

Stalinists Give Open Support To

BLOODY MASSACRE IN CEYLON, PAKISTAN



What
we
think

The CP And The Labor Bureaucracy

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(Continued On Page 6)

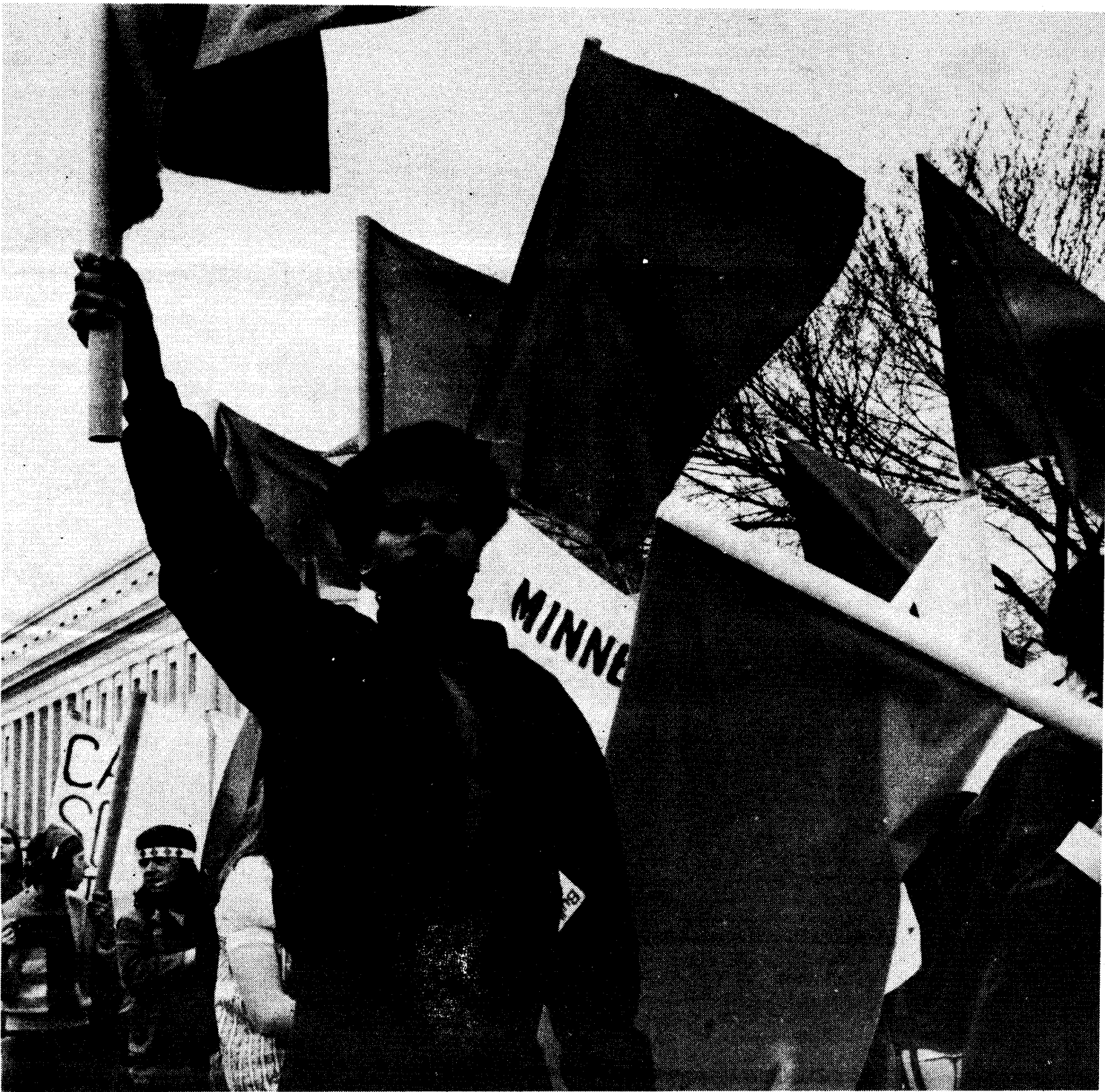
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U.S. Backs Duvalier Regime

BY JACQUES GAGNON

The death of the Haitian dictator, Francois Duvalier, and the ascension of his son Jean Claude Duvalier to power for life, ends one historical period and opens up a new one.

This new period presages the bloodiest epoch in the historical development of that small Black island and the Caribbean world as a whole.

After thirteen and a half years of political, economic and physical repression of the impoverished masses, this epigone has promised to rule "with the same vigorous energy and the same intransigence" as did his father, so as to complete the "Duvalierist revolution."

All this, of course, is being perpetrated and consolidated with the might of American imperialism. For the decaying imperialist system, capitalism has to be preserved everywhere, even in Haiti, if it is to survive.

That is why, in order to insure the smooth transmission of the dynastic power from father to son, the U.S. government is encircling the island with its warships and jet fighters to pre-

vent "possible communist invasions."

MOVEMENT

The imperialist argument for military penetration in Haiti's political affairs is not new. It is obviously a cover to head off the growing movement of the toiling masses and the building of a socialist movement in the Caribbean countries.

Already, the workers and students in the Dominican Republic are out on strike and confronting the repressive forces of the Dominican bourgeoisie. This struggle has resulted in the death of two students.

At a time when Haitian peasants are setting sugarcane plantations on fire and the Dominican workers and peasants are dying in support of the Haitian struggle against their national bourgeoisie and



J.C. Duvalier, the new "president for life" may have a short one.

imperialism, the military leaders of the Resistance went hat in hand, pleading for non-intervention of America in Haiti's political affairs. As if the Nixon Administration had no political interest in Haiti.

In fact the U.S. ambassador in Haiti, Clinton E. Knox, predicts, "continued improvement" in the relations between the two countries. Meaning that U.S. imperialism is standing foursquare behind Jean Claude Duvalier.

PARTY

At this point Haitian revolutionaries and revolutionaries all over the world must unite around a revolutionary party for common action against imperialism to free the Haitian masses and all op-

pressed people in the world.

We can no longer bow before the might of U.S. imperialism. The freedom of Haitian workers and peasants like that of the Dominican and Vietnamese will only come through socialism. We must start building now for such a party with a Trotskyist program for the independent mobilization of the working masses, for socialism against the opportunist reactionaries.

