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NIXON PREPARES VIETNAM ESCALATION

BY DAVID NORTH

The eight-point “peace” plan unveiled last week by President Nixon signals the resumption of all-out war against the Vietnamese people. Nixon framed his entire speech in the language of threats, warning Hanoi that offensive action would follow if the peace plan were not accepted. The “peace” plan itself offers nothing new except the cynical offer to retire President Thieu one month before rigged elections take place. During the one month period, state power would remain in the hands of less famous puppets installed by American imperialism.

Honda has revealed to the American press that negotiations on a new cease-fire are being continued in South Vietnam, at pursuing Vietnamization and at imposing the neo-colonialist yoke of the United States on the people of South Vietnam.

It is essential to understand that Nixon has now decided that the four year negotia-
tion charade in Paris can no longer serve any purpose except the apparent one of giving clout to the next presidential campaign. The ostensible purpose of his revelation of the “secret talks” with representatives of North Viet-

naming is to place full responsibility for the failure of negotiations upon the Hanoi government.

In Cambodia, the capital city itself is virtually defenseless against any deter-
mined assault. And in Vietnam, the Thieu regime is bracing itself for an offensive in the Central Highlands. Military spokes-
men for both the American and South Viet-

namese armies are openly admitting that the National Liberation Front is capable of launching an attack even more power-

ful than the 1968 Tet offensive.

BOMBINGS

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

The Vietnamese Revolution has now entered a new stage. The break-up of the negotiations, the resumption of American bombings and the powerful onslaught of millions of workers and peasants in Indo-

china reflect in the sharpest form the new relations that exist internationally since August 15 between the working class and bourgeoisie.

This period, as we see in studying the military situation in Vietnam, offers the working class the most favorable oppor-
tunity to defeat imperialism. But this period also poses great dangers, as the agents of capitalism within the working class—the Stalinists—seek desperately to betray the struggle of the masses.

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

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

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

Prince Sihanouk revealed two weeks ago the manner in which the Moscow Stalinists have kept the Vietnamese revolutionaries forces on a starvation diet of out-
dated armaments. There is no longer any doubt that the Stalinists are actively seeking to prevent the military defeat of the United States in Indochina. It is for this reason that the victory of the Viet-

namese Revolution depends upon the destruction of Stalinism.
Tories Butcher Irish Workers

BY A CORRESPONDENT

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

"This is our Sharpeville," we declared Bernadette Devlin, who had been addressing the rally, described the situation as "murdering the Londonderry workers in collaboration with the Ulster government of Brian Faulkner."

The Workers Press and Londonderry the murders had the same workers are planning to use...day by day they are encouraging the escalation of the terror in Ulster so that point can be reached where...go down an innocent crowd."

The Sharpeville and London- derry trek of murder the last was planned and ordered by the Prime Minister of British capitalism.

In the last few days the murders of Sharpeville, a small African township where nearly 2000 workers were shot down in 1956 by the South African army with the encouragement of the British Tory Government led by Harold Macmillan.

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The real solution of the 1199 leadership, the hospital workers union, to the threats of mass layoffs and shutdowns has been capitulated at Kriechbocker Hospital.

Two weeks ago, we reported in the Bulletin that the hospital had threatened to cut pay raises, cut off overtime funds to stay open another three months.

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

The next step will be compulsory overtime. The ones taking place in plants all over the country, this is what the hospital is preparing to demand in the July contract negotiations.

1199 Leaders Back Wage Cut Scheme

ACCEPT

It is now clear why the issue of Kriechbocker Hospital was not mentioned at the last Guild delegates meeting in the report on the crisis facing the hospitals and the threat of layoffs. While making official declarations that the hospital will operate if there are layoffs, the Davis leadership's real perspective is to accept these attacks and help the government of Henrië van- veer, on Sunday, the lost the 1199 jobs in a deal worked out with Victor Gobash of District Council 37 who represents city hospital workers.

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

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

These events are a clear warning that rank and file members of 1199 must fight with the Rank and File Committee and demand citywide take action against any layoffs or shut downs and to prepare for the 1973 contract fight. The 1199 membership must demand that the union act to stop the "voluntary" pay cuts at Kriechbocker.

Berrigan Trial Begins

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER


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

The government is seeking to jail the defendants for five years. It is seeking to conduct a political trial, trying to stigmatize any perspective juror who might express opposition to the Vietnam War or those who might have sons of draft age. So in- secure does the government feel itself to be.

The case itself is nothing more than a clumsy framework. The prosecution can cite not one con- crete action by any of the defen- dants in the "plot." The only "evidence" is some alleged phrases in letters between Father Berrigan and Sister Mc- Allister, obtained with our known law.

The government is attempting to make up for this paucity of ev- idence with a new indictment of "conspiracy" so useful for framers and political persecu- tions without proof.

The Harrisburg trial must be seen in the context of capi- talism's growing determination to stamp out any sort of oppo- sition to its barbarous policies.

CWA Ranks Plan Rejection Of Arbitration

BY A BULLETION REPORTER

NEW YORK, MONDAY, JANUARY 31—Three thousand rank and file members of Local 1191 of the Communications Workers of America packed Manhattan Center tonight meeting with the CWA leadership to condemn any defeat that will not retract from the fight to win the seven month old strike.

Nearly 3000 men were forced out of the meeting by the New York City Police Department as the militant crowd overflowed the hall. Last week, Rockefeller sought to force the telephone workers back to work through binding ar- bitration. In this they are coun- tering on the tactics of the leadership of the telephone workers.

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

A formal vote was not taken on the question of binding ar- bitration, but when a spokesman for the local addressed the crowd he said that the local leadership holds the same position as Rockefeller. If negotiations can't yield a settlement, then we're in favor of binding arbitra- tion. To hold weekly demotions of bon and yelling threats through the audience.

SUPPORT

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

Carnivale should politically de- mand that Harry Van Arsdale of the N.Y. Central Labor Council call a mass demon- stration at City Hall, followed by a general strike.

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

The meeting ended with a de- termination to carry through a rejection of binding arbitration, to hold weekly demotions to maintain the strike.
**Vote No On ILA Contract**

**BY DAN FRIED**

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

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

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

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

The seven job categories will be taken away and being ignored, and they plan to have only three categories.

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

Men who get sick will be screwed, "available," and will be debited.

