

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Defeat Bosses
Strategy
To Split Youth**
Page 13

VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER TWENTY ONE 230

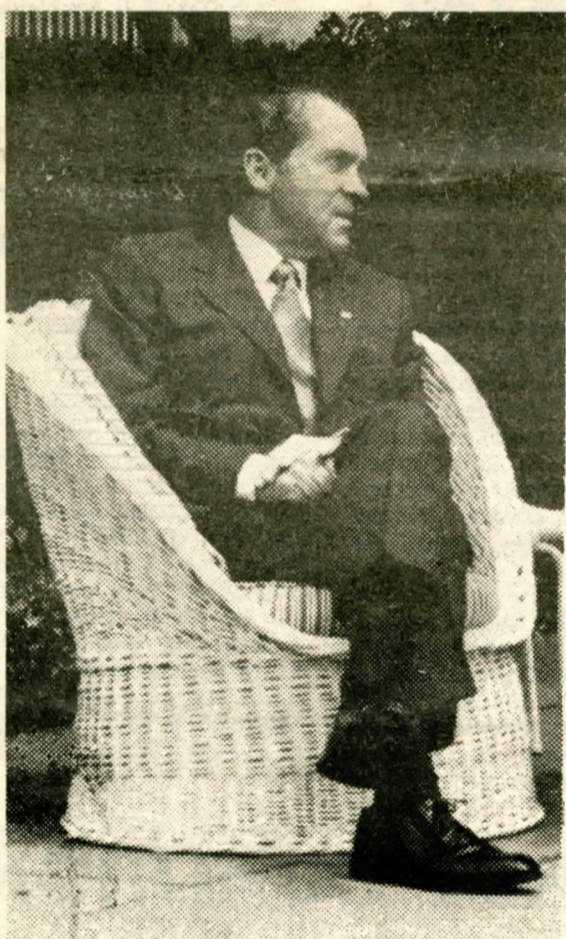
JANUARY 31, 1972



FIFTEEN CENTS

CRISIS CLOUDS STATE OF UNION

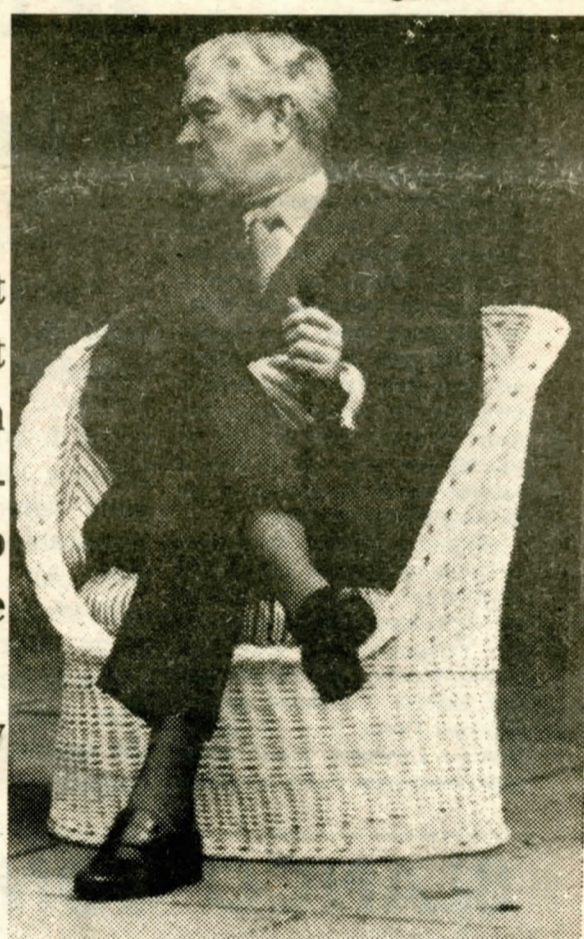
Pages 3 & 6



Nixon

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—John Connally



John Connally

11th YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION
JOIN THE '72 SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

SWP REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE
SOCIALIST
WORKERS
PARTY**

BY FRED MUELLER

Page 7

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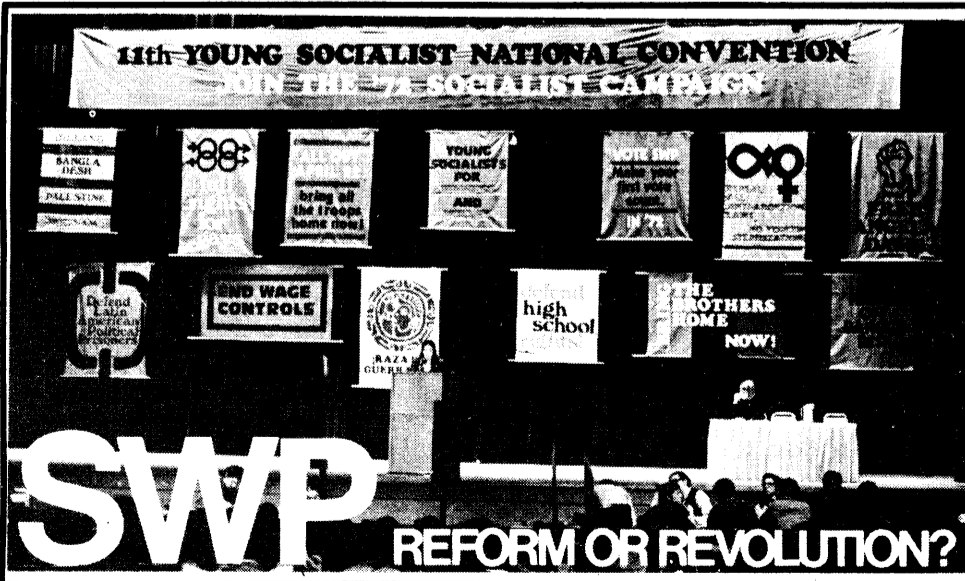
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Page 7



British miners picket Cardiff docks to block coal removal.

African Miners Strike Against Smith Regime

BY ED SMITH

By the tens of thousands African workers in the white colonialist oligarchy of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are taking up the fight against the proposed settlement of the dispute between Britain and the "independent" Rhodesian government which would leave them in political and economic serfdom until the year 2000 at least.

When members of the Pearce Commission, a body appointed by terms of the British-Rhodesian accord to determine the attitude of the Africans to the agreement, decided to visit the industrial city of Gwelo, the entire work force walked out on a general strike to show their opinion of the pact.

At one of the largest asbestos mines in the world, the Shabani, workers have now been out on strike for several weeks—first against the firing of 12 of the men and now against the "settlement." The strike is still 100% effective despite the police murder of one of the strikers and

the wounding of several others. Thousands of Africans, primarily working class youth, have come out into the streets, roaring the chant of "No! No!" to demonstrate their opposition.

ALARMED

The situation has become so serious that even a section of the imperialists are becoming alarmed. The former Rhodesian premier Garfield Todd and his daughter have been arrested for speaking out against the settlement.

Todd knows that for imperialism to maintain any sort of credibility among the African population this crass settlement must not go through. His arrest seriously embarrassed the Pearce Commission, which is supposed to be proving that normal political life is continuing in the country.

The demonstrations continue to spread despite massive police repression, shootings, and the use of gas and dogs.

What this upsurge means along with the strike of the Ovambo miners in South Africa which still continues despite a "settlement" negotiated with the puppet tribal chiefs, is that the working class is coming to the fore in the struggles of the colonial countries in Africa.

REAWAKENED

Capitalism faces not only the deepest economic difficulties in its history but a reawakened working class coming forward in every section of the world. This means class war on the most fundamental level and this is what lies behind the maneuvers of people like Todd and behind the recent proposals to co-opt the previously untouchable "coloreds" in South Africa into the Apartheid system against the Blacks.

(Continued On Page 12)

TUC Deserts British Miners

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

As unemployment passed the million mark for the first time in twenty-five years, the Tory government began organizing a massive campaign to smash the British Coal strike which is now entering its third week.

The campaign is being waged on two fronts aimed at weakening the miners' determination and dividing their ranks. The Tory Employment Secretary Robert Carr now intervenes in talks that were arranged by TUC (Trades Union Congress) leader Victor Feather. It is no accident that these men begin holding closed-door sessions as the determination of the strikers is growing and as support for their strike is spreading throughout the working class.

At a time when the Tory government has announced its intention to move the coal supplies, Feather, who heads the Transport Unions, has refused to summon his men into the fight. At the same time, he arranges meetings with the Tories whose aim is to bury the miners in their own pits. Of course, this is the same Feather who stepped in exactly one year ago to play a leading role in the sell-out of the striking Postal workers.

Feather's policies have their reflection within the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) leadership as whole. In the Yorkshire area, which has 70,000 miners, one worker told the British Trotskyist paper, *Workers Press*, that: "It seems that the Doncaster panel, which has Communist Party members

on it, deliberately won't give leadership."

Of course, these union leaders know that it is a fight against the Tory government and as capitalism's agents within the labor movement, they are unwilling to organize such a fight.

But the Tory government can-

not simply rely on its labor bureaucrats to smash the strike. Thus, the second front of the campaign is being waged on the docks and at the power stations. Here an all-out offensive has been launched to move the shipments of coal. The scabs are getting the support of the police.

Air Canada Ranks Reject Sell-Out In Defiance Of Trudeau Attacks

BY A CORRESPONDENT

MONTREAL—Last night the ranks of the Canadian Air Traffic Control Association voted down by a 85% majority a tentative agreement which the union leadership had reached with Air Canada. The agreement included a wage increase of 17% and a 32 hour work week. The rejection reflects the determination of the Canadian working class

to defeat the attacks of the employers and the Trudeau government.

The Canadian Air Traffic Control Association has been out on strike against the government since 4 am, Monday, January 17th. The 1650 members approved the strike 1539 to 85, thus closing down all air service throughout the country.

The Air Traffic Controllers originally demanded a 60% wage increase which would have given them parity with American workers. They have also demanded a 30 hour work week and better working conditions.

These workers are already overburdened with air traffic

having to work under incredible tension. They are overtaxed with air traffic and lack proper radar equipment and an adequate number of controllers.

In many cases they work seven days in a row with one day off and then return for another seven day stretch. Controllers are also under considerable pressure to put in overtime. Lunch breaks are given "flights permitting" and so quite often a controller must work right through the lunch break.

Job security for air traffic controllers is poor due to the strain on nerves. A controller rarely lasts at his job beyond 35 years of age and he is then given an administrative job usually involving a wage cut. The con-

(Continued On Page 12)

BLANCO CONCILIATES WITH ALLENDE COALITION

BY ED SMITH

The Nixon administration, using the betrayals of all the false leaderships of the working class in and around Dr. Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government, is moving into the last lap of its plan to restore direct imperialist domination through its right wing clients in Chile.

They have no further use for the Allende government and wish to get rid of it as soon as possible. Then they can get on in earnest with their plans for helping restore imperialism's profitability by crushing ruthlessly the workers and peasants with massacres, assassination, and torture, on the example of Bangla Desh, Ceylon, and Bolivia.

This is what is behind Nixon's pronouncement last week declaring that any new expropriations of U.S. property without "prompt, effective, and adequate" compensation would mean the cutoff, not only of U.S. aid, but of U.S.

support to loans and assistance from the Interamerican and World Banks. Nixon has laid it on the line: the colonial countries will hew strictly to the imperialist line or face destruction.

For this reason also, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial warning Allende to stay within the bounds of "legality," and interpreting the defeat of Popular Unity in the recent by-elections as a rebuke for its "leftism." I added a pious admonition to its friends in the Chilean right that they should not press their "mandate" in an extralegal fashion either.

For the moment the Chilean reactionaries have no need of "extralegal"

measures. Due to the class weakness of the Allende regime they are making the big advances strictly within the limits of capitalist legality.

The day before the Chilean Senate, controlled by the right wing, was expected to approve the impeachment of Jose Toha Gonzalez, Allende's former Minister of the Interior and later Minister of Defense. Allende announced the resignation of his entire cabinet. There is a good possibility that a new government cabinet would include leaders of the right wing Christian Democrats, including Radomiro Tomic, who was the Christian Democratic presidential candidate in the last elections against Allende. Already spokesmen of the Communist Party have called for an understanding with the Christian Democrats, as Allende conducts negotiations with them.

Bringing the Christian Democrats into the coalition would be another giant step in tying the Popular Unity to imperialism and would be the final stage in preparing

the ouster of the coalition and opening the way to vicious attacks on the working class and peasantry of Chile. This is precisely what the Christian Democrats have in mind in these talks.

RIGHT

Along with these moves comes tremendously increased hostility from the right toward the independent movement of the workers against both the bourgeoisie and even Allende's coalition. Thus the immediate furor over which Allende's cabinet resigned was the stoning of one of the new right wing Senators by a crowd of his working class constituents, and the death of a big landowner who was attempting to steal cattle from an estate expropriated by peasants led by the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) several months ago.

This is why Minister Toha was picked for impeachment. The charge against him was precisely that he had failed to protect property and had not been ruthless enough in suppressing bands of left "extremists"

(Continued On Page 12)



Striking members of the UITICE, Puerto Rican telephone workers union picket company with signs saying "We are still slaves." Violence has erupted in strike on Avenida Kennedy.

Crisis Clouds State Of Union

BY THE EDITORS

As we enter a new year under President Nixon, after six months of wage and price freezes, controls and related measures, one thing is clear—the capitalist crisis is getting worse.

It is the cloud of the economic crisis which hung over Nixon's State of the Union message and which overshadowed it in significance. What Nixon really stated in this message was that so far he has been able to accomplish nothing and he has no intention of doing anything different in the future.

Wall Street reacted as the Market went down reflecting the lack of confidence of big business in Nixon. It is not that business has any alternative to pose at this point. Nixon is doing just what the big capitalists want him to do. But it is also clear that doing this has accomplished nothing towards a solution of the basic capitalist crisis.

STATISTICS

The basic statistics make this clear. Production has fallen without making any serious impact on inflation while feeding a staggering unemployment rate—now at 6.1%. There is nothing in Nixon's State of the Union or budget proposals which can make an appreciable change in this situation. Even the business economists expect unemployment to stay above 5 1/2% the whole year, even if there is an upturn in production, while the economists expect a continuing rise in prices.

Already this situation means a close to \$40 billion deficit. The deficit is not brought about by any increase in spending in the interests of working people but almost entirely due to a loss of income due to tax concessions to business and the generally lower level of Gross National Product to tax on the one hand, and increase previously mandated costs in unemployment benefits on the other.

EFFECT

However, this deficit must have the effect of further undercutting the monetary situation facing the United States. It can only lead to greater pressure on the dollar in a situation where the

world price of gold constantly pushes above the level that would flow from the devaluation Congress is supposed to implement. This in turn is preparing the basis for a new world monetary crisis. Nothing whatsoever is even beginning to be resolved in this sphere.

CONNALLY

In many ways the most important speech made this last week was made by Secretary of the Treasury Connally, not President Nixon. His pleadings before the United States Chamber of Commerce reveal more both

about the relationship of government to business in a capitalist society and about the depth of the crisis which stands behind Nixon's State of the Union speech.

First he makes clear where the government stands:

"This Administration has defended the American business enterprise in this nation far more than you have defended yourselves."

And:
"This Administration has not been one bit afraid to talk about profits, or to defend the system under which you make profits."

(Continued On Page 12)

Newark Workers Speak Out Against Gibson's Job Cuts

BY DAVE NORTH

NEWARK—City workers here are fighting mad over the salary cuts and layoffs that Mayor Kenneth Gibson is trying to force on them. Statements made by public service employees interviewed at Newark's City Hall indicate that they are prepared to fight back to defend their jobs.

"I am tired of those people who make decisions about the lives of working people while they sit at big desks eating chocolate cookies and drinking coffee all day," declared one worker who is uncertain whether her job will be affected by the layoffs. When asked if she thought Gibson was responsible for the latest attack on Newark workers, she replied "You should know that Gibson isn't doing this all by himself. He is the guy who does the talking for the important people."

Another worker, who has been employed by the city for 28 years, said "I am usually conservative, but if they won't leave our jobs alone we should go on strike and get everyone else in Newark to support us."

"Everyone should have a job, but if you have to cut back it is

wrong to start with those people who have worked for the city many years. I really think that they should cut the jobs of some of those high paid bureaucrats," asserted one worker.

Most workers questioned had supported Gibson's election in 1970. Few city workers plan to vote for him again. "At first I thought he was trapped because of all the trouble Addonizio had caused," stated a former Gibson supporter who now faces a pay cut. "But now he seems to be making the same old mistakes and he's doing it on purpose."

Almost all of the workers interviewed said they would support a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. One worker summed up the attitudes of the city employees: "If we don't have a labor party, I am going to stay home in November."

It is in the vicious anti-working class politics of Kenneth Gibson that the bankruptcy of Black nationalism is most clearly exposed. Gibson is proving in Newark—like Mayor Hatcher in Gary and Mayor Stokes in Cleveland—that all capitalist politicians, Black as well as white, are interested only in saving the bloated profits of the ruling class.