This independent class action will come through the construction of a Haitian section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. All conscious individuals and revolutionaries must call for a mass demonstration against the new regime and against American intervention in Haiti.

SWP Refuses To Meet On MPI Assault

The Socialist Workers Party has refused so far to meet with the Workers League even to gather information on the attacks of MPI on the Workers League and its slanders of Trotskyism.

Shortly after the attacks a representative of the Workers League contacted the National Office of the SWP and spoke to Barry Sheppard. Sheppard proposed that the representative call back in a few days to arrange a meeting. This was done and a meeting was set for Thursday morning, April 22nd. At 4:00 pm Wednesday afternoon, April 23rd, Sheppard called back stating the meeting was cancelled. When asked if another date could be set he said that no meeting would be held but instead they would conduct an investigation.

At 6:30 pm Wednesday evening, the Workers League received a call from Peter Seidman who stated he represented the SWP. He proposed a meeting at 9:30 pm that eve-

ning with himself and Bobby Washington. Neither showed up. When asked about this he apologized and urged that he be called after the April 24th weekend to set up a new appointment.

Upon reaching Seidman the morning of Tuesday April 27th he stated that no meeting would be held at least at the present time, that the SWP was talking with "other people" about the events, and that the SWP itself was still discussing the matter.

It would seem that among those the SWP would wish to discuss the matter with would be Juan Farinas, the first to be attacked for selling the Bulletin, Bob Kukiel who received head injuries that were treated in the hospital, Ernie McIntyre who had to have seven stitches in his hand, and John Holmes whose hand is still in a cast and who may not be able to recover use of that hand. In addition the Workers League, as announced in this issue, can furnish independent witnesses of

the attack.

In the meantime we have received a response from the Young Workers Liberation League which stated it supported the MPI and that it was not opposed "under all circum-

stances" to attacks such as that carried out by MPI. Youth Against War and Fascism also announced its support for MPI and its conviction that criticism of nationalism was counterrevolutionary.

Witness MPI Attack

We were right across the street from MPI at the Great China Restaurant, and when we looked out the window we saw them selling the Bulletin, and we figured after we had eaten we'd go down and get one.

All of a sudden we saw a commotion and people getting beaten. We thought it was teenagers at first, but then we saw them attacking the brother here (Juan) who was selling the papers and realized how serious it was.

We disagree very much with the vicious tactics used by MPI against other comrades fighting the same enemy, and agree with the points made in the Open Letter of the Workers League.

Eugenio Reyes Varona
Leyla Ocasio

BMCC Students Protest Tuition

BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK, April 23—A large picket line has been thrown up in front of the main building of the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) and a student strike is under way.

The strike has been called to protest the raising of tuition to \$750 per year and the arrest of 17 students.

Earlier in the week five students were suspended for demanding from the head of the school a reason for the tuition raises. This raise in costs would make it impossible for most students, who are mostly minority youth, to continue in school.

These same five students were then arrested for "trespassing"

in the school. Subsequently more students were arrested for "trespassing" and "harassment." City police as well as private security cops are now stationed inside and outside the school.

These budget cuts are a part of the same attacks that have been hitting the City University system in the last few weeks. At the same time, Mayor Lindsay has announced layoffs of 2800 city workers and upcoming layoffs of up to 90,000 more.

The fight against these budget cuts and tuition raises must be carried into all schools in the City University system by shutting down the schools. This fight must be linked with the fight of City workers against layoffs. Lindsay means to put the economic crisis on the backs of the workers and students.

Nixon Embraces Greek Fascists

BY MELODY FARROW

With a sigh of relief on both sides, the Nixon government has dropped any pretext of opposing the military dictatorship in Greece. Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans has just finished a two day visit to Athens to announce that relations between the two countries were completely restored to normal.

Nixon's statement that "Greece's economic progress over the past few years has placed her in the forefront of rapidly developing nations" was proudly headlined in the Athens papers the next day. Nixon also praised Greece's dictators for providing a "sense of security" and expressed his "warm love for Greece and the Greek people."

To further cement this alliance of butchers, Stans presented Premier George Papadopoulos with a gold embossed portrait of Nixon and then, to make clear where the Nixon administration stood, Stans went yachting with Thomas Pappas, who owns a \$200 million industrial complex in Greece.

Nixon's "warm love" for Greece is in fact his solidarity with these millionaires and the military which saved them so closely from revolution four years ago.

Greek workers must surely be sickened to hear Nixon boast about Greece's "progress" when thousands of socialists and others opposed to the regime are thrown into prison camps without trial and tortured while thousands of others are in exile.

Nixon's open embrace of what is nothing but a fascist dictatorship and the blatant way it was done is no small matter. It comes at a time when imperialism is under attack by the working class all over the world.

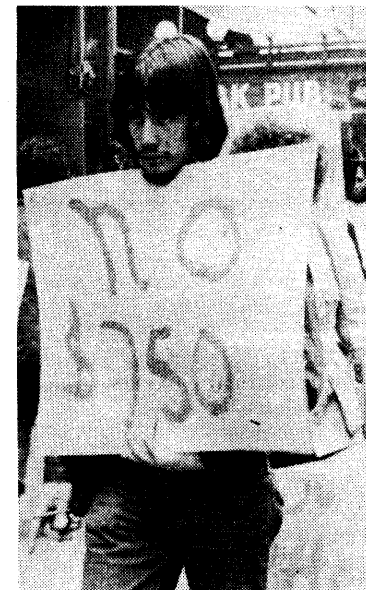
United States imperialism is throwing away the mask of defending democracy in preparation for the class battles ahead. His action on Greece is a challenge and a warning to the working class in the United States.

Pakistan Ceylon & The Fourth International



Speaker: **Tim Wohlforth**
May 5th Wed. 8:00pm

135 W. 14th St. 6th Floor Contribution: 99¢



Students picket at BMCC.



Committee For New Leadership banner demands General Strike during 20,000 strong rally.

20,000 City Workers Demonstrate Against Lindsay's Layoffs, Cuts

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK, April 27—A demonstration of 150,000 City workers was held here today at City Hall. This tremendous turnout, the biggest since the mass rally against the Taylor Law three years ago, was in response to Mayor Lindsay's layoff of 2,800 workers and his threat to lay off 90,000 more.

The rally was called by the Municipal Labor Council, consisting of most of the City labor unions.