There is another method of "pausing" the contract which is not as well known. Under the Jessie Award, the shipper can insist that any position you worked at since 1963, you can be debited to this end. This means that many can be put to work under the new contract as longshoremen and debited out of existence for refusal.

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

Not only is the contract an attack on the shipping companies but also on the Guaranteed Annual Income while the shippers continue to make millions of dollars, even on the question of wages and pensions it is a roll call. 70 cents the first year, 40 cents each of the next two, and only two of them by 2001, if you are 50 years old. On every single question this is a bosses' contract. (Continued On Page 12)

**Ferre Cops Arrest P.R. Strikers**

**BY LUCIA RIVERA**

Puerto Rico—The strike of telephone workers there has entered its third week without any settlement near.

The week before the strike broke out, the company locked out more than 200 workers. The operators started a sit-in that lasted more than 10 hours. The occupation came to an end when the company said that it was a misunderstanding—standing. On January 9th the workers started the strike after being without a contract for three weeks.

The next morning the union and the company were supposed to meet with Labor Board to discuss the "impasse" in the negotiations. The rank walked out the night before making any decision from the Labor Board. Immediately troops were called through out the island.

Violence broke out when the police on the back of the trucks, when they were not being allowed to cross the length of the strike.

At the same time that the po-lice have arrested more than a dozen strikers, the commercial workers, and other workers in the strike for the violence that has erupted and the acts of "sabo- tering"

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

The president of the senate of Puerto Rico, Hernandez Colon, has proposed a law that would permit the government to take possession of the telephone company, and it has called for the antitrust law to break the union.

By this time, the government is showing how impartial it is in the class struggle. It is only the government that the most liberal politicians like Hernan-dez Colon.

The telephone workers must demand support from the Med- santo Obrero Unido and the labor movement as a whole to demonstrate their struggle against the telephone workers and make the company accept the union's de- mands.

**21% Of Teamsters Reject Offer**

**BY GARY RAWLS**

Minneapolis, Jan. 29—Teamsters Local 114 in the Honeywell plants here held a mass meeting today to vote on a new contract. The union leadership did not vote to make the 5.5% wage offer sound acceptable.

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

The 1970 settlement with the company provided no job guarantees whatsoever, and Honeywell made a series of cuts and layoffs. The workers fought a number of layoffs and the environ- ments threatened.

The rank was concentrated by the Minneapolis Armory. Even the management was not sure that the vote was bitter and so did because they felt there was no alter-
Civil War Explodes At Lordstown Plant

LORDSTOWN, Ohio—What UAW Local 112 describes as a reign of terror by the General Motors Company against the Chevrolet workers at the world’s most modernized auto plant here has reached the boiling point.

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

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

"I used to be a foreman, but I got sick and tired of the company being two-faced. The foremen are caught in the middle. They’re constantly being threatened that if they don’t get on the backs of the men enough they’re out. I’ve seen foremen kick in a bathroom door to get a guy back on line. I’ve seen guys go to the bathroom on the floor and get D.I.O.D. (disciplinary layoff) because they couldn’t go to the bathroom. They don’t care what’s coming off the line, just as long as they can sell it. I’m a repair man now, so I know. We want to make a decent product, but they only want to make profits. The thirty hour week at 40 hours pay, that would be great," he said.

The attempt since October to up the speed of the assembly line which produces the Vega car and Chevrolet trucks toward the figures of 30 cars per hour (as compared with an average of 55 at other GM plants) has run right up against the resistance of the young workers who refuse to go along.

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

The company calls this "error," and says it’s over 90 men on D.I.O.D. in the last three months and has continued to close shifts down sending the men home with pay. They are supposedly guaranteed 80% of this pay if sent home early, under the last contract. The company is doing this in order to try to stave off the union's submission.

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

(Continued On Page 12)

Goodrich Plan Shakes Akron

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued On Page 12)

Frigidaire Worker Exposes Wage-Cut

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

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

Bulletin: When was your last contract?

Committeeman: 1979. We ratified it and they weren’t supposed to change anything in it. It was a three year contract. After one year they asked for the changes. The new agreement divides the plant into automotive and appliance divisions.

The appliance workers gave up the productivity and cost of living wage increases for the whole contract and extended it. This amounts to 27 cents at this time.

(Continued On Page 12)
Ulster Massacre--Warning To U.S. Labor

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

We have continually warned that the brutal wars of oppression being carried out against the workers and the capitalist class will stop at nothing to preserve its profits in this period of crisis. In order to smash the resistance of the working class they will employ the methods of Sharpeville and My Lai, not only in Northern Ireland but in the American South, New York, and Detroit. This is the lesson of Attica and Londonderry.

The Tories now face the refusal of the thousands of Irish workers to accept poverty, unemployment and starvation. The British paras have attempted to drive workers to the gates of Londonderry by the threat of armed men.

A vicious witchhunt and "shoot to kill" atmosphere is being whipped up by the government and the capitalist press. One of the tragic last week in the East Village of New York City. This is one purpose, and one purpose only in the page after page, hour after hour and day after day to glorify the state and its armed men. The police are being whipped up to a racial hysteria and hostility to militants in order to justify the repressive measures of the state against the movement of the working class.

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

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

Two days after the killing the police suddenly discover a note they claim they received from the so-called "terrorist leaders" of the Black Liberation Army.

The police say that in the note the group ask about two other unspecified reactions to police on what who else called "answer the inci-" the police!

The Daily News attacks those who "who show disrespect for the police" and says the "lawlessers" must be stamped out.

The Daily News says it is a "crime" and "militants" who "preach the grievance of violence." On the same page the editor of this sheet glibly applied the coldblooded murder of the skyjack to an FBI agent while he was sitting in a car.

The New York Times viciously attacks the American Bar Association for daring to strike the man who conscientiously planned and executed the mass murder in North Ireland.

It is the violence of the oppressor, of capitalism, that keeps the government of capitalism condone whether it is in England, South Africa or Belgium.

Needless to say the editorials of these papers are silent about the plot to kill the American Bar Association of the farmworkers union. 65,000 was put up by the big growers of Southern California to kill Chavez. This has not been named by the press. The press agent of the Interior Revenue Service who after finding out about this dropped their investigation.

It is an accident that at the same time the Daily News screams for the blood of militants that it campaigners for the "Right to Kill Lawyers" against the unions and for unemployment benefits to be taken away from the CWA strikers.

