

What this means is that not only can surplus value be extracted from the Yugoslavian workers but now it can be exported abroad back to the imperialists. This is a giant breach in the state monopoly of foreign trade, a big step towards the reintegration of Yugoslavia into world capitalism.

What lies behind these most dangerous developments, threatening the very foundations of the Yugoslav workers state? Most immediately, of course, there has been the question of resurgent nationalism, particularly of the Croatian variety. This received its impetus from regional disparities caused by the corruption and bungling of the bureaucracy. Thus one of the precipitating factors behind making the diner convertible was Croatian complaints that Croatia had no foreign exchange.

This regionalism, fostered by the Tito regime's previous

adaptation to nationalism and regionalism, provided a most useful cover for restorationist and right wing elements. There has been a revival of Ustachism, the fascist Nazi collaborating Croat nationalist movement directed by the Catholic Church and maintaining close links with fascist-minded Croat exiles in West Germany and the United States.

Nationalist agitation in Croatia had reached such a high and blatant pitch that the Tito regime has been forced to mount an offensive against these elements purging the nationalists and tightening party discipline.

But the real problem in Yugoslavia is the slow rate of economic growth and the various regional disparities caused by the limitations of the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country." It is this policy which the bureaucracy cannot break from. Its effects open up the way precisely for such reactionary tendencies as Croatian nationalism, leading inevitably to tying Yugoslavia into capitalism's crisis.

# NIXON PREPARES VIETNAM ESCALATION

BY DAVID NORTH

The eight-point "peace" plan unveiled last week by President Nixon signals the resumption of all-out war against the Vietnamese people. Nixon framed his entire speech in the language of threats, warning Hanoi that offensive action would follow if the peace plan were not accepted.

The "peace" plan itself offers nothing new except the cynical offer to retire President Thieu one month before rigged elections take place. During the one month period, state power would remain in the hands of less famous puppets installed by American imperialism.

Hanoi has rejected the Nixon offer, correctly denouncing it as "a plan aiming at prolonging the American 'commitment' in South Vietnam, at pursuing Vietnamization and at imposing the neocolonialist yoke of the United States on the people of South Vietnam."

It is important to understand that Nixon has now decided that the four year negotiating charade in Paris can no longer serve any purpose to imperialism. The central purpose of his revelation of the "secret talks" with representatives of North Vietnam is to place full responsibility for the failure of negotiations upon the Hanoi

government.

Nixon is attempting to prepare the American working class for devastating air assaults against the North. This is obvious to the bourgeois press. The New York Times wrote (January 26, 1972) "Finally, in military terms, Mr. Nixon—by 'going public' with his best diplomatic efforts—may have positioned himself for a stern response on the ground and in the air should the North Vietnamese launch heavy attacks in the coming weeks."

The tremendous movement of the Indochinese masses against American imperialism is what has forced Nixon to rely openly on military power against North Vietnam. At this point, the United States is faced with the possibility of a total defeat in every part of Indochina. The NLF now controls the strategic centers of Laos. The Plain of Jars and the Bolovens Plateau have been wrested from the control of imperialism's forces.

In Cambodia, the capital city itself is virtually defenseless against any determined assault. And in Vietnam, the Thieu regime is bracing itself for an offensive in the Central Highlands. Military spokesmen for both the American and South Vietnamese armies are openly admitting that the National Liberation Front is capable of launching an attack even more powerful than the 1968 Tet offensive.

## BOMBINGS

Nixon has decided to meet this movement of the masses with naked terror. The Christmas week bombings, the heaviest since 1968, were only the prelude to the type of offensive that Nixon is now planning.

The Vietnamese Revolution has now entered a new stage. The break-up of the negotiations, the resumption of American bombings and the powerful onslaught of millions of workers and peasants in Indochina reflect in the sharpest form the new relations that exist internationally since August 15 between the working class and bourgeoisie.

This period, as we see in studying the military situation in Vietnam, offers the working class the most favorable opportunity to defeat imperialism. But this

period also poses great dangers, as the agents of capitalism within the working class—the Stalinists—seek desperately to betray the struggle of the masses.

The disclosure of secret talks between Henry Kissinger and top Hanoi officials like Xuan Thuy shows in the most graphic way possible how Stalinism seeks to deal with imperialism behind the back of the working class.

It is clear that the U.S. has been using these negotiations offering nothing new to keep the offensive of the workers and peasants back. The Stalinists have gone along with this and are today leaving the door open for a deal.

Now Nixon is going to China to bring the weight of the Maoist bureaucracy upon the Vietnamese Revolution in order to strangle it.

Prince Sihanouk revealed two weeks ago the manner in which the Moscow Stalinists have kept the Vietnamese revolutionary forces on a starvation diet of outdated armaments. There is no longer any doubt that the Stalinists are actively seeking to prevent the military defeat of the United States in Indochina. It is for this reason that the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution depends upon the destruction of Stalinism.



# Tories Butcher Irish Workers

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Thousands of workers are on general strike in Northern Ireland to protest the Sunday massacre of thirteen workers by British troops in Londonderry. The cold-blooded murders, which occurred as soldiers broke up a rally against the internment policy of English Prime Minister Heath, climaxed the campaign of terror directed by imperialism against the working class of Ulster.

"This is our Sharpeville. We will never forget it," declared Bernadette Devlin, who had been addressing the rally just as the troops began their slaughter. Sharpeville is a small African township where nearly 200 workers were shot down in 1961 by the South African army with the encouragement of the British Tory Government led by Harold Macmillan.

government of Henriek Verwoerd; on Sunday the Tories murdered the Londonderry workers in collaboration with the Ulster government of Brian Faulkner.

But in Sharpeville and Londonderry the murders had the same motivation: the determination of capitalism to defeat the struggle of workers for jobs, decent housing, and a living wage.

The British Trotskyists in the Socialist Labour League have

a point can be reached where troops will open fire and gun down an innocent crowd."

Among the victims of the barrage were young teenagers. An observer told reporters that the troops "shot indiscriminately and everywhere around them without any provocation."

The British government does not have the slightest regret over what happened Sunday. The shooting of unarmed working people was part of a deliberate plan. Home Secretary Reginald Maudling, whom Bernadette Devlin denounced as a "murdering hypocrite," insisted that the soldiers had acted in self-defense.

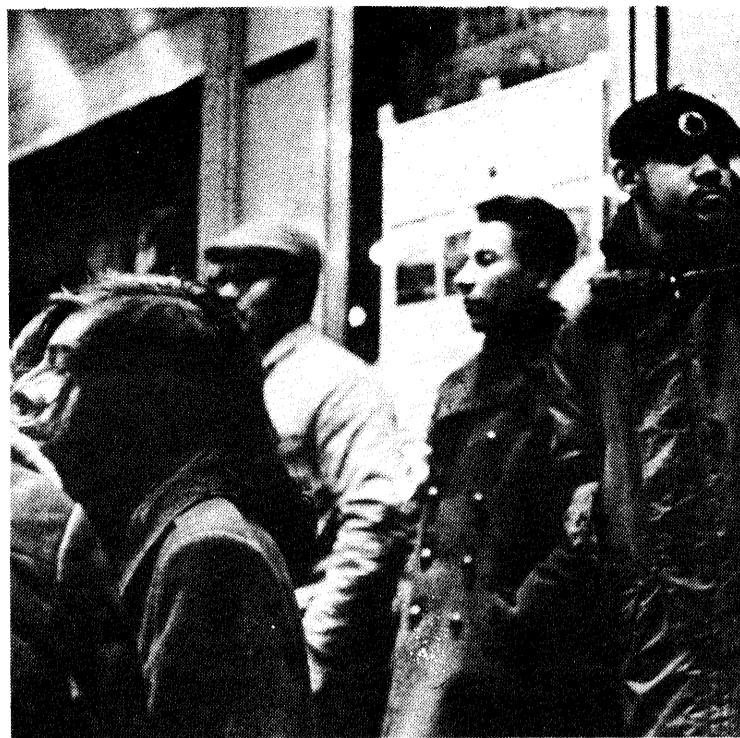
Of course, Maudling did not care to discuss the background to the shootings. In the sedate House of Commons, he did not care to disturb the tranquil debate with the truth about the internment policy, with its lawless arrests, its concentration camps, and its tortures. He avoided mentioning something that everyone inside the House of Commons already knows: that the Tories are at war with the Irish working class.

Prevented from answering Maudling's lies even though she had witnessed the shooting, Bernadette Devlin crossed the floor of Parliament, grabbed Maudling by the hair and scratched him. Tory and Labour MP's alike came to the Home Secretary's defense, attacking Miss Devlin.

Last month, the Ulster government of Faulkner placed a ban upon demonstrations. This order was defied almost immediately by 5,000 Irish workers on January 2nd. They marched through the streets of Belfast carrying banners that read, "Free Internees Now" and "End Military Dictatorship."

Over the weekend, workers again defied the ban by demonstrating 2,000 strong outside the new jail in Derry County. This time British troops fired rubber bullets point blank into the faces of the demonstrators.

Prime Minister Heath decided  
(Continued On Page 12)



Rank and file telephone workers of Local 1101 being barred from last week's Manhattan Center with "overcrowding" as excuse.

# CWA Ranks Plan Rejection Of Arbitration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, MONDAY, JANUARY 31—Three thousand rank and file members of Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America packed Manhattan Center tonight making it absolutely clear that they will not retreat from the fight to win the seven month old strike.

Nearly 300 men were forcibly kept out of the meeting by the New York City Police Department as the militant crowd overflowed the hall. Last week, Rockefeller sought to force the telephone workers back to work through binding ar-

bitration. In this they are counting on the betrayals of the leadership of the telephone workers.

Throughout the strike, Ricky Carnivale has posed as a militant leader opposing the openly right wing leadership of Joseph Beirne, president of the International. But at this meeting Carnivale's complete agreement with the Beirne leadership was revealed.

A formal vote was not taken on the question of binding arbitration, but when a spokesman for the local addressed the crowd he said that the local leadership holds the same position as Beirne, that "if negotiations can't yield a settlement, then we're in favor of binding arbitration." A chorus of boos and yelling swept through the audience.

### SUPPORT

Carnivale made a vague statement about having "called on labor to support the strike." However asking for a few voluntary donations from the AFL-CIO is far from the support that is required.

Carnivale should publically demand that Harry Van Arsdale of the N.Y. Central Labor Council call a mass demonstration at City Hall, followed by a general strike.

At the 108th Street telephone exchange, the CWA pickets have been successful in bringing out the operators in support of the strike. The operators addressed the CWA meeting, extending their support. Carnivale, however, stated that the CWA could not call on the operators to come out officially because they are in a different union.

The meeting ended with a determination to carry through a rejection of binding arbitration, to hold weekly demonstrations to maintain the strike.



CWA Local 1101 head Carnivale.



On Monday, March 21, murder was committed at the small African township of Sharpeville, 14 miles from Johannesburg. The national government of the Union of South Africa, under its prime minister Henriek Verwoerd, is directly responsible. But there are those in Britain who are responsible, too. According to the official Agence, Africa news...

women and children to the number of 46 were killed and 143 were wounded, but unofficial estimates place the deaths at 179 and the injured at 480. Police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators with sub-machine guns. Six were shot dead. They used tear gas and sound bombs, recently imported from Britain. American Selwe jets flew over the crowd.

From an SLL 1960 pamphlet

## 'Sharpeville' in Ulster?

Like the butchers of Sharpeville, the troops who fired the terrible shots on Sunday were bent on murdering as many workers as possible. Like the butchers of Sharpeville, they were executing an attack that had been consciously planned and ordered by the Prime Minister of British capitalism.

In 1961 the Tories murdered the Sharpeville workers in collaboration with the South African

repeatedly warned that the Tories were planning to deal with Ireland through the use of terror. The headline for the lead article in the Workers Press of October 26, 1972, read: "New 'Sharpeville' in Ulster?"

Last November 8th, the Workers Press wrote: "Mass murder is the weapon the Tories are planning to use... Day by day they are encouraging the escalation of the terror in Ulster so that

## 1199 Leaders Back Wage Cut Scheme

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The real solution of the 1199 leadership, the hospital workers union, to the threats of mass layoffs and shut-downs has been exposed at Knickerbocker Hospital.

Two weeks ago, we reported in the Bulletin that the hospital had threatened to close but had found funds to stay open another three months.

In the January issue of the 1199 magazine we now see where some of these funds are coming from. The magazine states that members of the hospital staff are making contributions from their pay checks to keep the hospital open. The Davis leadership is giving its blessing to this vicious scheme to make the hospital workers pay for the bosses' crisis.

The next step will be compulsory pay cuts like the ones taking place in plants all over the country. This is what the hospitals are preparing to demand in the July contract negotiations.

### ACCEPT

It is now clear why the issue of Knickerbocker Hospital was not mentioned at the last Guild delegates meeting in the report on the crisis facing the hospitals and the threat of layoffs. While making official declarations that the union will strike if there are layoffs, the Davis leadership's real perspective is to accept these attacks and help the

bosses' solve their crisis.

This was made even clearer at the January 26th meeting of delegates from hospitals with affiliation contracts with city hospitals. In these hospitals the Hospital Corporation is seeking to eliminate 1199 jobs in a deal worked out with Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37 who represents city hospital workers.

After previously denouncing Gotbaum for this stab in the back, Davis defended him at this meeting saying that he was basically a good union leader.

Davis proposed a resolution to the delegates calling for "work stoppages" and any other necessary action in case of an attack on 1199 jobs. This is a retreat from his former position that they would "shut all the hospitals down" over layoffs.

These events are a clear warning that rank and file members of 1199 must fight with the Rank and File Committee to demand citywide strike action against any layoffs or shut downs and to prepare for the 1972 contract fight. The 1199 membership must demand that the union take action to stop the "voluntary" pay cuts at Knickerbocker.

## Berrigan Trial Begins

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The United States government has opened the trial in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania of the Harrisburg Seven, Rev. Philip Berrigan, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Rev. Neil McLaughlin, Anthony and Mary Scoblick, Rev. Joseph Wenderoth and Eqbal Ahmad.

They are charged with plotting to blow up the heating system in Washington government buildings, kidnap Nixon's foreign policy advisor Henry Kissinger and "other offenses against the United States."

The government is seeking to jail the defendants for five years. It is seeking to conduct a political persecution, challenging any perspective jurors who might express opposition to the Vietnam War or those who might

have sons of draft age. So insecure does the government feel itself to be.

The case itself is nothing more than a clumsy frameup. The prosecution can cite not one concrete action by any of the defendants in the "plot." The only "evidence" is some alleged phrases in letters between Father Berrigan and Sister McAlister, obtained no one knows how.

The government is attempting to make up for this paucity of evidence with a new indictment of "conspiracy" so useful for frameups and political persecutions without proof.

The Harrisburg trial must be seen in the context of capitalism's growing determination to stamp out any sort of opposition to its barbarous policies.



# Vote No On ILA Contract

BY DAN FRIED

The leaders of the ILA are doing everything they can to keep the terms of the proposed contract for the port of New York a secret from the rank and file. Ever since the New York checkers voted down PDO, Gleason has been running scared, even though he arrogantly refused to halt PDO or renegotiate the contract. He and Scotto hope for the smallest possible turnout for the vote.

They are using every means possible to push through the agreement, including threats and physical violence against supporters of the ILA Committee for a Decent Contract which has issued a leaflet to mobilize the biggest possible 'No' vote. The leaflet points out that Gleason's acceptance of the proposals for "policing" the GAI are in line with the employers' aim of pushing 80% of the men off the docks permanently during the course of the contract.

## Illinois U. Tuition Up

BY DEBRA WATSON

CHICAGO—Following the lead of University administrators throughout the country, the University of Illinois Board of Trustees has elected to solve their financial problems with attacks on students and workers.

Part of the plan is a 25% hike in tuition. What this means to the large number of working class and middle class youth at Circle is crucial. Last year the university system lost 7,000 anticipated students.

Lack of summer jobs, high tuition and costs, and fewer scholarships were the major reasons given by those who left the University or decided not to enroll as freshmen. Forty percent of the upperclassmen were unable to return to school at all and were forced onto an already declining job market.