Board Ends Controls On Stores And Rents While Prices Soar

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

What government officials are lightly brushing off as the "post freeze bulge" in prices is cutting deeply into the pockets of American working class families.

In December the government reports, the price index rose 0.4% following the surge in wholesale prices last month of 0.8%. Nixon's Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers added insult to injury when he remarked in light of this rise: "I wouldn't be surprised if the bulge in prices would increase in the future."

While workers' wages are held at heel the government is removing more and more corporations and concerns from even the semblance of controls.

Last week the Cost of Living Council exempted 45% of all landlords and all stores whose annual sales are less than 100,000 dollars. The latter includes most of the stores in the ghettos that already charge higher prices.

This does not even include the dozens of big companies who are excused from filing applications for increases on the basis that they "promise" not to boost prices higher than 2%.

SOARING

The Cost of Living Council remarked with joy that "an encouraging aspect of the behavior of prices in December was concentrated in the food component." It is the soaring cost of the "food component" that hits at the working class that is forced to live on dwindling wages. All

the basic necessities have risen—food, rent, health, transportation, and other services.

Giant monopoly corporations like the New York Telephone Company have been granted a 29% increase in rates since last July. Blue Cross is asking for an 18% increase.

The government barely tries to hide the real fraud of the price controls. Implementation is accomplished through the "good will" and "promises" of the corporations. During the World War II controls the control commission had 50,000 employees, during the Korean War it had 20,000. Prices soared in these periods. The Price Commission under Phase II has 3,000 employees who are supposed to check violations.

As C. Jackson Grayson, the head of the Price Commission arrogantly put it, it is impossible to tell whether increases are legal "because we would have to make public a company's books. That is contrary to the American business system and we felt we could not violate it."

Above all the government does not want to "violate" the bosses' profits. This is what Phase II is all about. While the working class suffers, the bosses' profits get fatter.

Union Leaders Retreat On Speedup

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

At General Motors' Frigidaire division plant in Dayton, Ohio, the local IUE leaders, together with the International leadership, recently signed an agreement behind the backs of and against the will of the membership for a 20 cents an hour wage reduction in exchange for rehiring a limited number of workers.

The company threatened that without this agreement there would be even more layoffs.

UNEMPLOYMENT

This pattern has since been implemented at a number of plants in different industries.

In all cases the bosses' attempt to use the growing unemployment as a bludgeon against the workers, demanding wage slashing and speedup as a condition for the plant staying open or workers keeping their jobs.

The latest such attempt is at the B.F. Goodrich rubber plant in Akron, Ohio, where the company launched a campaign "to keep jobs in Akron." Goodrich demanded that Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers renegotiate the contract.

They want more than 100 work rules changed in order to undermine seniority, increase speedup, reduce SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits), and lay the basis for pushing the wage level in the Akron rubber plants to the lower level of the

South. Such concessions in the past have only led to the worsening of conditions while jobs have continually declined in the industry. That is what happened after 1965 when the bureaucrats agreed to give up the six hour day and return to eight hours.

These leaders begin with the bosses' need to make profit and not with the rights of the workers to live. This can only lead to the complete destruction of all rights of the rubber workers.

The only alternative is to begin with the needs of the workers and if the bosses' toes get stepped on—so be it. This means nationalization of the industry under workers control and the fight for a labor party to carry out this program.

Newark Printers Reject Contract

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK, N.J.—Members of Pressmen's Local 8, formerly employed by the Newark Evening News overwhelmingly rejected an "offer" of a contract by the Newhouse-owned Newark Star-Ledger which has contracted to print the News when the evening paper resumes publication.

The News has not published since last May when it was shut down by a strike of the Newspaper Guild. Local 8 President James Schofield indicated that although negotiations are still continuing it was very likely that they would be broken off later in

the week.

Schofield claims the offer was made with the full knowledge that the union could not possibly accept it in order to drive the News out of business and have a monopoly in Newark. In the meantime, they have raised their advertising rates, he said.

The terms of the offer call for a

five year, "no-strike" contract which would provide only 18 more jobs, whereas the News had formerly employed 70 pressmen. In addition, the Star-Ledger's own pressmen would lose about \$100 per week in guaranteed overtime pay under the agreement because the ex-Newspressmen would be put to work on the Sunday Star-Ledger.

Newhouse's whole approach to this, like that of growing sections of the capitalist class, is to demand speed-up, productivity and wage slashing on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis.

Schofield charged that behind the "offer" was a "conspiracy" which he said he would elaborate on in his statement later in the week.

He indicated, however, that certain politicians had successfully thwarted any attempt to bring the Newhouse chain under regulation of the anti-monopoly laws.

The union leadership is apparently beginning to see that to "curb" such monopolies through a government controlled by those monopolies is impossible.

CONCESSIONS

He admitted that of course the News would want concessions if any alternative arrangement were to be made and that the "union was willing to make concessions" in order to save the jobs. He revealed that none of the former News pressmen were working regularly, with many of them working two and three days a week at different printing jobs in Northern New Jersey.

We say, the workers must begin with their own needs and if this means a strike against both the News and Star-Ledger in order to win a decent contract for the pressmen, then this must be done.

TWIN CITIES, JAN. 23—Members of Teamsters Local 1145 representing 7,000 production workers at 15 area Honeywell plants voted 1760 to 48 to strike January 31 if the company sticks to its present wage offer averaging 2%.

This overwhelming vote is in contrast to the attitude of 1145's leadership. Local president Wayne Tyler has stated that the union is going for "whatever federal guidelines will allow."

The strike vote, however, shows the willingness of the ranks to take up the wage freeze and its collaborators in the labor movement.

Lockheed To Shut Four Plants

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Last week the Lockheed-Georgia Company announced that it would close down four plants in the South, throwing 700 workers into the streets onto the unemployment lines.

The plants in Chattanooga, Tenn., Martinsburg, W. Virginia, Logan, Ohio and Uniontown, Pa., were building the superjet C5. Last year the government gave Lockheed \$250 million. This has gone to line the pockets of the owners and to "consolidate its work force."

The closings make clear that the employers and the government are making the workers pay for Lockheed's bankruptcy. Lockheed-Georgia has already cut its work force from 33,000 to 16,000.

At the same time the government is using the unemployment in the aerospace industry to force wage cuts down the throats of the workers who do remain on the job.

CLOSURES

Closures like the ones at Lockheed are not isolated but will



Jefferson HS Young Socialists recruiting youth to Y.S.

Hospital Bosses Plan Layoff Of Thousands

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The hospital bosses are stepping up their attacks on hospital workers as the June 30th contract deadline for Local 1199 draws near.

In every hospital, city as well as private, the real meaning of the job freeze is hitting home. Workers who leave are not replaced and the work is then given to others through arbitrary transfers, increased work loads and abolition of job titles. This reorganization is preparation for mass layoffs.

Any pretext is used to discipline workers so that they are either fired or are forced to leave in disgust. The entire grievance procedure of the union is threatened.

The future facing hospital workers was spelled out by Bernard Weinstein, Director of Bellevue Hospital. Weinstein told the Hospital Corporation that in order to comply with their attrition policy, he would have to close 14 wards (360 beds), outpatient clinics, consolidate others and reduce the staff and operating hours of many more. He estimated that attrition would mean a cut of 666 jobs by the end of June.

This is only the beginning. The bosses are seeking sweeping productivity rights in the next contract.

The hospitals will be backed to the hilt by the government. Virgil Day, the chairman of the business sector of the Pay Board, revealed that "restrictions on such problem industries as construction and health care" will be necessary.

On every attack on working conditions, the 1199 leaders have accepted the "rights" of the bosses. The present contract provides no classification system, no job security and no union control over working conditions.

The Rank and File Committee has begun a fight now to prepare

for the contract negotiations and to reverse the union's retreat on working conditions.

The Committee will campaign for a 50% increase over two years, a 35 hour week for all, classifications which spell out all work done for each title, a no layoff guarantee, and no changes in working conditions without union approval.

These demands must be raised immediately in the local union meetings as well as the demand that the union take action now against the speed-up.

High Court To Rule On Executions

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On Tuesday, January 18th, the Supreme Court began hearings on the constitutionality of the death penalty.

Lawyers for two condemned murderers are challenging the death penalty as a violation of the Eighth Amendment forbidding "cruel and unusual punishment." Lawyers from Texas, Georgia and California are fighting to defend it.

The debate, which follows a five year moratorium on executions takes place now when Nixon is seeking to turn the Supreme Court into an open instrument of state repression and to "legalize" the destruction of all democratic rights.

If Powell and Rehnquist, Nixon's two right wing nominees to the Court take part in the vote it is certain that Nixon will have a majority to reinstitute capital punishment in the states where it has been stopped.

On January 12th, the Court ruled four to three that jurors did not have to be convinced beyond a "reasonable doubt" that confessions of criminal defendants were voluntary in order to admit them as evidence. This opens the door to use torture and beatings to extract confessions.

It is not crime that the government is concerned about. The debate over the death penalty is part of Nixon's strategy to frame up militants and send them to the electric chair.

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Some of the cops who broke up CWA rally last week.

Plan Arbitration To Bust CWA Strike

BY A CWA LOCAL 1195 MEMBER

NEW YORK, N.Y., JAN. 24—State Mediator Vincent J. McDonald called today for binding arbitration to settle the 26 week old strike by CWA locals against the New York Telephone Company.

McDonald said that compulsory arbitration was as necessary now as it was in 1968 when the state legislature broke the New York City Sanitationmen's strike.

McDonald's proposal is of the same character as the vicious strikebreaking legislation now being prepared against striking West Coast dock workers.

Just as the telephone worker rank and file begin to take up a fight to stop the importation of scabs into New York City, Nixon and Rockefeller, who stand behind McDonald move in to try to use the power of the government to break the strike!

Meanwhile, the scabbing continues. One striker told us that a "friend" of his from Chicago was sent in as a scab. "The Chicago office told me, if I went to New York, I could clear \$3,000 in 12 weeks. I am \$1500 in debt, so here I am," said the scab. Needless to say, their friendship is now somewhat strained.

The telephone strike is now even more clearly than before a political strike. In addition to the mass picketing against the scabs which was dropped by the Local 1101 leaders and must now be resumed, the CWA locals must mobilize the ranks to stop any government intervention against the strike or compulsory arbitration.

This means reaching the rest of

the New York labor movement with the demand for a mass demonstration at City Hall called by the Central Labor Council, leading to a one day general strike.

Youth Demonstrate To Protest Freeze Of Police Hiring

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, Jan. 24—A group of some 30 young men set up a picket line demonstration at City Hall in protest against the cancellation of the Civil Service lists for appointments as City patrolmen.

Participants in the protest told us that the lists comprised 9,000 men who had passed the civil service tests and been cleared by the Police Department's investigation from one to three and a half years ago. Normally, these lists remain open to fill vacancies for four years, but they have been cancelled by Police Commissioner Murphy and Mayor Lindsay as part of the city's "job freeze" economy program.

COLLEGE

The City is trying to hire personnel for police work outside of civil service through the Model Cities program at \$5,800 per year salaries. Murphy also has plans to end civil service and hire men with one year of college instead of the men on the lists.

Many of those on the lists are Vietnam veterans and about 25% of the 9,000 are minority youth.

Most of those in the protest appeared to be working class youth who are primarily interested in the high pay, benefits and job security in the department.

We asked one protestor, a Puerto Rican youth, what he thought about the unemployment situation. "It's getting worse," he said. Many of the applicants for patrolmen have gone through all sorts of effort—of studying, taking courses, the trials of being investigated, and of planning their lives around these jobs. Now, you're going to have to have one year of college, but it's getting harder and harder to go to college."

JOBS

He continued, "There aren't many jobs when you get out of high school. What are guys doing? Driving cabs. That's what I'm doing, but I don't want to drive a cab the rest of my life."

Rizzo Threatens To Cut Jobs Of 8,000 Teachers

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers faces a School Board and city administration which are determined to slash every gain in wages and working conditions won in recent years.

At every point the government maneuvers to weaken and isolate the PFT. This was the meaning of Mayor Rizzo's announcement that he was going to push for a rule requiring all school personnel to live within city limits.

Eight thousand employees currently live in communities surrounding Philadelphia. If unable to comply with this residency requirement presumably they would be dumped off the payroll. While Rizzo beat a retreat on this matter in the face of a strong PFT declaration of opposition, the aim of the city remains the same: radically cut the number

of teachers and drag the entire school system down

PFT negotiator John Ryan has stated that he feels that the Rizzo administration is staffed with people who wouldn't mind if public education were done away with altogether. The negotiations for a new contract further prove this. In exchange for a miserable increase the board is demanding a lengthening of the school day, elimination of any maximum class sizes and sole authority to make transfers.

At a recent union meeting Ryan asked the membership to approve a new contract proposal concerning secondary transfers that would make possible the cutting of hundreds of junior high positions.

The days of bargaining and compromise are over. Well in advance of the new school year and contract, the Board has begun the attack, trying different tactics like the residency scheme.

TWU—"I Say To Hell With The Wage Board"

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Transport workers head Matthew Guinan is not going to find it easy to convince the union rank and file to accept the sellout contract he negotiated New Year's Day with the New York City Transit Authority.

Guinan's total capitulation to the guidelines of Nixon's starvation Pay Board has enraged many of the 38,000 transit workers who refuse to accept a contract that offers a pay raise that cannot even match the rise in the cost of living.

The opposition to the Guinan

contract is so intense that it will never pass a legitimate vote of the rank and file. But it seems likely that the union bureaucracy will use all sorts of backroom shenanigans to turn the mail ratification ballot into a fraud in order to evade the will of the workers and jam this contract down their throats.

"I'll tell you what's going to happen with this mail ballot," asserted an angry bus driver, "Guinan is going to take the 'NO' votes and throw them into the river."

Other bus drivers interviewed at a New York City yard expressed deep dissatisfaction with the terms of the contract. Many of them stated that they would have been willing to accept



Rank and file checkers of Local 1 talk outside recent meeting at Manhattan Center at which they overwhelmingly voted to reject the PDO which their leadership asked them to accept.

Angry Checkers Vote Down PDO

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Rank and file dockworkers, members of the Checkers Local 1 angrily denounced International Longshoremen's Association President Thomas Gleason for his attempts to ram through the PDO (Prior Day Order) hiring scheme as the basis of a new contract.

One old-timer on the docks told us, "Gleason isn't playing both sides—he's playing the shippers' side."

Following the meeting of Local 1 attended by over 1000 members on January 23, rank and filers were saying that they didn't have any rights left at all, that Gleason ran the union the way he wanted, brazenly disregarding the will of the membership.

They said that all but a handful of men at the meeting voted to end PDO and to end the "multiple debiting" system (a system of progressively increasing fines designed to break down conditions on the docks and force men off the guaranteed income).

Despite this Gleason claimed that these provisions are already in the old contract, and he has agreed to them in the new contract which he and the head of the Shipping Association, James Dickman, are rejoicing over.

Even though the PDO was never used until after the Taft Hartley was invoked, and then only with the explicit agreement of Gleason, he now says that members of the local must accept it as well as multiple debiting. If they don't like it, they can vote down the proposed contract, says Gleason.

At the December 6th meeting

of Local 1, Gleason was able to persuade the checkers to give the PDO a 30 day "trial period." He pleaded with them in order to get the PDO rolling. He then postponed the Local meeting following the end of the 30 day period. When the membership finally had a chance to vote, he arrogantly told them they "could do what they wanted," but PDO and multiple debiting were here to stay.

The fight to throw out Gleason, Scotto and all their cronies whose entire lives are spent trying to hoodwink the membership is a necessity for the survival of the dockworkers and the union.

But this means the launching of an all out fight to reject this "tentative" contract and to go back out on February 14, to unite with the West Coast in a nationwide strike to win a decent con-

(Continued On Page 12)

Boston Longshoremen Face Struggle For Survival

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BOSTON—The situation on the waterfront here is explosive. Where there used to be 30 gangs working, now as few as three work regularly on a pier.

Since the strike the shippers have consciously sent cargo through Halifax in an effort to smash down and demoralize dockers through forced unemployment.

One worker told this reporter as he showed his card to collect unemployment, "Last year I made \$14,000. Right now I'm almost on welfare."

According to another longshoreman the Port Authority with the full backing of the shippers has bought the huge Mystic

pier and installed a new 20,000 dollar train and new storage shed.

The new pier is to be operated on three shifts introducing night work and doing away with any kind of overtime. The ILA has no contract with the Port Authority, a "non-profit corporation" which is clearly carrying out the plans of the BSA (Boston Shipping Association) for flexibility of labor, meaning the destruction of the ILA.

The Port Authority has no provisions for pensions, but uses the same work "guarantee" as the current ILA contract.

The drivers felt that it would be impossible to accept the contract unless there existed real controls on prices. "Let's face it," said one transport worker, "nothing is going to be done about prices. Nixon is just doing a job on wages. So I say to hell with the wage board."