The one class upper is the wage freezing, unemployment, poverty, strikes are the breeding of these men. It is the body of armed men who are paid to maintain these conditions and to prevent all these things. It is the body of armed men who are paid to maintain these conditions. It is the body of armed men who are paid to maintain these conditions.

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

Sections of the police and right wing elements are now using the East Village incident for insidious purposes. This is why they saw action as national police, but also in the East Village incident for insidious purposes. This is why they saw action as an agent of the police. So we must be careful to meet the police at their own game.

Just as in Forest Hills these forces are now seeking a frame-up in a racial hysteria as an excuse for attacks on militants and to divide the working class.

The witchhunt of the press and the plot against Chavez are a sharp warning to the working class. But the Irish situation in the North is not far away. In the U.S. the capitalists seek to divide the working class with split between the various sects and traditions of the working class.

At the same time they seek to influence the working class with terror so as to prepare the way for dictatorship.

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

The Spartacist League, basing itself on all the complacency in the middle class that lasted itself during the boom, attacks the Workers League in the February issue of Workers Vanguard for its "assertion that the Anti-war movement has created a 'red wave' for a general strike. For the Spartacists the mass 'march' at Altamont and the real movement of capitalism as a general strike "all represent typical idealistic projections of one's own desire into reality."

But it is in fact the middle class commentators in Spartacist that were "right" for demanding a 'general strike' for a general strike" and new form of coalition with the Socialists as a movement. The Socialists Workers Party that there is no crisis, that the "crisis exists in the heads of the leaders of the Workers League and the Spartacists when they see their struggles, when they see the strike that they fight against it that they deride. It is an accident that the press is carrying out this carefully programmed campaign against Black militants precisely at the time that Angela Davis goes to trial seeking to link the death of the East Village cops to George Jackson.

Sections of the police and right wing elements are now using the East Village incident for insidious purposes. This is why they saw action as an agent of the police. So we must be careful to meet the police at their own game.

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

This is what makes so reactionary and dangerous the program of the Stalinists and revisionists who say that the working class can settle the score with capitalism through reform. Can there be any doubt that if this class is now preparing to send Angela Davis to the gas chamber, as it plans to murder union leaders what it has in store for the working class as a whole.

In North Ireland innocent working people are shot down because they refuse to accept unemployment and poverty.

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

We will not allow one minute that the capitalist press get away with it. We will stand back our forces within the working class movement now illusions in this system. But we will through this paper prepare the working class and the youth for the battle ahead.
pressing their total break from Marxism on the most fundamental philosophical level. It is the open expression of the empirical method, absolutely hostile to dialectics. They begin with the surface and seek only to reflect it. Their whole theory is the result of a way to gain some immediate advantage. They avoid probing beneath the surface for the underlying essential movement, for the conflict of opposing class tendencies. They fear and seek to avoid all class struggle on the theoretical and philosophical front just as they do on the political plane.

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

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

Marxists begin from an analysis of the world economy and the world class struggle. They base their theory on the class struggle. Dialectical materialism encompasses this analysis. It requires the bringing of this analysis of theory into practice, into the daily work of the revolutionary party and all the struggles of the working class.

The fight against pragmatism is intimately related to the question of internationalism. As we pointed out before, the class struggle is completely interconnected on a world scale, the tasks facing the working class are international tasks. Beginning in any way from narrow national conditions, the entire political situation and principles means social revolution, the only road forward for humanity, could be accomplished only under the leadership of the working class. This required the resolution of the crisis of leadership within the working class, with the decisive mass labor movement. It required a battle to the end to destroy Stalinism, which functioned as the main agency of imperialism within the workers' movement.

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

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

The SWP fought against those who said, "Junk the old Trotskyism." It broke from them and won the overwhelming majority of the rank and file in agreement with Pablo, raised this openly and honestly. Their alliance with Pablo however, without a continuous fight for theory, without a fight to understand the ghastly lessons of the death of Trotsky, opened the way for the split in the SWP and the leadership wound up back with those same forces. In 1959 it completed the reunification with the Pabloites. In 1965 it was forced to put forward the slogan, "Junk the old Trotskyism," and throughout that, is exactly what that program and perspective is today.

The liquidation of the SWP's turn towards reformism is George Breitman's toward revisionism.

Amongst the revisionists today, Breitman comes into his own. As one of the long-time leaders of the party he plays a particularly important role in consolidating its break with mass Leninism. Not only by providing the theoretical justification for its reformist positions and its complete hostility to Marxism. Breitman was the leading exponent of the turn toward Black nationalism inside the SWP. As we shall see this was to play a key role in the abandonment of the Marxist program.

In his pamphlet "How a Minority Can Change Society," Breitman went to great lengths to show how a divided working class can make a revolution. He closed this book with liberal conceptions. The movements of minority sections of the working class and the middle class were seen as changing society by shaking up the existing order. Students and Blacks organized separately at the stage for the overthrow of capitalism by fighting for their own interest. The Alliance of Black People and the Democratic Party was seen breaking up under the impact of these struggles, not the movement of the working class.

This is exactly the same outlook as held by the middle class liberals and radicals. To these elements the working class is a closed book. They can only think in conspiracy and grandiose terms, in terms of pressing the Democratic Party and Blacks towards destruction. As we were in the action of the working class. Breitman shares this reformist outlook, and he comes close to promoting the liquidation of revolutionary wing of the Democratic Party. This is the way they liquidate the dream of the revolution.

The time has come to break with the Pabloite bottleneck. The time has come to open the boom, upon a period of isolation for the revolutionary movement. Without a con- stable-minded, the Pabloite program was reinforced and came to dominate completely the thinking of the SWP.

This was an outlook based upon deep fear and conservatism. Instead of fighting to understand the development of class forces that their program is based, "Revolutionaries and the Fight for Reforms," pruned in the Militant in 1969 and later as part of a pamphlet entitled "Revolutionary Analysis, Strategy and Tactics Today." Breitman is well along in this article, exposing quite clearly the open reformism of the SWP. He writes an entire article on program and the relationship between reform and revolution without even mentioning the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International.

By 1949 the SWP had the following about this program:

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

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

Yet in 1969 Breitman saw no need to mention it in an article in which he was disowning the strategy of the Transitional Program addresses itself.