Also carefully worded as "reduction of overhead costs" are vicious plans for freezing salaries of all professors except for merit increases and limiting all nonacademic raises to 5.5%.

Seniority will be destroyed altogether, so that the choice of jobs that existed before will be gone.

Older men will be deliberately provoked into refusing to take jobs that they have not had to do for years, and be debited, double-debited, and so on, for refusal.

The seven job categories will be, (and are already being) ignored, and they plan to have only three categories.

Men will be told to work in any part of the port at any job, or forfeit the GAI.

Men who get sick will be considered "unavailable," and will be debited.

There is another method of "policing" the contract which is not as well known. Under the Jensen award, the shippers can insist that any position you worked at since 1963, you can be held to. This means that even many checkers can be put to work under the new contract as longshoremen and debited out of existence for refusal.

In addition, a leaflet issued by some rank and file ILA men in Manhattan points out that the agreement will knock out travel time payments even though men can spend up to 3 hours travelling to jobs in the port; all men in the port can be debited even if only 100 jobs are offered for that day; the pier list can be overloaded so that no man now working will be able to make any overtime.

Not only is the contract an attack aimed at destroying the Guaranteed Annual Income while the shippers continue to make millions of dollars, even on the question of wages and pensions it is a sellout: 70 cents the first year, 40 cents each of the next two and retirement on only \$300 per month after 30 years, if you are 50 years old. On every single question this is a bosses' contract.

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Bulletin salesmen at Baltimore docks. Ranks are angry and don't like how ILA leadership is making deals with shippers.

## Taxi Owners Seek Bill To Destroy Local 3036

BY A 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—City Council hearings continued this week concerning the bill which virtually legalizes the entire gypsy cab industry. Under the proposed bill which has the full backing of the Taxi Commission, fixed cab stations can be set up anywhere in the city.

While gypsies may not cruise the streets for fares, the bill places no limit on the number of fixed hack stands or private limousines which may exist in the city. In effect, anyone with a car and the fee can set up a station and become a limousine service.

A further provision of the bill allows fleet owners to sell their medallions singly. Up to now, city law has prohibited a fleet owner from selling less than two medallions at a time. This was done to maintain the size of the fleets, and ultimately drive up the value of the medallions.

With this bill, owner drivers will almost certainly lose their \$25,000 investment as the value of the medallion falls, the fleets face extinction as cab medallions become singly available for a song, and the so-called limousine service will grow unchecked all over the city.

By pitting owner-drivers, gypsies, and fleet drivers against each other, the City Council and

Taxi Commission hope to ram this bill through in the name of "service" and the "public good." But what is really posed is the wholesale destruction of Local 3036.

The fleet owners have stepped up their attacks, hiring hundreds of new drivers at 42% while pushing productivity schemes in the garages. Last week a shop chairman was fired from Circle Garage in Brooklyn. Local 3036 has now been working a year without a contract.

Only union control of the entire taxi, limousine, and gypsy industry can resolve the crisis. The Taxi Commission must be abolished immediately. All owner-drivers and the 8000 or so gypsy drivers now operating must be organized into Local 3036 at once.

In the face of increasing attacks on the drivers, the ranks must demand that Van Arsdale convene the entire Advisory Council to prepare a city-wide shutdown.

## Canada Air Controllers Forced Into Arbitration

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

MONTREAL—After an 11-day nationwide strike the 1650 member Canadian Air Traffic Control Union is back at work. The strike which closed down all air services in Canada originated as a result of the government's final offer of a measly 15.5% wage increase over a 27 month period.

This was an open insult and intimidation to the CATC as they were demanding a 60% wage increase which would give them parity with American air controllers. The Controllers also demanded a reduction of their 36 hour work week to 30 hours to lessen the amount of strain they must face in their already overburdened work week.

Now these workers must await the binding arbitration decision to be passed down within a month. This agreement of a 17% wage increase over a 27 month period and a 34½ hour work week came only days after the ranks voted overwhelmingly to reject these conditions. The 17% wage increase will not even cover the rise in the cost of living.

The whole role of the union bureaucracy has become quite clear as they rammed through this sellout contract. All through the strike they resisted the tremendous rank and file militancy and willingness to fight.

It is the growing movement throughout the working class against the Trudeau government that these bureaucrats fear.

## 21% Of Teamsters Reject Offer

BY GARY RAWLS

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 30—Teamsters Local 1145 in the Honeywell plants here held a mass meeting today to vote on a new contract. The union leadership did its best to make the 5.5% wage offer sound acceptable.

Seventy-nine percent of the 7,000 members of the local cast begrudging affirmative votes and a 21% minority voted to turn it down despite the lack of leader-

## Ferre Cops Arrest P.R. Strikers

BY LUCIA RIVERA

PUERTO RICO—The strike of telephone workers here has entered its third week without any settlement near.

The week before the strike broke out, the company locked out more than 200 workers. The operators started a sit-in that lasted more than 10 hours. The occupation ended when the company said that it was misunderstanding. On January 19th the workers started the strike after being without a contract for more than six months. On the 17th the negotiations were suspended when the union raised their demand for a 30% wage increase.

The next morning the union and the company were supposed to meet with the Labor Board to discuss the "impasse" in the negotiations. The ranks walked out before hearing any decision from the Labor Board. Immediately the strike spread throughout all the island.

Violence broke out when the police tried to open a path to the scabs. There has not been any delivery allowed during the length of the strike.

At the same time that the police have arrested more than a dozen strikers, the commercial press has viciously attacked the strikers for the violence that has erupted and the acts of "sabotage."

Last week the telephone company appealed to the National Labor Relations Board (USA). The Board declared the strike illegal and issued an injunction against the strike.

The president of the senate of Puerto Rico, Hernandez Colon, has proposed a law that would make it possible for the government to take possession of the telephone company. He also has called for using the antistrike law to break the union.

By this move the government is showing how impartial it is in the class struggle. It is not only Governor Ferre but the most liberal politicians like Hernandez Colon.


The telephone workers must demand support from Movimiento Obrero Unido and the labor movement as a whole to demonstrate in support of the telephone workers and make the company accept the union's demands.



Rank and file strikers picket Baltimore Symphony Orchestra.

EDITOR: Lucy St. John  
Labor Editor: Dan Fried Art Director: Jeannie Cooper  
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**SPECIAL REPORT FROM**  
**Lordstown**  
**Akron**  
**Dayton**

Dan Fried  
 Dave Nichols



# Civil War Explodes At Lordstown Plant

LORDSTOWN, Ohio—What UAW Local 1112 describes as a reign of terror by the General Motors Company against the Chevrolet workers at the world's most modern and highly automated auto plant here has reached the boiling point.

"Call it what you want, it's a civil war," is the way the escalation of the speedup and disciplinary action by the company over the last three months was described by one of the workers we spoke to.

In comparison to most of the workers at the plant, who are in their early 20s, he was "older," in his mid-thirties.

"I used to be a foreman, but I got sick and tired of the company being two-faced. The foremen are caught in the middle. They're constantly being threatened that if they don't get on the backs of the men enough they're out. I've seen foremen kick in a bathroom

door to get a guy back on the line. I've seen guys go to the bathroom on the floor and get D.L.O.'d (disciplinary layoff) because they couldn't go to the bathroom. "They don't care what's coming off the line, just as long as they can sell it. I'm a repair man now, so I know. We want to make a decent product, but they only want to make profits. The thirty hour week at 40 hours' pay, that would be great," he told us.

The attempt since October to up the speed of the assembly line which produces the Vega car and Chevrolet trucks toward the figure of 101 cars per hour (as

compared with an average of 55 at other GM plants) has run right up against the resistance of the young workers who refuse to go along.

They have laid off hundreds of workers while increasing production speed and demanding that a job which used to take 40 seconds now be done in 30. The workers refuse to be intimidated by the threat of unemployment which is high in the area. They simply say "no" to this kind of brutal speedup.

The company calls this "sabotage" and has put over 900 men on D.L.O.'s in the last three months and has continually closed shifts down sending the men home without pay. They are supposedly guaranteed 80% of this pay if sent home early, under the last contract. The company is doing this in order to try to starve the men into submission.

Two weeks ago the second shift put in only 14 hours and the day shift 15. Last week a new tactic was tried. Up until Thursday when they were sent home two hours early the day shift on the Vega line worked three full days, while the second shift was being sent home after two or three

(Continued On Page 12)



Young workers are taking the lead in fighting against GM's productivity demands at the Lordstown, Ohio Assembly plant (above left). Bulletin Labor Editor Dan Fried discussed the speedup attacks with these workers and talked with a local committeeman.

# Goodrich Plan Shakes Akron

AKRON—Workers here in the "rubber capital" of the world face a concerted drive begun by the B.F. Goodrich Company to squeeze out more profits by increasing productivity. This plan which is now also being put forward by Firestone is designed to "make Akron competitive."

This has involved a massive campaign by the companies, the press, and the municipal government to get Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers Union to agree to negotiations over Goodrich's demand for 160 changes in work rules. If the company is able to get these changes through it will not only mean more speedup, as the President of Local 5

George Cunningham admits, but will mean an even greater loss of jobs.

To accept this plan by agreeing to these negotiations under the threat that Goodrich might leave the City, is to open up the road for the complete destruction of conditions and wage slashing.

Cunningham told the Bulletin that the union had agreed to a "news blackout" on the negotiations. He strongly denied that entering into negotiations means that the union will give up anything.

But the companies and Akron's Mayor Ballard do not agree. "I salute the members of Local 5," said Ballard after the recent vote to enter into negotiations. "I think they showed solid judgment...the difficult part lies ahead."

The difficult times that Ballard, Cunningham and Goodrich all are worried about will come when the workers realize that these "harmless" negotiations are simply the prelude to an attempt by the leadership to allow these work rule changes.

This is the same danger facing the workers in the Dayton Frigidaire plant where the leadership "innocently" entered into negotiations and then agreed to a wage freeze and a 25 cent an hour reduction in pay for rehired workers.

Most of the men are dead set against making any concessions. As one worker put it, "You don't think we're going to stand out here and strike year after year

(Continued On Page 12)



Labor Editor Dan Fried interviews young worker at B.F. Goodrich rubber plant in Akron which is demanding speedup.

# Frigidaire Worker Exposes Wage-Cut

DAYTON—The recent agreement by the local leadership of IUE Local 801 and the International leadership to eliminate the scheduled wage increases, and to slash wages of new workers at the GM Frigidaire appliance division here represents the most serious attack on the working class since Nixon initiated the wage freeze on August 15.

In the following interview Bulletin reporter Dan Fried discussed this situation with a Local 801 Committeeman at the plant who opposed the agreement.

**Bulletin:** When was your last contract?

**Committeeman:** 1970. We ratified it and they weren't supposed to change anything in it. It was a three year contract. After one year they asked for the changes. The new agreement divides the plant into automotive and appliance divisions. The appliance workers gave up the productivity and cost of living wage increases for the whole contract and extended it. This amounts to 27 cents at this time.

The workers they agreed to re-hire get a quarter an hour less than the others.

I'm in automotive. Now, the young people there have to go to the appliance end. The older ones from the appliance division are bumping them out of automotive. This means a tremendous cut for these guys not just 25 cents an hour less but it means Saturdays and Sundays and overtime are cut.

At our first special meeting our leadership said "in no way" could they accept the changes which the company wanted to push down on us. The company wanted to drive us back to the level of Westinghouse and G.E.

to make us "more competitive."

But at the last meeting a lot of people didn't know there was going to be a vote. Many were working. They brought it to a vote without giving them time to analyze it. There were two thousand less people than at the first meeting.

Since the meeting they've recalled 1500 men and expect to recall more at 25 cents an hour less who are working side by side with guys who didn't get laid off and are working at the old rates. That's one thing I could never understand—how a union leader could side with something like that. It's beyond me. They said, "do you want to save 5,000 jobs? If you don't take this. The company will probably move out."

At the next regular membership meeting of the local, they read the minutes of the special meeting and we rejected those

minutes. It was overwhelming. But they claimed they had already signed the agreement, and the International had also signed.

The members were down on Thompson (Local 801 president) and the leadership, and they were screaming and hollering but the leadership told them they didn't give a damn what they thought of them, and that was it.

The majority's against the agreement right now. If they had an election in the local right now, Thompson and the whole slate would be wiped out. Thompson was against this at the first special meeting at the University of Dayton. Between the first and the second meeting, we had our elections and Thompson was elected over Schump, the old president. He won on the basis of being a militant. After he

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# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Ulster Massacre-- Warning To U.S. Labor

On March 21, 1961, 66 men, women and children were shot down in cold blood in the African town of Sharpeville. The submachine guns and rifles were supplied by British imperialism. On January 30, 1972, British paratroopers opened fire on innocent working people in Londonderry, North Ireland, murdering 16.

We have continually warned that the brutal wars of oppression being carried out against the workers and peasants by imperialism in the colonial countries would be brought home to the workers in the advanced countries.

This is the meaning of Nixon's August 15th measures. The capitalist class will stop at nothing to preserve its profits in this period of crisis. In order to smash the resistance of the working class they will employ the methods of Sharpeville and My Lai, not only in Londonderry but in London, New York, and Detroit. This is the lesson of Attica and Londonderry.

The Tories now face the refusal of the thousands of Irish workers to accept poverty, unemployment and starvation. The Tories now face the strike of thousands of miners in England for a decent standard of life.

A conscious decision was made to use the murder on Sunday to provoke the workers in North Ireland, to use the outrage, fright and revulsion to gun the workers into submission so a dictatorship can be established.

The Stalinists and revisionists must take responsibility for what happened on Sunday. They welcomed the troops when they were first sent into North Ireland. They have sought to disarm the Irish workers at each point saying the fight is a question of civil rights, of fighting for reforms within capitalism by pressuring imperialism. They have fought against the unity of the Protestant and Catholic workers with the British workers in a struggle to bring down the Tory government.

Only days before the massacre the Socialist Workers Party printed uncritically an interview with a civil rights leader in North Ireland presently touring the U.S. The article entitled, "The Fight for Civil Rights in Ireland," contended that the fight in Northern Ireland was for civil rights through non-violent protest like the civil rights movement in the U.S. in the 1960s. In this way the government could be pressured into granting reform.

At the YSA convention in December a member of the IRA was applauded when he called not for the withdrawal of troops from North Ireland but for their withdrawal to the barracks in Ulster.

In 1964 when Kennedy was assassinated we pointed out that this marked the end of the peaceful class relations of the boom. We said that we were now entering a period when absolutely no rights were inviolate, in which the capitalists would move towards dictatorship to crush the working class.

The SWP saw it differently. They appealed for an atmosphere of "sanity" and sent their condolences to Jackie Kennedy.

Will the SWP now appeal to the Tories for "sanity"?

The real nature of the capitalist state has been revealed. It is not "democracy" but a body of armed men.

Unless the fight is taken up by the working class for power, it will be bullets, gas, concentration camps and mass murder.



## What we think

### Racist Witchhunt Over Cop Deaths

A vicious witchhunt and "shoot to kill" atmosphere is being whipped up by the government and the capitalist press over the death of two cops last week in the East Village of New York City. There is one purpose, and one purpose only in the page after page, hour after hour eulogies and that is to glorify the state's body of armed men.

The crocodile tears which are being shed by the capitalist press are being used to whip up a racist hysteria and hostility to militants in order to justify the repressive measures of the state against the movement of the working class.

There is not a shred of evidence that "Black militants" are responsible for the deaths. In fact the first statement of the Chief of Detectives was precisely that.

But obviously the capitalist class and its press agents in the meantime have found a useful purpose in contending otherwise and are now dishing up a daily diet of lies in preparation for a frame-up.

Two days after the killing the police suddenly discover a note they claim they received from the so-called "George Jackson Squad of the Black Liberation Army." The police say they are "impressed" that the group knew about two other unpublicized attacks on police. But who else would know about these incidents? The police!

The reactionary Daily News attacks those "who show disrespect for the police" and says the "lawlessness" must be stamped out. The New York Times heads its editorial "Mad Killers of the Law" against those who "depict policemen as political oppressors."