Among the many unions represented at the rally were SSEU-Local 371, Local 1930 Library Workers, Clerical Local 1549, and the other locals of District Council 37, Uniformed Firefighters Association, Painters District Council 9, Local 1199, Glaziers Local 1087, Teamsters

Local 237, Sanitationmen's Local 831, IBT, Operating Engineers Local 211, and the United Federation of Teachers.

The rally was called and the theme of the rally was "Save Our City." Mayor Lindsay and Governor Rockefeller were invited by the union bureaucracy to address this rally and the one following it in Albany.

Clearly the bureaucrats hope to head off this movement and gather the forces of the trade unions around Lindsay and the liberals. They hope to do this by posing layoffs and budget cuts as a part of the "decay of the cities" rather than as attacks by the government on workers.

The SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership intervened in this rally as well as the one following it in Albany in order to turn this situation around.

The CNL handed out over 100 printed placards saying "NO LAYOFFS—CALL A GENERAL STRIKE" and carried a banner calling for this and the building of a labor party. A contingent was formed on this basis, which chanted "General Strike! General Strike!" throughout the rally.

When Gotbaum had the nerve to introduce Lindsay at the City Hall rally, the crowd became restive and started booing. Gotbaum said, "I invited him here to answer some questions. Give him a chance to speak." The CNL then raised the chant, "Lindsay Out! Labor In!" and a section of the crowd took it up. Both Gotbaum and Lindsay were visibly shaken.

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Sams Attacks Panthers In Seale-Huggins Trial

BY PAT CONNOLLY

As the Panther trial goes into its eighth week, it is clear that the only basis on which Seale and Huggins are being tried is that they are revolutionaries.

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, and Ericka Huggins are on trial for their lives in New Haven. The government is out to convict them, and may get a conviction, on the basis of no evidence at all.

This trial shows the absolute necessity for repudiating all hooliganism within the movement. This is the only way to isolate police agents of the stripe of Sams. That a police agent, George Sams, murdered Rackley is clear. Police agents may well be responsible for the murder of Robert Webb and Sam Napier.

The cops and the government are using these murders to bolster up their non-existent case against Bobby and Ericka. They are being mightily aided by the capitalist press with vicious editorials such as the one in last week's New York Sunday Times.

LYNCHING

The Times entitles its editorial "The Panther Pathology" and says "the Panthers parliamentary posturing gives them about as much claim to be regarded as a political party as the Hell's Angels." The Times is attempting to create a lynching hysteria to convict the Panthers.

But it is the "pathology" of the capitalist class that is in question. This class from beginning to end has sought to eliminate the Panthers by murder, harassment, and frame-up trials to stop all opposition to its system.

The case against Seale and

Huggins in fact is built on the sole testimony of George Sams, a former mental patient, and police informer who himself admitted killing Rackley.

Sams is at best a prejudiced witness, and most probably a police agent. In a lengthy court outburst last Monday, Sams attacked the Panthers and Bobby Seale, and stated that Charles Garry, their lawyer, was a member of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. He also accused the Panthers of killing other Panthers: "You know the Panthers killed some Panthers. John Huggins—what happened to John Huggins?" John Huggins was in fact murdered by Ron Karenga's group in Los Angeles.

Warren Kimbro, who also pleaded guilty to second degree murder of Rackley, has testified on the stand for the prosecution, giving testimony that conflicts with previous statements and with his testimony at the trial of Lonnie McLucas. None of his testimony implicates Huggins or Seale in Rackley's murder.

Tape recordings introduced as evidence in the trial have Kimbro and Sams questioning someone who is identified by the prosecution as Rackley.

Huggins' voice is heard briefly on the tape, which was accepted as evidence over the objections of her lawyer that Huggins spoke under coercion by Sams. The tape recording proves only that Sams and Kimbro interrogated Rackley before killing him, and that Huggins did not think he was an informer.

The fight now must be taken up in defense of Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Ruchell Magee, and Angela Davis. This defense can only proceed through the independent mobilization of the working class against the government.

Stalinists Aid Ceylon Massacre

BY MELODY FARROW

As the Bandaranaike coalition government in Ceylon stepped up mass executions, terror and torture against the youth in the Peoples Liberation Front, the Stalinist bureaucracy began sending MIG-17s and crews to help the government suppress the youth who are fighting the government.

The bloody counterrevolutionary policies of international Stalinism are out in the open. As the Soviet Union supplies MIGs to Bandaranaike, the Maoist bureaucracy in China lines up with the butcher Khan to murder the Bengali people.

These youth in Ceylon, mostly teenagers, who moved against the government after it refused to carry out its socialist campaign promises, are being rounded up and shot without trial, including sympathizers.

Anyone violating the curfew is automatically killed. Bodies of the rebels, many decapitated, are thrown into the river to drift down to the sea. Others are nailed through the wrists to road posts as a warning to anyone helping them.

BLOODY

The bloody repression by Bandaranaike will only deepen the crisis of her regime. Despite her appeals to the Stalinist controlled Ceylon Trade Union Federation the government is completely isolated. It is reported that villagers are more frightened of the police than of the rebels. The government would not last one day without the support of imperialism and Stalinism.

The terror tactics are a warning to the Ceylonese working class that Bandaranaike is preparing to apply these methods to suppress their struggles.

The savage betrayal of the coalition government is paving the way for a military dictatorship. Junius Jayewardene of the pro-United States United National Party declared: "Democracy is finished in this country. You have to have peace and stability to have democracy and Ceylon has neither."

No matter what Bandaranaike says about giving democracy a

chance, there can no longer be any middle road—it is either socialism or fascism. The right wing in Ceylon will now move in and once in power, will eliminate any potential opposition. This was the history of Indonesia and Algeria.

The policies not only of Stalinism but of revisionism have been exposed as a betrayal of the working class. The events in Ceylon have confirmed what the Workers League and the Fourth International have said concerning the role of revisionists like the Socialist Workers Party—that their ideas are not merely "incorrect" but that they lead to bloody defeat.

REVISIONISTS

The so-called "Trotskyists" of Bandaranaike's coalition government have nothing in common with Trotskyism. They left the revisionist United Secretariat in 1964 to become leading ministers in the coalition government.

However, these revisionists were members of what the United Secretariat boasted as its largest Trotskyist section. How was it possible for the majority of this party to go over to the bourgeoisie while they were still members of the United Secretariat?