Breitman stated as follows:

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

"But our program, that tendency which holds that the basic problems of society can be solved, or even that revolution has been achieved, by the gradual accumulation of reforms, one by one. That concept, not only that the transitional stage is not revolutionary, but the revolutionaries are and should be against..." By the time they never stop teaching the masses the truth about the inadequacies of reforms as long as the ruling class is not displaced from power, about the ease with which
reforms can be cancelled or withdrawn as means of meaningless by ineffective or discriminatory enforcement. As long as the ruling class remains in power, the need to go beyond reforms and reconstruct the foundations of society on a planned and rational basis...

Breitman proposes that the job is to fight for reforms in a revolutionary way. The statement that Marxist strategy is not the only revolutionary strategy says, in its time, is itself a revolutionary act. It is precisely because it shows the deep skepticism of the revisionists on questions of theory. They approach these questions as agnostics, as dualists. They say that we cannot know really, cannot compel on the basis of theory. If Marxism is not the only revolutionary strategy, then their theory is at all. If there are other revolutionary strategies, why can we proceed with one of the other, or piece of them all? And what are the other revolutionary strategies...

It is slander to say that the essence of Marxist strategy is to "combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for the revolution." Breitman says what he means by this, but not what he means by "the U.S. is not now in a revolutionary situation. This is unfortunate, but true; and it is from this truth that revolutionaries must proceed in the development of strategy and tactics."

This brings us back to the theory of neo-capitalism. Breitman wrote nine months after the events in France in 1968. Since then those struggles have exploded across the bourgeoisie in most explosive class struggles, as capitalism wobbles for its deepest crisis ever. Yet Breitman insists that proceeds with the impression that capitalism has superseded its imperialist stage. That the revolutions now take different and less sharp forms, above all not decisively involve the working class and the trade unions.

The actual total of the Transitional Program is "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." This program is a guide in a revolutionary period. In the new crisis today it takes on its fullest and richest meaning. Yet Breitman understates the situation, just as it breaks up most explosively. Now we can see what Breitman means by the "combination of revolution and reforms. Since we are "not now in a revolutionary situation, the struggle for reforms today, and for revolution later. This is nothing more than the method of the revisionist Second International.

Breitman uses the excuse that a revolution is not upon us and is not upon us as "today" to deny the revolutionary character of this period. To forget what Lenin called the "primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the world situation... The basic feature of the imperialist epoch is its sharp fluctuations and rapid political developments which pose before the working class the task of power. The revolutionary movement has a small amount of time, a precious few years, in which to prepare for the most revolutionary task ever in human history. The role of the revisionists is to postpone the preparation, to sabotage the fight now to develop the understanding and the actual material forces without which the entire working class will be defeated.

There is another aspect to all this. For Breitman the difference between the revolutionaries and reformists is not the program, but the way in which reforms are fought for. He goes out of his way to stress the need for agreement between the SWP and the reformists on demands. The difference, he informs us, is that the SWP warns about the "inadequacy," it says more struggle will be needed later, and it says we must fight for specific demands. These conceptions cut the heart out of the fight for revolutionary leadership. If the militant fight for reforms is all that is needed, why build a revolutionary party? If the reformist and the revolutionary parties overlap almost entirely, what is to prevent these two trends from working together for this common program?"

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

The past can only be retained not by defensive struggles but by grasping with the fight for political power and socialism.

That is the meaning of the demands in the Transitional Program for a sliding scale of prices, for rents and decent living conditions for all, for the unconditional independence of the trade unions from the leadership of factory committees, the expropriation of the banks, the guaranteed wages and under workers' control, and the nationalization of the banks. The capitalists cannot grant these demands. They must be linked, on the one hand, with every struggle for the most minor, of the working class and the youth; and on the other, with the struggle for independence of the United States, the demand for an independent labor party. To fight for state power in the interests of the working class is the cornerstone of the whole fight for the basic rights of the working class. In the course of this struggle the demands for workers' demands, for workers' councils and for a workers' government will have to be raised.

Only the Transitional Program of the Fourth International shows the way forward in the fight which contains, unemployment, wage freezing, government repression, unioneizing, racism, etc.

But is it this program which the revisionists now consider irrelevant, or worse, which poses demands which must be organically integrated into the fight for socialism, which the revisionists have no use for. These, they tell us, are not demands. At the same time they are founded of justifying the BOLSHEVIK coup in Iran behind the "reform" demands of peace, bread and land.

The Bolsheviki won power because they had a revolutionary program. Contrasted these demands (particularly the slogan "All Power to the Soviets") to the fight for power. The demands for peace, bread and land were organically connected to this fight, just as the demand for the independence of the working class and job security must be connected today to the struggle for socialism. This is why the revisionists attempt to use Bolsheviki only exposes them all the more. It is the struggle for revolution which they oppose. They are on the other side, they oppose Bolsheviki. The reformist demands in which every case tie the working class politically and ideologically to the defense of democracy and to the need to think Black nationalism, women's liberation, the fight against the war in Vietnam, or the defense of democracy, are consciously separated from the transitional program, from a struggle against capitalism.

THE TRANSITIONAL METHOD

Although Breitman in the above-quoted article quite honestly dispenses altogether with the Transitional Program, the revisionists also on occasion claim to defend it. They claim to carry forward the "transitional method." Methodology is not a method and desert the method and the program in the guise of "improving" it.

Joseph Hansen defines the transitional method as follows in his report on the 1975 International situation to the 1976 SWP convention:

"The real solution to the problem of bolshevism lies in the idea that our program of revolutionary socialism is based on the ideas and methods of the transitional method taught us by Trotsky. The method is not complicated. It consists in the continuous evaluation of masses at whatever level they may stand and in drawing them through the progressive program of revolution to a decision toward a higher level of thought and action, that is, in the direction of socialism.

This model definition of, not Trotsky's method, but of the following passage from the 1969 SWP Convention Resolution, "The Path to Power in the Present situation in America."

The canal is to find demands corresponding to the present level of political understanding of the masses and to their objectives, demands that, in the
instrument to overcome anu vanquish that backwardness...

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

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

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

And in answer to a question, "Isn't the ideology of the workers a part of the objective factors?" Trotsky says: "I agree, the ideology of the workers is a part of the objective factors. But this whole thing is objective, including the mood of the workers. But we must analyze and classify those different elements of the objective situation which can be changed by our paper and those which cannot be changed. That is why factor, the revolutionary party.

Trotsky speaks of "society as it is.

"Messrs. Revisionists, that means the objective economic and social conditions of the country, precisely what you ignore. It does not make the mood of the working class or the middle class, or the last demonstration or protest movement upon which you dwell."