The Daily News says that it is "radicals" and "militants" who "preach the glories of violence." On the same page the editors of this sheet gleefully applaud the coldblooded murder of the skyjacker who was shot by an FBI agent while he was sitting unarmed in a car.

The New York Times viciously attacks Bernadette Devlin for daring to strike the man who consciously planned and executed the mass murder in North Ireland.

It is the violence of the oppressor, of capitalism, that these spokesmen of capitalism condone whether it is in Vietnam, North Ireland, Attica or Baton Rouge.

Needless to say the editorials of these papers are silent about the plot to assassinate Cesar Chavez, head of the farmworkers union. \$25,000 was put up by the big growers of Southern California to kill Chavez. This has been revealed by the undercover agent of the Internal Revenue Service which after finding out about this dropped their investigation.

It is no accident that at the same time the Daily News screams for the

blood of militants that it campaigns for the "Right to Work Laws" against the unions and for unemployment benefits to be taken away from the CWA strikers.

These are class questions. It is the wage freezing, unemployment, poverty, strike breaking that these papers defend. It is the body of armed men who are paid to maintain these conditions and to attack all those who fight against it that they defend.

It is no accident that the press is carrying out this carefully programmed campaign against Black militants precisely at the time that Angela Davis goes to trial seeking to link the death of the East Village cops to George Jackson.

Sections of the police and right wing elements are now using the East Village incident for fascist purposes. This is why they now attack liberals like Lindsay who is beside himself with grief over the cops.

Just as in Forest Hills these forces are now seeking to create a racist hysteria as an excuse for attacks on minorities and to divide the working class.

The witchhunt of the press and the plot against Chavez are a sharp warning to the working class. North Ireland is not far away. In the U.S. the capitalists seek to divide the working class with racism just as they use religion in North Ireland. At the same time they seek to provoke the working class with terror so it can prepare the way for dictatorship.

The revisionists deny the meaning of the events in North Ireland, that we have entered a period of civil war. The crisis that capitalism now faces forces it to seek the very destruction of the working class to preserve its profits. These forces want to remain in the boom, perpetrating the illusion that capitalism has overcome its crisis, that there can be peace and compromise.

The Spartacist League, basing itself on all the complacency in the middle class that fattened itself during the boom, attacks the Workers League in the February issue of Workers Vanguard for its "assertion that the Attica uprising means 'the revolution has begun'" and our call for a general strike. For the Spartacists the mass murder at Attica and the real movement for a general strike "all represent typical idealist projections of one's own desires into reality."

But it is in fact the middle class commentators in Spartacist that deny "reality." They only reflect their complete agreement with the Socialist Workers Party that there is no crisis, that the "crisis exists in the heads of the members of the Workers League."

Spartacist only echoes the SWP's attacks on the Workers League



Police funeral

during the police strike last year when it attacked us for saying we were entering a period of civil war and laughed at the idea of a general strike and the dangers of fascism.

The SWP begins with the permanence of capitalism and with its ability to grant reforms. In a period when the working class internationally is fighting for its very survival, when capitalism has made it clear in Attica and North Ireland that there cannot be any compromise, any reform, they try to limit the struggle for democratic rights and reforms. They seek alliances with the liberals and prevent the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism. The SWP's perspective is the program of liberalism, of "pressuring" the government for some crumbs.

More and more that so-called democratic state of capitalism is revealed for what it really is—a body of armed men. This is why they are now being eulogized and glorified.

This is what makes so reactionary and dangerous the program of the Stalinists and revisionists who say that the working class can settle the score with capitalism through reform. Can there be any doubt that if this class is now preparing to send Angela Davis to the gas chamber, as it plots to murder union leaders what it has in store for the working class as a whole. In North Ireland innocent working people are shot down because they refuse to accept unemployment and poverty.

Contrary to what the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party contend the only "right" that capitalism recognizes is its right to exploit and oppress and its right to use the state to do this.

We will not allow for one minute the capitalist press to get away with its lies nor will we stand back while forces within the working class movement sow illusions in this system. But we will through this paper prepare the working class and the youth for the battle ahead.



THE REVISIONIST THEORY of "new radicalization" goes hand in hand with the desertion of the revolutionary program. The new radicalization means a new reformism, a perspective of reforming capitalism along the lines proposed by the middle class protest movement.

The Socialist Workers Party uncritically embraces this movement. It adopts its demands as its own. In the words of SWP National Organization Secretary Jack Barnes, his party "reflects this radicalization."

Barnes is correct. That is the role of the revisionists today. They passively reflect the crisis of the middle class.

The job of Marxists is not simply to reflect reality but to change it. All the talk of the revisionists of "identifying with" and "reflecting" current developments is another way of ex-

beginning pragmatically. It means beginning with one-sided impressions, with the immediate surface appearance and immediate tasks.

This was precisely the road taken, first by Pablo and Mandel in the European Trotskyist movement, and later by the SWP leadership. As discussed in the first part of this article, Pablo completely negated Marxist strategy with his conceptions of a "new world reality" in the post-World War II period. He broke completely from any understanding of past struggles, using the "new reality" as justification for discarding these lessons and the program of Marxism. This is the way in which impressionism was used to adapt to the powerful Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, and sabotage the fight to construct revolutionary parties. Revisionism within the Fourth International based upon this pragmatic method, came to be known as Pabloism.

When the SWP broke from Pabloite revisionism in 1953, it issued an "Open Letter" to the world Trotskyist movement. In this document it restated the fundamental principles of Trotskyism: The death agony of capitalism poses before the working class and all of humanity the alternatives of socialism or fascism. The

This is based upon the theory of neo-capitalism developed by Ernest Mandel, and in turn upon the method of pragmatism.

Breitman has been a leading member of the SWP for many years. During all this time he has remained a pragmatist. He has never taken up the fight for Marxist theory.

It was Breitman who in 1956 defended most strongly the pragmatic slogan of calling upon the Federal government to send troops to the South to protect the rights of Black workers and school children. He defended calling upon the capitalist state to enforce democratic rights on the basis that it would be exposed after it sided with the white supremacists. Thus this slogan turned the Blacks toward reliance upon the capitalist state instead of exposing its class nature at a time when this could have been explained to millions.

It was Breitman who refused to see the break with Pablo and Mandel in 1953 as sharp and definitive until he was called to order within the SWP.

When the SWP took a principled stand against revisionism Breitman dragged his feet. It was only fitting that he would begin to play a more and more prominent role in the party along with the resurgence of pragmatism and the headlong movement

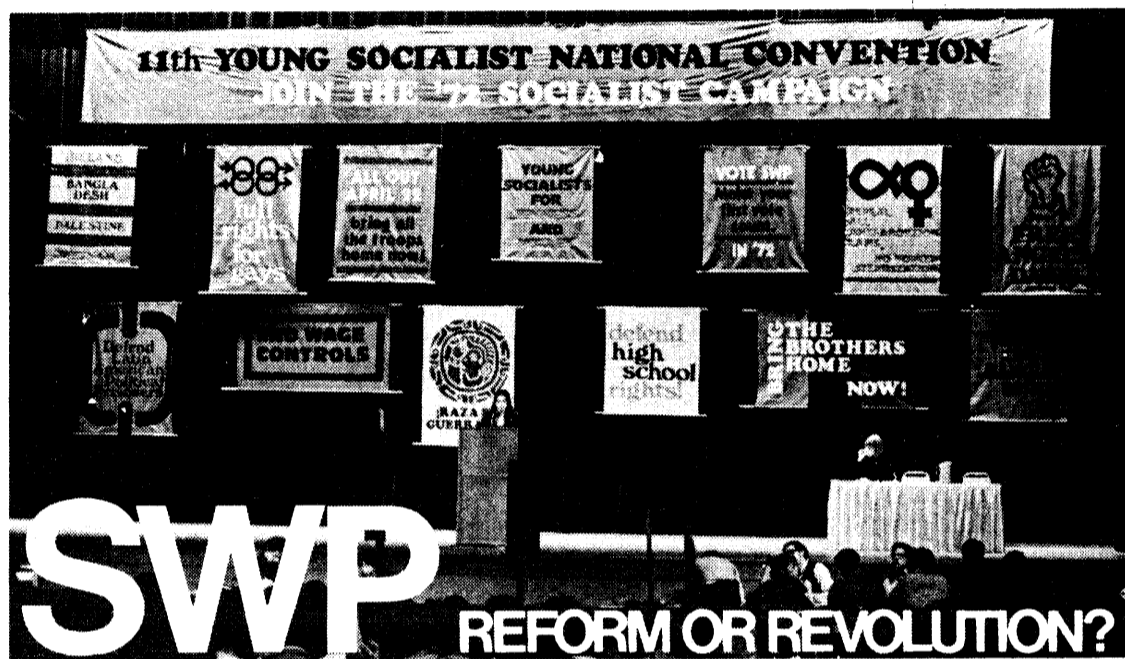
underneath the surface of the relative prosperity and political quiescence, a gradualist approach was adopted. The pragmatist looks for small developments as a way of easing his isolation. Only the small changes are seen, not the qualitative leaps being prepared. What takes over is an adaptation to the surface changes, and an opportunistic search for allies, for shortcuts to growth and success. This is the path leading to programs other than Marxism and classes other than the working class, with which to lead a revolution.

In his article "Marxism and Revisionism," Lenin summed up this method as clearly as it has ever been stated:

"...To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism."

#### FIGHTING FOR REFORMS

One of Breitman's major contributions to the effort to justify reformism today was



## 2 New Radicalization As Structural Reform

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BY FRED MUELLER

pressing their total break from Marxism on the most fundamental philosophical level. It is the open expression of the empirical method, absolutely hostile to dialectics. They begin with the surface and seek only to reflect it, trying in a pragmatic way to gain some immediate advantage. They avoid probing beneath the surface for the underlying essential movement, for the conflict of opposing class tendencies. They fear and seek to avoid the class struggle on the theoretical and philosophical front just as they do on the political plane.

Where does the pragmatic and empirical method of the revisionists, the method of reflecting developments, come from? We must probe these questions to their roots, in the history of the revisionists themselves, in the history of the working class movement and the fight for Marxism.

The importance of this cannot be overemphasized. Pragmatism is the dominant philosophy of the American bourgeoisie. Neither the SWP nor any other organization could avoid being influenced by this philosophy to the extent it refused to take up a consistent struggle against it. Without a conscious struggle for Marxism, for dialectical materialism, empiricism and pragmatism inevitably dominate within the revolutionary movement just as they dominate the thinking of the working class as a whole.

Marxists must begin from an analysis of the world economy and the world class struggle. The fight for dialectical materialism encompasses this analysis. It requires the bringing of this analysis of theory into practice, into the daily work of the revolutionary party and all the struggles of the working class.

The fight against pragmatism is intimately related to the question of internationalism. Capitalism is international, the class struggle is completely interconnected on a world scale, the tasks facing the working class are international tasks. Beginning in any way from narrow national considerations instead of from international questions and principles means

socialist revolution, the only road forward for humanity, could be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class. This required the resolution of the crisis of leadership within the working class, with the construction of mass Leninist parties. It required a battle to the end to destroy Stalinism, which functioned as the main agency of imperialism within the workers' movement.

It was these principles which were opposed by Pablo and his conception of a new world reality. What had happened in the postwar period? The crisis of leadership of the proletariat had not been resolved and capitalism had secured a new lease on life. Far from lessening the importance of the Trotskyist program, these developments made it absolutely essential that all the lessons of Stalinism be understood so that they could be taken into future struggles. All these lessons of history were under attack, and the revisionists joined it.

Prostrating themselves before the power of imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy, they saw socialism coming via "centuries of deformed workers' states" and "self-reform" of the bureaucracy. They liquidated the struggle for the revolutionary party.

The SWP fought against those who said, "Junk the old Trotskyism." It broke from those within the American party who, in agreement with Pablo, raised this openly revisionist slogan. As we have shown, however, without a continuous fight for theory, without a fight to understand the philosophical roots of revisionism and to deepen the fight against it after the split in 1953, the SWP leadership wound up back with those same forces. In 1963 it completed the reunification with the Pabloites. In its own fashion, it began to put forward the slogan, "Junk the old Trotskyism." Although they deny it, that is exactly what their program and perspectives mean today.

The main architect of the SWP's turn towards reformism is George Breitman.

toward revisionism.

Amongst the revisionists today Breitman comes into his own. As one of the long-time leaders of the party he plays a particularly important role in consolidating its break from Marxism, in providing the theoretical justification for its reformist positions and its complete hostility to Marxism.

Breitman was the leading exponent of the turn toward Black nationalism inside the SWP. As we shall see this was to play a key role in the abandonment of the Marxist program.

In his pamphlet "How a Minority Can Change Society," Breitman went to great lengths to show how a divided working class could make a revolution. He clearly began with liberal conceptions. The movements of minority sections of the working class and the middle class were seen as changing society by shaking up the existing order. Students and Blacks organized separately would set the stage for the overthrow of capitalism by fighting for their own militant reform demands. The Democratic Party was seen breaking up under the impact of these struggles, not the movement of the working class.

This is exactly the same outlook as held by the middle class liberals and radicals. To these elements the working class is a closed book. They can only think in conservative and gradualist terms. They think in terms of pressuring the Democratic Party, not destroying it with the action of the working class. Breitman shares this reformist outlook, and he comes close to openly advocating the winning over of a wing of the Democratic Party.

This outlook is based upon the boom, upon a period of isolation for the revolutionary movement. Without a conscious fight, all the pessimism and conservatism was reinforced and came to completely dominate the thinking of the SWP.

This was an outlook based upon deep fear and conservatism. Instead of fighting to understand the development of class forces

his article, "Revolutionaries and the Fight for Reforms," printed in the *Militant* in 1969 and later as part of a pamphlet entitled "Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today."

Breitman gives it all away in this article, exposing quite clearly the open reformism of the SWP. He writes an entire article on program and the relationship between reform and revolution without once mentioning the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International.

In 1946 the SWP had said the following about this program:

"This program has guided the activities of all the sections of the Fourth International throughout the harsh war years; and in the renewed upsurge of workers' struggles since the end of the war it has been strikingly verified in life."

In 1953, in the Open Letter referred to above, the SWP had written that the Transitional Program "remains the keystone of today's program of the world Trotskyist movement."

Yet in 1969 Breitman saw no need to mention it in an article in which he was discussing precisely the question to which the Transitional Program addresses itself. Breitman argues as follows:

"The essence of Marxist strategy, of any revolutionary strategy in our time, is to combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution...revolutionary Marxists cannot be opposed to the struggle for reforms. What we oppose is reformism (original emphasis)."

"Reformism is the tendency which holds that the basic problems of society can be solved, or even that socialism can be achieved, by the gradual accumulation of reforms, one by one. That concept, not fighting for reforms, is what revolutionaries are and should be against..."

"Revolutionaries fight for reforms, but they never stop teaching the masses the truth about the inadequacies of reforms as long as the ruling class is not displaced from power, about the ease with which





SWP celebrates 25th anniversary at time of 1953 split with Mandel and Pablo.

reforms can be cancelled or withdrawn or made meaningless by ineffective or discriminatory enforcement as long as the ruling class remains in power, about the need to go beyond reforms and reconstruct the foundations of society on a planned and rational basis.”

Breitman proposes that the job is to fight for reforms “in a revolutionary way.”

The statement that Marxist strategy is not the only revolutionary strategy “in our time” is itself a very revealing one. It shows the deep skepticism of the revisionists on questions of theory. They approach these questions as agnostics, as dualists. They say that we cannot know reality, cannot proceed on the basis of theory. If Marxism is not the only revolutionary strategy, of what use is it at all? If there are other revolutionary strategies, why cannot we proceed with one or the other, or bits and pieces of them all? And what are the other revolutionary strategies?

It is slander to say that the “essence of Marxist strategy” is “to combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution.” Breitman shows what he really means on this when he writes:

“The U.S. is not now in a revolutionary situation. This is unfortunate, but true; and it is from this truth that revolutionaries must proceed in the development of strategy and tactics.”