In the March 8th *Intercontinental Press*, Les Evans of the Socialist Workers Party, tries to explain this betrayal after devoting one hasty paragraph to the history of the LSSP. Les Evans says that in 1964-1965 "the LSSP right wing projected a certain course of development to explain their opportunist departure from Marxism." As explained by Perea and Goonewardene, leaders of the LSSP, joining in a bourgeois coalition government "would open the door to reaching the masses...and soon the center of gravity in the coalition would shift to the left..."

This "opportunist departure from Marxism" not only developed right under the noses of the SWP and the other sections of their international, but expresses the logic and fruits of revisionism.

Leslie Goonewardene who today calls for "wiping out" the guerrillas got his training in this revisionist school.

The revisionists refuse to face up to their responsibility for the betrayal in Ceylon and today they are opening the way for further defeats of the working class.

This is why the day in and day out campaign of the Workers League and the Fourth International to expose Pabloism is not an academic dispute but a question of the life and death of the working class. In Ceylon there is a river of blood that separates the Trotskyists from the Pabloites.

Philadelphia Transit Ranks Forced To Call Off Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA—The Transit Workers Union whose members went on strike April 12 in opposition to an absolutely rotten contract, has suffered a setback.

The TWU workers had gone out in opposition to a contract that offered them only 15c an hour immediately with another 15c to be computed on an immediate basis but to be paid in September only if and when the money is available to Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority.

FINE

SEPTA obtained from the courts an injunction against the strike. When the workers refused to go back Judge Jamison leveled

a \$100,000 fine on the union which was to be doubled every day that the strike went on.

The union executive board at first voted against returning, but after being held for four hours in the city hall at the orders of Jamison, the executive board gave in and ordered the men back to work.

In the next few weeks the contracts of the major city unions expire. The ranks of the TWU must join with the rest of city labor to close down Philadelphia until the demands are met.

They must fight for the rejection of any contract that does not give them \$1.00 immediately and another dollar in the second year of the contract.

Yale Workers Face Strike May 1st Mass Layoffs Threaten PFT

BY MIKE CARLSON

NEW HAVEN—As the contract of Yale campus workers expires on May 1st, Vincent Sirabella, business agent of Local 35 Federation of University Employees and head of the New Haven Central Labor Council, is preparing to sell out the Yale workers.

The Yale administration is intent on making the workers pay for the economic crisis and is using the pretext of its financial situation to drive back the living standards of Yale workers.

Last September the Administration instituted a job freeze. It has followed this with harassment of organizing efforts by the Yale Non-Faculty Action Committee (District 65 Distributive Workers) for non-unionized, mainly secretarial employees, and with their insulting wage offer tying any further increase to productivity deals.

Sirabella has refused to fight Yale on these vital questions. The campus workers voted earlier

this year to give him the power to call a strike to force an end to the job freeze. But he refused to move.

SECRECY

At Yale, with negotiations cloaked in secrecy, Sirabella has refused to strike earlier than May 1st, enabling Yale to hold out until the end of the term. All reports seem to indicate he is going to Yale asking for a measly 6% across the board raise, which means only 12 cents an hour for the lowest paid workers who are mostly Black and Puerto Rican.

Meanwhile Sirabella has announced his intention of running for mayor on the Democratic Party ticket, the party that calls for a wage freeze and attacks the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia. Only the fight to force Sirabella to break from the Democrats and to run on a labor ticket with a socialist program can show the way forward for all American workers toward the building of a labor party.

PL

It is exactly this fight which

800 More Michigan Teaching Jobs Cut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Closely following on the heels of Mayor Gribbs' "austerity" budget, Governor Milliken announced this week a massive cutback in aid to education. The cutback which amounted to \$4.5 million is destined to hit 81 poverty areas in the state.

The result of the cutbacks will be the lay off of close to 800 teachers and assistants. This is

Progressive Labor and SDS at Yale seek to deny. Despite all their militant rhetoric, their program seeks to move the fight of the workers out of the union, and thereby serves as a left cover for the union bureaucracy.

They substitute marches through the "community" in "support" of Yale workers for the necessary fight against the bureaucracy. The People's Peace Treaty at Yale accepts the Stalinist perspective of support to the union bureaucracy by endorsing as its "implementation" a plea to students not to scab, but not saying a word about the bureaucracy's sellout policy.

To win the strike, Yale workers must force the union bureaucracy to shut down Yale with the help of all area labor.

The Yale Workers League Club is fighting for strike action around the program: Shut Yale down! End to the job freeze! Minimum 50¢ an hour increase the first year! Full escalator clause! Eighteen month contract! Force Sirabella to break from the Democrats and run on a labor ticket with socialist politics!

the second series of layoffs in three months and brings the total number of teachers losing their jobs to as many as 1,000.

Considering that literally thousands of parochial students will be entering the public schools because of the closure of several parochial high schools, the cutbacks become an even sharper attack on the working class' right to educate their children.

BY A PFT MEMBER

PHILADELPHIA—In this city, teachers are now coming under the gun as the Tate administration is preparing mass layoffs of school personnel.

The City Council is now preparing to implement the results of a study it commissioned "to evaluate the efficiency" of the School District of Philadelphia. The study calls for the elimination of hundreds of jobs including teachers, counselors, physicians, elevator operators and cleaners.

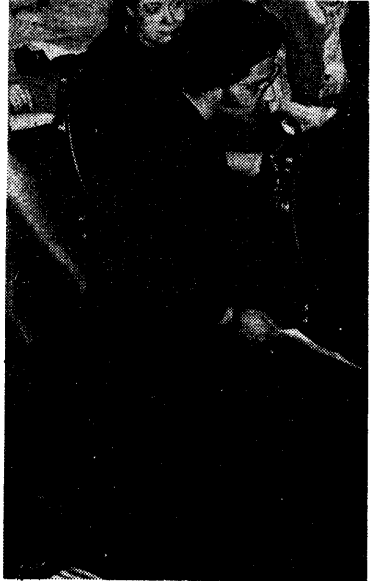
CRISIS

Teaching positions alone are to be cut back by 438.

It is clear that the proposal has nothing whatsoever to do with "efficiency" or improving education. Philadelphia is in a deep fiscal crisis, and City Council is attempting to resolve this crisis through attacks on city

At this point school officials are begging Milliken not to make the cutbacks. Mary Ellen Riordan, President of the teachers union, has refused so far to make a major statement. During the February layoffs she accepted them.