"My wife tells me about price increases every time she comes back from the store. Something just went up from 29 cents to 39 cents. How can we accept either the contract or the wage board?"

One driver declared: "There is only one way to deal with this mess: we should just close everything up for a week just to remind the big wheels who really runs this city."

"It's a guarantee but it's not a guarantee. You are guaranteed 2080 hours of work a year, but that means any kind of work, anywhere, in the sheds, in the hold, or anywhere else."

The vicious substance of this guarantee is revealed by the fact that if a man turns down a job that is below his seniority, like in the hold for example, he can be docked eight hours on the guarantee even if he puts in eight hours on another job the same day. The second time he refuses a job he can be docked 16 hours for that day, the third time 24 hours and so on until, explained the docker, "when you get all through you owe them time!"

The ranks are ready to go out Feb. 14 and are ready to fight.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

State Of The Union- More Work, Less Pay

Behind the usual platitudes about patriotism and progress Nixon in his State of the Union address outlined his plans for preserving what is in the eyes of capitalism both American and progressive—profits.

Nixon's speech was an open admission of the bankruptcy of his whole economic policy. Despite all the promises to end unemployment and inflation Nixon admitted that inflation had not been broken and that unemployment was over 6%. This situation Nixon said would continue.

But both the blame and the brunt of the crisis Nixon placed on the American working class. Underneath the vagueness of his speech lay the preparations of the capitalist class for war against the working class both at home and abroad.

A big portion of the budget Nixon made clear would go for increasing military expenditures which he claimed are "the guardian of peace." This increase, at a time when the U.S. is supposedly winding down the war in Vietnam, is aimed at guarding the profits and interests of U.S. imperialism now against the tremendous upsurge of the working class in the advanced countries of Europe as well as the colonial countries from Latin America to Bangla Desh and Vietnam. It is guns and troops and not foreign aid that the U.S. will send to maintain its control throughout the world.

The heart of Nixon's speech was aimed at the American working class. The only time he departed from his prepared speech was when he viciously launched out at the West Coast dock strike. "This nation cannot and will not tolerate that kind of irresponsible labor tie-up in the future."

Nixon made clear that the full power of the state would be used to stop the struggle of the American workers for their rights beginning with the passage of a law which would outlaw strikes and force compulsory arbitration.

At the same time the working class is to pay for the crisis of the system through speed-up and productivity. Appealing to morality Nixon said that the workers would have to work for what they got. All his proposals for technological advancement are for this purpose—to get the most work from the fewest workers at the lowest wages.

This is Nixon's "new American revolution"—unemployment, inflation, speed-up and the destruction of the unions. On these questions Nixon has the full support of the Democratic Party. As Senator Mansfield put it: "We have cooperated and will continue to."

The American working class must prepare its own message addressed to Nixon and his friends in Congress—the American working class is not going to tolerate what capitalism has in store.

This year, as all the labor leaders have pointed out is the most critical one politically for the unions. This means taking the step now to use the tremendous power of the American labor movement to build a labor party to throw the whole lot of them out for good.



What we think

Sihanouk Exposes Stalinism

The recent interview with Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia by Alessandro Casella in the January 23rd New York Times Magazine is of considerable importance. Sihanouk is in no position to criticize the Chinese as both he personally and his forces in Cambodia are dependent on China. His position with Russia is different as the Soviet Union still recognizes the Lon Nol regime. So Sihanouk is willing to reveal the actual role of the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia.

He reports: "It would be difficult for the USSR not to help North Vietnam, which belongs to the socialist family of nations. But I have seen the jet planes, the radars, the missiles. None of this is up-to-date. In terms of both quantity and quality, the Russians have not given Hanoi a quarter of what they have given the Egyptians. Why? Because the Russians don't want Hanoi to win. They will give the Vietnamese just enough to keep them from losing the war, but not enough to enable them to win it."

While Sihanouk would like to attribute this state of affairs to Russia's "neurotic fear" of a "yellow peril," the real cause of the Soviet Union's treachery lies in its character as a Stalinist regime committed to a policy of peaceful coexistence. This means the Soviet bureaucracy opposes all revolutionary developments seeking to maintain itself through deals with the imperialists. The imperialists are more than happy to collaborate with the Stalinists against revolutionary movements aiming all the time at the overthrow of the workers states as well.

China pursues the same Stalinist

policies but tailored to its somewhat different international situation. For a time it was in China's interests to encourage national revolutionary developments in Asia as a counterweight to American influence. Today, however, China turns openly towards collaboration with the United States. This is the meaning of Nixon's upcoming visit. Is it conceivable that China would allow the Cambodian revolutionary forces to overthrow U.S. backed Lon Nol forces on the eve of Nixon's visit to China? Contrary to Sihanouk's protestations, China's pressure will now be brought to bear on Cambodia as Russia's is on North Vietnam.

The Sihanouk disclosures—he only openly asserts what everyone has known for years—is of particular importance to the struggle of revolutionaries in defense of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. We have maintained for some time that this defense requires a struggle against Stalinism. The Vietnamese masses are being attacked on the one hand by American imperialism and on the other hand held back from driving off the aggressor by the policies of Stalinism. Their defense requires an absolute commitment to the struggle against American imperialism combined with a ruthless campaign to expose the role of Stalinism.

The American Communist Party proceeds differently. It openly defends Stalinism, remains silent on all its criminal activity in Vietnam and against dissidents in the Soviet countries like Bukovsky. It seeks to turn the struggle against the war into

the Democratic Party, into a struggle in defense of a section of the class which perpetrates the crimes in Asia.

The role of the Socialist Workers Party is one of complete capitulation to Stalinism. They refuse to raise a single criticism of the role of the Soviet Union in relation to Southeast Asia and fight at each point for common collaboration with the American Stalinists in the peace movement. They seek to build a peace movement in the United States which includes leading spokesmen of the capitalist class like Hartke and Lindsay. They then seek to apologize for this by stating that this is "what the Vietnamese want" as if the Stalinist leadership has suddenly become the arbiter of what is correct policies for the working class!

As Bangla Desh illustrates there is now developing throughout Asia a massive movement of many millions upon millions of workers and peasants against imperialism. These movements are scoring important victories in Laos and Cambodia. The relatively stable situation for imperialism in South Vietnam cannot be attributed to any success of "Vietnamization" but rather to the duplicitous role of Stalinism outlined by Sihanouk which has been consciously holding the South Vietnamese forces in check.

There must now be a growing conflict between the movement of the colonial masses and Stalinism not only in India and Pakistan but also in Southeast Asia. This can have an explosive impact on the stability of American imperialism itself.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

As an employee of the General Dynamics Fore River Shipyard, I help build the type of ship as in this advertisement. I thought it might be of use to you in your propaganda work in relation to the current dock strike. A ship of this type would be a great step forward for workers in a socialist economy but only increases the rate of exploitation and decreases the number of jobs both for dock workers and

sailors.

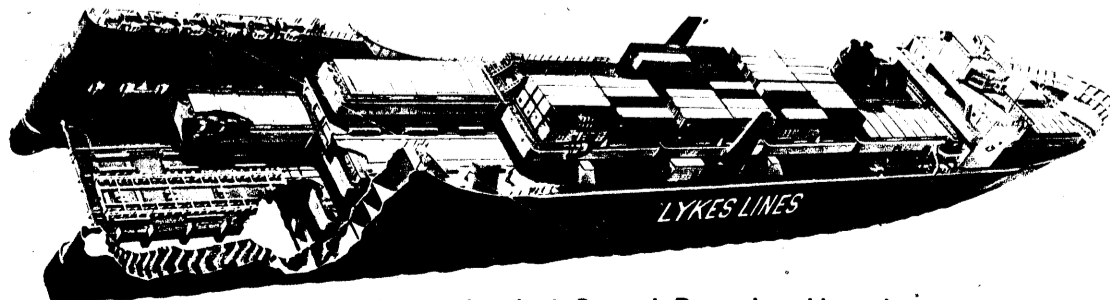
Three of these ships can replace seventeen of the new containerized ships. One is almost finished and two more are presently under construction. I leave it up to the dock workers to imagine what this sort of ship means to their jobs, and the difficulty in striking against such a ship.

This ship is heavily (not sure, but probably at least 70-90%) subsidized by the government as are

most ships. The working conditions at all shipyards are poor and quite dangerous. Unemployment increases in many shipyards as politicians award huge contracts to friends (Litton Industries in Mississippi cannot handle all the work it has).

The shipowners are virtually guaranteed a profit while shipbuilders and longshoremen pay the way completely and yet are lucky to have a job!

Yours in struggle,
F.B.



LASH-type ship being produced at General Dynamics shipyard.

AT THE AUGUST 8-12, 1971 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, the main political resolution was entitled "Perspectives and Lessons of the New Radicalization."

As reported in the September 3 issue of the SWP newspaper *The Militant*, this resolution describes this as:

"...The biggest, deepest and broadest radicalization ever in the United States. It notes the features of this radicalization that are unique in American politics: the depth of nationalist sentiment; the new power of the student movement; the existence of a mass antiwar movement for the first time during an imperialist war; and the development of the women's liberation movement, which is unique in world history. The resolution cites still other aspects of the radicalization that testify to its depth and widespread impact; the gay liberation movement, the growing rebellion in the prisons, radicalization in the churches, struggles by welfare mothers and the spread of the radicalization to high, junior high and elementary school students. However, there is an important objective contradiction between the depth of the radicalization today among young people, women, national minorities and

two weeks empirically to adapt to developments, comment on and tail along behind them.

Without revolutionary strategy nothing is possible, neither the understanding of events, nor the preparation for new developments. The most that can be done is to substitute one pragmatic impression for another.

But strategy means above all the assessment of historical developments. For the SWP the development of the class struggle today means an enormous crisis. Without an admission of error, a recognition first of all of the contradiction between objective reality and their perspectives, and a study of the roots of this in the history of the IV International and the struggle against revisionism, there can be no fundamental change. Without a break from the revisionist method there must be only a further deepening of hostility to Marxism and the working class, a further move to the right. This is the path being followed by the SWP. It seeks desperately to justify and hold on to its middle class perspective as the ground is being destroyed from under it.

This has been shown in the months following Nixon's August 15th bombshells. As the working class has moved forward, the revisionists have retreated. The SWP

war day!

Combined with this open cringing before and reliance on the liberals within the capitalist parties was the vicious hostility to the working class expressed by the SWP forces at meetings in New York which discussed plans for the Nov. 6th demonstrations. At these meetings the revisionists tried to prevent all political discussion and, where this was impossible, heaped ridicule on the struggle of the Workers League to carry forward the fight against the war and the wage freeze on a class basis, with the fight for general strike action and the need for a complete break from the Democrats and building of a labor party for 1972. Just at this very moment the movement of the working class was forcing even some union officials to call not only for general strike action but also for a labor party.

For Marxists the middle class protest flop on November 6th is no mystery. Nor is the extremely small turnout for the November 20th marches in Washington and San Francisco for the repeal of anti-abortion laws. The whole variety of confused movements of the middle class have absolutely no stable base or perspective. They are fundamentally protest movements, reform movements. They are held together precisely by a lack of dis-

actions of the government widened into a willingness to challenge the authority of prevailing institutions and to reject more and more of the norms and ideology of capitalist society.

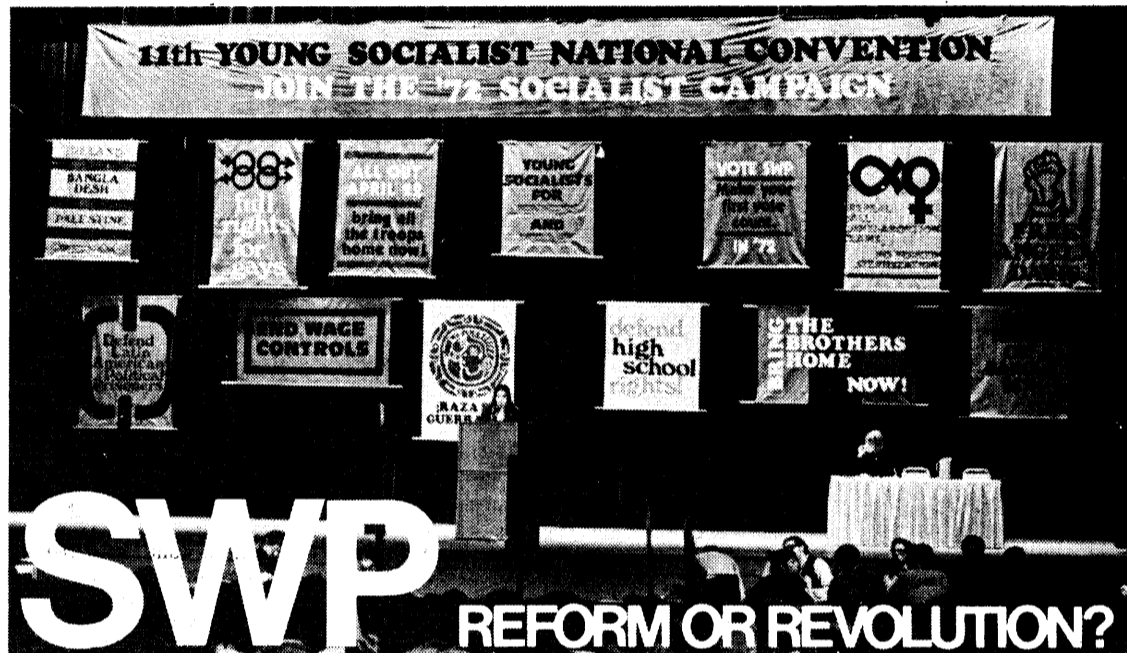
"As these movements continued to develop amidst ebbs and flows, new struggles caught on. The most massive have been the Chicano and women's liberation movements. New issues, such as pollution of our environment, have further fueled the radicalization. The ruling class has been unable to prevent the radicalization from making a deep impact on its armed forces. The gay liberation movement against the oppression of homosexuals, the prison revolts, the welfare struggles, the divisions in the Catholic Church demonstrate several key facts:

"1. There is no layer too oppressed to struggle, no reactionary prejudice and oppression too sacrosanct and deep-rooted to be challenged.

"2. The actions of each new layer of the diversified movement have raised great doubts about the fundamental values of bourgeois society.

"3. Each extends and deepens interest in radical ideas about the reconstruction of social life.

"4. Each drives home the conclusion



1 New Radicalization & Neo-Capitalism

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BY FRED MUELLER

other sectors on the one hand, and the lower level of combativity within the trade union movement on the other..."

The very same issue of *The Militant* contains a front page story urging "Organize a Congress of Labor to fight the wage freeze."

Within one week of the SWP Convention none other than President Nixon had shown the complete shallowness of all the theories of "new radicalization." The objective reality in this country and internationally was and is not a "lower level of combativity" of the working class, but deepening class struggle, deepening conflict between the working class and the capitalists at the point of production.

The fundamental contradiction is between the objective tasks facing the working class and the lag in consciousness, the crisis of working class leadership; between the attacks coming down now and the absolute and urgent need for conscious leadership to beat back these attacks. This is the objective reality from which the revolutionary movement proceeds. This is the reality so sharply exposed by Nixon's moves on August 15th and by developments since then.

For the SWP revisionists, on the contrary, the starting off point is the "lower level of combativity" within the working class. Their whole perspective has consisted in orienting towards and embracing protest movements of the middle class. This is what their perspectives resolution says.

This is contradicted by the developments which they must report in their own newspaper. It is contradicted by Nixon himself and above all by the movement of the working class. August 15th was a turning point, a qualitative development of the crisis which the revisionists have consistently ignored and denied.

The SWP is completely unprepared for the explosive class struggles and rapid political developments taking place now within the working class. All it could do in the face of Nixon's measures was for one or

sees Nixon's attacks as building the "new radicalization" whereas they mean the exact opposite.

An editorial on "Labor and November 6" in the October 8th issue of *The Militant* says the following:

"...Labor support for the fall antiwar offensive, culminating in the mass demonstrations Nov. 6 in 16 cities, is greater than before any previous antiwar mobilization, including the April 24 actions in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco ...The expansion of labor support for the antiwar movement was most dramatically illustrated in the Sept. 23 Detroit demonstration against Nixon, the war and the wage freeze, sponsored by the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council..."

Thus the revisionists see the wage freeze as an opportunity to build middle class protest. On the contrary the tremendous significance of the Sept. 23rd Detroit demonstration was that 8,000 workers and youth were mobilized by the trade union movement against the attacks of the employers. In contrast, the November 6th demonstrations called by the middle class antiwar coalitions held together by the SWP and the Communist Party were a complete flop almost everywhere, bringing out far fewer numbers than in the past and very small numbers of workers.