Note how often Trotsky repeats himself. This is a very common characteristic of a statement about "every comrade who says that this program is not fit for the American situation. The program is a scientific program."

And in answer to a question, "Isn't the ideology of the workers a part of the objective factors?" Trotsky says: "I agree, the ideology of the workers is a part of the objective factors. But this whole thing is objective, including the mood of the workers. But we must analyze and classify those different elements of the objective situation which can be changed by our paper and those which cannot be changed. That is why

we say that our program is adapted to the changing social elements in the mobilization and conflict with capitalist preregatives and that is what leads to break through the framework of capitalism."

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

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

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

"A correct situation of the country is in every respect and even more than in Europe ripe for Socialist Revolution and Socialism, more ripe than any other country in the world. The political backwardness of the workers class is very great. This signifies that the danger is also very great. This is the point of departure for all our activity. The program must express the objective conditions of the class of workers rather than the backwardness of the workers. It must reason society as it is, and not the backwardness of the workers."

RELATIONS WITH THE BOURGEOIS STATE

The betrayal by the SWP from the Marxist program was clearly expressed as early as 1936, at the very same time as the party was preparing from the struggle against revisionism.

After 1933, the discussion was cut off. The SWP leadership proceeded with the conception that it could finish with the Trotskyist campaign by simply putting it in the box. The box, of course, was not to be the case. The SWP began reality corners on the principal struggle against Stalinism, exactly the opposite."

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

But this is where the revisionists stop. When they confront contradictions between the Marxist program and immediate events, they discard the program. They discard the program because they see and touch, in it, first class, well-adapted Stalinist Stalinism. For the revisionists the contradiction between theory and practice is resolved not through the conscious practice of the revolutionary party, but through the desertion of the revolutionary program and adoption to existing consciousness. This is the way in which the denial of the dialectic, the denial of conflict, leads straight to opportunism and reformism, to reconciliation with the capitalist system.

There was a considerable amount of opposition to this SWP, however, showing that it represented a break from the past policies of the SWP in opposition to revisionism. This opposition was temporarily withdrawn in 1936 but then in 1937, it was reborn with the issue of the Con- ven tion Resolution on the civil rights struggle.

At the 1937 Convention this slogan was opposed on the grounds...

"...You have to take responsibility for the enemy's worst guess, you have to take responsibility for their being sent there..."
geoi zis. When he wrote of settling these differences “in an orderly manner,” he was speaking of bringing the workers into a position of helping to cover the various policies of Kennedy himself.

The “differences” in capitalist society will be settled in a revolutionary manner, not by the so-called “METHOD” of an elementary principle of Marxism. The task of the revolutionary party is to prepare to lead the workers in the decisive stage of the socialist transformation of society; the task of the defense committees is to settle the contradictions among the workers themselves.

They responded to statements by the central committee of the defense committee which has faced two years in jail for dis-

A second factor that contributed to this situation was that the defense committees and the defense parties were primarily concerned with the armed struggle against the reactionaries, and therefore they neglected the task of transforming the society. The defense committees and the defense parties were primarily concerned with the armed struggle against the reactionaries, and therefore they neglected the task of transforming the society. The defense committees and the defense parties were primarily concerned with the armed struggle against the reactionaries, and therefore they neglected the task of transforming the society. The defense committees and the defense parties were primarily concerned with the armed struggle against the reactionaries, and therefore they neglected the task of transforming the society. The defense committees and the defense parties were primarily concerned with the armed struggle against the reactionaries, and therefore they neglected the task of transforming the society.
Who Owns America?


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

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

Walter Hickel was the controversial Secretary of the Interior in the first two years of the Nixon Administration, until he got booted out. When he was appointed by Nixon to the post, the Senate held confirmations hearings in an attempt to find out whether or not he was a satisfactory conservationist. He proved finally that he was very worried about conserving trees, musk or whales as well as the bloated profits of the capitalists. They accepted him.

But then came the Cambodian invasion in May, 1970 by the U.S. Imperialist troops.

Hickel started thinking a little about conserving human lives and wrote his famous ‘Faithful yours, Wally’ letter to Nixon, criticizing his policies. A few months later, Hickel was out. Now Hickel writes this book to explain why and to warn the American people about the mysterious dark forces at work in the White House.

“We want to know that the important decisions affecting our life styles, and our individual security, are made by anonymous ‘them’ who may have no suitable consideration for our wishes…”

“It is clearly time to reaffirm that ‘we’ and not ‘them’ are the new voices of America, and that ‘we’ and not ‘them’ really own America.”

Hickel may be right, but I still remain somewhat of a mystery. Even after he was fired, Hickel blames this not on Nixon, but on some hovering force which seems to envy, perhaps, the President’s inner circle of advisors.

Hickel exposes some moments when they played the president’s heartstrings. Hickel was discussing with Henry Kissinger, Nixon’s former Secretary of State Rogers and others the fate of the people of Micronesia, which was a UN Trust Territory grabbed by the US in the Pacific after the Second World War. Hickel thought there should be some rights “given to the Micronesians in a sort of autonomous fashion. Kissinger answered: “There are only 80,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?”

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

Hickel also mentions his distaste for Nixon’s War on Drugs, mongering. What is revealing is that his book, which no one reads, all the same achieved some confidence in Nixon as a great President. He even quotes Nixon’s demagogic inaugural address as proof of his basic good intentions!

Hickel’s conclusions amount to a complete defense of the system. The people of America own the country, Hickel says. They therefore have an “obligation of ownership.” They are “obligated” to watch over the interests of the capitalist class— who use the wealth of the country, lest these same capitalists “abuse” their power unnecessarily.

Desperate Characters

Starring Shirley Maclaine and Kenneth Mars. Directed and written by Frank Kline.

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

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

The direction is essentially embarrass- ing, for Frank Kline tried his very best to produce in Desperate Characters an American “art film”— which explains the long silences, painful facial expressions, and nonsensical sym- bolism with which the film is beharored.

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

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

The film is also very important because it does more than merely reflect this crisis but also makes a definite point on the question of consciousness by ex- amining what road should be taken by each individual. The answer hinted at by the director through the voice of the fic- tional protagonist is certainly that of fas- cism.

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

FEBR Who Owns America?

Desperate Characters

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

Though now on reruns, Hogan’s Heroes is still the most insidious show on television, giving fascism a sugar coating. The plot, rather simple, is this: through their simplicity takes away none of the show’s terror. But, to appreciate the true horror of this show’s purpose, one must realize who the show is watched by, who the show is aimed at.