The time is critical for labor in the city to take up the fight for a general strike to stop the cutbacks in all the social services in the city.



Rank and filer demands action.

labor and cutbacks on social services.

A hiring freeze has been in effect for over a year on all municipal jobs and recently the Tate administration attempted to deny hundreds of firemen and policemen their disability pensions. In addition all services including educational programs, recreation, hospitals, welfare and sanitation have been severely curtailed.

TRANSFER

It is in this context that the recent "Cardonick" affair in the PFT takes on its real meaning. Recently the School Board attempted to forcibly transfer a PFT building representative. The Sullivan leadership, after obtaining strike authorization from the membership to prevent the transfer, then turned around and agreed to submit the matter to binding arbitration.

The meaning of this rotten compromise is now being driven home to teachers, as the forced transfer of a building representative is now escalated into proposals to layoff hundreds of teachers.

ACTION

The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers must take action now to prevent any attempt by the Tate administration to implement these proposals.

Central to this struggle is the demand to reopen the contract that was ratified last fall. No job is safe unless we have a contract with ironclad guarantees against layoffs and accountability schemes. In addition the PFT must take up the fight now for all our back pay and for smaller class sizes, that is, 20 and 20.

REOPENING

The Committee for New Leadership in the PFT is currently conducting a campaign to call for a membership meeting to fight now for a contract reopening. The ranks of the PFT must be mobilized now for this fight and be prepared to go all the way.

Any hesitancy on the part of the ranks will only strengthen the ability of the City Council to implement these proposals.

Italian Workers Fight Fascism

Italian workers hit back against recent fascist attacks on their organizations with a powerful march through Milan on April 24th.

This followed a week of fascist bomb attacks in the city against trade union and left-wing party offices, culminating on April 23rd in a shooting incident when a student was wounded in the leg.

Some marchers carried placards bearing the name of prison camps where they had been deported by the Nazis.

Showdown With Nixon In Basic Steel

BY MICHAEL ROSS

A major clash over wages and job security is building up as the August 1st deadline for contracts between the United Steelworkers and the major steel corporations approaches.

Since last year's General Motors strike, the whole economic crisis has intensified, placing the present rate of profit in an even more unstable position. Because of this intensification of the crisis, a strike in basic steel will mark a clash between the working class and the employers and their government of much greater depth and intensity than the auto strike.

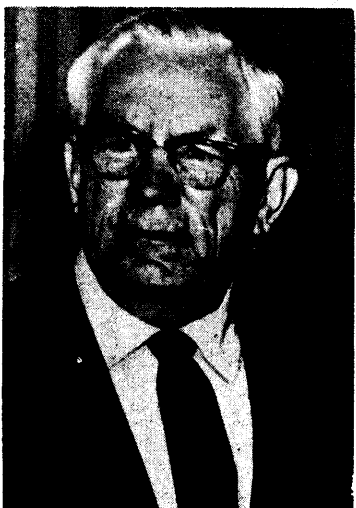
What Nixon has shown by his attempt to freeze construction wages is that he and the employers are losing their old reliance on the ability of the trade union bureaucracy to hold back the growing wage offensive of the workers.

The situation in the basic steel local unions is hardly comforting to Nixon and his backers. In last June's elections for local union officers, long-standing incumbent officers were voted out in many of the biggest locals, reflecting the dissatisfaction many steel workers feel with the short end of the stick they have been receiving on wages.

DECISIVE

But the decisive element in the basic steel clash is how the leadership of the USWA, headed by I.W. Abel, prepares for and carries out whatever strike action is necessary on August 1st.

It is within this framework that we must examine Abel's recently well-publicized call for what is supposed to be a \$1.10 wage hike over the next three years in basic steel.



I.W. Abel plans to use the can settlement to engineer a sellout in basic steel this summer.

Where did this figure come from? It came from the results of the can strike—and this came from the auto strike settlement at General Motors.

The auto strike was an important lesson in how NOT to call a national strike action. The willingness and ability of rank and file auto workers to take on and defeat GM was deliberately held back and diffused and demoralized by the UAW International leadership under Leonard Woodcock.

Though Nixon may call the auto and can settlements "inflationary," he realizes that to hold the working class to such terms right now will give the ruling class extra time in which to pre-

pare new attacks on the workers.

ALERT

Since then, the situation has sharpened to the extent that Nixon can call another of his "inflation alerts" to tell the Steelworkers that they had better not go for any wage increase in 1971.

Now the \$1.10 that Abel is calling for, based on the can and auto contracts, is the content that the USWA leadership is putting into the union demand for a "very substantial wage increase."

In terms of real money, the \$1.10 is only for a very small section of the steelworkers, labor grade 32. For grades 1 and 2 (now paid \$2.885 per hour) it would be 75¢. The same would hold true for bottom-grade iron ore miners, now making \$2.37.

The bulk of the money in the can contract, 50¢ for grade 1 to 60.5¢ for grade 23, comes in the first year, with absolutely no cost of living protection until the next year.

What is left of the can contract's new money is very meager indeed—yet Abel told the Basic Steel Industry Conference that this was "the greatest achievement ever won by this union!"

PATTERN

What is now becoming obvious is that the USWA leadership is intending to use the auto and can settlements as the pattern for wage increases in aluminum, copper and basic steel.

Yet Abel, Burke and Molony are sitting on a powderkeg and they know it. The mountain of grievances bottled up in compulsory arbitration at every steel mill, the rotten safety conditions,

the blatant racism on the part of the foremen has exploded again and again in wildcat strikes in the past five years.

CP

Now as hundreds of thousands of steelworkers begin to move against their employers and against the bureaucracy in the union, organizations like the Communist Party come forward, with a lot of militant words, but with the intention of covering up for Abel and the bureaucracy, and leading the steelworkers back into the arms of that bureaucracy.

The recent issues of the *Daily World*, the main CP paper, show that they have not the least intention of taking the ranks of the USWA into any sort of struggle that will involve a clash with the bureaucracy in the union.

The March 25 issue of that paper gives feature coverage to a "sound off" meeting called by District 15 (suburban Pittsburgh) Director Joseph Odorcich, to have local union delegates express themselves, before leaving for the Basic Steel Industry Conference in Washington.