At a time of enormous conflict between the organized working class and the capitalist government at every level, the October 8th editorial has the following to say:

"Another aspect of the new dimension of mass support for Nov. 6 is indicated by the increased possibilities of convincing city governments to publicly oppose the war and endorse the fall antiwar offensive. Both the Minneapolis City Council and the Ramsey County (St. Paul) Board of Commissioners as well as the governor of Minnesota have endorsed Nov. 6 and urged citizens of those cities to participate. Also Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams, declared Oct. 13 "Take Bronx out of the

cipline and political cohesion. Uniting all who oppose a specific symptom of capitalist crisis on a liberal basis, they are bound to be pushed into the background and disintegrate as decisive struggles between the two fundamental classes in modern society open up.

This kind of explanation, a scientific explanation rooted first of all in the movements of classes, is miles away from the thinking of the revisionists, who have subordinated themselves completely to the middle class over the past period. They cannot believe that the conditions have changed. For the SWP all is well, and the recent antiwar and anti-abortion mobilizations are great successes. They can only continue to tail along after the Stalinists and the trade union bureaucracy in holding back the working class and boosting the liberals. At the present time this makes the gulf between the SWP and the working class an unbridgeable chasm. It means a going over on their part openly to reformism and to the bourgeoisie. This is the logic of the theory of the "new radicalization."

THE THEORY OF NEW RADICALIZATION

What is this theory and where does it come from? The SWP's outlook is expressed in its 1971 Convention Resolution:

"The current radicalization began with a new rise in the Afro-American struggle for self-determination in the early 1960's. This developing independent movement, affected by nationalist struggles around the world and especially in Africa and Cuba, sparked a new layer of Black youth, attracted sympathy and support and precipitated a nationwide student movement. The students then became the spearhead of the antiwar movement as Washington plunged into Vietnam.

"The mass actions of this antiwar movement generalized the radicalization, spreading it both geographically and into layers of the population other than the students. From a credibility gap on the war question, suspicions and doubts about the

that new issues and independent struggles will continue to emerge as the radicalization deepens."

This passage sums up the method of the revisionists. It is in every respect the opposite of Marxism. It is the method of the bourgeoisie, of bourgeois sociology. It is nothing but the crudest empiricism and pragmatism.

The revisionists proceed by stringing together a number of superficial aspects of current political developments. From the beginning these points are nothing but a rationalization for what they are doing, for what "works" in the narrowest sense of winning certain numbers or influence to their organization.

For the SWP, the opportunist slogan of Bernstein is the guide: "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing." The questions that are posed then become "Where is the action?", "Where can we win friends and influence people?" Theory becomes an explanation for what is already being done, not for what must be done; not for what can and must be changed but simply of what exists.

The pragmatist and empiricist sees only the surface, not the underlying essence. This philosophy is chained to the outlook of the bourgeoisie, to worshipping the accomplished fact instead of seeing how it must be acted upon. Empiricism and pragmatism sufficed for the bourgeoisie in its early development. Now they are used to hide and obscure the reality of class struggle and crisis.

As shown by the above excerpt, the revisionists begin with various protest movements without showing where these movements come from. Their analysis consists of a completely superficial description of "credibility gap," "suspicions and doubts," new struggles "catching on" and so forth.

For the pragmatist this description then serves as the excuse for adapting to the present level of consciousness in any number of areas where recruits or influence are seen. Hence Jack Barnes'

famous statement to the effect that there are at least 5,000,000 homosexuals "out there" who constitute a veritable untapped reservoir for the revolutionary party.

All the basic elements of the new radicalization theory, as elaborated by the SWP over the past several years, are based upon this bourgeois method.

These elements can be summarized as follows:

1) Capitalism has entered a new stage in its development, that of neo-capitalism. This stage is qualitatively different from imperialism, which was analyzed by Lenin and Trotsky as the highest stage of capitalism, as capitalism in decay. On the contrary, the neo-capitalist theory holds that measures and developments have enabled the capitalists to solve the fundamental contradictions of the imperialist stage. It holds that disastrous depression on the scale of 1929 can be avoided.

2) Neo-capitalism is the underlying basis for the entire new radicalization theory. Flowing from it is the conception that changes in capitalism have led to fundamental structural changes in the working class, drastically reducing the weight and power of the industrial workers and creating a "new working class" consisting of students, intellectuals and technicians. These strata are thrown into conflict with capitalism over the question of alienation. Alienation, not the conflict between the classes at the point of production, is the fundamental contradiction of neo-capitalism.

3) Flowing from neo-capitalist theory, the objective basis for a conservative working class is seen in the permanent boom, the ability of capitalism in its present stage to soften or remove its most fundamental contradictions. The middle class layers under these conditions take up the fight against capitalism and the working class will follow their lead as the radicalization expands.

4) The extension of the current radicalization is seen as an automatic process. The "diversified movement" simply expands, one section encouraging another. The automatic extension of the radicalization is seen as the pattern for future developments, leading all the way to the overthrow of capitalism.

MANDEL—ARCHITECT OF REVISIONISM

The architect of neo-capitalist theory, upon which the theory of new radicalization is based, is Ernest Mandel. We can gain an understanding of this theory and the method behind it only if we probe its roots in the history of Ernest Mandel, in the history of the Fourth International and the struggle against revisionism within it.

Ernest Mandel (German) along with Michel Pablo was one of the key leaders of the Fourth International after the Second World War. The task of theoretical and political leadership of the international Trotskyist movement was simply handed over to these men by the SWP after the war. For many years the SWP had been the strongest section of the Fourth International, although after 1940 it was prevented by reactionary legislation from being



Ernest Mandel

formally affiliated to a world party.

In its relations with the world movement the SWP turned against the advice and the warnings of Trotsky. From the first days of his collaboration with his American supporters, Trotsky had especially urged upon them the study of philosophy and a relentless battle against American pragmatism in particular. This could not be done separated from the struggle to build an international revolutionary party, to provide leadership theoretically to the international movement.

The development of revisionism within the Fourth International was in part a product of the SWP's refusal to fight for international leadership, to make the problems of the international movement its own.

Mandel in the period from 1946 to 1948 worked out a theory which on the surface



appears quite the opposite of what he now holds. At that time Mandel impressionistically extended the war and prewar crisis of capitalism indefinitely into the future, simply affirming that capitalism was in a state of perpetual collapse, that any postwar boom would be extremely short lived.

It was this outlook, at a time when the capitalists had succeeded in restabilizing their rule over Western Europe with the crucial aid of the Stalinists, which became the basis for all the theories worked out by Pablo.

Pablo developed theories of a "new world reality." He used revolutionary phraseology only to completely destroy revolutionary strategy. He began simply from the consequences of the previous betrayals of working class leadership. Preparation for future struggles was completely cut off from any understanding of the past.

Pablo saw only the global confrontation between Stalinism and imperialism. According to his analysis, a Third World War was imminent, and this would lead inevitably to revolution, with the Stalinist parties everywhere being forced to "project a revolutionary orientation." All of this was seen within the framework of "centuries of deformed workers states," and the role of the Trotskyist movement became not one of a struggle to the finish to destroy Stalinism in order to overthrow capitalism, but instead to pressure the Stalinists into a more progressive course.

Pablo broke with the program as well as the method of Marxism. He deserted the Transitional Program, advocating for the parties of the Fourth International a policy of "deep entry" into the Stalinist parties. Without a principled break from Pablo and Mandel, with the setting up of the International Committee of the Fourth International in 1953, all the historic lessons and conquests of the revolutionary movement fought for by Trotsky against the Stalinist bureaucracy would have been completely liquidated.

The impressionism of Pablo was being exposed even as he was elaborating his theories. The enormous crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy was starkly revealed with the death of Stalin, the East German revolt of 1953, the secret speech of Khrushchev, and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. It was this counterrevolutionary tendency which Pablo had insisted would be forced to lead revolution.

This did not mean that revisionism was automatically defeated. On the contrary the most conscious theoretical battle was required precisely at the point when the impressionism of Pablo was exposed. Its exposure was not an abstract task, but had to be carried forward in practice, in theoretical and political struggle against Stalinism and revisionism. The same is true in relation to revisionism and Stalinism today.

Without a philosophical struggle a new impressionism is substituted for the old. This is exactly how Ernest Mandel proceeded when confronted by the bankruptcy of Pablo's theories.

Mandel dropped his theory of impending collapse when it became apparent that it did not correspond to developments. But he did not attempt to probe the philosophical roots of this wrong theory. Instead, after

back towards the revisionists, and in 1963 it deserted the International Committee which it had helped to inspire ten years earlier.

Pablo, Mandel and the SWP share the same method. They begin with theories of a "new reality." All of these theories begin with a complete capitulation to what exists. Under cover of combating dogmatism, the favorite watchword of the opportunists and sprinkling liberally through the SWP resolutions, the fight to understand and change reality is actually given up.

What are the "new realities" which the revisionists have given us? They are nothing of the sort. They are crude impressions based upon immediate appearance. In every case from Pablo to Mandel to the SWP we have seen how they have been exploded by objective developments. That is because they are based not upon material



Top, SWP banner during antiwar rally. Above, Joseph Hansen of SWP.

waiting for an interval, he simply proceeded with another theory to fit the "facts" as they appeared on the surface.

This is the basis of neo-capitalism, with its point of departure being the temporary features of the postwar boom. At no point did Mandel show how and why what existed on the surface was being changed into its opposite by the underlying movement of capitalism itself. Thus today he is left with a theory which explains nothing and simply serves to hold back the working class when even certain spokesmen of the capitalists are beginning to admit the depth of their crisis.

It is with the neo-capitalist theory of Mandel that the SWP proceeds today. In 1953 this same party had taken up the fight against revisionism within the Fourth International. In spite of previous mistakes which allowed the revisionism of Mandel and Pablo to develop relatively unhindered, the SWP broke with the revisionists in 1953. How then has it arrived at its present position? Precisely by not understanding that the struggle in 1953 was just the beginning of the fight for theory. Within a few years the SWP began rapidly moving

reality but upon idealist and pragmatic impressions.

What is the purpose of the "new reality" theories? In every case they are advanced as justification for desertion of the program of Marxism. They tell us that other classes than the working class and other programs than the revolutionary program are adequate to our tasks. These theories are not an abstract question. They mean the actual betrayal of revolutionary struggles.

THE ELEMENTS OF NEW RADICALIZATION

This brings us to a closer examination of the other elements of the theory of the new radicalization.

These flow from the changed assessment of capitalism, the assessment fundamentally at odds with that of Lenin and Trotsky, the conception that capitalism can still grant substantial reforms.

Gus Horowitz writes as follows:

"Increasing numbers of people see the gap between what can potentially be achieved, given the present cultural and technological level in the United States,

and what is actually being achieved under the present system of social organization.”

According to Jack Barnes, National Organization Secretary of the SWP:

“What we see is not necessarily an absolute decline or reversal of the accomplishments of capitalist reform in all spheres, but—more importantly—a growing gap between the steadily increasing elementary expectations or demands for change made by various sectors of the population and the results the ruling class actually provides.”

But “what is actually being achieved” is an absolute decline in the standard of living of the working class as a whole during the past few years of stepped-up inflation. What is being achieved is Nixon’s wage freeze which is directed at “an absolute decline or reversal” of gains made by the trade unions in the past period.

These attacks are called forth by the collapse of the boom. What is therefore posed is the sharpest struggle at the point of production, and particularly in basic industry where the capitalist class must restore international competitiveness and profitability. It is this fundamental conflict between labor and capital which is now exploding and which is at the heart of all the movements of the various classes and social layers. The revisionists see only a



Jack Barnes.

gradual lessening of the ability to grant reforms, rather than an explosive development of the class struggle as the previous gains are viciously attacked. Thus they turn away from the working class and its struggles.

What we have here is a going over to the method and outlook of the bourgeoisie itself. The revisionists, the so-called New Left and all the liberals are all agreed that postwar capitalism has bought off the entire working class. The SWP tries to maintain that the class struggle exists but only by affixing the class struggle label to middle class protest.

For the revisionists the development of the radicalization of the middle classes stems not from material causes but from “alienation.” This is how George Breitman attempts to explain it:

“What produced the great change between then (the 1950s) and now? It is an oversimplification, I repeat, but I don’t know any other short statement for it than alienation. This capitalist system, which long ago outlived its historic mission, which is overripe and rotten to the core, has managed to hang on at a frightful price to humanity, but it has not managed to convince growing numbers of the people that this is the way life should be. It has alienated, repelled and angered increasing millions of Americans, who do not yet agree on what should be done but who feel that things cannot, should not, need not continue the way they are.”

Here is a very clear expression of the revisionists’ complete capitulation to the method of the bourgeoisie. For them the struggle against capitalism is a moral question, not the struggle for the means of existence on the part of the entire working class. The capitalists cannot convince people that “this is the way life should be.”

We are thrown back to the time of Fourier and Proudhon. The revisionists dis-

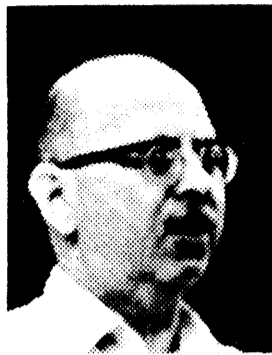
card the lessons of more than one hundred years of the working class movement. With the theory of new radicalization they seek to combine abstract socialist propaganda about alienation with adaptation to the middle classes. The very foundation of Marx’s analysis is thrown out the window. It is no longer the battle over surplus value which is at the heart of the class conflict, not the tendency of the rate of profit to fall and the inherent tendency towards war and economic collapse. No, all this is changed. We are thrown back to the days of the utopians and to dreams of a more just social order, a more rational society in which we could stop pollution and various other social ills and achieve more than we presently have.

The revisionists acknowledge that the working class will be radicalized. This is also seen in terms of alienation. According to Breitman:

“The truth is also that we don’t know how many workers have already begun to be radicalized. But I would be astonished if it hasn’t at least begun among millions of them. After all, a worker is not very different from the rest of the population; he has a certain relation to the means of production, and certain attitudes and a certain status that are connected with that relationship, which place him and his class in a position where they can lead in the replacement of the present system with another. But outside of that he’s just a human being, who bleeds and burns like the rest of us...The radicalization of the worker can begin off the job as well as on...If we grasp the fact that the working class is stratified and divided in many ways—the capitalists prefer it that way—then we will be better able to understand how the radicalization will develop among workers and how to intervene more effectively.”

For Breitman the important thing clearly is not that the worker is a worker but that he is a human being. The important thing is not what workers have in common, but what separates them. It is class consciousness, the most elementary understanding which must be brought to and fought for among the workers, which Breitman attacks. That is the meaning of all the talk about being “just a human being.”

and gay liberation, not the fundamental attacks facing the workers as a class. They do not see the workers taking up a class fight on any of the political or the economic struggles. They see capitalism as stable in terms of the relations between the two major classes. The working class will become radicalized as the discontent of the middle classes rubs off, or “catches on,” in the words of the SWP resolution itself.



George Breitman.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

To justify their subordination of the working class to the middle class, the revisionists use the argument that the radicalization doesn’t start with the working class. The middle classes not only start the radicalization, they are at the center of its advance:

Breitman writes:

“The radicalization of the thirties did not begin with the working class. The workers came into it in large numbers only after other sectors had done so. I repeat that when the workers came in, their weight was so heavy and their stamp so distinct that we tend to forget about the other forces. But the workers didn’t come in first, they didn’t start the radicalization, they only joined it.”

And according to Gus Horowitz:

“...We see that movements such as the women’s liberation movement, the struggles of the oppressed nationalities for self determination, the gay liberation movement, and the revolution in culture are a part of the general struggle against the outmoded capitalist system...these new movements are not unimportant or peripheral to the socialist revolution, but at the center of its advance...far far from

today and in an earlier period in the Trotskyist movement.

But here Breitman tries to gild the lily. Not content with explaining the uniqueness of today’s radicalization, he tries to show at the very same time that it is not so unique after all, that the upsurge in the 1930s is really much closer to that of today than we might think.