This brings us back to the theory of neo-capitalism. Breitman wrote this nine months after the May-June events in France of 1968. Since then those struggles have been shown to be the opening gun in most explosive class struggles, as capitalism heads for its deepest crisis ever. Yet Breitman assumes stability. He proceeds with the impression that capitalism has superseded its imperialist stage, that its contradictions now take different and less sharp forms, above all not decisively involving the working class and the trade unions.

The actual title of the Transitional Program is “The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International.” This program is a guide in a revolutionary period. In the new crisis today it takes on its fullest and richest meaning. Yet Breitman underlines stability, just as it is breaking up most explosively. Now we can see what Breitman means by the “combination of revolution and reforms. Since we are “not now in a revolutionary situation,” we must fight for reforms today, and for revolution later. This is nothing but a rehash of the method of the revisionist Second International.

Breitman uses the excuse that a revolutionary situation is not upon us “today” to deny the revolutionary character of this period, to forget what Lenin called “the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system.” The central feature of the imperialist epoch is its sharp fluctuations and rapid political developments which pose before the working class the taking of power. The revolutionary movement has a small amount of time, a precious few years, in which to prepare for the most revolutionary events in all of human history. The role of the revisionists is to postpone the preparation, to sabotage the fight now to develop the understanding and the actual material forces without which

the entire working class will be defeated.

There is another aspect to this. For Breitman the difference between the revolutionaries and reformists is not program, but the way in which reforms are fought for. He goes out of his way to stress the broad level of agreement between the SWP and the reformists on demands. The difference, he informs us, is that the SWP warns about the “inadequacy,” it says more struggle will be needed later, and it says we must fight militantly today.

These conceptions cut the heart out of the fight for revolutionary leadership. If a militant fight for reforms is all that is needed, why build a revolutionary party? If the reformist and revolutionary programs overlap almost entirely, what is to prevent these two trends from working together for this common program?



SWP bookstore in Houston, Texas after attack by fascists in 1971.

That is precisely what the revisionists are up to. With these conceptions they defend new versions of the popular front in the fight against war and on every single other political question.

Marxism is in reality divided from reformism on everything. It is divided on philosophical method and for that very reason on program as well as how to develop program. Precisely because the revisionists begin with the same method as the liberals and reformists, they end up with a liberal and reformist program.

What is the relation between reform demands and the revolutionary struggle? For the revisionists this is only propaganda. They raise immediate demands which appear to be popular with one or another section of the population, they add some socialist propaganda and try to antagonize as few as possible.

Trotskyists proceed in an entirely opposite manner. The reform demands merge with the struggle for revolution through the Transitional Program, through demands which systematically expose the bankrupt-

ty of capitalism and prepare its overthrow.

This is how the Transitional Program itself explains it:

“The strategic task of the Fourth International lies not in reforming capitalism but in its overthrow. Its political aim is the conquest of power by the proletariat for the purpose of expropriating the bourgeoisie. However, the achievement of this strategic task is unthinkable without the most considered attention to all, even small and partial questions of tactics. All sections of the proletariat, all its layers, occupations and groups should be drawn into the revolutionary movement. The present epoch is distinguished not for the fact that it frees the revolutionary party from day-to-day work but because it permits this work to be carried on indissolubly with the actual tasks of the revolution.

“The Fourth International does not discard the program of the old ‘minimal’ demands to the degree to which these have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. Indefatigably, it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But it carries on this day-to-day work within the framework of the correct actual, that is, revolutionary perspective. Insofar as the old, partial, ‘minimal’ demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism—and this occurs at each step—the Fourth International advances a system of transitional demands, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime. The old ‘minimal program’ is superseded by the transitional program, the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for proletarian revolution.”

past can only be retained not by defensive struggles but by going over to the offensive, with the fight for political power and socialism.

That is the meaning of the demands in the Transitional Program for a sliding scale of wages and hours, for employment and decent living conditions for all, for the unconditional independence of the trade unions from the state, the establishment of factory committees, the expropriation of basic industry without compensation and under workers’ control, and the nationalization of the banks.

The capitalists cannot grant these demands. They must be linked, on the one hand, with every struggle, even the most minor, of the working class and the youth; and on the other, with the struggle for political power. In the present situation in the United States, the demand for an independent labor party to fight for state power in the interests of the working class is the cornerstone of the whole fight for the basic rights of the working class. In the course of this struggle the demands for workers’ defense guards, for workers’ councils and for a workers’ government will have to be raised.

Only the Transitional Program of the Fourth International shows the way forward in the fight against inflation, unemployment, wage freezing, government repression, unionbusting, racism and imperialist war.

But it is this program which the revisionists now consider irrelevant, or worse. It is precisely those “minimum” demands which must be organically connected to the Transitional Program and the fight for socialism, which the revisionists have no use for. These, they tell us, are “bread and butter” demands. At the same time they are fond of justifying their reformism by pointing out that the Bolsheviks won power in 1917 behind the “reform” demands of peace, bread and land.

The Bolsheviks won power because they had a revolutionary party which connected these demands (particularly the slogan “All Power to the Soviets”) to the fight for power. The demands for peace, bread and land were organically connected to this fight, just as the demands for wages and job security must be connected today to the struggle for socialism.

Thus the revisionists’ attempt to use Bolshevism only exposes them all the more. It is the struggle for revolution which they oppose. They are on the other side, they oppose Bolshevism. The reform demands in which they are interested in every case tie the working class politically to the bourgeoisie. Their demands, whether on Black nationalism, women’s liberation, the fight against the war in Vietnam, or the defense of democratic rights, are consciously separated from the transitional program, from a struggle against capitalism.

#### “THE TRANSITIONAL METHOD”

Although Breitman in the above-quoted article quite honestly dispenses altogether with the Transitional Program, the revisionists also on occasion claim to defend it. They claim to carry forward the “transitional method.” Actually they desert the method and the program in the guise of “improving” it.

Joseph Hansen defines the transitional method as follows in his report on the international situation to the 1971 SWP convention:

“The real solution to the problem of bridging the gap between the masses and our program of revolutionary socialism is to be found in the proper application of the transitional method taught us by Trotsky. The method is not complicated. It consists in approaching the masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through progressive struggles and explanations toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialist revolution.”

This model definition, not of Trotsky’s method, but of pragmatism, is also stated in the following passage from the 1969 SWP Convention Resolution, “The Revolutionary Struggle for a Socialist America.”

“The key is to find demands corresponding to the present level of political understanding of the masses and to their objective needs, demands that, in the

The Transitional Program speaks of “minimal demands” which have “preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness.” What is meant by this?

Wage demands, working conditions, and job security are part of the old “minimum program” which can and must be fought for in a revolutionary context today. It is the only way they can be achieved. They retain their “vital forcefulness” because they correspond to the basic needs of the working class and they cannot be met by decaying capitalism. Therefore they must be linked to a program which shows how they can be won.

That is what the Transitional Program does. It is along these lines that we must fight for and further develop this program today. The Transitional Program presents demands which mobilize the working class around the fight to defend and extend its basic rights won through decades of bloody struggle. It proceeds from past gains to future struggles. It shows the actual connection between past and future, between reforms and revolution. The gains of the



course of struggle, lead to a higher level of understanding, independent organization, mobilization and conflict with capitalist prerogatives and that thus tend to break through the framework of capitalism." "

The difference between our method and that of the revisionists can be shown very clearly by reference to discussions held by Trotsky with members of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938, on the Transitional Program. These discussions took place in May and June, just a few months before the Program was adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

What dominated these discussions with Trotsky was the question of how to begin, of where the Transitional Program begins, of its method. In particular the question raised by both Hansen and the Convention Resolution quoted above, on the relation of the program to the consciousness of the masses, is clarified in these discussions. Trotsky said the following on this question:

"Some comrades say that this program draft in some parts is not sufficiently adequate to the state of mentality, the mood of the American workers. Here we must ask ourselves if the program should be adapted to the mentality of the workers or to the present objective economic and social conditions of the country. That is the most important question.

"...The objective situation of the country is in every respect and even more than in Europe ripe for Socialist Revolution and Socialism, more ripe than any other country in the world. The political backwardness of the American working class is very great. This signifies that the danger of a fascist catastrophe is very great. This is the point of departure for all our activity. The program must express the objective tasks of the working class rather than the backwardness of the workers. It must reflect society as it is and not the backwardness of the working class. It is an

we say that our program is adapted to the fundamental stable elements of the objective situation and the task is to adapt the mentality of the masses to these objective factors. To adapt the mentality is a pedagogical task. We must be patient, etc. The crisis of society is given as the base of our activity. The mentality is the political arena of our activity. We must change it. We must give a scientific explanation of society, and clearly explain it to the masses. That is the difference between Marxism and reformism.

"The reformists have a good smell for what the audience wants—as Norman Thomas—he gives them that. But that is not serious revolutionary activity. We must have the courage to be unpopular, to say 'you are fools,' 'you are stupid,' 'they betray you,' and every once in a while with a scandal launch our ideas with passion." "

There are several things here which must be emphasized. Over and over again, Trotsky poses the question as one of beginning from the mentality of the workers or the objective conditions, not as one of beginning from both the consciousness and the objective needs, as the revisionists pose it.

Trotsky insists that we must begin from the objective conditions. The revisionists are fond of saying that the backwardness of the workers is the key objective factor. Trotsky's words, which they have printed and then fought, should be branded on their foreheads. The question is what can be changed. We begin from what is "stable," what exists independent of our consciousness. That is materialism. We proceed to fight to change that which can be changed—the consciousness of the working class. That is the dialectic, the conflict between theory and practice, between objective reality and human consciousness, resolved through the conscious

is exactly the opposite.

This is what separates Marxism fundamentally from revisionism as well as reformism. The Marxist movement takes the program, the lessons of all the struggles of the working class, into today's struggles. This means a conflict within the working class. The party confronts the contradiction between the needs of the working class for revolutionary theory and program, and existing consciousness, which can only be bourgeois consciousness. Program is developed out of this conflict and only in this way.

But this is just where the revisionists stop. When they confront contradictions between the Marxist program and immediate events, they discard the program. For them only what they see and touch, in true empirical fashion, is real. For the revisionists the contradiction between theory and practice is resolved not through the conscious practice of the revolutionary party, but through the desertion of the revolutionary program and adaptation to existing consciousness. This is the way in which the denial of the dialectic, the denial of conflict, leads straight to opportunism and reformism, to reconciliation with the capitalist system.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The retreat by the SWP from the Marxist program was clearly expressed as early as 1956, at the very same time as the party was retreating from the struggle against revisionism.

After 1953, the discussion was cut off. The SWP leadership proceeded with the conception that it could finish with revisionism by simply avoiding it. This, of course, was not to be the case.

By 1957 the SWP began cutting corners on the principled struggle against Stalinism,

There was a considerable amount of opposition to this slogan within the SWP, however, showing that it represented a break from the past policies of the SWP in opposition to reformism. The slogan was temporarily withdrawn in 1956 but then reaffirmed and included in the 1957 Convention Resolution on the civil rights struggle.

At the 1957 Convention this slogan was opposed on the following grounds:

"...You have to take responsibility for what happens if your slogans are carried out...it is wrong for us to call upon the government to send them there under any circumstances, because we will bear responsibility for their being sent there..."

"The demand to send Federal troops to the South is a means by which the Negro middle class attempted to transfer their responsibility for action to the government and find a solution to this question outside the realm of mass action...If we ask for Federal troops to be sent to the South on behalf of the Negro struggle there is no reason why we must not then ask that they be sent to any strike struggle where it seems advisable. And we know what the consequences are. We have never done it. We have condemned everybody that monk-eyed around with such a proposition." "

The troops slogan was later to be used under even more dangerous circumstances. In 1964 the SWP raised as part of its election platform the demand for withdrawing the troops from Vietnam and sending them to Mississippi.

By 1963 the SWP had gone all the way towards reunification with the Pabloites and its break from Marxism was expressed in the crudest and most nauseating form at the time of the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

The Militant of December 2, 1963 quoted the full text of the statement issued immediately after the assassination by SWP National Secretary Farrell Dobbs:

"The Socialist Workers Party condemns the brutal assassination of President Kennedy as an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief.

"This act springs from the atmosphere created by the inflammatory agitation and deeds of the racists and ultra-conservative forces. Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans and can only strengthen the forces of reaction. Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard." "

The SWP leadership must never be allowed to forget or ignore this criminal and cowardly statement. Eight years later, it has never been repudiated or justified in any way. At the time of the assassination all the pressures of the capitalist state were brought to bear on every tendency and every section of the population. Moments such as these are great tests for all parties. The way the SWP leaders met the test was indeed revealing.

Every single elementary principle of Marxism was ditched in a desperate panic by men who showed at the first sign of danger and difficulties that they were no more than liberals.

At the same time the revisionists were attempting to use the Cuban Revolution and their uncritical backing of the Castro regime to accuse the International Committee of the Fourth International of capitulating to imperialist pressure because of its principled opposition to Castroism. But the Kennedy assassination showed very clearly who the capitulators really were.

Marxists oppose terrorism because it is no substitute for a revolutionary party. They oppose such acts because they fight to overthrow capitalism and deal with the enemy class and all its hated representatives with the power of the working class, not an isolated individual or handful.

This has absolutely nothing to do with sympathy for the ruling class or its families. We shed no tears for any imperialist leader. Yet the SWP sent condolences to the widow of the man who escalated the war in Vietnam, carried through the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba, and threatened nuclear annihilation at the time of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

When Dobbs wrote about "political differences within our society" he was openly expressing his solidarity with the bour-



Women's liberation meeting at which SWP liquidated fight for Trotskyism into support for middle class feminism.

instrument to overcome and vanquish that backwardness...

"...It is a fact that the American working class has a petty bourgeois spirit, lacks revolutionary solidarity, is used to a high standard of life, and the mentality of the American working class corresponds not to the realities of today but to memories of yesterday.

"...Our tasks don't depend on the mentality of the workers. The task is to develop the mentality of the worker..."

"...Everywhere I ask what should we do? Make our program fit the objective situation or the mentality of the workers? And I believe that this question must be put before every comrade who says that this program is not fit for the American situation. This program is a scientific program..." "

And in answer to a question, "Isn't the ideology of the workers a part of the objective factors?", Trotsky says:

"For us a small minority, this whole thing is objective, including the mood of the workers. But we must analyze and classify those elements of the objective situation which can be changed by our paper and those which cannot be changed. That is why

factor, the revolutionary party.

Trotsky speaks of "society as it is." Messrs. Revisionists, that means the objective economic and social conditions of the country, precisely what you ignore. It does not mean the moods of the working class or the middle class, or the latest demonstration or protest movement upon which you expound at length.

Note how often Trotsky repeats himself. This is a very conscious act. Note the statement about "every comrade who says that this program is not fit for the American situation." Trotsky was here engaged in fierce combat against American pragmatism, which was inevitably expressed in the SWP, including the leadership. The existence of this trend was an objective question, it could not be avoided. What was criminal was not that it existed, but that it was not struggled against by the leadership. And this same leadership succumbed completely to pragmatism within a generation.

There is in Trotsky's remarks not a trace of idealization of the workers. The revisionists use the backwardness of the workers to hide their own nakedness. They use it to avoid the struggle. For Trotsky it

in the interests of its so-called regroupment policy. In order to "get close to" some not-very-promising elements which had left the Stalinists after the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian Revolution, the whole meaning and history of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism were pushed into the background. The same conceptions put forward by Isaac Deutscher and championed by the Pabloites in the 1953 period, of the possibility of the self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy, now began to be put forward by the SWP itself.

At about the same time, in 1956-57, the troops slogan was also put forward. This was a time of great pressure for government intervention in the furor over Southern school desegregation. The SWP bent to this pressure of the middle classes and the liberal bourgeoisie. In advocating the sending of Federal troops to the South it sowed illusions in the capitalist state instead of fighting and exposing these illusions. It lacked, in Trotsky's words, "the courage to be unpopular." It discarded the Marxist theory of the state and the elementary programmatic principles which flowed from this theory.



geoisie. When he wrote of settling these differences "in an orderly manner," he was consciously lying to the working class, helping to cover the vicious policies of Kennedy himself.