The *Daily World's* report of this meeting is consistent with the Communist Party's present organizing of a reformist campaign in the Steelworkers around the

(Continued On Page 12)

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

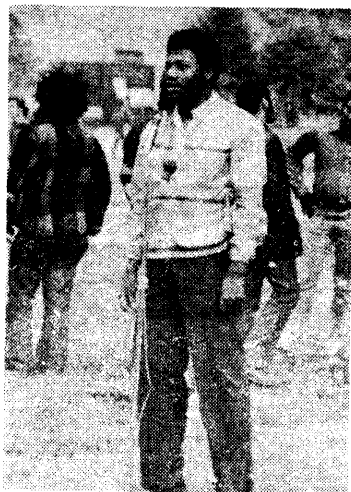
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Tim Wohlforth



John Holmes



Tom Pearson



Dennis Cribben



Tyrone DeGross

WL Marches For Socialism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A crowd of over 250,000 massed in Washington to express their opposition to the Vietnam War. They were unable to really do so because their march was dominated by agents of the very class which perpetrates imperialist war in Vietnam—the capitalist class.

From beginning to end the demonstration of masses opposed to war was dominated politically by those who foment it. The theme of the demonstration was set by union bureaucrat David Livingston of District 65 who said: "We would like the whole world to know why we are meeting here—to appeal to members of the House of Representatives and the Senate..."

Echoing this theme Congressman Herman Badillo said, "You have come to the right place" while Congresswoman Bella Abzug added: "Your presence here today means that you're going to force the Congress to undeclare the war."

After it was over about all the massive movement "forced" was traffic to stop for an hour on the New Jersey Turnpike Sunday night.

Abzug, Badillo and the union bureaucrat Livingston were simply stating the political basis

upon which the demonstration had been organized. Jerry Gordon had declared earlier that the task of NPAC was to "convince students that meaningful protest has been effective and that Congress, if not the President, can be swayed."

FUTILE

The purpose of the demonstration was not to oppose the war and fight it out to the end against the war makers but to seek to sway these warmakers to not be what they are. As such it was futile. As such it misled thousands behind the very parties that perpetrate war and oppression. As such its result will be demoralization unless the fight is conducted against such marches.

The march was the product of a coalition of the Socialist Workers Party, which has completely abandoned Trotskyism for liberal opportunism, and the Communist Party, which abandoned Leninism

decades ago and has since been the counterrevolutionary fountainhead of reformism in the United States and internationally.

These parties were essential to bring masses of students and sections of the labor movement around liberalism. The liberals could not have done it without them.

There was another demonstration and another rally in Washington. Its character was completely different. It was not a protest. There was no begging. It was the beginning of the construction of the leadership necessary to remove forever those who make war and perpetrate oppression.

WORKERS LEAGUE

This was the rally of the Workers League, the largest party contingent in Washington. This was the march and rally of over 500 workers and youth against imperialism and for socialism.

Contingents had come by bus from as far away as Minneapolis. Sizable sections of Black and Puerto Rican students and workers participated particularly from NYC Community College and Stony Brook on Long Island. The contingent marched in the

main march on Constitution Avenue with over 100 red flags, large banners and spirited chanting of "Victory to the Vietcong," "Down With Muskie, McGovern and My Lai" and "Build a Labor Party!" It then broke off from the main march and proceeded to L'Enfant Park where a separate rally was held. At its high point the rally attracted over 1000 persons.

The rally was held under difficult circumstances and some 100 marshalls were used to prevent disruptions by a band of drunken fascist youths encouraged by Agnew and the rightist moves of the American government. Every revisionist sect sought to prevent the rally from occurring. Spartacist, for instance, issued a leaflet denouncing it as "sectarian" and urging participation in the main demonstration.

RALLY

The rally was chaired by Lucy St. John, editor of the Bulletin and featured a number of rank and file fighters in the labor, student and minority movements. Leading off the rally was Elliot Paul, a taxi driver who had played an instrumental role in the rank and

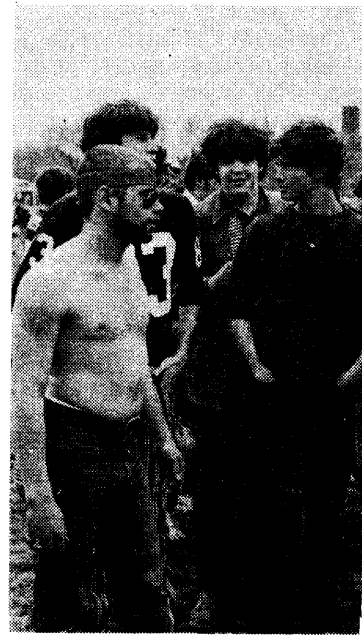
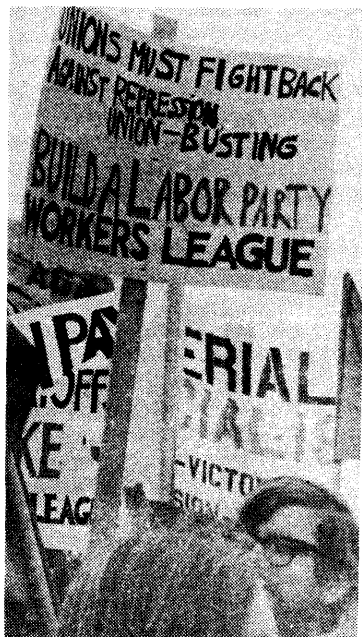
file outburst which left the union bureaucrat Harry Van Arsdale fleeing the stage among a massive barrage of chairs. He explained that the rebellion that was growing in the unions found its conscious expression in this rally but that it needed a theoretical development to go forward.

Perry Tilleraas, a student from St. Olaf's College in Northfield, Minnesota, described how in Des Moines, Iowa hardhats and students had joined together against Nixon opening up a new period of struggle in the United States.

Tom Pearson, Treasurer of the UAW Black Caucus in St. Louis, reported on his struggle against racism in the plant which led to a sharp fight with the union leadership which allowed caucus leaders to be fired. Pearson and other caucus members had demanded, but to no avail, that Woodcock take action on this when Woodcock appeared in St. Louis. He asked for support from the rally and received a large ovation.