The hero’s son, a prisoner of war, at- tends children of around eight years to twelve years; the ages when children are most impressionable.

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

As we know, being in one of these camps was one of the most degrading ex- periences that a human being could go through. In reality, the prisoners were nearly starved to death. In Hogan’s Heroes, a French prisoner cooks all sorts of gourmet delights; they manage to drink in the rain, and have wonderful birthday cake days when someone’s birthday com- mences.

It is common knowledge, that in the Nazi prisoner of war camps, one was not allowed to express any complaint or sign of disobedience, and the chances of escaping were practically nil.

In Hogan’s Heroes, the prisoners are treated like honored guests. They have luxurious quarters which are probably better than what they had back at home. To top it off, they have a personal butler, a personal chauffeur, even a personal chauffeur, even a private dental care, even a private dental care.

The prisoners have an excessive tunnel system to notice, even a little bit, if the fact that the Nazis did in reality— they seemed like slightly dumb friends.

If the youth grow up with the idea that fascism is fun, they will not be prepared to resist the real arms. This is the hope of the producers.

But for the working class youth who are today in concentration camps in Nor- way, it is no laughing matter nor will it be when they set them up in the U.S.
CIVIL WAR EXPLODES AT LORDSTOWN

FEBRUARY 7, 1972

AKRON

Raw Text:

AKRON — (Continued From Page 3)

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

THREATEN

An older worker who has been at the plant for 30 years, who don’t believe it will make any more jobs, I think he may make less jobs later. They want a speedup. The company might put up the question of a wage cut to the union like Goodyear did three or four years ago, threatening to close the plant down. I think they are going to get the union to accept a 50 cent cut. Goodrich is also going along with this. They threaten us with lockouts. They’re already doing it, little by little.

A young worker, a Vietnam vet, said of the drive for “productivity” that the bosses were attempting to introduce at Lordstown in the rubber industry and particularly at B.F. Goodrich, that: “That’s what they’re trying to do here. They’re trying to get a man to do two men’s work, which isn’t right really. Now they want us to cut out smoking. What they’re trying to do is cut out the time men have to themselves.”

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

But this is exactly the perspective of the labor bureaucracy which has pushed this at the Goodrich and the Goodyear plant in Dayton and which is now overtly and openly opposed by the Pri- gaydria workers.

DANGER

This perspective means the corporations, backed by the government, is permitted to dic- tionate the wage levels of those under the threat of unemployment. This means or growing danger of workers being told to accept pay- less days in more and more plants. But there is an alternative and that is the strike as shown up in Akron. Goodrich and the other companies cannot produce anything without workers and they must be told that there can be no shut-in, no layoff, no layoffs or combinations of jobs within plants or the entire industry will be struck.

The unions must answer the employers’ profit-hungry threat and must act by demanding that if they cannot meet the basic needs of the workers, if they can’t meet all employment, then they should be na- tionally organized and run under workers control.

FRIGIDAIRE

(Continued From Page 5)

We have petitions that have been presented to hold another meeting. They haven’t been acted on yet. We’re trying to get a special meeting so that we can notify the people and go in and reveal the facts. When I was a shop commi- nieet e er Brat i Frigidaire cut back. I had been away from all and then I came back to me. Most of them were young. Half of them were thrown out, which they termed the “hard core.” Of course, we were pretty nul- lified and the going on the shop floor of this company dislik me because of it. I’ve never been in for winning cases. When I felt they would be pleased — they went down on me. They told me I didn’t believe in compromising enough. In other words, I didn’t believe in giving in to the company.

A appeal to the NLRB or the courts isn’t going to go anywhere against this agreement. Eventually it’s going to come to a head.

Ballet: What do we have to do to diminish the hatred of the workers?

Committeeman: Well, I think under any system, you’re going to have to feed the people. We’re going to provide them work, or survival or you’ll have a revolution.

Ballet: Are you saying they are going to move? — they’re going to pass away?

Committeeman: Yes, they are moving. One will move out of Dayton and one in out of the hew plant they are closing.

Ballet: Basically, everything of value and of importance is going.

Committeeman: The value of any product is the amount of labor put in. If I may say it, I think the laboring man reap more of the fruits of his harvest, and more of all of it. If they nationalized the whole economy, I think it would be better than what we’ve got.

ULSTER

(Continued From Page 31)

that the time had come to rely on bloodbaths rather than on kamikaze schemes to stabilize capital- ism in Ireland.

The Londonderry massacre comes only days after John Lynch, the Prime Minister of the Irish Republic in the South, began a campaign against the Irish Republican Army. Lynch started this campaign after a series of conscriptions to which the I.R.A. had responded. On January 29th, Lynch ordered a police raid in the I.R.A. stronghold of Dundalk.

The measures of Lynch, Beattie, and Faulkner may clear away the view that the Irish working class now faces the greatest period of trial in its history. The workers’ fight is a fight for survival. This fight can only be won through the struggle to bring down the Tory government.

At the Derry rally of January 26th, the Irish Republican National Soci- ety, which was set up in the same as that of our comrades in the miners strike and on the railways, is now fighting for a decent living wage and an end to the Tory government.

The struggle of the Irish and British workers must be united. The Irish struggle for socialism, with its proletarian masters plan to bring about a revolutionary struggle on both sides of the Irish Sea.

The British working class must now join forces with the peasants in Ireland, to demand the breaking of the colonial “safety-valve” for strikes in search of a new and general strike to bring down the Tories and return a Labour Party pledged to socialism.
YS Steering Committee Prepares
For Unemployment Demonstration

BY ABBEY RODRIGUEZ

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

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

Hills stated that because of the deepening crisis the question of leadership is the most important question facing the working class today. He explained that other tendencies within the working class assume extremely reactionary roles in the face of the crisis. Hills stated: "Today the main counter-revolutionary force internationally is Stalinism. The history of Stalinism has been collaboration with the capitalist class to preserve a privileged bureaucracy.

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

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

STALINISM

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

At the same time we see the United States in the USSR betraying the working class by asking it to support "progressive" capitalist intellectuals.

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

"The Socialist Workers Party broke from Trotskyism; Stalinism banned the fight for Marxist theory. Hills declared: "Revisionism means a break with Trotskyism and a capitulation to Stalinism. The SWP-VSA has to fight back against the revisionist tendencies to fight Stalinism. It builds on an anti-revisionist fight of the capitalist class.