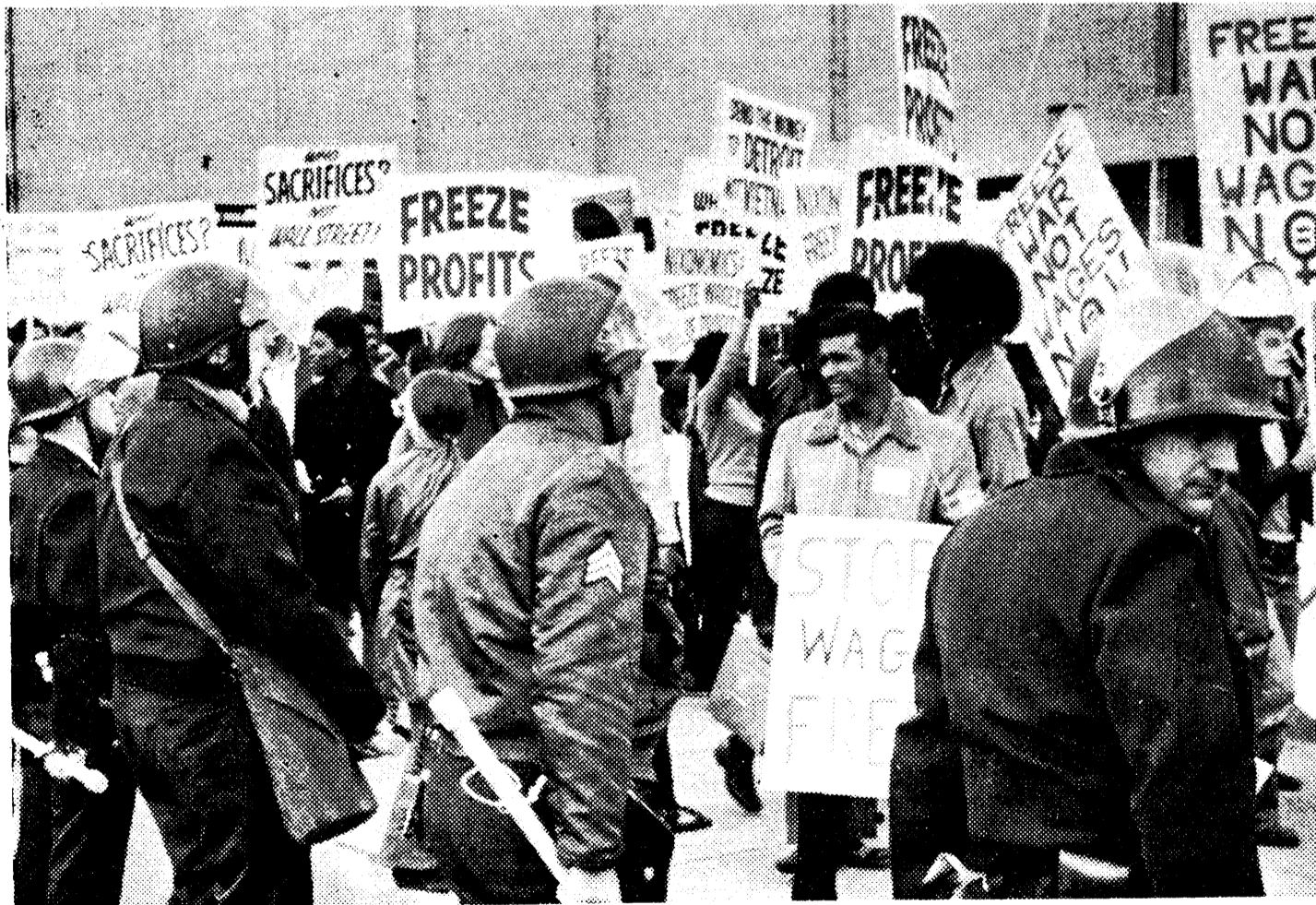
In order to do this he not only distorts what is happening today, he also attacks the most elementary understanding of what happened yesterday. He distorts the struggles of forty years ago with one purpose and one purpose only—to play down the role of the working class.

It is simply not true to say that the working class “only joined” the upsurge of the 1930s. It is nothing but slander. All the other layers of the population to which Breitman refers were responding to the capitalist crisis and the movement of the working class to begin with. When the workers came onto the scene in organized strike struggles the decisive questions began to be posed. All else was anticipation and nothing else, and absolutely nothing can be understood except within the framework of the movement of the working class.

On this question Breitman denies everything the SWP fought for in the days of its collaboration with Trotsky. Here is how James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, describes the turn to mass work by the small Trotskyist forces in the 1933-34 period:

“...The Comintern had been shattered by the debacle in Germany; and at the fringes of the Communist movement it was losing its authority. Many people, previously deaf to anything we said, were awakening to an interest in our ideas and criticisms. On the other hand, the masses who had remained dormant and stagnant during the first four years of the cataclysmic economic crisis, began to stir again. The Roosevelt administration was in office. There had been a slight revival of industry. The workers were streaming back to the factories, regaining the self-confidence which they had lost to a large extent during the terrible mass unemployment...”

Cannon correctly saw the movement of



Detroit demonstration of 8,000 auto workers and other trade unionists against Nixon’s wage freeze last fall.

The struggle for existence is the basis upon which the working class gains all knowledge, all understanding. This struggle encompasses many questions besides those posed in the factory itself. But these are class questions. The worker is forced to confront the questions of war, unemployment, attacks on social services as a worker. He can fight back only as a worker.

When the revisionists say that workers will move on other than “bread and butter” issues they mean the questions of women’s

diminishing in importance as the labor movement itself radicalizes, these movements will grow and continue to be a key part of the general process leading to a socialist revolution.”

The merit of George Breitman is that he states more clearly than others the real outlook of the revisionists. At every point he seeks to emphasize the weakness of the working class, to bring in in the crassest manner the ideology of the middle class. We will return in more detail to the role played by Breitman both

the working class as decisive. He concerned himself first of all with the daily experience, the struggles through which the working class was going. Now Breitman denies this, emphasizing aspects which the Trotskyist movement always correctly considered only peripheral to the fundamental struggle.

For the Trotskyist movement, as well as for Marx, Engels and Lenin the struggle in the class organizations of the workers, the trade unions, was always decisive. The revolutionary party had to

be rooted in the trade unions, fighting it out against the agents of the bosses in the labor bureaucracy. Here is how Breitman gives the back of his hand to this fundamental of revolutionary strategy:

"We cannot predict with certainty what is going to happen to the unions as the radicalization continues, nor do we know what role unions will play in the coming revolution. In the 1930s some of us thought that the unions would play a central role in the revolution, perhaps even a role like that which the soviets played in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Today it seems to me less likely, because

deserves to perish." "

We have quoted at length to show how opposed in every way is Breitman's outlook to Trotsky's. For Trotsky the struggle within the trade unions becomes even more important as the imperialist crisis deepens. This work is more critical than ever today, as capitalism heads towards a new collapse.

Trotsky demanded a fight under the most difficult conditions, far greater than those we face today, under fascism and the complete extirpation of union democracy. He pointed out the great degree to which the unions had been

movement of the proletariat." "

For Breitman, the trade unions can follow the middle class protest, or they can become...irrelevant. This is no idle question. For the working class it is a life and death question. For Breitman it is nothing. He doesn't tell us what will happen to the working class if its organizations forged through decades of bloody battle become "irrelevant." He openly says it doesn't matter whether the unions survive! The revolution will take place anyway!

editor of *The Militant*, wrote a history of the first twenty years of the CIO. In the preface, written in 1961, he wrote the following:

"Today, as in Engels' time, the unions are the combat organizations of the working class. Despite all the efforts of the pro-capitalist labor leaders to deny or subordinate that function of the unions, to convert the unions into non-class 'community service' organizations devoted to everything but the defense of labor, the unions retain their basic class character and function. We see this vividly demonstrated in the history of the CIO." "

(16)

Now it is the revisionists who seek to "deny or subordinate that function of the unions," who speak of "everything but the defense of labor." What an apt description of Breitman's slanderous diatribes against the working class! What a sharp expression of the way in which the revisionists have trampled on everything in our own past that points the way forward!

The "new radicalization" conception that a spontaneous extension of the protest movements of today is the pattern of the future is another fundamental revision of Marxist theory. Movements within the middle class do not and cannot simply rub off onto the working class. This is a vulgar evolutionist approach, completely abstracted from the class struggle. While the middle classes characteristically precede the working class in their political movement, this movement never is simply repeated.

Breitman stops just where a Marxist must begin. What will happen to the middle classes? Where will they go, what role will they play as the crisis deepens?

the educational system and the immediate needs of the capitalist system. At a time of economic crisis professional and intellectual strata may be among the first to feel the blows. All of this is expressed in complex and indirect ideological and political developments.

But the intermediate layers can have no consistent policy of their own. They must take sides with either the capitalists or the working class as the crisis deepens.

At the same time the youth face the alternatives of war and the capitalist draft, or dead end jobs, unending unemployment or the idealist despair of drugs. Minority workers and youth face racial discrimination in addition to exploitation. All these sections of the working class, as well as the middle class strata, can only find the solution to the crisis facing them through the construction of a revolutionary party based upon the working class and leading major sections of the middle class in the overthrow of capitalism.

A section of the middle class can and must be won, but it can be won only on the basis of a firm working class program, an aggressive alternative to the decay of capitalism. This was the lesson of the rise of fascism in Germany which Trotsky tirelessly expounded until the end of his life. The middle class must choose sides, between socialism or fascism. This is another fundamental lesson of history discarded by the revisionists.

This is no abstract question but the actual meaning of developments today. It is only with this theoretical conception that we can understand the contradictory movements of the working class and middle class protest after Nixon's August 15th announcements.

The bankruptcy of the revisionists' impressionist schema of ongoing and ever-widening middle class radicalization is being exposed today. Middle class protest will not simply be swept aside, it is being swept aside in the struggles opening up with the developing international trade war and recession.

With the deepening of the crisis the political questions are being posed before the entire labor movement. It is no longer a matter of huge strike struggles and the wage offensive alone. The top union



Leon Trotsky studies early issue of *Militant* in the 1930s at a time when the SWP led the fight against Stalinist betrayals.

of the changes that have occurred in the unions and in their relations with the capitalist state, because of the way they have been incorporated or integrated into the state apparatus...the very bureaucratization of the unions since the 1930s insures that the radicalization of the workers will dig new channels in the 1970s." "

This is nothing but a call for abstention from the struggle which is raging and must rage inside the unions today. Again, all the talk of radicalization is directed at removing the sharp edge of struggle within the working class for Marxist theory and new leadership based upon it.

Trotsky's pamphlet *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* is the rough draft of a manuscript found on his desk after his assassination in 1940. It was the struggle in the trade unions in all countries to which he was directing his attention in his very last days:

Trotsky writes the following in this work:

"...It seems, at first sight, easy to draw the conclusion that the trade unions cease to be trade unions in the imperialist epoch. They leave almost no room at all for workers' democracy which, in the good old days, when free trade ruled on the economic arena, constituted the content of the inner life of labor organizations...Such a position, however, would be false to the core. We cannot select the arena and the conditions for our activity to suit our likes and dislikes...It is necessary to adapt ourselves to the concrete conditions existing in the trade unions of every given country in order to mobilize the masses, not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against the totalitarian regime within the trade unions themselves and against the leaders enforcing this regime...in spite of the progressive degeneration of the trade unions and their growing together with the imperialist state, the work within the trade unions not only does not lose any of its importance but remains as before and becomes in a certain sense even more important work than ever for every revolutionary party. The matter at issue is essentially the struggle for influence over the working class. Every organization, every party, every faction which permits itself an ultimistic position in relation to the trade unions, i.e., in essence turns its back upon the working class, every such organization is destined to perish. And it must be said it

shackled and tied to the state, only to stress even more the need for a struggle.

But Breitman is not interested in struggle. He has suddenly discovered that it is hard work. Instead of a struggle he suggests that new channels will be dug. Instead of taking up a fight so that the growing together of the unions with the imperialist state is not taken to its conclusion with the victory of fascism, Breitman regards this question as already having been decided.

The revisionists' utter contempt for the working class is expressed most clearly in Breitman's cynical comment about the future of the unions. While we can't be too sure of anything, as he is constantly reminding us, he does venture to make a general prediction:

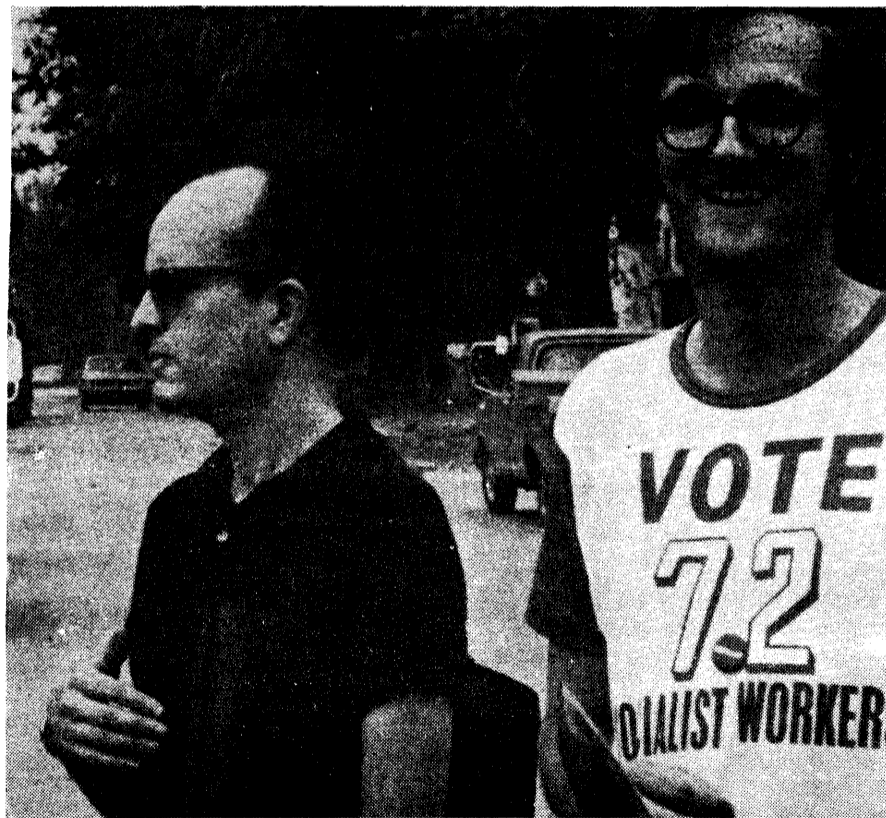
"Unions that won't respond to the needs of workers beginning to be radicalized by the issues radicalizing the other non-capitalist sectors of the population will seem increasingly irrelevant as the radicalization deepens in the next decade, and therefore even their survival is not assured." "

Here we have expressed most clearly the revisionists' conception that the "new radicalization" is the pattern for the future. The various movements or actions of the middle classes are not something which will be swept aside or entirely dwarfed by the working class, as even Breitman is forced to admit was the case in the 1930s. The "other non-capitalist sectors" will take the lead as the radicalization deepens, according to Breitman.

The unions, the economic combat organizations of the working class, "must respond" to the leadership of the middle class. Otherwise they will become irrelevant!

For Breitman it is not a matter of the trade unions defending the interests of the working class against the onslaught of the capitalists and their state. It is not a matter of fighting for the complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state, as Trotsky insisted in his work referred to above, as well as in the *Transitional Program*. For Trotsky:

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary



Jack Barnes at SWP Convention last summer in Oberlin.

The radicalization of the middle classes and at a certain stage the growth of middle class ideology reflects the crisis of capitalism. Middle class strata are more sensitive to changes because they occupy a delicate position between the major classes. These intermediate layers begin to search for solutions as the crisis deepens.

At a certain stage, as in the 1960s in the U.S., this can take the form of developing separatist and nationalist currents which can have a certain impact upon the working class as well. Without going into detail, we can also see that the breakdown of bourgeois society and ideology leads to various moods and confusion among different classes and layers, sections of women and the student population are thrown into crisis by the conflict between

bureaucrats are being pushed to the wall as the time draws near for an all out confrontation between the capitalist government and the organized working class. The revisionists have blinded themselves all along to the actual movement of the working class. Now the contradiction between their middle class orientation and perspectives and the movement of the working class becomes absolute.

The alien method of the revisionists destroys the perspective and program of the revolutionary movement. The discarding of the fundamental principles of Marxism leads straight into the arms of reformism, liberalism and the capitalist class. This is expressed in the open hostility of the revisionists to the Marxist program.

FILMS

MARTY JONAS

A Clockwork Orange



A CLOCKWORK ORANGE, directed by Stanley Kubrick, starring Malcolm MacDowell.

As sections of the middle class in Forest Hills and Rockaway are running for their guns to attack the working class, a section of the middle class is turning out works of "art" that are directed like guns against workers. A vicious example is Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange*.

Kubrick made some very important films in the past, most notably *Paths of Glory*, which exposed the class divisions in the French army in World War I. *Dr. Strangelove*, however, was the turning point for him. In *Strangelove*, Kubrick posed the destruction of mankind by the run-away use of superbombs. It was a grim but funny movie. And for Kubrick it was an all out exercise in cynicism. He was seized with despair and panic at developments in the class struggle that were squeezing out the middle class. Like many others, all he could see was World War Three.

Kubrick's despair led him downward. He spent the next several years working on the idealist extravaganza, *2001: A Space Odyssey*. From the problem presented in *Strangelove* Kubrick concluded that the only road left for mankind, his next necessary step in evolution (which he can only achieve with the help of extra-terrestrial superbeings) is to become a great cosmic consciousness, floating in the void eternally, passively watching the eons slip by. This idealist mush combined the scientific credentials of Arthur C. Clarke and the most remarkable technical effects ever used on film in order to get its reactionary point across.

Now Kubrick is again being placed in the public eye. No less than two national magazines have had full-color covers of Kubrick. Interviews are plentiful. He is being showered with even more critical acclaim than in the days of *2001*. What has he done to deserve all this from the bourgeois press, radio and TV?

Stanley Kubrick has made *A Clockwork Orange*, a more reactionary film than *2001*, the most viciously anti-working class film we have ever seen.