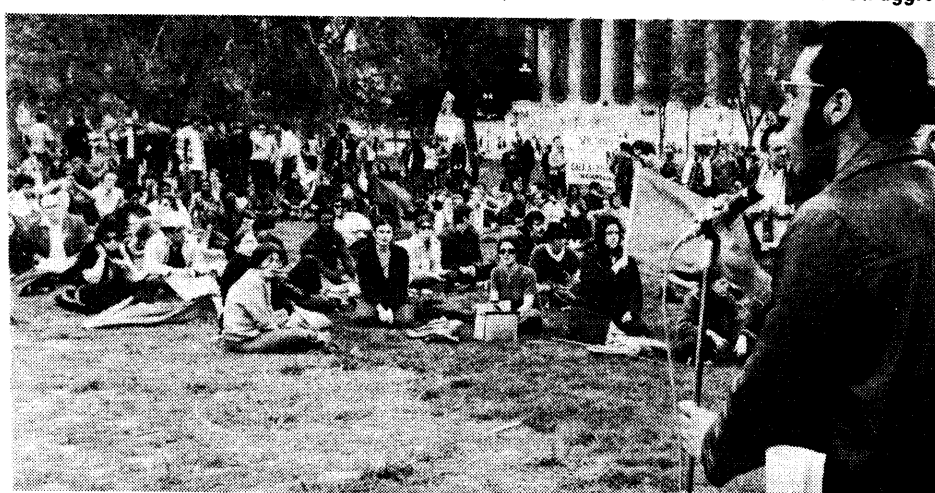
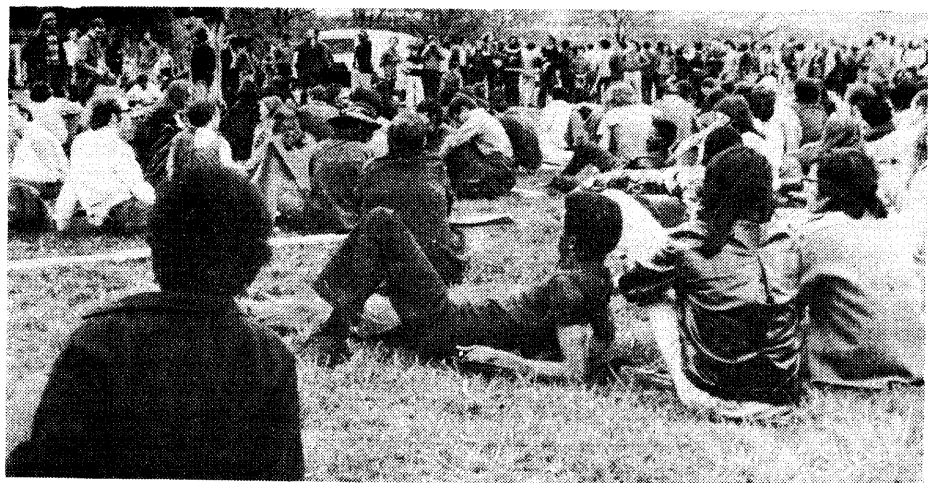
Other speakers included Dennis Cribben of the SSEU-371 who went into the struggle for a general strike against Lindsay's threat to lay off 90,000 city work-

(Continued On Page 12)



Upper Left: Red flags and banners mix; Upper center: Posters of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky lead off the march; Upper right: Fascist youth seek to disrupt

rally; Lower left: Part of audience sits on lawn and in tree to listen to speakers at rally; Lower right: Angel Marciano speaks on need for international struggle.



Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Ceylon, Pakistan And The 4th International

The current civil war in Pakistan and Ceylon must serve as a bitter warning to American workers. The bodies that lie in the streets of Dacca and float down the rivers of Ceylon were put there by nationalist regimes aided by a combination of imperialism and the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists.

We have said for some time now that we are in a period of civil war internationally. Now the heroic struggles of the Laotian workers and peasants which forced a miserable defeat on the American puppet troops is followed by an uprising of the masses in Bengal and an rebellion led by youth in Ceylon. Civil war sweeps Asia opening up a new period of socialist revolution not only in Asia but in the advanced industrial countries as well.

Confronted with the revolutionary movement of the masses the Stalinists line up with the imperialists and furnish arms to shoot down these masses. The Soviet Union sends planes to Ceylon and tanks to Pakistan while China supports the West Pakistani imperialist slaughter of the Bengalis and the murderous regime of Madame Bandaranaike in Ceylon.

Ceylon is ruled by a coalition government—that is a government of workers parties in alliance with bourgeois parties based on the Stalinist theory of a two-stage revolution—first the national revolution and later someday socialism. Participating in the government is the Moscow Communist Party and the LSSP, a former member of the United Secretariat supported by the Socialist Workers Party. Supporting the government in the last elections were the very same "Guevarist" youth whose bodies today float down the blood-stained rivers of Ceylon.

The Puerto Rican nationalist MPI made a brutal hooligan attack on members of the Workers League, sending three to the hospital, precisely because the Bulletin attacked this two-stage theory. What politically is the difference between MPI and Bandaranaike's SLFP party? The truth is that the murder and butchery in Ceylon is the result of nationalism in alliance with Stalinism when it gets into power in this new period of massive revolutionary movement of workers and youth.

The Young Lords have refused to take a stand on this attack on the Workers League. What is the political difference between the "Guevarist" youth of Ceylon and the Young Lords of New York? Would a Mari Bras in power in Puerto Rico with the support of the Communist Party do any different? Will the Young Lords facilitate such a coalition government being formed only to be its first victims? Stalinism in the United States together with liberalism can lead to bodies of young workers floating down the East River. That is the logic of Stalinism and coalition politics.

Only Trotsky fought such policies basing himself on Lenin and the October Revolution. Only the Workers League today fights for Trotskyism. The massacres in Pakistan and Ceylon are the only alternative to Trotskyism. Either the Fourth International becomes the leadership of the international revolution or bloodbaths and fascism will fall upon workers and militants in every country of the world.