The "differences" in capitalist society will be settled in a revolutionary manner, not an orderly one. This is the most elementary principle of Marxism. The task of the revolutionary party is to prepare to lead this struggle. The talk of order shows exactly what the real orientation of the revisionists is, despite all their talk of revolution and even of Marxism.

#### FASCISM AND DEMOCRACY

This reaction to the Kennedy assassination was not some isolated mistake. It has been repeated and extended in the form of the reformist policies of the SWP in all areas of work. And it is also expressed very sharply on the question of defense policy and the fight against the danger of fascism.

In 1939 Trotsky correctly warned:

"The political backwardness of the American working class is very great. This signifies that the danger of a fascist catastrophe is very great."

For Trotsky this warning contained not a trace of pessimism. He tried to explain to the SWP leadership that its tasks were urgent, that there was no room for complacency. The relative political backwardness of the working class in this country did not at all mean that revolutionists had an unlimited amount of time in which to prepare for the decisive battle; in fact it made the political and theoretical struggle more urgent.

In 1938 the SWP was instrumental in mobilizing thousands of workers in a demonstration against the fascists outside New York's Madison Square Garden. In 1945 it fought tirelessly to mobilize the labor movement against fascist Gerald L. K. Smith when he began a campaign in Los Angeles.

In the new political situation facing the working class today, as a result of the tremendous deepening of the crisis, fascist movements can and will begin to develop. Such movements can develop quite rapidly and receive important support from the capitalists as the crisis deepens. This is the significance not only of the Wallace movement, but also of Forest Hills and the development of groups such as the Jewish Defense League. All these developments lay the groundwork for the emergence of actual fascist movements of tremendous danger. And the basis for all of this is the deepening capitalist crisis, the inability of the capitalist system to cope with any of its fundamental contradictions.

Our job is not only to see how such movements will develop but also how they can be decisively defeated.

The revisionists sneer complacently at the threat of dictatorship and fascism, because they neither base themselves upon nor understand the movement of the working class to which it is a response.

Flowing from their complete complacency, their theory of neo-capitalism, is the conception that fascism is not a danger and only may become one in the distant future. For the present this means unity with the liberals in the defense of democratic rights, the exact opposite of the class policy taken up by them in 1938 and 1945.

There can be no defense against fascism on the basis of an alliance with one wing of the bourgeoisie. There can be no defense of the democratic rights of the working class on this basis. It is decaying capitalism which breeds these attacks. It is the capitalist class which has and will turn to the fascists as a last resort to try to prevent proletarian revolution. To propose any kind of defense policy on the basis of an alliance with liberalism is to dig one's own grave.

This was the lesson of Trotsky's fierce struggle against the Popular Front policies of the Stalinists in the 1930s. While the revisionists pay lip service to these struggles, they embrace class collaboration wholeheartedly on the issue of defense policy as on all others.

The revisionists defend the right of the fascists to free speech. The SWP recently invited the rabid anti-Communist Jewish Defense League to take the floor at a meeting which these forces had openly boasted they intended to disrupt. In 1970 the Young Socialist Alliance initiated and

defended a "united front" with the Goldwaterite Young Americans for Freedom against the attacks on the YSA by some fascists at the University of Illinois.

At the same time the SWP and YSA refused to join the Juan Farinas Defense Committee, which has conducted a defense campaign on behalf of this young Trotskyist who faces two years in jail for distributing a leaflet at an induction center. While defending Farinas' rights, they objected to the political nature of the defense, in other words, to its principled class basis. They objected to a statement of the Defense Committee which affirmed the necessity of linking the defense of Farinas to the "fight against the war and the entire racist and anti-working class policies of the Nixon-Agnew Administration." As opposed to our fight for the broadest possible struggle of the working class and its allies, the revisionists propose a non-class fight against repression. They actually build committees with liberals and even with reactionaries, but not with Trotskyists on a class basis.

Similarly, the revisionists' only criticism of the Angela Davis Defense Committee policy is that it is not broad enough, and not that it ignores the working class, not that it subordinates the defense of Davis to the liberals.

#### REFORM DEMANDS

The demands for Black control of the Black communities and for an independent Black political party, Black education and preferential hiring of Black workers, are all demands for the structural reform of capitalism. They are demands which openly and totally accept the continuation of racism and capitalist exploitation, and pit Black workers against white. Added to these demands in the revisionists' "Transitional Program for Black Liberation" are certain correct demands along the lines of jobs for all, democratic rights and the fight against racism in the unions, and a shorter work week.

But these demands are completely cut off from any kind of class fight. They are simply tacked on and subordinated to a program which means the complete opposite. Once again it is a question of strategy. The revisionists discard the Marxist strategy in favor of a pragmatic response to the growth of Black nationalism.

Here pragmatism leads directly to helping the capitalist class to maintain its rule, isolating the struggles of Black workers and youth from those of the working class as a whole, at the very time when the working class, both Black and white, is moving into action in the biggest way in over a generation.

The women's liberation movement is another of the "new movements" whose demands the revisionists seek to palm off in the most outrageous manner as related in some way to the program of Marxism.

One of the 1971 SWP Convention Resolutions is entitled, "Towards a Mass Feminist Movement." The resolution begins not from the crisis of capitalism, but, in its own words, from "the new feminism." One could not ask for a cruder expression of pragmatism, of accepting existing consciousness and seeking to adapt to it rather than fighting for what is objectively required. One could not ask for a more concrete expression of what Trotsky was warning about in starting simply from the mentality of the workers. The only difference is that the revisionists base themselves upon the moods of the middle class. The central thing, however, is that they construct their entire policy around the pragmatic outlook which Trotsky argued against so vehemently in his discussions on the Transitional Program.

The feminist movement plays a reactionary role, splitting the working class and sowing the illusion that the problems of working class women could be solved apart from the fight for socialism. This movement is directed against the working class and the revolutionary party.

The demands which the SWP proposes to this middle class swamp are a hodgepodge of reform demands, feminist demands and some demands ripped out of context from the Transitional Program. Correct slogans, such as equal pay for equal work, housing for all and free child care, are abstracted from any class fight and linked instead to feminist demands, to demands for:

"...Open admissions for women to all

institutions of higher education; women's studies programs controlled by women to teach the truth about women throughout history;...preferential hiring, training, and upgrading of women and oppressed national minorities..."

The key point is that any struggle of women workers is consciously separated from the only perspective and program which can pose their solution. The women's liberation movement is based openly upon the coexistence of classes, on women organizing as women, on a women's movement in which the working class must be subordinated to the middle class and through the middle class to the bourgeoisie.

Discussing proposals for work among women, Lenin said the following to Clara Zetkin in 1920:

"The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through Communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution...Our ideological conceptions give rise to principles of organization. No special organizations for women. A woman Communist is a member of the Party just as a man Communist, with equal rights and duties. There can be no difference of opinion on that score. Nevertheless, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the Party must have bodies, working groups, commissions, committees, bureaus or whatever you like, whose particular duty it is to arouse the masses of women workers, to bring them into contact with the Party, and to keep them under its influence...That is not feminism, that is practical, revolutionary expediency."

Now the SWP boasts of its conversion to feminism. According to Jack Barnes:

"You can't be 'too' feminist, any more than you can be 'too' nationalist. If anyone tells you that you're too feminist, be careful with them, comrades."

In the words of the Transitional Program, "Open the road to the women worker!" In the words of the revisionists, "towards a mass feminist movement." This sums up the difference between Marxism and revisionism, between revolution and the new reformism of the SWP.

#### VIETNAM

In the antiwar protest movement, the revisionists have scored what they consider to be some of their most dramatic "successes," only to end up in enormous crisis as the antiwar liberals upon whom their entire policy was based rush towards the Democratic Party in the face of the deepening economic crisis and in preparation for the 1972 elections.

It is the movement of the working class both in Southeast Asia and in the United States which is staying the hand of the imperialists, and provoking such tremendous economic and political crisis for the American bourgeoisie. This crisis is in turn reflected in splits within the bourgeoisie, and in the massive opposition of large sections of the middle classes to the foreign policy of the majority section of the ruling class. The revisionists have begun, from the very beginning of the war in Vietnam, not from the primary considerations but from the subordinate ones, the divisions within the ruling class. Their policy has thus been exactly the same in fundamentals as that of the Stalinists. They have played a crucial role in building a liberal protest movement which has actually served to aid the capitalists at moments of acute crisis.

In 1951, James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, wrote the following about the road to peace:

"The colonial revolutions, by the demonstration of their mounting power throughout the Orient, are doing a thousand times more to slow down the war plans of Washington than any pacifist prayers and petitions. One has only to read the testimony of the General Staff members and of Secretary Acheson before the Senate Committee for proof of this out of their own mouths. The revolutionary sentiments of

the undefeated European workers and the fear of civil war at home are the main reasons for the stumbling reluctance of the European bourgeoisie to go along with the war plans of Washington. An aggressive and politically independent labor movement in the United States, firmly resisting war and fighting its own independent fight on class struggle lines against its real enemy—the ruling capitalists—would be the biggest roadblock of all in the way of the war-mongers and war-makers.

"Imperialist capitalism is the cause of war, and the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism. The peace campaign of the Stalinists, by which they sabotage the class struggle of the workers and try to deflect it into pacifist petition campaigns for diplomatic deals in the momentary interests of the Kremlin bureaucrats, is no less treacherous than the jingo sellout of the workers during World War II. The fight against perfidious Stalinism, in the name of the class struggle policy of Lenin, is a necessary and inseparable part of the fight for peace.

"The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other road to peace."

This absolutely correct statement means today, not only a principled stand against bourgeois pacifism but also the most energetic struggle against the capitalist war policy within the working class, and the defeat of the imperialists through the stepping up of the class struggle at home.

The revisionists ridicule this principled fight. Just as with nationalism and feminism, they begin in the fight against imperialist war with the existing protest movement and existing consciousness, and with their opportunist relations within this movement. With the deepening of the crisis all the short term successes are revealed to be nothing of the kind. Their erstwhile allies break from them and the middle class recruits bring the crisis sharply into their own ranks.

The revisionists have consistently fought against turning this fight to the working class. When workers have begun coming into the fight in increasing numbers, the revisionists have sought to limit this to the bureaucracy. They have fought consciously to exclude a working class program, to subordinate the workers to the liberals. They have insisted on not bringing in any slogans which could "alienate" the middle classes, the liberals, the trade union bureaucracy. On this basis they have built platforms for the liberals, openly stating that the unity of different class forces is not only possible but is the only way to end the war.

Thus, if we look even briefly at the history of the revisionists as well as the tasks facing the working class today, it is clear that they have broken completely from the program of Marxism. They have broken from the Transitional Program because they broke from the method by which it was developed and the only method by which it may be understood and turned into a material force today.

Breaking from an international perspective and from dialectical materialism in the actual struggle to construct the revolutionary party, the revisionists have ended up in the swamp of reformism and open class collaboration.

This is where the method of beginning with the surface appearance leads. This is the connection between hostility to dialectics and reformism.

Even as they move closer and closer to the liberals and open alliance with the capitalist class, however, the revisionists continue to maintain that they adhere to Trotskyism. This ever-sharpening contradiction between their program and perspectives and the whole history and meaning of Trotskyism means that there must inevitably develop tremendous explosions within the revisionists themselves. Only by the most rigorous attention to questions of theory within the revolutionary movement can we intervene within the crisis of revisionism to destroy it politically, rather than becoming a part of that crisis itself.



# BOOKS

BOB MICHAELSON

## Who Owns America?



Walter J. Hickel

**WHO OWNS AMERICA?** By Walter J. Hickel. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1971. 328 pages.

Who Owns America? If you were worth a cool \$5 million, spent some time as governor of Alaska, then graduated to be U.S. Secretary of the Interior for a couple of years, then went back to Alaska and recommenced extracting even more profit off the backs of the local workers, how would you answer that question?

Obviously, "the people" own America. And after Hickel provides that answer, he goes through tremendous pains and contortions trying to explain why the country and its resources are not being managed in the interests of the people.

Walter Hickel was the controversial Secretary of the Interior in the first two years of the Nixon Administration, until

he got booted out. When he was appointed by Nixon to the post, the Senate held numerous hearings in an attempt to find out whether or not he was a satisfactory conservationist. He proved finally that he was very worried about conserving trees, musk ox and whales as well as the bloated profits of the capitalists. They accepted him.

But then came the Cambodian invasion in May, 1970 by the U.S. imperialist troops. Hickel started thinking a little about conserving human lives and wrote his famous "Faithfully yours, Wally" letter to Nixon criticizing his policies. A few months later, Hickel was out. Now Hickel writes this book to explain why and to warn the American people about the mysterious dark forces at work in the White House.

"We want to know that the important decisions affecting our life styles, and our very existence, will not be made by an anonymous 'them' who may have no suitable consideration for our wishes..."

"It is clearly time to reaffirm that 'we' and not 'them' are the new voices of America, and that 'we' and not 'them' really own America."

The "them" he refers to still remains somewhat of a mystery. Even after he was fired, Hickel blames this not on

Nixon, but on some hovering force which seems to envelop the President's inner circle of advisors.

Hickel exposes some moments when "they" take on an anthropomorphic existence. Hickel was discussing with Henry Kissinger, Nixon's trusted advisor, Secretary of State Rogers and others the fate of the people of Micronesia, which was a UN "Trust Territory" grabbed by the US in the Pacific after the Second World War. Hickel thought there should be some rights "given" to the Micronesians in a sort of autonomous fashion. Kissinger answered: "there are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

It becomes very clear that the Nixon Administration's cold-blooded calculations and support to Pakistan in its murdering of three million Bengalis is not an isolated phenomenon.

Hickel also mentions his distaste for Vice President Agnew's racist phrasemongering. What is revealing is that throughout all of this, Hickel still has confidence in Nixon as a great President. He even quotes Nixon's demagogic inaugural address as proof of his basic good intentions!

Hickel's conclusions amount to a complete defense of the system. The people of America own the country, Hickel says. They therefore have an "obligation of ownership." They are "obligated" to watch over the businessmen—the capitalist class—who use the wealth of the country, lest these same capitalists "abuse" their powers unnecessarily. The capitalist class (including Hickel) has the right to "use" the "public wealth" of America as much as they like, as long as they conserve a few trees, bison and musk ox.

The trouble comes in, according to Hickel, when these dark forces—bureaucracy, greed, ignorance, or what-have-you—get in the way of upstanding sentries of the people like Nixon, hindering them from fulfilling their hollow campaign promises.

Hickel ends his book (using the last third of it) with pathetic, childish hopeful dreams of how nice America could be if "they" were overcome and the nice capitalists were able to exploit workers in an honest, brotherly manner—with the full consent, of course, of the exploited.

Hickel bases such dreams on his hopes for a continued economic boom—which was collapsing even as he was writing this book.

# FILMS

AL BERENSON

## Desperate Characters

**DESPERATE CHARACTERS.** Starring Shirley Maclaine and Kenneth Mars. Directed and written by Frank Kilroy.

*Desperate Characters* is a very poor film but at the same time a very important one.

The movie is theatrically dull, overlong and plotless. The acting is of the school of "non-acting" as each character is frozen into a specific attitude which he or she must sustain throughout the entire film. The dialogue is at turns pretentious and cliched.

The direction is essentially embarrassing, for unfortunately, Frank Kilroy tried his very best to produce in *Desperate Characters* an American "art film"—which explains the long silences, pained facial expressions, and nonsensical symbolism with which the film is belabored.

In terms of cinema, *Desperate Characters* is a totally forgettable film. However, what makes the film so important is its essential political character—its reflection of the despair, or as the title puts it, desperation, of the middle classes in the present period.

Political questions are actually never mentioned in this film which is presented as a psychological journey into the lives of a few New Yorkers. However, the film raises in absolute clarity the crisis in capitalist society and the direction in which the crisis must lead—towards fascism or socialism.

The film is also very important because it does more than merely reflect this crisis but also makes a definite point on the question of consciousness by examining what road should be taken by each individual. The answer hinted at by the director through the voice of the fictional protagonists is certainly that of fascism.