Kubrick has turned his cynicism, despair, and panic (plus the disgust with material reality in *2001*) against the working class—and especially the youth.

It is set in the near future, in England. Gangs of working-class youth roam the country blithely raping, pillaging, assaulting, stealing, and murdering. These

youth wear odd costumes and talk in "Nadsat," a slang that is mostly Russian words, with a little Romany, rhyming slang, and Elizabethan cadences. The particular youth, Alex, who is the protagonist and narrates the film, heads a gang of three "droogs" and has a passion for Beethoven ("lovely lovely Ludwig Van"). He and his gang dress in white coveralls and wear codpieces and derbies. Early in the film they raid a placid home in the country and gang-rape the wife and brutally maul the husband. Alex does a soft-shoe dance, singing "Singing in the Rain," and kicks his foot into the husband's stomach with each beat. This is preceded ten minutes earlier by a gang-rape and gang fight to Rossini's "The Thieving Magpies." Violence is taken very casually in this film.

Alex is betrayed by his "droogs" later in the film when he attempts to rob the home of a pornography-obsessed health faddist. She resists, and they fight it out, she

armed with (symbolically) a bronze bust of Beethoven, and he with a giant sculpture of a phallus. He crushes her skull with it and the police come and take him away.

In the prison, he volunteers for the Ludovico Treatment, which the prison bureaucrats and government officials and psychologists claim will make him a good citizen.

He is exposed to the Ludovico Treatment, and given an injection each day for two weeks. Then he is straitjacketed, wheeled into a room in front of a movie screen and his eyes are clamped open. He cannot move his head. He is shown movies of atrocities, of rape, of the most unspeakable things. Beethoven's 9th furnishes the sound track for it all. Because of the drug he has been injected with, he becomes sick at each showing. A reaction is built up, and the mere thought of sex or violence or Beethoven makes Alex double up. He is released from prison.

But out in the world again, he is completely defenseless against all the evil, all the violence that is the norm. He is almost murdered his first day out of prison.

Through various circumstances not worth going into here, he is driven to attempt suicide and ends up in the hospital, in traction.

Meanwhile, the opposition to the government has been trying to make political capital out of Alex's being driven to attempt suicide because of the Ludovico Treatment. A government minister calls on Alex in the hospital to ask his cooperation and promises him a comfortable job when he recovers. Alex agrees, with a cynical grin. The minister says that as an expression of gratitude he has a little gift for him. A monster stereo setup is wheeled into the hospital room, blaring out the "Song of Joy" from Beethoven's 9th. Alex fears the sickness coming on. But, instead, he finds himself able to conjure up sexual fantasies with no bad effects. Alex says "I was cured." End of movie. Credits, with original MGM soundtrack recording of Gene Kelly doing "Singing in the Rain." Curtain.

Before going any further we should let Kubrick speak for himself.

"What we respond to subconsciously is Alex's guiltless sense of freedom to kill

and rape, and to be our savage natural selves, and it is in this glimpse of the true nature of man that the power of the story derives....One of the most dangerous fallacies which has influenced a great deal of political and philosophical thinking is that man is essentially good, and that it is society that makes him bad." (Interview in *New York Times*, January 4, 1972).

Alex Walker, biographer of Kubrick and film critic for the right wing *London Evening Standard*, advises us:

"He (Kubrick) is an insatiable film viewer, screening features at his home cinema one after the other; together we took in most of the propaganda and many of the feature films made in Nazi Germany; partly because they tied in with his fascination with the way that film absorbs, stimulates, and influences audiences, partly because evil, the power to do ill has a strong pull on his imagination."

Walker describes dinner talk at Kubrick's house as ranging from "Dr. Goebbels' role as a pioneer film publicist" to the "Right's inability to produce dialecticians to match the Left's."

Kubrick has gone further in this film than all of the recent pseudoscientists such as Ardrey and Lorenz who have set out to prove that man is naturally aggressive—that is, that class society is the only kind of society there can be. Kubrick has made *A Clockwork Orange* to not only prove that man is naturally bad, evil, aggressive, but that "ultraviolence" can be beautiful. This is the first movie to our knowledge to choreograph gore. It is a conscious attempt to glorify the bloodbath that Kubrick wishes upon the working class and youth. Kubrick has put to good use the appreciation he has of Dr. Goebbels' use of the cinema to beautify the barbarism of the Nazis.

In its decay capitalism uses the greatest developments in scientific technique for purposes of destruction. What distinguishes Stanley Kubrick is his development of film technique to such a high level—all for the purpose of the destruction of the working class.

We have just read that Stanley Kubrick's next film will be a life of Napoleon. This may be the life of Hitler that Goebbels never lived to make.

TV

DAVE NORTH

Face the Nation. Guest: George Wallace. Sunday 11:30 a.m. CBS.

George Wallace may not have an attractive television personality and he does not seem able to marshal his arguments in an orderly and logical manner. But he is a demagogue deadly serious about coming to power in the United States.

Appearing on national television Sunday morning before aggressive reporters seeking to expose the many inconsistencies in Wallace's campaign, the Alabama governor used the free half hour to address his fascist arguments to the receptive ears of an increasingly desperate middle class.

Again and again, he played on the traumas of America's "human dust." Frequently ignoring the questions placed to him by the reporters, he raged against integration, busing, welfare; Wallace promised that "law and order" is the miracle cure for the ills of society.

The reporters asked him who his movement represents. Wallace answered, "The common people." Who are the common people? Said Wallace, "Taxpaying businessmen and working people." Against

whom is he defending the common people? "Foundations and communists," he answered.

CLASS

Wallace now takes up the defense of capitalism by seeking to turn the attention of the masses away from the true cause of their misery. He ascribes to "America" a supra-class character and declares that he will save it from foreign enemies and internal subversives. But Wallace's populist rhetoric is merely a disguise for his intention to set up a state in which unions do not exist and finance capital reigns supreme.

AIP

The reporters sought to pin Wallace down on the question of his party affiliation. In 1968 he founded the American Independence Party, but he is seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party. The reporters wanted to know if he intended to confine his political activities to one of the traditional capitalist parties (the reporters did not use the adjective "capitalist.") Wallace merely smiled and promised that he only wishes "to change trends" within the Democratic and Republican Parties. The reporters pressed Wallace a bit: did his answer mean that he was abandoning the American Independence Party?

Wallace stated that he had no intention of deserting the American Independence Party. So the strategy of his campaign in

the primary elections is to appeal to the traditionally Democratic, liberal sections of the middle class that are turning into the camp of extreme reaction reacting to the capitalist crisis.

Wallace is not particularly concerned about the ultimate choice of the Democratic Party. It is the American Independence Party that is his real concern. It is the vehicle he personally created for his drive to power, and it has become more powerful since 1968.

The reporters pointed out to Wallace that election laws in various states might prevent the American Independence Party from gaining a place on the ballot if he runs as a candidate in the Democratic primaries. Wallace simply shrugged his shoulders. What the reporters did not understand is that the American Independence Party will not be a political movement that plays by the rules of the boom period. It will grow gun in hand and with storm troopers in uniform.

ANSWER

There is only one answer to Wallace: the political mobilization of the working class with its own political party. The trade union bureaucrats who now line up with the bankrupt class enemies in the Democratic Party are actually helping Wallace. Wallace can only be fought by posing a socialist alternative to capitalism and by building a leadership capable of directing that struggle.

George Wallace Faces The Nation

ECONOMY . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

Should there be any mistaken concept that Connally was fighting for everyone to make a buck the very next day he chose a gathering of business executives at the Waldorf Astoria for an attack on labor stating that labor could:

"...No longer thumb its nose at the public and take everything it can grasp."

For Connally it is only the large corporations which are to do the grasping.

UNCERTAINTY

The difficulty, however, is that while the capitalists have been more than happy to grasp all the tax credits and other giveaways of the Nixon Administration, the capitalists have not been willing to make any long term investments in the future of American capitalism.

"I have heard for a number of months—a number of months—about the uncertainty that prevails in the United States; uncertainty in the minds of people; criticisms in the tones of others; uncertainty about the domestic policy; concern about the international monetary situation; the international economic picture."

VALUE

Connally can offer nothing tangible to counter uncertainty because the cause of the uncertainty lies in the heart of the crisis itself. Businessmen are uncertain as to what a dollar they invest today will be worth in the future because the very value

system of capitalism has completely broken down. Once gold backing is removed from the dollar, the dollar is worth no more than a piece of paper.

RELATIONSHIP

The proper relationship of the dollar, and with the dollar a large amount of the capital in the world, to the actual labor it takes to produce gold or any commodity can only be reestablished in the course of bitter struggles during the course of which much that we now know as civilization will be destroyed unless the capitalist system itself is replaced by socialism.

UNCERTAIN

The capitalists now know that the system cannot be easily patched up. They are not confident that Nixon will achieve anything. They fear going all the way to open civil war. And so they remain uncertain and commit as little capital as they can to get as fast a return as possible.

COLLAPSE

In the meantime the basic laws of capitalist development take over dragging the world ever closer to a complete economic collapse. To the extent that the capitalists hold back from a fundamental confrontation with the powerful working class, the objective movement of the crisis will push them into it.

That is true state of the Union and the world in 1972.

ILA . . .

(Continued From Page 5)

tract which preserves the GAI as a weapon of the membership, not a tool of the employers.

At the meeting, Gleason raised the phoney argument that to reject the contract will only mean a worse settlement on the GAI from the shippers. Gleason's reasoning is that the ILA has no power—that the ranks have a "choice" of slow death by strangulation or sudden death from a bullet.

The only choice that Gleason rules out is a strike for the full 40 hour GAI without restrictions for all men in all ports under the slogan, "one port down, all ports down."

What he fears is that such a strike could link up with the West Coast, stop the shippers cold, force Nixon to abandon compulsory arbitration, and actually WIN.

He fears the potential of a rank and file revolt now developing.

Latest reports are that checkers in Brooklyn are refusing to comply with PDO, and a wildcat movement is brewing.

While Gleason tried to discourage the checkers by telling them that the longshoremen, who make up the majority of the dockworkers in New York, would support a contract with PDO, he is really running scared. That is why he was out at the Columbia Street hiring hall in Brooklyn on Monday, trying to drum up support for his contract.

TRUTH

The truth is that very few longshoremen are happy with the

PDO which they have already seen is used to break down established categories of work, to completely eliminate any choice that the longshoremen have had as to where they work.

The only reason the shippers are willing to continue the GAI at 40 hours is because they intend to use the change in rules under PDO to cut way down on GAI payments and force men off the docks.

The biggest weapon that Gleason and the shippers have is the feeling on the part of some men that the fight is over. But the fight has hardly begun and that is why Gleason is working might and main to push through this contract.

MONTREAL . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

trollers' demands for a decent salary have been thrown back into their faces by Trudeau.

All through the three months of negotiations before the strike the government took an arrogant position against the union. The Liberals actually demanded an increase of the 36 hour work week to 38 hours and offered a mere 50% increase over a 27 month period. The union leadership in the face of the government stand retreated to a position of a 30% wage increase and a 32 hour work week.

TRUDEAU

What is becoming clear to workers all over the country is the

We also must work to get the biggest NO vote in the history of the ILA. The ILA Committee for a Decent Contract is mapping a campaign to carry out this fight and to unite with the West Coast against any attempt to impose compulsory arbitration and against any moves by the Pay Board to in any way change the final contract.

Vote NO! All out Feb. 14 to win:

• 2080 GAI for ALL dockworkers, ALL ports.

• No PDO; No multiple debiting; No debiting for legitimate refusal of assignment out of section or out of job category.

• 20 and out at \$500 per month.

• 6 hour day at 8 hours pay.

• All provisions of the contract retroactive to Oct. 1.

true nature of the Trudeau government. The Liberal Party has openly shown itself as bent on destroying all workers rights and gains.

Now Trudeau threatens the CATC with a federal cabinet injunction to force the air controllers back to work, thus denying them any rights to independent bargaining.

Trudeau has retreated from this threat for the time being as sentiment is strong in favor of the strikers. Trudeau now hopes to bargain further with the union bureaucrats to gain more concessions, thus biding his time in the hopes that public feeling will be changed as a result of the hysteria created by the bourgeois press.

CHILE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

like the MIR. This is why both the Radical (bourgeois) Party and the Stalinists of the Communist Party have blamed Allende's election defeats on the MIR and similar "extremists" and have called for a turn to the Christian Democrats. Such a government can only be one of direct and ruthless attacks on the working class in the time that it lasts.

It is for these reasons we have continually explained in the Bulletin, drawing the lessons of the whole struggle of the Marxist movement and the terrible defeats in Ceylon and Bolivia that the most important task for the Chilean workers is to remove the Allende government and replace it with a workers' and peasants' government of the organizations of the working class.

In this way an effective resistance could be begun against the imperialists' plan to throw back the Chilean working people. This fight would assist enormously in the development of the socialist revolution both in Chile and throughout the world.

Above all we have pointed out the role of those like Castro, the centrists of the MIR, and the Pabloites who have done their best to prevent the Chilean workers from taking up this life or death task whether in the form of the blatant and enthusiastic endorsement of Allende by Castro or the

crafty formulations and evasions of the MIR and the adaptation to them by the Pabloites.

The greatest danger to the Chilean working class at the present moment is that there is a popular front running the country instead of a workers government, leaving the way open to a right wing coup. The most dangerous forces inside the Chilean working class are those who give Allende a left cover to disorganize the essential fight against him.

BLANCO

In the January 17th issue of *Intercontinental Press*, international organ of the Socialist Workers Party, there appears an interview with Hugo Blanco, now in exile in Mexico. Blanco is a supporter of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat. Significantly, in this interview Blanco refuses to confront any of the fundamental questions of working class policy now on the agenda in Chile and the rest of the continent.

Blanco sees two aspects to Castro's recent visit to Chile and Peru. On the one hand it was "positive," since Cuba broke through its isolation. But on the other hand, Castro misled the masses by endorsing these regimes as socialist and revolutionary; this is "negative."

Blanco distinguishes between the Peruvian and Chilean regimes; one is directly repressive, while Allende reflects "popular pressure."

What conclusions does Blanco draw from all this? Blanco states that Allende's government, while not leading Chile to socialism, "may be a step toward socialism in another sense, in the sense that it will give the masses their final experience with a bourgeois reformist government and that, as a result of this lesson, they will come to understand they themselves must take power, destroying all the foundations of the bourgeois system."

Moreover, "It seems that the Cuban government still lacks a coherent strategy for the Latin American revolution." So what is to be done?

"It seems to me that what has to be done in Uruguay is encourage the masses to organize to struggle for the demands they are fighting for now, to lift them toward better forms of organization and struggle until they gain the awareness that only by overthrowing the capitalist system can they see their aspirations satisfied."

"There is no question that when the working masses come to understand this, the bourgeois system is going to defend itself tooth and nail. It is going to attack the masses fighting for their rights, as it has always done. And then the masses will learn that they must also destroy the fundamental bulwarks of the capitalist system to establish their own state."

Nowhere can we find an explanation of where Blanco stands on the most pressing issue facing the Chilean workers today—the question of the Allende government. In fact from the interview we can only conclude that Blanco would support Allende as a stage to be gone through by the Chilean workers, using the justification "first Allende, then us."

CONSCIOUSNESS

As for the mass of generalities about raising the consciousness of the workers going through new forms, this becomes a cover precisely for such Pabloites as the PRT in Uruguay to attempt to "raise the need for socialism" through the Broad

Front.

Blanco's formulations become the cover in the context of the Latin American situation, a cover for the liquidation of the revolutionary party, a cover for every scoundrel who attempts to negate the role of consciousness in defending the working class and making the socialist revolution. This is the lesson of Bolivia.

POR

Swathing themselves in phrases about "going through the revolutionary process," "raising the consciousness of the masses through the experience of the Popular Assembly," Lora and the POR refused the concrete responsibility for leadership that fell on them in the situation to expose those elements opening the way for the counterrevolution and the defeat of the masses. This is the road the MIR and the Pabloites are taking and this is what Blanco covers up for.

At the heart of Blanco's evasions is the crisis of Pabloism. We can see this clearest of all in his attitude toward Castroism. In the past few months alone, Castro has thrown his endorsement behind the regime of General Torres, behind the murderous generals of Peru, behind the Popular Fronts in Chile and Uruguay. He has said that anyone who takes up the essential tasks of removing or opposing these regimes from the left is counter-revolutionary.

PERON

In recent months he has even found some place in the "revolutionary-process" for such people as former Argentinian dictator Juan Peron.

"It seems that the Cuban government lacks a coherent strategy for the Latin American revolution," is all Blanco can say. This after thirteen years in power, ten years after the "Cuban road to socialism" was acclaimed by the Pabloites to justify abandoning the "old Trotskyism" and liquidating into Castroism. Blanco must take this pathetic position because to confront the question of Castroism would be to confront the whole struggle of the International Committee against Pabloism.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Defeat Bosses Strategy To Split Working Class Youth

As the conflict between the working class and the government increases we see the government using every tactic to divide the workers and youth.