Hills added that the SWP's break with theory means a break with the working class. "The
Bukovsky Speaks On His Trial

"And however long I have to spend in detention, I will never renounce my convictions and I will express them, availing myself of the right given me by Article 112 of the Soviet constitution, to all who want to listen to me." With these words, spoken before an illegal tribunal threatening him with severe punishment, Vladimir Bukovsky expressed the determination that guided the Soviet opposition in its battle against Stalinism. His defiant speech in his own defense enabled him to declare, "I have already completed my sentence."

Bukovsky was accused of distributing "anti-Soviet propaganda," a favorite catch-all phrase woven into the fabric of Khrushchev law, although it violates the official statutes. The judges sentenced him to a 12-year term, divided into two years in prison, five years in a labor camp, and five years in exile. Vladimir Bukovsky has already endured prison, lawful detention in a mental hospital, a stroke, and unceasing harassment. The Khrushchev parasites are determined to destroy him and all his fellow political prisoners. The words spoken by Bukovsky at his trial, printed below, leave no doubt that the Stalinists will not succeed. Bukovsky—standing in the heroic tradition of the first great opponents of Stalinism, the Left Opposition—turned his trial into a trial of the bureaucrat. In the words of Trotsky: "The assassins will be accused."

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

Citizen judges

I am not going to touch upon the juridical side of these trials, nor will I already completely proved its groundlessness be in the courtroom. My lawyer also proved the complete groundlessness of the indictment in his speech and agreed with him on all points of the defense. It is not even needed to refute the charges of "criminal incitement to action" which have been drawn against me in the prerecorded speech.

I do not acknowledge the accusation that I sold slanderous information in gateways to foreigners concerning some of my friends.

And finally in the journal "Political Self- Emancipation," we found there featured an article by deputy chairman of the KGB state security committee S. Tsivin, in which it was also alleged that I had joined the anti-Soviet activity.

And it is not even needed to refute this. The small detective conducting the investigation into my case could not go against the overwhelming and overwhelming evidence of my guilt in every possible way.

Before my arrest there was constantly a threat against me. I was pursued, threatened, murdered, and one of those following me but lost his self-control to such an extent that he threatened me with his service weapon.

While under investigation, I petitioned for a criminal case to be instituted against these people. I even gave the number of the official car in which these people traveled around behind me, and presented other facts which made it possible for them to be sought out.

INQUIRY

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

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

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

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

As you see, my accusers incriminate me as a criminal is permitted to certain people if this is in the interests of the case."

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

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

CONVENIENT

The investigation department of the UKGB (administration of the KGB) very much wanted me to find irresponsibility convenient.

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

And if it had all happened like that, they would not have judicial review and there would not be my final plea: they would try me in my absence, but for the benefit of intensive interference in my case in the public.

And 13 years after the first time limit for the expertise—in mid-September—the medical commission discovered I had an unusually vague clinical picture, and from the doctor's questions addressed to me after that I understood that they intended to pronounce me irresponsible.

And only on November 5, after pressure was brought to bear on the medical commission, pronouncement made. To have you trusted my word—my assertion—which is slanderous here in court—that on the instructions of the KGB, psychiatric reprimands are set up against dissidents.

I am not other proof for this. In 1966 I was held in psychiatric hospitals for eight months, without trial or investigation and without any medical evidence of my mental health, and transferred on being discharged from the doctors from one hospital to another.

And so, on November 5 I was declared sane, but put into prison once more, and the procedural infringements continued. The ending of the investigation in accordance with 201 of the UKP RFSRIR (criminal procedural code of the Russian Federation) was grossly violated in my case in the court of justice.

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(Article 201 binds the investigator to tell the accused that he has then become acquainted with all materials in this case with the help of his defense lawyers."

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

In accordance with my right to defend myself, I demanded that the lawyer Dina Isakova Kaminyska be invited for my defense in the court of justice.

I addressed this request to the chairman of the Moscow lawyers' committee and received his refusal with the instruction: "Lawyer Kaminyska cannot be assigned as the lawyer because she does not have my access to secret case procedures.""

As far as I know, what kind of secrets can be involved when I am being tried for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda?"

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

FORGERY

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

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

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

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

The trial proceedings today have been conducted with numerous procedural infringements. The indictment, in which the phrase "slanderous" is used 238 times and the word "anti-Soviet" 9 times, contains no concrete indications of which facts are slanderous among those I communicated to western correspondents and which materials of those taken from me during the searches, are slanderous. The only legislation distributed, are anti-Soviet. Of course, the defense, at the beginning of the trial proceedings and supported by my lawyer, eight were refused.

Not one of the witnesses I named, who could refute various positions of the indictment, was called by the court. I am accused, specifically, of handing over anti-Soviet materials to V. Voiglen and Chalidze.

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

However, my demand that these two reminders be submitted was not met. Further, not one of the eight people I called who could confirm the authenticity of my assertions on the facts of confinement and conditions of detention of people in special psychiatric hospitals was summoned to the court.

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

At the same time, there are two people living in the United States, in New York—Vladimir Faiberg—who have never been placed in special psychiatric hospitals, but have been to these hospitals on medical relations and could confirm my testimony on conditions of confinement in these hospitals.

Two people mentioned are relatives of Major General Vytor Grigorenko and Mr. Viktor Faiberg, both dissidents confined in psychiatric hospitals.

Only those witnesses named by the prosecution have been invited to the court. And what kind of justice is this?"

Well, before my arrest, a former school comrade of mine was sent to me, a certain Nikolitsky who now works at Stenomvetsuo Aeroport's customs inspection section and who was entrustted with provoking me to a crime—arranging for underground printing presses to be brought in from abroad.

In all probability, Nikolitsky, who did military service with the military forces, was sent by KGB officials. But the real question is why the provocateur did not succeed in doing this.

Then the investigation, and then the court too, tried to reach me from this point on this indictment. We saw that their Nikolitsky was not up to this task either.

What were all these provocations and confessions of people? They were part of this stream of slander and unfounded accusations.

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

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

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

But I do not want to "carry filthy out of the box" (peasant but) so as to appear on the world arena as such irreproachable defenders of the oppressed.

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

The public already understands that the meaning of the current trial is not to punish out of the box but the one who makes it filthy.