Frank Kilroy, who both directed and wrote the screenplay of the film, is a master at insinuation. No character in the film ever takes an open political stand—instead categorical questions are posed which make the point just as clear.

### FEAR

Shirley Maclaine and Kenneth Mars appear as a well-off though not rich couple. Their social position enables them to

live in a large house and to have a country home. However, they are not rich enough to live in a fashionable district. They may have a large town house but it is placed right in the middle of a Brooklyn slum.

Fear is the basic theme of their lives—at dinner a rock is thrown through the window. At another point they are cleverly robbed. At night they must barricade themselves in their little mansion with burglar alarms and extensive and intricate locks.

They seek to escape the situation of the metropolis by going to their country home. However, they find that the crisis has followed them there too. They are met with hostility from nearby farmers, and enter their home to find it completely destroyed by intruders.

They return to Brooklyn. The final scene of the film shows Shirley Maclaine

entering her house fearing that "they might have been here too." Who are "they?" Miss Maclaine is speaking about those who live next door to her—the poor and the working class.

The point that *Desperate Characters* is making about "they" is that they must be controlled, that the middle classes and the system they are based on must be safeguarded at all costs.

*Desperate Characters* is a cheap artistic boost for the fascist movement which is now being constructed in the United States today in Forest Hills, in the development of the Jewish Defense League, and most recently in the emergence of a new Nazi party in Connecticut. The film never once explicitly brings out these questions but desperation is exactly what fascism is based on; the desperation of the middle classes.

# TV

WESLEY DAVIDS

## Hogans Heroes

**HOGAN'S HEROES.** Monday through Friday, 7:30 p.m. Channel 5.

Though now on reruns, *Hogan's Heroes* is still the most insidious show on television, giving fascism a sugar coating.

The plot is rather simple, but this simplicity takes away none of the show's terror. But, to appreciate the true horror of this show's purpose, one must realize who the show is watched by, who the show is aimed at. The barrel of this show's gun is aimed at children of around eight years to twelve years; the ages when children are most impressionable.

The plot, as stated before, is rather simple. It deals with a Nazi prisoner of war camp. To be specific, it makes this prisoner of war camp into a joke, a comedy. It gives the feeling that being in this camp was like being in one giant party. It depicts the Nazis as lovable, if a bit stupid, friends; whom the American prisoners feel a bit sorry for.

As we know, being in one of these camps was one of the most degrading experiences that a human being could go

through. In reality, the prisoners were nearly starved to death. In *Hogan's Heroes*, a French prisoner cooks all sorts of gourmet delights; they manage to drink expensive wine, and have splendid birthday cakes when someone's birthday comes around.

It is common knowledge, that in the Nazi prisoner of war camps, one was guarded day and night, shot at any provocation or sign of disobedience, and the chance of escaping was practically nil.

In *Hogan's Heroes*, the prisoners are treated like honored guests. They have luxurious quarters which are probably better than what they had back at home. They are guarded by a fat, imbecilic Sergeant Schultz, who often drops in for a little chat and nip, uttering his wary cry, "I see nutnut-ting!"

The prisoners have an extensive tunnel system with exits outside, and just about everywhere inside the compound. In fact, they've dug so much, one wonders why the camp does not just slide into the earth. Another question raised is: "Why don't they leave if they have these tunnels dug?" The dubious answer is that they stay to act as an escape route for allied pilots stranded behind enemy lines. The real reason is that the producers need an excuse to keep the abomination on the air.

Hogan, it seems, is good friends with the commanding officer, Colonel Klink. In fact, Hogan spends more time in the Colonel's office than in his own barracks. The reason usually given, is that he is trying to steal secret documents. When caught, as happens frequently, Hogan is not dragged out and shot. No, when caught, the Colonel and Hogan sometimes have drinks together.

### FAMILY

In general, the show gives the impression to children that the prisoners and the Nazis were one big happy family. They take away the actual horror and misery, and substitute laughter and comradeship with the fascists. This show is one of the most insidious distributors of propaganda for fascism on television. I remember watching *Hogan's Heroes* years ago whenever it was on. I did not think at all about what the Nazis did in reality—they seemed like slightly dumb friends.

If the youth grow up with the idea that fascism is fun, they will not be prepared for fascism's iron arms. This is the hope of the producers.

But for the working class and youth who are today in concentration camps in North Ireland, it is no laughing matter nor will it be when they set them up in the U.S.



# CIVIL WAR EXPLODES AT LORDSTOWN...

(Continued From Page 5)

hours. "You go in for two hours and you spend two dollars on gas, and you have to bring lunch," complained one man.

Another young worker, a Vietnam veteran, told us as he was going into the plant, "I'm going to work two hours tonight, probably. Last week I worked 14. They are trying to get the guys on night to blame the guys on day."

## STRIKE

But it is not working. All but one of the men we talked to are for a strike as the only way to stop the attacks by the company. The union has set up a strike vote for February 1. One of the men we talked to thought the vote would be 100% for strike.

"There's no other way," he said. "After the vote, there'll be a strike within a week. If GM can get away with it here, they can get away with it anywhere."

"We've got to stop this. I'm a relief man. There's a couple of jobs they added on. I'll tell you, I

go down there 23 minutes and I start sweating on the job. They go down there with a watch and they clock you. It looks easy to them and they just give us more work. If they had to do it, it would be a different story."

Another young worker who wore a peace symbol around his neck felt there had to be a strike because the company was adamant and had shown no signs of wanting a "peaceful" settlement.

"They have laid off quite a number of people, they have disciplined quite a number of people, and they have generally treated the people not as human beings, but as non-human machinery," he said.

The leadership of the union appears to see the February 1st strike vote differently from the ranks. Local 112 President, Gary Bryner, told us they wanted the biggest possible vote as a means of putting pressure on the company in the negotiations, that there would not necessarily be a

strike.

Quite clearly, Bryner was thinking there could still be concessions from GM. But as we pointed out in talking to the workers, even if GM loses money from a strike, they cannot back down now from their attempt to open the door to speedup and layoffs, not only in Lordstown but throughout the country, and to break the resistance of the union.

Many workers agreed that this means an all out fight by the International, shutting down all of GM's operations, and that this is very much a fight against Nixon and his demand for "productivity" and against the Pay Board.

Bryner's position was that the International always supported such local strikes. He did not mention that they let the 1970 strike at Flint drag on in isolation more than six months. Bryner said that "Leonard" (Woodcock) "got a lot of support" at the UAW convention for remaining on the Pay Board.

After all, Bryner told us, it was necessary to stay on there and fight.

Bryner's role is almost a classic example of the smooth talking politically sophisticated bureaucrat with just enough "left" talk to appeal to the radicals, and just enough "militancy" to try to hold back the ranks. He said of the ranks: "These guys have become tigers."

On the other side, the professional labor haters are trying to foment a hysterical red-baiting campaign against the workers, implying that "communists" are at the root of the trouble. This is what the Cleveland Plain Dealer implied in a recent article.

In a second article the Plain Dealer reported that Bryner "denied having said that communists and socialists are attempting to infiltrate his union" and "denied having said that 'subversives by the carload' had arrived to 'exploit' the dispute.

What is clear in this second Plain Dealer article on January 27 is that Bryner is very much on the defensive, and is trying to give himself a "clean bill of health" rather than expose the red-baiting as a tool of GM and the ruling class.

The article continued, "Bryner denied saying he was anti-draft," while admitting he is "anti-war." In response to the allegation that he was connected with the National Peace Action Coalition, "later identified," states the article, "with the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party," Bryner

said, "I did tell the reporter I endorsed one peace march, but that was the only connection I ever had with them."

On the company charge of "sabotage," Bryner told the Plain Dealer, "I would be stupid to deny sabotage. I've admitted to reporters there was sabotage, and I said so on television Sunday night, coast to coast."

## RESISTANCE

But it is clear that the leadership must stop equivocating on the question of a strike, demand that the International give real backing, shutting down GM entirely. This dispute must be seen for what it really is—a fight against the entire capitalist class, against Nixon and the Pay Board, requiring a break with Woodcock's support of Muskie.

The resistance and tremendous solidarity of the young workers at Lordstown represents the opposite side of the labor bureaucracy's retreat before the drive for profits. These young workers, many of whom have been to Vietnam are simply not going to be cowed by the bosses' attempts to whip them into line.

They stand in the way of the reactionary attempts to resolve the capitalist crisis by smashing the unions. These young workers in basic industry along with the youth getting out of school with no job and no future, represent the fresh forces in the working class that will be able to reach the best of the older generation in the fight for the building of a revolutionary leadership in the next period.

# AKRON...

(Continued From Page 5)

and then give up what we've won, do you?" He told us that Goodrich, like "all of them" wanted more productivity and speedup and that the SUB fund (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) are already being crippled. "Goodrich is phasing out a plant in Tennessee," he said, "and after that, your SUB fund up here will be zero."

## THREATEN

An older worker who has been at the plant 28 years said: "I don't believe it will make anymore jobs. I think it will maybe make less jobs later. They want a speedup. The company might put up the question of a wage cut to the union like Goodyear did three or four years ago, threatening to close the plant down. I think they got the union to accept a 50 cent cut at Goodyear. Now Firestone is going along with this. They threaten to move the work out. They're already doing it, little by little."

A young worker, a Vietnam veteran, said of the drive for "pro-

ductivity" that the bosses were attempting to introduce at Lordstown in the rubber industry and particularly at B.F. Goodrich, that:

"That's what they're trying to do here. They're trying to get a man to do two men's job, which isn't right really. Now they want to cut out smoking. What they're trying to do is cut out the time men have to themselves."

One worker told the Bulletin "We don't have anything to lose with the negotiations and actually maybe we can keep the jobs here. If they were willing to guarantee that only a limited number of jobs are cut out, say 150, instead of the 700 we lost last year, I would be willing to take a cut in pay."

But this is exactly the perspective of the labor bureaucracy which has pushed this at the GM Frigidaire plant in Dayton and which is now overwhelmingly opposed by the Frigidaire workers.

## DANGER

This perspective means the

corporations, backed by the government, is permitted to dictate wages and conditions under the threat of unemployment. This means the growing danger of workers being told to accept payless pay-days in more and more cities and mass unemployment.

But there is an alternative and the fight can be taken up in Akron. Goodrich and the other companies cannot produce anything without labor and they must be told that there can be no shifting of jobs to other plants, or combinations of jobs within plants or closing down of plants or the entire industry will be struck.

The unions must answer the employers profit-hungry threat to close down the Akron plants by demanding that if they cannot meet the basic needs of the workers and maintain full employment, then they should be nationalized and run under workers control.

# ILA...

(Continued From Page 4)

The ILA ranks in New York are now in a position to throw out this offer and in so doing, strengthen the fight for a decent 40 hour GAI in the "outports." The tremendous solidarity and power of the West Coast dock strike which has drawn active support from the Teamsters and the Canadian dockers now lays the basis for a nationwide dock strike on February 14 when the Taft-Hartley ends on the East Coast.

This will provide the power to win the kind of contract needed. This is what Nixon fears. The ranks on both coasts must demand that if Nixon tries to move troops on the docks or in any way force a settlement, there should be a general strike called by the AFL-CIO, UAW and the Teamsters.

The fight for a new leadership in the ILA must begin now to mobilize the biggest 'No' vote in New York and then stay out until our demands are won in all ports:

- 2080 GAI, all men, all ports; No PDO, no multiple debiting, no change in section seniority; 13 annual sick days included in GAI.
- 20 and out at \$500 per month at any age—6 hour day at 8 hours pay.
- Retroactivity of all provisions to Oct. 1.
- All new container bonus money to be paid in cash.

# FRIGIDAIRE...

(Continued From Page 5) won he took a different position on this wage cut.

We have petitions that have been presented to hold another meeting. They haven't been acted on yet. We're trying to get a special meeting so that we can notify the people and go in and reverse the agreement.

When I was a shop committeeman before Frigidaire cut back, I had 1300 men under me. Most of them were young. Half of them were Black—what they termed the "hard core." Of course, we were pretty militant and the leadership of the union disliked me because of it. I've been criticized for winning cases. When I felt they would be pleased—they were down on me. They told me I didn't believe in compromising enough. In other words, I didn't believe in giving in to the company.

An appeal to the NLRB or the courts isn't going to win

anything against this agreement. Eventually it's going to come down to a strike.

**Bulletin: What do we have to do to defend the interests of the workers?**

Committeeman: Well, I think under any system, you're going to have to feed the people. You're going to have to provide them work, or survival or you'll have a revolution. When all these factories are moving—they're going to pass each other on the Interstate. One will move out of Dayton and one in—where the hell are they going?

Basically, everything of value is made by the working man. The value of any product is the amount of labor put in it, and my goal is that the laboring man reap more of the fruits of his harvest, and maybe all of it. If they nationalized the whole economy, I think it would be better than what we've got.

# ULSTER...

(Continued From Page 3)

that the time had come to rely on bloodbaths rather than compromise schemes to stabilize capitalism in Ireland.

The Londonderry massacre comes only days after John Lynch, the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic in the South, began a campaign to wipe out the Irish Republican Army. Lynch started this campaign after consultations with Heath. On January 29th, Lynch ordered a police raid in the IRA stronghold of Dundalk.

The measures of Lynch, Heath, and Faulkner make it very clear that the Irish working class now faces the greatest dangers. Their fight is a fight for survival. This fight can only be won through the struggle to bring down the Tory

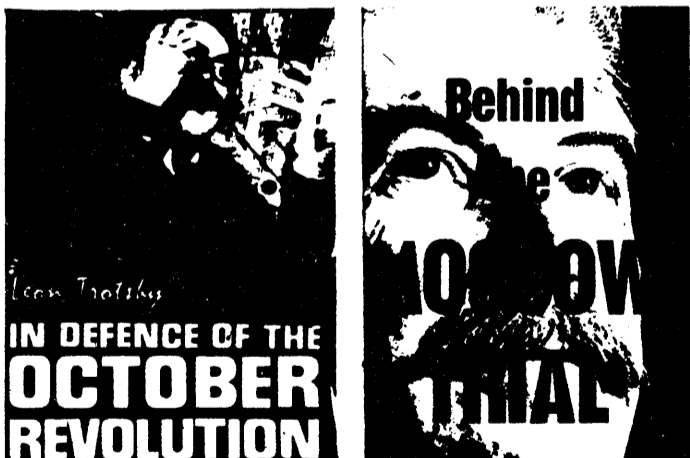
government.

At the Derry rally of January 29th, a member of the Republican Club stated that "the struggle that we are fighting is the same as that of our comrades in the miners strike and on the Clydeside—the people who are fighting for a decent living wage in Britain."

The struggle of the Irish and British workers must be united. Their common enemy is British capitalism whose masters plan death and destruction on both sides of the Irish Sea.

The British working class must now be mobilized to halt the massacres in Ireland, to demand the withdrawal of troops, and for a general strike to bring down the Tories and return a Labour Party pledged to socialism.

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# Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

## YS Steering Committee Prepares For Unemployment Demonstration

BY ABBEY RODRIGUEZ

NEW YORK—Over 175 youth attended the monthly meeting of the Young Socialists Steering Committee. The meeting centered on the development of the crisis in capitalism and the fight for leadership within the working class.

After a long discussion the Young Socialists voted unanimously in favor of an intervention at the next SMC meeting in order to fight revisionism and reformism, and to prepare the YS for the March 29th demonstration against unemployment. The necessity to fight against Stalinism and all other forms of revisionism was the main point on the political report given by John Hills from the Brownsville Young Socialists.

Hills stated that because of the deepening crisis the question of leadership is the most important question facing the working class today. He explained that other tendencies within the working class assume extremely reactionary roles in the face of the crisis. Hills stated:

"Today the main counter-revolutionary force internationally is Stalinism. The history of Stalinism has been collaboration with the capitalist class to preserve a privileged bureaucracy."

The reason why it is so dangerous is that all this is done under the guise of Marxism. Stalinism arose in the Soviet Union because of the abandonment of Marxist theory by a section of the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin. Stalin rejected Lenin's whole fight for revolutionary strategy and substituted the theory of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence."