Only by dividing the working class can the capitalists preserve their position and their profits. This is why they whip up racism like we have seen in Forest Hills.

But they do not stop at just dividing the Black and white workers and youth. In Brownsville they are trying to pit Black and Puerto Rican workers and youth against each other. They viciously use the poverty organizations to do this.

Last week "Manpower" or "505" reached a breaking point which has been brewing since last summer as a battle broke out between Black and Puerto Rican poverty officials.

Capitalism cannot provide any future for the youth. They throw out a few crumbs so that the working class youth will fight over them. This is what the poverty organizations have done with a few jobs.

Last summer job openings were announced at "505." On the first day of the hiring more than 600 youth lined up at 6:00 a.m. for part-time jobs which paid \$10.00 a week. Because there were not enough jobs to go around fighting broke out among the youth.

Here is where capitalism whips up racism to make the youth fight each other for a few crumbs. Last week a factional battle broke out between Puerto Rican and Black organizers at "505." The building was seized by the Puerto Rican poverty officials who claimed that the Blacks were getting too many jobs. The cops moved in to break it up.

It is clear that these poverty organizations and the officials are playing the government's game refusing to confront where the problem really lies. These officials have no concern for the youth. They fight to keep the youth tied to this system, keep them divided so not fight the system. This is the real purpose of these poverty organizations.

The Young Socialists begins first of all with the unity of the working class and youth. The enemy is the capitalist class. We cannot accept the limits of capitalism—this will mean our destruction. We must take up the fight now for full employment through the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. We must demand that the trade unions take up this fight in a battle against the government.

We must fight for the only alternative to mass unemployment and starvation, and that is socialism.

This is what the YS will unite the youth around in a massive demonstration on March 29th against racism, unemployment and the government's attacks.

New York SMC Meet Avoids Class Fight To Defend Youth

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Last Saturday the city-wide Student Mobilization Committee held its first meeting since NPAC decided on its "Spring anti-war offensive" in Cleveland.

The SMC leadership, dominated by the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance, put forward a motion to support the April 22 anti-war demonstration in New York. The spokesman for the motion said that many Americans were confused by Nixon's troop withdrawals and that the job of the SMC was to explain that these troop withdrawals did not really mean that the war was ending.

The speaker touched on the fact that Nixon has intensified the bombing in the North. However, the main perspective of the report was to continue protesting the war, mobilizing "all sectors of the population" behind the slogan "Bring all the troops home now." A spokesman for the YSA added that they were demanding also the removal of "all materiel."

A spokesman from the Young Socialists spoke, saying that the

SMC must take up the fight against all the attacks hitting the youth, particularly the cutbacks in the CUNY system and the climbing unemployment rate. She said that it was the government that was out to defeat the Vietnamese and that now it is also forced to take on the youth and the working class at home.

The extreme right wing position of the YSA-SWP was revealed in a contribution made by B.R. Washington who spoke "as a Black Nationalist." He said the position of the SWP on the firing of thirty maids from Columbia was for Harlem to take over Columbia. In a discussion with members of the Workers League and the Young Socialists he stated that it was his position to defend Richard Hatcher, a Black Democrat, over a white worker with racist ideas.

Spokesmen from the Young Socialists insisted from the floor that the SMC take a position on the class attacks coming down on the youth. A Young Socialist from Bronx Science High School said that the SMC and YSA was attempting to treat gangrene like tonsillitis, that what was needed was something to cure the gangrene, and that was the Young Socialists.

Young Socialist

Editor: Abby Rodriguez

CUNY Budget Cuts End Open Admissions

BY A CCNY STUDENT

NEW YORK—The working class youth have seen through the vicious cuts in education what kind of future capitalism has in store for them. In the City Universities of New York that are federally funded, the budget has been cut drastically.

This policy has resulted in the end of Open Admissions at the City Universities, which enabled some working class

youth to attend college.

The Chancellor of City University, Robert Kipbee in an interview with an NBC reporter stated that open enrollment is doomed unless money is chan-

nelled in the universities. Open Admissions became a policy in 1966 after a bitter struggle.

Now Governor Rockefeller is proposing that the financial crisis of the City Universities be solved by charging tuition ranging from \$500 to \$1500 a semester.

This means that working class youth will be completely denied a higher education. Already thousands of working class youth are being forced to drop out of college because of the cuts in SEEK, scholarship programs and government loans. Now the government will make it impossible for working class youth to attend college.

Leonard Silverman, spokesman of an Ad Hoc Committee says the way to fight these cuts is through assembling 63 communities to demonstrate at Albany. This type of action rests upon the whims of legislators and ignores why these cuts are being proposed and the fact that the politicians in both the Democratic and Republican parties are responsible for them.

The Young Socialists are fighting with the understanding that these cuts are a reflection of the capitalist crisis, which will engulf the entire working class in a bitter struggle against capitalism.

The YS says that we have a right to free higher education and a right to a decent job and standard of living. We must fight for this against the capitalist system. The restoration of the budget cuts, full employment, and a decent standard of living are demands raised by the YS.

The youth must turn to the trade unions which are fighting for their survival and make the fight for these demands a battle against the government which is out to destroy all gains workers have made.

Electric Chair For Youth

BY ELISSA MARSH

PHILADELPHIA—Frank Rizzo, Mayor of Philadelphia, wants the death penalty for youthful offenders convicted in gang murders. Rizzo ruled out any possibility of new funds to deal with the conditions that give rise to gangs. Instead he advocates sending fifteen and sixteen year old youths to the electric chair.

The minority youth in Philadelphia have long been the brunt of Rizzo's attacks. Rizzo, who before becoming mayor was Philadelphia's leading cop, was behind the vicious raids on the Black Panther Party headquarters two years ago. Now he is waging an all-out campaign to use capital punishment against the youth.



Discussion on nationalism and Marxism at Upper West Side YS Club.

YS Discusses Nationalism

BY MILLIE MENDEZ

In the past two years support for the nationalist movement has been rapidly dwindling. The reason this has been occurring is because the youth are beginning to realize that the nationalist movement has nothing to offer them, that these movements have no solution for the growing unemployment rates, no program to fight back racism or anything else.

The reason why they cannot deal with the growing class questions is because they accept capitalism and racism. But it is with the understanding that na-

tionalism continues to play a dangerous role that the Cypress Young Socialists in East New York held a meeting to discuss what nationalism really poses in this period.

At this meeting there were present three nationalists who took up a bitter fight against the Young Socialists and Marxism. They began by stating that nationalism unifies Blacks, even if this creates racism, and that it is still a good thing for Blacks. They then proceeded to state that they knew that the majority of Blacks and Puerto Ricans were not part of the working class.

This shows the real contempt they have for the working class as a whole. They don't see the problem as a question of the contradictions between the classes but as a racial question. The most vicious attack came when one nationalist stated that he supported fascists breaking strikes because there weren't any Blacks on these picket lines. All along the way they supported capitalism because nationalism seeks to find a solution within capitalism.

HOSTILE

The nationalists are completely hostile to Marxism and the movement forward of the youth and the working class as one. They can see nothing beyond capitalism, and try to isolate the Blacks. We are totally opposed to this. We know that once you isolate yourself from the only force on the earth that can defend you, the working class, you are doomed. You invite the executioners in. This is what nationalism poses.

DANGEROUS

The YS sees that the policies of the YSA-SWP are dangerous among the youth today. The YS is leading the fight against these policies that cover for the Stalinists who are now in the process of betraying the Vietnamese revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy sends antiquated equipment to Hanoi to make sure it does not win against imperialism, and Mao prepares for Nixon's visit, ready to work out a deal.

As the Young Socialists at the meeting made clear, the YS is the only alternative, and will fight for its program in the SMC meetings scheduled for February, preparing for the March 29th demonstration against unemployment.

Bangla Desh

Behind Nixon's Anti-India Offensive

BY MELODY FARROW

The outbreak of war between India and Pakistan and the creation of an independent Bangla Desh represents the powerful upsurge of the colonial peoples into massive revolutionary struggles. These struggles erupt at a time when the imperialists are faced with an offensive of the working class within their own countries.

It is this movement throughout the Indian sub-continent which has led to a change in relations between India, a backward country viciously exploited by imperialism and the United States. The United States is now forced to end its long years of friendly collaboration with India and to back the Pakistani dictatorship in an open effort to crush the resistance of the Bengali and Indian masses and bring the whole of India under its iron heel.

Nixon's "tilt" in favor of Pakistan was not just a diplomatic shift but a fundamental and conscious decision to declare war against the colonial masses and drive out any sections of the national bourgeoisie such as Indira Gandhi which try to maintain any form of independence. The driving force behind these developments is the depth of the crisis in capitalism.

The necessity of the capitalist class, particularly in the United States to solve this crisis and salvage its system through systematic destruction of any rights and gains the masses have made hits the backward and underdeveloped countries with special ferocity.

The small handouts in the form of aid programs which capitalism could once afford are finished. Many of these programs were immediately halted as part of Nixon's August 15th economic measures.

The workers and peasants of Bangla Desh and India are now faced with even greater unemployment, misery and starvation. While imperialism exploits all its resources, the masses are left to die when huge tidal waves and earthquakes devastate the country. The crisis is now forcing the imperialists to reveal their real role in the colonial countries. This is the future that they are preparing for the working class of every country.

TOTAL

What the imperialists need now is total economic and financial control over the colonial countries, to wipe out any advances that have been made and to bring back the days of the worst imperialist barbarism and slavery.

The workers and peasants of Bangla Desh and India refuse to accept these conditions. Despite the efforts of the Awami League bourgeoisie and Gandhi to search for a "political solution" the masses pursued their struggle against the repression of Khan and Nixon.

Nixon's answer to this upsurge was to send massive arms to Pakistan in an attempt to physically liquidate and terrorize the entire Bengali population.

While Nixon was arming Khan's troops, the Indian masses were putting more and more pressure on Gandhi to intervene on the side of Bangla Desh.

Just one day before Gandhi signed the treaty with the Soviet Union, the Congress Party held a rally of one million people in solidarity with the Bengali liberation struggle.

The "20 year pact of peace, friendship and cooperation" had in fact been contem-

plated for two years. It was quickly concluded last August as the pressure of the masses raised the possibility of war with Pakistan and as the United States was shifting all its support to Yahya Khan.

One Indian official expressed this when he stated: "If you want to know why the treaty was signed, I'll tell you—the Americans drove us to it with their arms shipments."

The treaty was also reached just after Kissinger's trip to China. As Nixon seeks to play off China and the Soviet Union against each other the Soviet bureaucracy is seeking allies to bolster its own position.

NIXON

The reaction of Nixon was to sharpen its offensive against India. The Wall Street



Left, Pakistani leader Ali Bhutto. Right, Mukhti Bahini cheering arrival of Indian army.

Journal on November 9th reported that "the treaty and the rising anti-Americanism (in India) call into question the continuing claims of 'non-alignment' of this, the world's largest 'non-aligned' nation."

An article in the January 8th New York Times states that "Charles W. Bray, the department spokesman, in effect questioned India's non-aligned stand and indicated the Administration's willingness to further strain its ties with New Delhi."

It was the combined pressures of imperialism and the workers and peasants that pushed Gandhi to intervene against Pakistan in Bangla Desh. It is not a question of making a one-sided simplistic view of the Indian bourgeoisie as exactly the same as the American imperialists. India and the Indian bourgeoisie are in a colonial relation to imperialism. Because of the crisis it is now forced to try and defend its position against imperialism on the one hand and against the masses on the other.

Gandhi's fear of taking this step was precisely the fear it would unleash a revolutionary movement that she could not control.

This is exactly what has developed. On January 17th, only weeks after the defeat of Khan's troops, Sheikh Mujib Rahman, the Awami League President of Bangla Desh, ordered all guerrilla fighters to surrender their arms within 10 days.

Few in the Mukti Bahini, the guerrilla army, have obeyed previous appeals to disarm and join the national militia controlled by the government.

The New York Times reports that in many areas the guerrillas have virtual "governing authority" with the support of the people. Mujib seeks to quickly restore capitalist stability in Bangla Desh and reach an agreement with the butcher of the Bengalis, Ali Bhutto of Pakistan. Mujib cannot solve any of the democratic and economic demands of the Bengalis.

POWER

The establishment of an independent nation with the aid of the Indian Army now opens up the necessity of a fight for power, for socialism by the young militants in the Mukti Bahini. What Trotsky called the permanent revolution is now a life and death matter for the workers and peasants of Bangla Desh.

Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program:

"In supporting the colonial country or the USSR in a war, the proletariat does not in the slightest degree solidary either

with the bourgeois government of the colonial country or with the Thermidorian bureaucracy of the USSR. On the contrary it maintains full independence from the one as from the other. Giving aid in a just and progressive war, the revolutionary proletariat wins the sympathy of the workers in the colonies, and in the USSR, strengthens there the authority and influence of the Fourth International and increases its ability to help overthrow the bourgeois government in the colonial country..."

Trotsky stated that because of the position of the colonial bourgeoisie it could take small steps against imperialism but that it was incapable of carrying this through to a revolutionary conclusion. This fight could only be taken forward by

tional on Bangla Desh, states:

"The news that India had intervened in the conflict with her armies was received with joy among the majority of these Bangla Desh patriots. It was an unthinking reaction based on lack of knowledge of the real aims of the Gandhi regime. These, of course, were to take over from the failing Pakistani occupation the task of saving capitalism in Bangla Desh.

"The Healyites simply adapted in the most opportunistic way to this mood among the Bengalis in Britain."

Hansen agrees with the OCI that "the SLL position amounts to rejection of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and adoption of Stalin's theory of 'revolution by stages.'"

"But the Indian bourgeoisie has no intention of playing a progressive role. On the contrary, their aims are completely reactionary. It is the leaders of the SLL who entertain illusions in the operation, certainly not the Indian bourgeois political strategists or the generals they placed in charge of carrying it out."

What these remarks clearly express is Hansen's total contempt and hostility to the masses who correctly welcomed India's intervention as a step towards victory. As the quote from the Transitional Program shows, it is through support to such steps that the proletariat can advance its own independent fight against the entire bourgeoisie.

The SWP does not see the contradictory position of Gandhi because it sees no crisis in capitalism. Everything Hansen says affirms his belief in the strength of the bourgeoisie and the inability of the working class to overthrow it.

The old peaceful relations of the boom upon which the SWP's perspective is based are now breaking up and this in turn throws the SWP into crisis and into open opposition to the movement of the masses. In the sharpest developments in the class struggles, it stands back and refuses to give leadership. It seeks in every way to hold back the masses from revolution.

All the power of imperialism and the colonial bourgeoisie cannot prevent this upsurge. Gandhi must either move sharply to the right or be overthrown by the U.S. The urgent task, which the International Committee has consistently fought for in Bangla Desh, is the construction of revolutionary parties to carry through the fight for socialism.

LA AGONIA
DEL CAPITALISMO
Y LAS TAREAS DE LA
CUARTA INTERNACIONAL

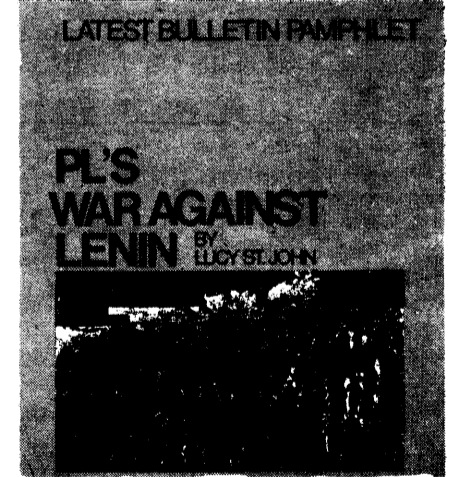


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SFCC Expels YSAers

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Administration of the City College of San Francisco has sent letters of expulsion to four members of the campus Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley (YSJP).

This action is a continuation of the attacks made upon the YSJP last week when their campaign banner was forcibly removed from outside the cafeteria and a number of students were man-handled by Administration flunkies.

Jeff Berchenko, Joe Ward, Steve Gabosch and Lloyd Kenney are charged with assaulting a faculty member, illegal posting of literature, and the disruption of classes. All charges are false. It was the Administration which chose to disrupt the activities of the YSJP, and assault those students who resisted.

Faced with the inevitability of "graduating" students into the unemployment lines and massive cuts in student loans, the Administration is totally committed to its strategy as a method of guarding against campus unrest.

A defense can only be based on an understanding of the strategy of the college rulers and those they represent. It is no accident that these expulsions occur simultaneously with Nixon's call for the decimation of the dock strike. No place of work, no community and no campus is exempt from the effects of the deep economic crisis which exposed itself on August 15th.

The Socialist Workers Party, through the Young Socialist Alliance and the YSJP, prove themselves completely incapable of waging a principled defense—even of their own members. They refuse to expose the actions of the Administration as a political attack. Their petition does not even mention that it was the YSJP and YSA leadership which was expelled.

ILWU. . .

(Continued On Page 12)
guaranteed annual income.