And however long I have to spend in detention I will never renounce my convictions and I will express them, availing myself of the right given me by Article 112 of the Soviet constitution, to all who want to listen to me.

I will fight for legality and justice. And I regard only two things—two and three—during which I was at liberty. I managed to do too little for this case."

S T A L I N I S M

B U L L E T I N

FEBRUARY 7, 1972

NAME: "BULLEITIN"

ADDRESS: PAGE 14

CITY:

STATE:

ZIP:

1. $15.00 FOR A 4 MONTH INTRODUCTORY SUB

2. $26.00 FOR A FULL YEAR

3. $51.00 FOR 2 YEARS

4. DAILY, 26 W. 41ST ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

5. $25.00 FOR 4 MONTHS SUB
West Coast News

Farm Workers Face Ruthless Evictions

BY SUSAN FORD

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

PIC 'N PAC Company, claiming that housing is too costly for them, is driving them bankrupt as they are abandoning their strawberry fields.

The farm workers at La Posada camp are all organized into the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. The 131 people live in trailers owned by PIC 'N PAC located on a camp-site also owned by that company. Each member of the committee lives in one of the trailers out from under them to mobile homes companies.

The workers have served eviction notices effective the first week in February. By January 18, the trailers will be carted away around Feb. 3. According to picketers, the eviction will scale and runs carried out.

The 131 La Posada residents have staged a week-long picket at the Office of Economic Opportunity referring to the eviction. They claim that the break up of the trailer camp will force the workers and their families back to Mexico or the Southwest while they travel around looking for work.

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

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

However, the growers of California, taking a lead from the workers in their demands feel quite differently. Only recently, a bill was reintroduced into the State Legislature that would deny the farm workers their family rights. This is because they really would like to have the workers work animals and give them only the bare minimum needed to work. La Posada workers are attempting to defend their very right to live.

STANFORD

The La Posada picketers have already seen what pleas for housing have meant to OEO. Mr. Mercer, Western Regional Director of OEO has merely responded by saying that he plans to tell the farm workers and their families about the housing field's problems and in the OEO co-op to the tune of $450,000. However, he claims that OEO regulations prevent business financing and therefore they are unable to provide any housing.

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

Big Business no longer intends to tolerate demands for a rise in living conditions and OEO expresses this all the way. UF WOC must confront all of the labor movement with the challenge of the struggle for practical and mobilize labor support. They cannot prevent the decimation of the union by growers who are out for blood in any other way.

In January, the San Francisco-based newspaper campaign has been launched to whip up "public opinion" against the strike by showing how "reasonable" companies offer have been and that only the union stands in the way of everything being settled in fine form.

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

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

(Beginning from Page 14) that occurred in the East Bay Area. Eight hundred highly skilled workers who must face the bleak reality that they sacrificed their jobs so that Shell Oil can maintain its
Editorial

ILWU Spreads Strike; Shut All Ports

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It must not stand there. These steps open the way to the sort of mass labor action that can smash Nixon's intervention and win a longshore victory. There must now be an all out fight on the East Coast for strike action on February 16th to shut the entire country down.

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

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

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

Coca-Cola Uses Police Dogs On Teamsters

BY A CORRESPONDENT

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

This strike has been a solid line up of the Food Employers Council union security guards and police dogs in an attempt to provoke picket line violence.

They are attempting to obtain a court injunction limiting picketing and in obtaining a court injunction limiting picketing.

Management is attempting to destroy the hiring hall by instilling a minority training program to hire ghetto youth at $1.90 an hour and to make the contract unenforceable in a clear effort to replace union workers.

This strike now involves 4,000 Teamsters. The beverage employers are importing scab beverages into the Bay Area under police escort while their union is considering shutting down beverage production in Sacramento, Stockton and Antioch.

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

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

The Teamster bottlers are also fighting to bring their wages up to parity with the truck drivers which requires breaking Nixon's Pay Board guidelines. Production and distribution are continuing at a rate behind that of San Francisco bottling plants entire ly handled by management and supervised by management.

The determination of the employees to take control of the plants to break the union can only be answered in a fight to maintain the full strength of the Teamsters to shut off all truck deliveries and expand the fight to other bottling plants.

State Unemployment Rises As GM Rehires 1200

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

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

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

These compacts have directly felt the devastating effects of imports and domestic production of sub-compact cars such as Toyota, Datsun, VV's, Colts, Pintos and Vegas in the $2,000 price range.

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

Chrysler Corporation unable to compete domestically with GM and Ford for the subcompact market, bought into Japan's Mitsubishi Corp. with one hundred million investment to manufacture the subcompact Colt for import which Chrysler now markets at its U.S. dealerships.

The direct effect of this move by Chrysler was the closing down of the Chrysler Maywood plant in Los Angeles after 20 years of assembly operations, laying off permanently 2,000 auto workers as well as thousands in other Chrysler plants in the U.S.

PRESS

The bourgeoise press of the Bay Area has hailed this announce ment at Fremont GM as a good sign that our economy is recovering. The Oakland Tribune's January 31st editorial proclaims that "the return of 1200 workers at GM in Fremont is good news indeed." This is offered as proof of the improve ment in the unemployment picture.

But the contradictions of the capitalist crisis cannot be glossed over superficially because of GM's ability to manipulate production schedules at Fremont.

The above is just a partial expression of the recent plant closings (Continued On Page 15)

Court Jails Soledad Lawyer

BY STEVE SAYLOR

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

Elaine Wender, a member of the defense team in the Soledad Brothers trial was arrested for attempting to enter the courtroom after being told to leave her brief case elsewhere in the building.

Under a court order of Judge S. Lee Vavuris only lawyers or news reporters are allowed to carry files or papers into the courtroom. Wender however upon arriving at the courtroom was surround ed by the bailiff with a gun and told she could not bring her brief case into the courtroom and then was ejected by the police to the elevator. While they were escorting her to the elevator the sergeant told her "to book her if she came up again." Miss Wender went down to the 1st floor, left her brief case and returned to the court and was immediately arrested for "contempt of the court."

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

The arrest is not the first in the 6th week of the trial. Over 20 spectators have been arrested since the trial began. Spectators are now being removed from the court for even taking notes on the trial. One youth was recently ordered out of the court for taking notes and then given a ten minute lecture by the judge in his chambers on "correct decorum in the courtroom."

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

BAY AREA

CONFERENCE OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

February 26

YMCA 4080 Mission St.
San Francisco

For more information call 415-621-1310
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