"Under Stalinism the working class has been led to one defeat after another. In China in 1927, Germany in the 1930s, France in 1968.

### STALINISM

"Today Stalinism plays an even more dangerous role because of the deepening crisis. This role can be seen in Vietnam. Now that the Vietnamese people can completely defeat U.S. imperialism we see the Soviet Union supplying them with outdated weapons, allowing the Vietnamese to barely survive.

"At the same time we see the Stalinists in the U.S. betraying the working class by asking it to support 'progressive' capitalist politicians."

Hills also insisted upon the importance of waging a fight against the revisionism of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

"The Socialist Workers Party broke from Trotskyism; it abandoned the fight for Marxist theory," Hills declared. "Revisionism means a break with Trotskyism and a capitulation to Stalinism. The SWP-YSA refuses to fight Stalinism. It builds an antiwar movement with sections of the capitalist class."

Hills added that the SWP's break with theory means a break with the working class. "The

SWP is building a middle class protest movement just as the capitalist crisis is chewing up these protest movements. The SWP refuses to fight for the independent mobilization of the working class."

The political report ended with the March 29th demonstration the YS is calling against unemployment and the budget cuts and for a political fight against the government.

The discussion followed and many youth asked questions about Marxism, socialism and communism.

The sharpest discussion came when two students from the universities spoke with tremendous hostility towards the youth and Marxist theory. These students sought to divert the whole discussion and prevent a discussion of theory. One student got up to say that all these theoretical questions were being asked because "the youth are ignorant." He concluded by saying that the discussion was a waste of time.

### CONSCIOUSNESS

At this point Tim Wohlforth the National Secretary of the Workers League spoke on the question of consciousness.

He stated: "I don't agree with you one bit. Consciousness develops through a struggle and only in this way. This is why such questions of socialism and Marxism are important.

"The youth have to ask these questions because they've been brought up in bourgeois society and many of these things are new to them. The working class cannot come to Marxism spontaneously. Marxism has to be brought into it by the revolutionary party and there has to be a struggle between bourgeois ideology and Marxist ideology."

A student stated "look we're not ignorant. If we were then we wouldn't be here." A member of the Brownsville YS said: "We're not ignorant. We're victims of capitalism."

The first student then returned to say that because Wohlforth had taken such a sharp stand he reflected some kind of "psychological fascism."

Wohlforth responded: "At every point you seem to say that the problems are in our heads. Well they are not; they are in the material world. When a cop hits you with a club its not psychological but physical.

"Fascism comes from a material class. The struggle here on questions of theory is a struggle of classes.

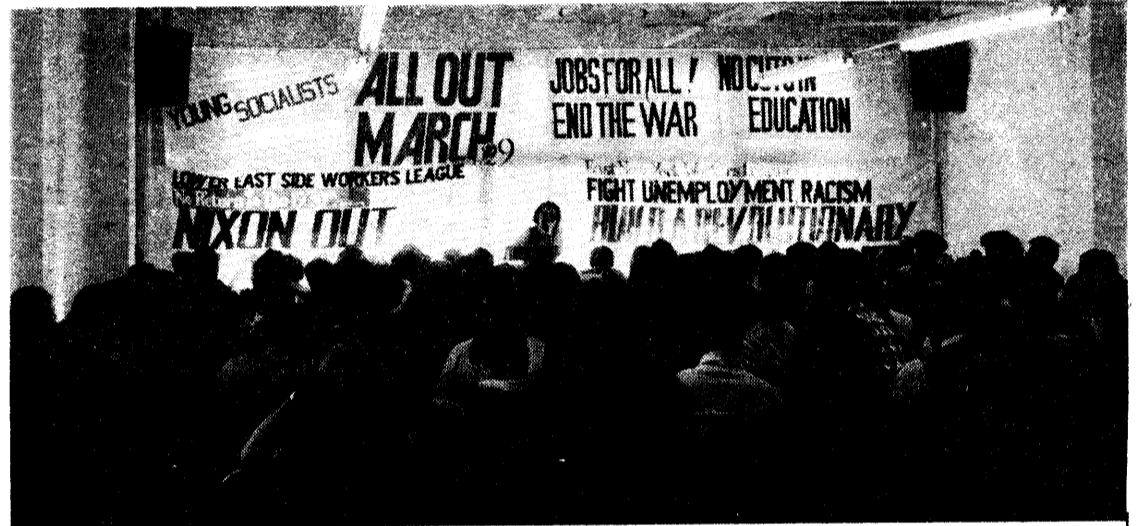
"But you equate fascism with a mental attitude. Because I took a firm stand against your views and will not give in to them, you accuse me of fascism. Well, in your book, the prisoners in Attica would also be fascists because they conceded nothing to Rockefeller. You object to the sharpness, to the absolute character of

the class struggle, because you want compromise and peace with capitalism."

These students put forward the theory that the youth are ignorant and that the problems of the world are primarily psychological rather than material.

A youth from New Haven said we had to understand these questions of Marxist theory. "History," he said, "repeats itself only if you let it." This is why we must construct the Young Socialists.

In relation to the unity of the working class and youth he said:



"A capitalist is a capitalist, Black or white, and he doesn't care about who he exploits. He doesn't care whether you are Black or white."

Another youth stated: "The ruling class uses all sorts of tricks to keep us down because when you're on top you control people's lives through the education and news. This is why they throw crumbs at us like poverty programs in order to pacify us. But then they take it away from us."

Another youth remarked: "They let some of us go to college so that we can think that we're going to get over."

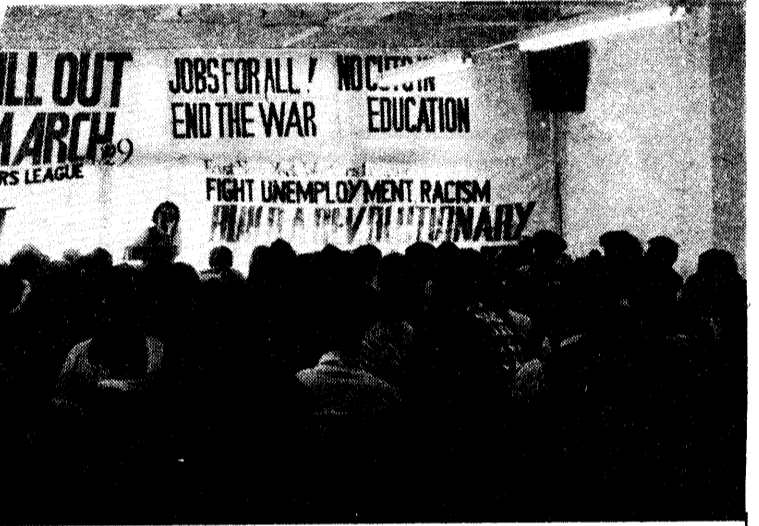
The political report was accepted by a unanimous vote.

### ORGANIZATION

Gil Gonzales from East New York YS spoke on the organization of the Young Socialists. He said that the YS has to fight to bring as many youth as possible to the unemployment demonstration on March 29th and the different activities which the clubs will participate in. These activities include sports, outings, dances, etc. He also spoke on the need for the YS to organize activities to raise funds.

Gonzales proposed that the YS intervene at the February 25th SMC meeting. This and the proposal for 25 cents YS dues were accepted.

The elections for the East Coast YS officers were held. Active YS comrades were chosen to the positions of chairman, secretary, treasurer, social organizer, and Young Socialists Editor.



Energetic discussion on the role of Marxist theory and consciousness dominated the Young Socialist Steering Committee meeting last Saturday (above). The struggle against revisionism and bourgeois ideology prepares YS now for deeper penetration of youth.

The next point was a report on the Young Socialists page of the Bulletin. It was stated that the YS must begin immediately to build its own newspaper, and that the first step had been taken by establishing a youth page in the Bulletin. Youth have no other place to turn to in order to make their opinions on the crisis known. YS comrades pointed out that the youth can't turn to the NY Times or Daily News because these are papers that defend the attacks on youth.

Lenin stated that the starting point for a revolutionary organization is the building of a newspaper, and that through the everyday struggle to put out a newspaper an organization would take shape.

All Young Socialists have to participate in the building of the newspaper, and write articles.

Juan Farinas then spoke on his case. Philip Branche of the Defense Committee stated that the building for the defense of Juan Farinas is an integral part of the YS. Today the ruling class is going after militants and labor leaders. This can be seen in the uncovering of a plot to kill Caesar Chavez, leader of the farmworkers' union. This is the next step in repression against militants who speak out against the system. This is why the defense of Juan Farinas is so important because it is a defense of the working class. All clubs were asked to organize speaking engagements in their schools for Juan Farinas.

Workshops were held for trade unions, high schools and colleges, to discuss the March 29th demonstration in which the YS calls on the unions to take up the fight against unemployment and the budget cuts.



## Stalinism

# Bukovsky Speaks On His Trial

"And however long I have to spend in detention, I will never renounce my convictions and I will express them, availing myself of the right given me by Article 125 of the Soviet constitution, to all who want to listen to me."

With these words, spoken before an illegal tribunal threatening him with severe punishment, Vladimir Bukovsky expressed the determination that guides the Soviet opposition in its battle against Stalinism. His defiant speech in his own defense exposed as distortions and slanders all the charges prepared by the Soviet bureaucracy. He proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the trial was the product of sinister political calculations by the bureaucracy.

Bukovsky was accused of distributing "anti-Soviet propaganda"—a favorite catch-all woven into the fabric of Kremlin law, although it violates the official statutes. The judges sentenced him to a 12 year term, divided into two years in prison, five years in a labor camp, and five years in exile.

Vladimir Bukovsky has already endured prison, lawless detention in a mental hospital, a hunger strike, and unceasing harassment. The Kremlin parasites are determined to destroy him and all his fellow oppositionists. The words spoken by Bukovsky at his trial, printed below, leave no doubt that the Stalinists will not succeed. Bukovsky—standing in the heroic tradition of the first great opponents of Stalinism, the Left Opposition—turned his trial into a trial of the bureaucracy. In the words of Trotsky: "The accusers will be the accused."

And the accused include not only the gangsters in the Kremlin, but also their Stalinist accomplices in the editorial offices of the Daily World who remain silent as fighters for the freedom of Soviet workers are martyred.

Citizen judges.

I am not going to touch upon the juridical side of the indictment because I have already completely proved its groundlessness in the courtroom.

My lawyer also proved the complete groundlessness of the indictment in his speech and I agree with him on all points of the defense.

I shall talk of something else: the reprisal against me was being prepared long ago and I knew about this.

On June 9, procurator Vankovich called me in and threatened me with punishment, then an article under the heading "The Poverty of Anti-communism" appeared in the newspaper Pravda which was almost entirely quoted in the procurator's speech.

The article contained the accusation that I sold slanderous information in gateways to foreign correspondents for small tips.

And finally in the journal "Political Self-Education" No. 2 for 1971 there featured an article by deputy chairman of the KGB (state security committee) S. Tsvigun, in which it was also said that I engaged in anti-Soviet activity.

And it is perfectly understandable that the small detective conducting the investigation into my case could not go against his boss and was obliged to try and show my guilt in every possible way.

Before my arrest there was constantly a tail on me. I was pursued, threatened with murder, and one of those following me lost his self-restraint to such an extent that he threatened me with his service weapon.

While under investigation, I petitioned for a criminal case to be instituted against these people. I even gave the number of



Vladimir Bukovsky

the official car in which these people travelled around behind me, and presented other facts which made it possible for them to be sought out.

### INQUIRY

However I never received an answer to this request from those departments to which I sent it.

Then an extremely eloquent reply was received from the detective: "Bukovsky's behaviour under investigation gives grounds for an inquiry into his psychological condition."

The investigation was conducted with countless procedural violations. One can say that not a single article of the UPK (criminal procedural code) was not violated.

The investigation even took such a shameful measure as to put in the cell with me a stool pigeon, a certain Trofimov, who himself admitted to me, that he was instructed to carry on provocative anti-Soviet conversations with me, with the aim of provoking me to similar remarks, and for this he was promised early release.

As you see what incriminates me as a crime is permitted to certain people if this is demanded by "the interests of the case."

I sent complaints about this to different departments and asked now, in court, that they be included in the case, but the court "shied away" from doing this.

As far as the detective is concerned he, instead of examining my complaint and giving me an answer, sent me to the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry for medical examination.

### CONVENIENT

The investigation department of the

UKGB (administration of the KGB) very much wanted me to be found irresponsible. How convenient.

Then there would be no case about me, no need to construct a charge, and here there would be no need to prove the fact of commission of crime. The man is just sick, mad...

And if it had all happened like that, there would be no judicial reprisal now and there would not be my final plea: they would try me in my absence, but for the influence of intensive intervention by the public.

Indeed after the first time limit for the expertise—in mid-September—the medical commission discovered I had an ominously vague clinical picture, and from the doctor's questions addressed to me after that I understood that they intended to pronounce me irresponsible.

And only on November 5, after pressure was exerted by the public a new medical commission pronounced me healthy.

There you have trustworthy proof of my assertion—which is called slanderous here in court—that on the instructions of the KGB psychiatric reprisals are set up against dissenters.

I have other proof for this. In 1966 I was held in psychiatric hospitals for eight months, without trial or investigation and contrary to medical evidence of my mental health, and transferred on being discharged by the doctors from one hospital to another.

And so, on November 5 I was declared sane, and put into prison once more, and the procedural infringements continued.

The ending of the investigation in accordance with 201 of the UKP RSFSR (criminal procedural code of the Russian Federation) was crudely violated.

(Article 201 binds the investigator to tell the accused that he has the right to become acquainted with all materials in his case with the help of his defense counsel.)

I demanded to be given the lawyer of my choice, but the investigator refused me this and signed Article 201 alone, and then wrote that I refused to become acquainted with the case.

In accordance with my right to defense set out in Article 48 of the UPK RSFSR I demanded that the lawyer Dina Isakovna Kaminskaya be invited for my defense in court.

I addressed this request to the chairman of the Moscow lawyers' collegium and received his refusal with the instruction: "Lawyer Kaminskaya cannot be assigned to the defense since she does not have access to secret case procedure."

One asks what kind of secret case can be involved when I am being tried for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda?

And in any case where and in what Soviet laws is this celebrated "access" set out? Nowhere.

### FORGERY

Thus no lawyer was given me. Further, the answer I have mentioned from the lawyers' collegium, with which I was acquainted and which bore my signature, was withdrawn from the case and returned to the lawyers' collegium.

There is a written reference to this in the case. Another was put in its place, a completely innocent answer by the chairman of the collegium, with which I was not acquainted.

How can one assess this? Only as an official forgery.

It took my 12-day hunger strike, a complaint to the USSR Prosecutor-General, to the USSR Justice Ministry and the CC of the CPSU (Communist Party Central Committee), and also new, active intervention by members of the public before my legal right to defense was finally fulfilled and I was given lawyer Shveisky, who was invited by my mother.

The trial proceedings today have been conducted with numerous procedural infringements. The indictment, in which the word "slanderous" is used 33 times and the word "anti-Soviet" 18 times, contains no concrete indications of which facts are slanderous among those I

communicated to western correspondents and which materials of those taken from me during the search and which I allegedly distributed, are anti-Soviet.

Of the nine petitions I made at the beginning of the trial proceedings and supported by my lawyer, eight were refused.

Not one of the witnesses I named, who could refute various points of the indictment, was called by the court.

I am accused, specifically, of handing over anti-Soviet materials in the presence of Volpin and Chalidze.

(A reference to Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, son of poet Sergei Yesenin, and Valeri Chalidze, a physicist and member of an unofficial Soviet civil rights committee.)

However, my demand that these two people be called as witnesses was not met.

Further, not one of the eight people I called who could confirm the authenticity of my assertions on the facts of confinement and conditions of detention of people in special psychiatric hospitals was summoned to the court.

The court rejected my petition that these witnesses be called and motivated it by saying they were mentally ill and could not testify.

At the same time, there are two people among them—Z.M. Grigorenko and A.A. Fainberg—who have never been placed in special psychiatric hospitals, but have been to these hospitals only as relatives and could confirm my testimony on confinement conditions in these hospitals.