Such a bill will then be used in an attempt to smash the Teamsters and the Railroad unions and then to eliminate the right to strike in all industries.

No dockworker on any coast—East, West or Gulf—can afford to let this law go through. Defiance by the ILWU and the shutting down of the rest of the ports by the ILA is the only way to stop this slave labor legislation.

Dockers in the ILWU must be prepared to stay out for an end to steady men and a 40 hour guarantee for all men with no limits. This means mobilizing the strength of labor to defy Nixon and the Congress and keep the ports shut.

Now is the time to build massive labor demonstrations against the threat of intervention. This is the way to prepare to answer Nixon with a general strike of the entire labor movement that can smash his anti-union policy and win all dockers' demands.



Striking Teamsters picket Coca Cola plant in San Francisco.

Fascists Step Up Terror Attacks

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—In preparation for the Republican Party convention this summer, right wing organizations have stepped-up terrorist attacks on militants in the San Diego area.

These attacks, in the form of bombings, rifle sniping, and burning of automobiles, have been directed against radical organizations and individuals, most notably the San Diego Convention Coalition, which was formed to plan protest activities during the Republican convention.

This terrorism, along with threatening phone calls and notes tacked to doors and sent through the mail, has been traced to two proto-fascist secret organizations known as the Minutemen and Secret Army Organization. Both groups, who leave calling cards bearing a picture of rifle cross-hair sights as advertisement of their activities, are credited, along with the John Birch Society, with having a fairly extensive following in Southern California, particularly in the San Diego area.

Of course, these organizations would not admit to any terrorism. Spokesmen are quick to say that activities are limited strictly to more light-hearted service to the capitalist state, such as intelligence gathering, and maintenance of files on "left wing militants." Apparently their para-military organization, reputed to have included on the agenda a type of "war games" exercise in remote sections of the country, is merely nostalgia for the old days of the Army Officer corps.

It is this high-powered "intelligence gathering" by .30 caliber and incendiary methods, that show what protestors face at the Republican convention this summer. The determination to prevent "another Chicago" will turn San Diego into an armed camp that poses the possibility of deadly confrontations between young people and the police. The result could, in fact, be a slaughter.

It is the leadership of the protest movement, the San Diego Convention Coalition, that bears responsibility for what will happen to the youth who come

here. Utterly blind to the sharp class battles occurring throughout the world and the re-emergence of organized fascist groups, these middle class muddleheads are so in love with their own idealized schemes of a reformed capitalism that they even plan to try reforming the Republican Party! That is the absurd dead-end of protest politics: reverently laying the "Peoples' Platform" at the feet of the capitalist party.

It is the middle class, in movements like this, that try to head off the confrontation between the working class and the capitalists, and try to channel any independent class movement back into the capitalist political parties.

S.F. Workers Fight Cuts

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—"I'm so fed up with this Department, it wouldn't take much to get me out on a 6 month strike!" Every day more city workers are feeling the impact of Mayor Alioto's new hiring freeze.

These cutbacks have already produced staff shortages and speed-up at several city hospitals triggering a one day walk-out by the orderlies at Laguna Honda Hospital. There are rumors of massive layoffs there and at San Francisco General Hospital. To add insult to injury a measly two and a half percent wage "increase" was recommended by the Civil Service Commission.

LEADERSHIP

Local 400's leadership urges its members to "write your Assemblymen and Senators expressing your concern...The more letters the better—politicians react in numbers." But there's a difference between numbers of pieces of paper and numbers of city workers prepared to shut

West Coast News

Cops Terrorize Youth With Mass Arrests

BY ANN LORE

LOS ANGELES—Police and school administrators in Los Angeles have joined in carrying out vicious roundups of working class youth around ghetto high schools and junior high schools.

The campaign of police sweeps, called by such names as "Operation Clean Sweep" and "Operation Responsibility," involves the rounding up of all youth "loitering" around the schools, herding them into police vans handcuffed and chained, and processing them at police stations.

AUTHORITIES

This open police terror has, since January, 1971, been carried out with the advance consent and cooperation of the school authorities. Since that date nine or ten sweeps have taken place, and at least one this year, the latest on January 12th and 13th in which 75 students were picked up and detained at police headquarters.

Two of the biggest sweeps occurred last October at Dorsey High and Los Angeles High, where 250 and 108 youth were picked up respectively. Captain Robert S. Tucker of the Wilshire Division police said the sweeps were carried out when requested by the principals of the schools.

DAVIS

Clifford Davis, principal at Dorsey, is quoted in the January 17th issue of the *Los Angeles Times* as saying:

"We had already decided to hold our own sweep within the campus with school personnel. But when the police came for a

meeting at the school on September 29, they mentioned the problems they were having with crime in the greater Crenshaw area. We told them our plans to sweep the campus on the inside. They asked if it would help to have a sweep on the outside. I said it sure as hell would."

Terry Hatter, director of the Western Center on Law and Poverty, observed the sweep at Los Angeles High. He said he saw students who were late getting to school being prevented from entering the campus because the gates were locked, although they were opened for school personnel. He said students who had books under their arms were detained and put in squad cars or paddy wagons.

"They were patting down youngsters," he said. "I saw a number of boys being searched, spread-eagle up against a squad car. They had between 8 and 10 in the paddy wagon."

"They pointed one boy toward the wagon. He was slow and one officer slammed him up against the wagon."

"I saw two girls about 14 or 15 with books in their arms who were put in the squad car and driven off."

McGLOTHEN

Elroy McGlothen, principal at Los Angeles High, said about the sweep: "I agree with anything that will help youngsters get back in school."

These sweeps have been carried out only at predominantly Black schools. The police said the incidence of crime, not ethnic makeup, is the determining factor.

But unemployment among minority youth in these areas is almost 35%. The capitalists provide rotten schools where youth can't get a decent education, they turn the schools into prisons in order to intimidate the students, turn them out into a society where there are no jobs, and then they scream about crime in order to whip up middle class racist hysteria.

These attacks in Los Angeles are attacks on the right of youth to live. The capitalists vent all of their hatred and fear of the working class, which moves now into massive battle against the government, on the youth. The crisis signalled by August 15 means that such roundups will be spread across the country.

Recently the vice-principal of Ravenswood High School in East Palo Alto told the school newspaper that he intended to clear away non-students from the school area, particularly those who park their cars across the street from the school.

The only answer to these attacks is to build the revolutionary leadership which will unite the working class to smash capitalism once and for all.



Local 400 workers who struck last year (above) are preparing new showdown.

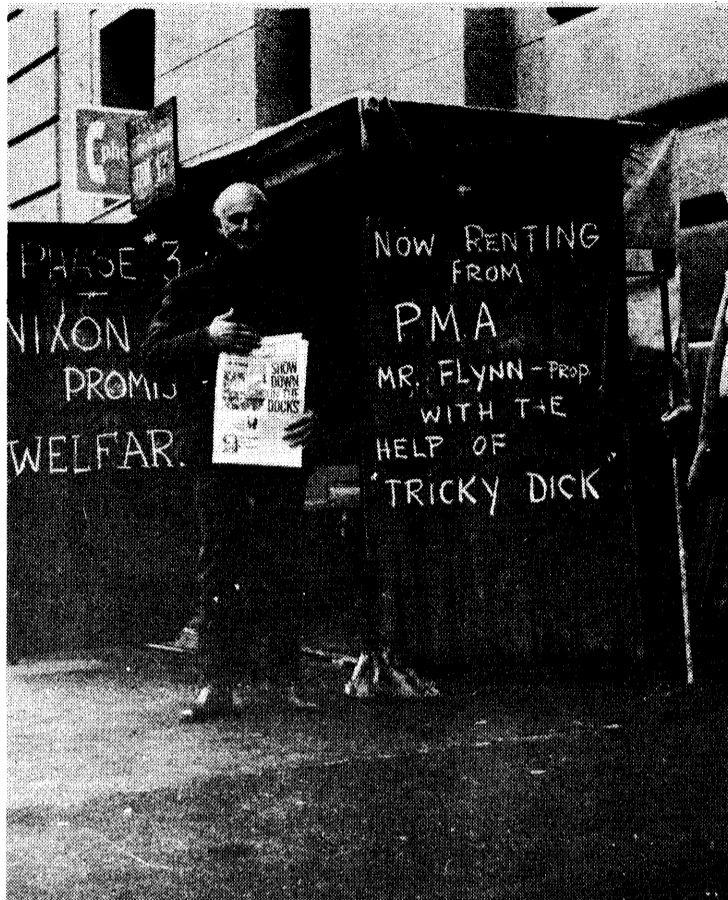
down the city!

DEMONSTRATION

At the last union membership meeting the leadership spoke out of the more militant side of its mouth and proposed a massive city workers demonstration at City Hall on Jan. 31 calling for unity and strength on the part of city workers. The union is demanding \$70 across the board, a shorter work week and better fringe benefits.

West Coast News

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



ILWU ranks picket in San Francisco in defiance of Nixon's policies.

Nixon Demands Arbitration In ILWU Strike

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The West Coast dockers strike is now at a critical point. With Nixon's strike-breaking compulsory arbitration bill in the Congress, the longshoremen's fight must be taken to the rest of the working class.

Dockers are ready to fight. There is a feeling of extreme bitterness on the picket line at the government's action and at the refusal of the ILWU leadership to break the isolation of the union.

Despite this sentiment Bridges is doing everything possible to prepare the way for capitulation. His strategy is to hope he can hold off government intervention by resuming negotiations with the PMA.

The strike continues to be run in the same bankrupt partial manner as before the Taft-Hartley injunction. Now the leadership is attempting to break the strength of the dockers still further by opening up independent negotiations with the grain handlers for a separate settlement that can restore the movement of grain and reduce the pressure from agricultural interests for government intervention.

While every potential now exists to launch a massive campaign in the union movement to smash Nixon's intervention, Bridges confines himself to phone calls to congressmen, begging them to prevent any bill going through.

It is absolutely criminal that when a thousand aerospace workers demonstrated here against the Pay Board the ILWU leadership did not lift a finger to join in the fight. The pressure on the leadership is now so extreme that the Local 10 leadership has been forced to raise the question of a union conference in the Bay Area to decide on a policy for resistance. So far this remains simply a statement on a piece of paper. Absolutely nothing has been done to implement the resolution.

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to take up this confining themselves to calls for letters and telegrams to Congress and not even suggesting preparation for defiance.

The special bill introduced into Congress by Senators Packwood and Javits sets up a 3-man arbitration board appointed by the Secretary of Labor, which will make a final decision within 40 days on all aspects of the contract which would last for 18 to 24 months and be retroactive only to the time of the special legislation. The ruling on wages

must be "consistent with the economic stabilization program" (Phase 2). The board of course will be strictly a businessman's board acting against the workers as is the Pay Board.

It is expected that the bill will be amended to turn its provisions into permanent legislation providing for compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry. This, of course is aimed at the throats, most immediately, of the ILA in order to force a settlement which will destroy the

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Reagan Pushes Drive To Railroad Angela

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

PALO ALTO—The trial of Angela Davis, scheduled to begin on January 31, has been delayed to allow defense motions to be presented for a change of venue, defense costs, and jury selection methods.

Governor Reagan immediately lashed out at this new delay showing the willingness of the ruling class to do away with even the least pretense at bourgeois "justice" in their eagerness to smash any opposition from the working class. "The accused has a right to an immediate trial, well, I think society has the right to an immediate trial and I think a great many people, including myself, are getting impatient with this whole dragged-out process."

This was the same day as Nixon's State of the Union message, which likewise gave warning to the dock workers that "this

nation cannot and will not tolerate that kind of tie-up in the future." In other words, the capitalist class will no longer tolerate "frustrations of justice" in their onslaught against the whole working class.

So the trial site for Angela Davis is being prepared to duplicate, or even go beyond, the Gestapo terror techniques which have been introduced in the Soledad trial. Already, close to \$700,000 in state funds have been spent on reconstruction work and security measures and it was reported in the San Jose Mercury that the security which has been imposed on the Santa Clara County Superior Court where Davis' trial is to be held is the tightest ever in its 120-year history.

Soledad Judge Threatens Audience

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—In an explosion of fury, Spiro L. Vavuris, Judge of the Soledad Brothers trial threatened to jail all the spectators attending the trial.

The threat came after the increasing difficulty in the prosecution's case. The prosecution is now calling it's inmate witnesses or "snitches" to testify against Clutchette and Drumgo.

William T. Worzella, one such "inmate witness" has testified that he saw John Clutchette with Jackson at the scene of the killing. He also claims that Fleet-

a Drumgo came past his cell, his hand wrapped in a towel, "and a look of anxiety on his face."

FRAME UP

Worzella's testimony is extremely shaky however, since he has given over three different stories since the murder of guard John Mills at Soledad prison.

In testimony that the recently paroled inmate has given to the investigator for the defense, Worzella has admitted that he had an extreme fear of Capt. Charles Moody, once captain of the guards at Soledad prison and now the prosecution's chief investigator.

It now means that the government must whip up hysteria and fear in order to convict the brothers. The laughter which immediately brought on Vavuris' outburst is precisely because of the government's difficulty in proceeding with the frame-up.

His shout that "If I hear any more of that cynical laughter I'll hold you all in contempt and give you all five days and fine you \$500!" is how Nixon and this government are preparing to deal with striking dockworkers and the entire trade union movement.

Vavuris ended by declaring that "You don't know me! I can be as rough as broken glass!"

Panthers End Boycott For Black Capitalist Crumbs

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—With the end of the boycott of Boyette's Liquors on January 15, the Panthers have carried their survival programs to their logical end.

The boycott ended with the establishment of the "United Black Fund of the Bay Area Incorporated" which, to put it charitably, is a Black version of the Salvation Army.

The fund will donate as yet undetermined amounts of money to various "good works" including the Panthers survival programs. The Panthers' share will go through St. Augustine's Church, where many of the survival programs are carried out.

Huey Newton let the cat out of the bag at the press conference announcing the agreement by saying that the boycott was a dispute among "class brothers."

What Newton is saying is that today the Panthers stand on the side of the Black middle class in their desperate attempts to divert the revolutionary youth of the ghettos and the Black working class from the class struggle and into the dead end of ghettoism and community con-

trol.

The Panthers have so completely repudiated revolutionary politics that Newton announced at the press conference that the Panthers would pass out leaflets encouraging people to buy at Boyette's.

The Panthers survival programs and their new agreement with the ad hoc committee stand in stark contrast to the words of fallen Panther leader George Jackson which the Panthers printed only the week before in their paper. Jackson wrote, "You've heard the stories about white America and the Establishment not being able to deal with Black Nationalism. Well, they have been. They bought them off. As far as I'm concerned our dialectic, our goals, our intentions, are so mutually exclusive to those of the opposition, that I can't see anywhere we can find anything to agree on."

BAY AREA CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

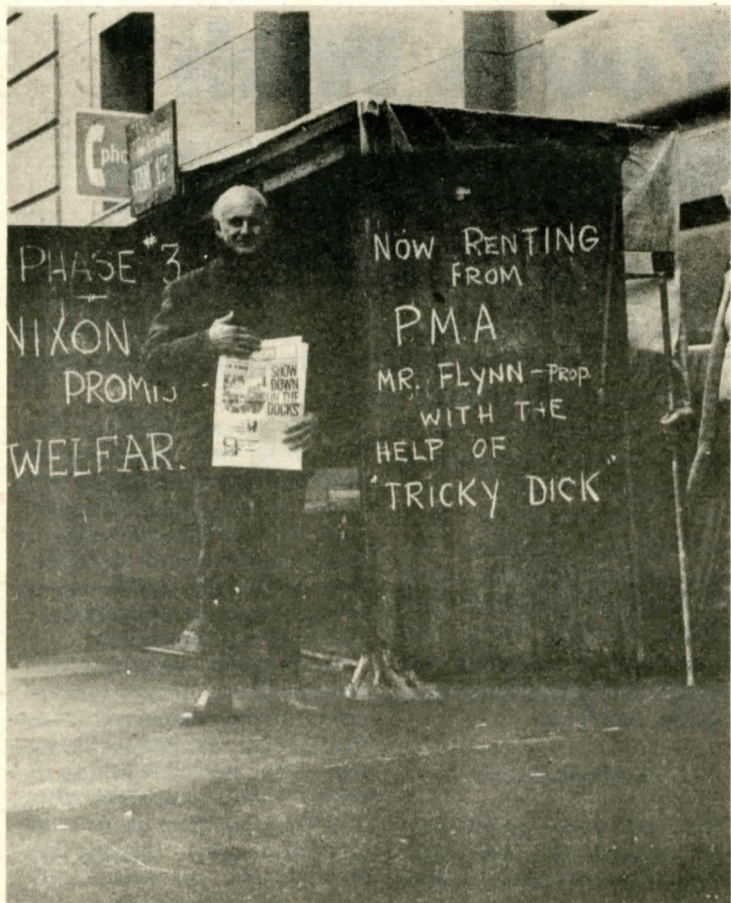
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