(Two people mentioned are relatives of Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko and Mr. Viktor Fainberg, both dissidents confined in psychiatric hospitals.)

Only those witnesses named by the prosecution have been invited to the court. And what kind of witnesses were they?

Well, before my arrest, a former school comrade was sent to me, a certain Nikitinsky who now works at Sheremetyevo Airport's customs inspection section and who was entrusted with provoking me to a crime—arranging for underground printing equipment to be brought in from abroad.

In all probability, Nikitinsky, who did military service in the state security forces, was sent by KGB officials.

But the ill-starred provocateur did not succeed in doing this.

Then the investigation, and then the court too, tried to make him into a witness on this point of the indictment. We saw here how Nikitinsky was not up to this task either.

What were all these provocations and crude procedural violations needed for, this stream of slander and unfounded accusations?

What was this trial needed for? Only to punish one person?

No, there is a "principle," a kind of "philosophy" here. Behind the accusation presented, there stands another unrepresented.

With the reprisal against me they want to frighten those who try to tell the whole world about their crimes.

They do not want to "carry filth out of the izba" (peasant hut) so as to appear on the world arena as such irreproachable defenders of the oppressed.

Our society is still sick. It is sick with the fear which has come down to us from the Stalin era. But the process of the public's spiritual enlightenment has already begun and cannot be stopped.

The public already understands that the criminal is not the one who carries filth out of the izba but the one who makes it filthy.

And however long I have to spend in detention I will never renounce my convictions and I will express them, availing myself of the right given me by Article 125 of the Soviet constitution, to all who want to listen to me.

I will fight for legality and justice. And I regret only that over the short period—one year, two months and three days—during which I was at liberty, I managed to do too little for this cause.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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## West Coast News

# Farm Workers Face Ruthless Evictions

BY SUSAN FORD

**SALINAS**—The economic crisis of California growers now threatens the farm workers of La Posada at Salinas with the loss of their homes and the possible break-up of their families.

PIC 'N' PAC Company, claiming that union wages have made them bankrupt are abandoning their strawberry fields.

The farm workers at La Posada camp are all organized into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The 131 people live in trailers owned by PIC 'N' PAC located on a campsite also owned by that company. But now PIC 'N' PAC has sold the trailers out from under them to a mobile homes company.

They have been served eviction notices effective the first week of February. The trailers will be carted away around Feb. 3. According to picketers, the eviction will be physically carried out.

The La Posada residents have staged a week-long picket at the Office of Economic Opportunity refusing to give up their homes.

They claim that the break up of

the trailer camp will force the working men to send their families back to Mexico or the Southwest while they travel around looking for work.

The hiring season for other growers in the Salinas area will start again in March, strawberries or no strawberries. Their demand is for OEO to supply housing for the 131 families to remain intact and to allow their children to attend the same schools.

The picketers' signs reveal the dead seriousness of the situation that they face—pointing out that "OEO directors get big homes from our money" and that "Farm Workers are MEN, WOMEN, and CHILDREN—they need HOMES not SHEDS."

However, the growers of California, taking a lead from Nixon's attacks on living standards feel quite differently. Only recently, a bill was reintroduced

into the State Legislature that would severely limit the UFWOC boycott and organizing rights. This is because they really would prefer to treat farm workers as work animals and give them only the bare minimum needed to work them. La Posada workers are attempting to defend their very right to live.

### PLEAS

THE La Posada picketers have already seen what pleas for housing have meant to OEO. Mr. Mercer, Western Regional Director of OEO has merely responded with a months-old plan to finance the strawberry fields as an OEO co-op to the tune of \$450,000. However, he claims that OEO regulations prevent business financing and therefore they are unable to provide any housing!

UFWOC spokesmen told the Bulletin reporter that this picket is not an official union function but only an activity of members of the union. When asked what they plan to do if the residents are thrown out on February 3, they answered that they will cross that bridge when they come to it. But that bridge is already here.

Big Business no longer intends to tolerate demands for a rise in living conditions and OEO expresses this all the way.

UFWOC must confront the rest of the labor movement with the sharpness of their situation and mobilize labor support. They cannot prevent the decimation of their people by growers who are out for blood in any other way.

## Stalinists Stage Nationalist Drama

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**SAN DIEGO**—A melange of Marcuse, Fanon, Carmichael, and the Stalinist Popular Front is to be found in the stage production, "Angela Is Happening," which had a two-day run at the University of California, San Diego and O'Farrell Junior High School here. The play is a product of "Third World" Lumbumba-Zapata College at U.C.S.D.

It is no accident that in this period of crisis the Stalinists and

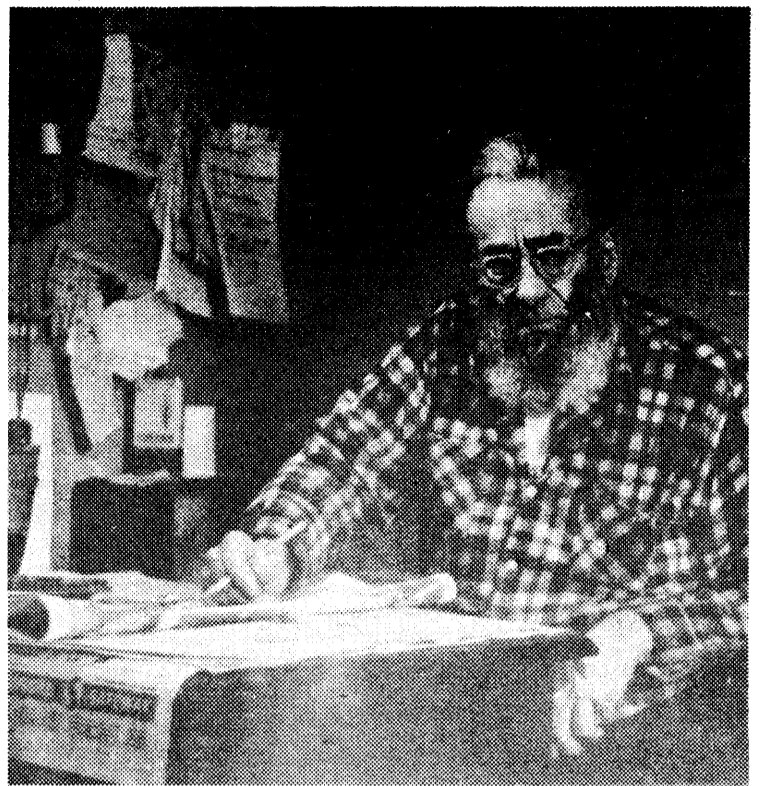
measure up to the company's newer and more efficient plants that Fibreboard owns on the West Coast." He then cynically adds a consoling thought that these workers' sacrifice "will improve substantially the company's future profitability."

No less painful is the closure by stages announced by Cutter Laboratories of Berkeley, Friden Division of Singer Co. of San Leandro, makers of Data Processing Systems and Thorsen Mfg. Co. of Emeryville involving a total of 2,000 jobs.

rate of profit.

Added to this disaster is the just announced closing of 60 year old huge Fibreboard plant in Antioch affecting 429 employees who are stunned by the prospect of not only losing their jobs, retirement fund, etc., but also facing the bleak reality of never being "gainfully" employed again under the capitalist system.

This firm's president piously stated, "We could find no justifiable way to preserve the plant, because of its inability to



Pensioner George Woolf, 83, retired longshoreman who would "like to see a general strike" to change things in the country.

## Builders Fight Housing For Bay Area Aged

BY MICHAEL THOMPSON

**SAN FRANCISCO**—Hysteria against the residents of the Yerba Buena area of San Francisco, an area that has the highest concentration of old people in the city most of whom are either on pensions or welfare, clearly shows the future that is in store for workers that become too old to work to the employer's liking.

A proposed 356 million dollar convention site surrounded by luxury hotels and theaters is to be built in an area that used to have hundreds of old hotels where the old and retired found a room to live in that they could afford.

Now even these run down hotels are to be taken away to make room for the Yerba Buena Center. Needless to say, the developers of the convention site could care less about what is going to happen to the hundreds to be thrown into the streets.

But as it now stands, there is an injunction preventing the demolition of the few remaining ho-

tels, first won in 1968. The hysteria now raised by the capitalist press is precisely against this injunction, claiming that the judge who issued the order was prejudiced against the development agency, and that it costs the city money each day the demolition is held up.

The main body of the injunction held the developers to provide "safe, decent, and sanitary" relocation housing for those who are removed. The developers were to provide 1500 units of housing at equal rent to what people are now paying. This is what the developers are fighting tooth and nail, using all their tools from slander and lies to threats of arson.

Unless the housing is built, almost all residents will find themselves in an almost unbelievable situation of trying to find cheap housing in a city where none really exists.

According to a HUD survey, 47% of those living in the Yerba Buena area cannot afford to pay more than \$40 a month for rent.

As one pensioner put it, "They want old people out, and they don't care how they do it. Big business doesn't give a damn about people, they're throwing out 4,000 people to make room for 4,000 cars."

### FUTURE

These are the workers that the bosses once made huge profits from. This is the future that workers face, to be exploited as long as possible, and then to be thrown into run down hotels and even to be kicked out of those by the interests of big business.

George Woolf, 83, and who spent over 40 years as a longshoreman and was on the strike committee during the 1934 general strike of San Francisco, now living in a hotel in Yerba Buena said, "I'd like to see a general strike, but not here, but all over. We'd have power if we would lay our tools down even for one day. We could change things."

## ROHR Hires Scabs Against S.D. Strikers

BY A CORRESPONDENT

**SAN DIEGO**—The strike of the IAM at ROHR Corp. here has entered a crucial period.

During the negotiations, the company made it quite clear that its real aim is to smash the strike. Police have been maintained at the gates to prevent "violence" while ROHR engages in open recruitment of scabs and runs newspaper ads for the jobs of IAM members.

Recently a newspaper campaign has been launched to whip up "public opinion" against the strike by showing how "reasonable" company offers have been, and that only the union stands in the way of everything being settled in fine form.

Thus far, the union leadership has shown no willingness to fight back. Despite the concern of the ranks for the threat that scabbing poses, the whole issue has been ignored.

In fact, what is actually happening is most clear in the stand

### GM REHIRS. . .

(Continued From Page 16) that occurred in the East Bay Area. Eight hundred highly skilled workers were suddenly thrown out of their jobs the first of January at the Shell Chemical Development Plant at Emeryville "in order to more efficiently consolidate operations" in Houston, Texas.

Many of these skilled technicians were chemical engineers with as much as 27 years service who must face the bleak reality that they sacrificed their jobs so that Shell Oil can maintain its

# West Coast News

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## Editorial

### ILWU Spreads Strike; Shut All Ports

West Coast dockers have taken an enormous step forward in answering Nixon's strikebreaking threats with a demonstration of the strength and solidarity of the labor movement.

For the first time since the strike began pickets from the ILWU and the Teamsters have acted jointly to cut off the flow of cargo from Mexican ports to the U.S. Hundreds of trucks have been stopped at the border with no drivers to take them further.

At the same time ILWU dockers in Vancouver are prepared to defy the Trudeau government and have acted to boycott all U.S. cargo.

Canadian dockers already face vicious anti-union laws and the joint action with the Teamsters comes at a time when all transport unions are faced with legal action that would strangle the right to strike.

The real potential for the labor movement to fight back has also been expressed at recent Bay Area labor council meetings. Both the S.F. and the Alameda councils passed resolutions unanimously solidarizing with the striking longshoremen and denouncing government strike breaking.

Bay Area longshoremen have taken to the streets with a mass distribution of a leaflet denouncing the PMA offer and warning of the danger posed to the unions by Nixon's actions.

All of these developments express the tremendous determination of the longshoremen to fight and to take that fight into the rest of the labor movement.

The bureaucracy however, continues to see these actions as means of exerting pressure for a deal hoping to confine the struggle to limited action. Thus the leaflet and the labor council resolutions pose no action beyond solidarity and telegrams to the Congress.

It must not stop there. These steps open the way to the sort of mass labor action that can smash Nixon's intervention and win a longshore victory. There must now be an all out fight on the East Coast for strike action on February 14th to shut the entire country down.

The ILWU leadership must be forced to carry through with its threats and call a West Coast labor conference to map out the fight back.

This means an all out fight for massive labor demonstrations against government intervention and preparation to answer any government strikebreaking with a general strike of labor.

It means drawing the political conclusions of these attacks and beginning to fight to launch a labor party to replace the two anti-labor parties with a workers government in 1972.

## Coca-Cola Uses Police Dogs On Teamsters

BY A CORRESPONDENT

OAKLAND—A Bay Area contract renewal strike here at Coca Cola Bottling Co. is rapidly escalating into a major confrontation between the Food Employers Council and thousands of food and beverage workers represented by Northern California Teamster Councils.

This strike has seen a solid line up of the Food Employers Council using armed security guards and police dogs in an attempt to provoke picket line violence. They have succeeded in obtaining a court injunction limiting pickets.

Management is attempting to destroy the hiring hall by instituting a minority training program to hire ghetto youth at \$1.90 an hour with no union benefits in a clear effort to replace union workers.

The escalating strike now involves 1,000 Teamsters. The beverage employers are importing scab beverages into the Bay Area under police escort while the union is considering shutting down beverage production in Sacramento, Stockton and Los Angeles.

At the center of this assault on the Teamsters are the large food industries headed by the Safeway chain of 212 supermarkets in northern California. With strike authorization being demanded it is very likely that this huge warehouse distribution center will be shutdown.

The fight now threatens to escalate to a shutdown of all California beverage operations spilling over into food industries as well.

The Teamster bottlers are also fighting to bring their wages up to parity with the truck drivers which requires breaking Nixon's

Pay Board guidelines.

Production and distribution are continuing at a number of San Francisco bottling plants entirely handled by management and supervisors.

The determination of the em-

ployers to break the union can only be answered in a fight to mobilize the full strength of the Teamsters to shut off all truck deliveries and expand the fight to a total shutdown of transport if the scab operations continue.

## State Unemployment Rises As GM Rehires 1200

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FREMONT—The GM Assembly Division here has announced the recall of 1200 auto workers who were laid off seven months ago and the reinstatement of a second shift that was eliminated last July due to declines in the intermediate line of compacts produced at this location.

This improved situation is due to management's belated decision to add the Chevelle line of production at this location in order to boost sagging sales in Buick, Oldsmobile and Pontiac compacts produced here.

These compacts have directly felt the devastating effects of imports and domestic production of sub-compacts such as Toyotas, Datsuns, VW's, Colts, Pintos and Vegas in the \$2,000 price range.

Ford's Pinto and GM's Vega high sales last year were not due so much to their competitiveness with foreign imports but to their ability to "rob" sales from their own domestic line of higher priced cars such as the \$4,000 price range produced here at Fremont.

Chrysler Corporation unable to compete domestically with GM and Ford for the subcompact market, bought into Japan's Mitsubishi Corp. with one hundred million investment to manufacture the subcompact Colt for

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The direct effect of this move by Chrysler was the closing down of the Chrysler Maywood plant in Los Angeles after 39 years of assembly operations, laying off permanently 2,000 auto workers as well as thousands in other Chrysler plants in the U.S.

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This finds its sharpest expression in the recent plant closures  
(Continued On Page 15)

## Court Jails Soledad Lawyer

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Desperate to send the Soledad Brothers to the gas chamber, the government this week began arresting defense lawyers.

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Under a court order of Judge S. Lee Vavuris only lawyers or news reporters are allowed to carry files or papers into the courtroom.

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This open act of repression represents a new stage in the Soledad trial in which the judge violates his own court orders in the urgency to get a conviction.

The arrest is not the first in the 6th week of the trial. Over 29 spectators have been arrested since the trial began. Spectators are now being removed from the court for even taking notes on the trial. One youth was recently ordered out of the court for taking notes and then given a ten minute lecture by the judge in his chambers on "correct decorum in the courtroom."

Cluchette and Drumgo have expressed dismay about the proceedings even though the prosecution witnesses are being exposed. They are fearful that they will be dealt with in the manner that George Jackson was—murdered by the police in the prison.

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