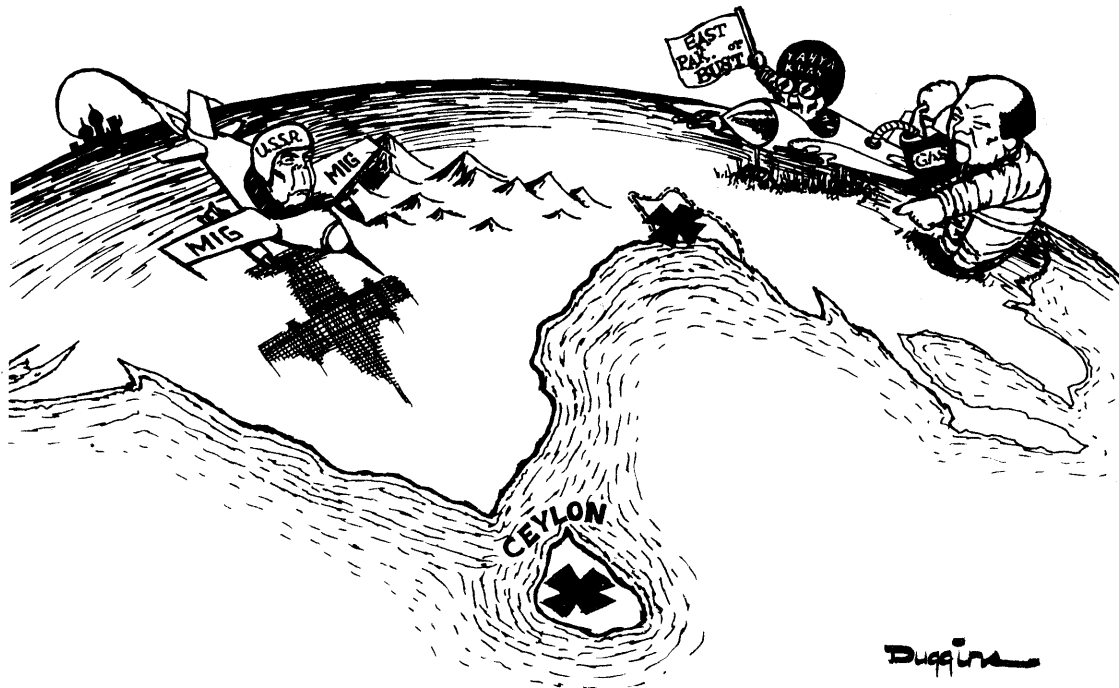
Let us also remember that participating in the present Ceylonese government are men who seven years ago sat on the same international bodies as the present leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Men like Colvin DeSilva were honored guests in the homes of SWP leaders and met with the Political Committee of the SWP. Men like the present leadership of the LSSP wholeheartedly supported the SWP in its split with the International Committee. The SWP supported this party right up to its actual entry into the bourgeois government, expelling them for carrying out the very logic of Pabloism.

In 1964 the tendency which became the Workers League demanded that a discussion take place inside the SWP on the question of Ceylon. The tendency was expelled for circulating within the party an appeal for such a discussion. Because of this fight the Workers League can take forward the struggle for Trotskyism, the struggle of the masses of workers and peasants for socialism while the SWP is implicated in the murders in Ceylon.

The Workers League is the only alternative to the defeats and butchery of capitalist coalitions and their Stalinist supporters.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

the war, against unemployment and the attacks on the trade union movement and the fight for the independence of the working class through a break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and the building of a labor party.

While Morris fails to mention Woodcock's attack on the demand for a labor party, he completely defends his position that a general strike by American workers is a "romantic illusion." Morris counterposes to the general strike Woodcock's perspective "that efforts be concentrated on getting members of Congress to vote denial of funds for the war in Vietnam."

Morris goes on with his attack: "The shop worker and union activist is given the impression that young people believe it takes only some high-sounding rhetoric to bring out a general strike; that they ignore entirely the level of class consciousness, degree of rank and file activity and influence in the unions, and the still considerable influence and organized power of the top labor bureaucracy on the workers."

"The shop worker and union member who perhaps for the first time is attracted to a conference for peace and to rebellion against the reactionary union bureaucracy, listening to a 'super-leftist' of the Workers League' stripe, gets the impression that the people in the Left movement are some sort of 'nuts' blind to realities and not serious."

Morris here attempts to isolate the Workers League spokesmen as "nuts" who alienated the rank and file workers at the conference. But what Mr. Morris does not mention is that the Workers League was joined by rank and file workers at this conference in a rebellion against the "reactionary union bureaucracy" of LEONARD WOODCOCK. The Stalinists will go to all lengths to conceal the real struggle of the working class.

Woodcock was openly attacked by a Black worker at the conference, a member of the UAW Black Caucus who was fired for fighting the racist practices of GM. As the worker pointed out Woodcock has done absolutely nothing about the situation.

Woodcock was also taken on by a Teamster shop steward who

called for a break from the Democratic and Republican Parties and for support to labor candidates.

Not only did rank and file workers attack Woodcock at the conference, but a representative of the rank and file UAW Black Caucus in St. Louis marched with the Workers League and spoke at the Workers League rally on April 24th.

Will Morris now contend that these workers are "nuts"? Will Morris contend that the general strike call that went out from the New Jersey AFL-CIO and the California Trades Council against Nixon's attacks on construction workers, that the call from the Teamsters in California for a general strike to free Hoffa is simply "high-sounding rhetoric" and not caused by the tremendous pressure of the rank and file? Will Morris contend that the general strike in France in May-June 1968 and in Britain a month ago were "romantic illusions."

Morris seeks not only to attack the movement of the rank and file workers but also their unity with the students on a revolutionary program. Thus Morris seeks to equate the Workers League with "New Leftism." "Demagogues," says Morris, "who two years ago drew cheers at campus and other non-working class audiences with calls for a 'general strike now' and for a 'new revolutionary working class' because the working class has become 'part of the establishment,' don't get much encouragement today."

While it is most difficult for Morris to make a case for the contention that the WL is "New Leftist" the whole purpose of this remark is to attack the students and the youth who are more and more turning towards the working class. These youth are extremely hostile to the trade union bureaucracy and its conservatism and to the liberals.

The CP and Woodcock seek to make a "labor-campus alliance" on the basis of an alliance of the students with the trade union bureaucracy. They seek to isolate and divide the youth from the ranks of the labor movement. Above all they fear that the turn towards socialism by whole sections of the youth will reach the working class.

The "realities" for the Stalinists are the preservation of the "organized power of the top labor bureaucracy" against

the movement of the working class and youth. Woodcock and the CP must attack the Workers League and Trotskyism precisely because it reflects this movement and the program for its victory.

This was sharply expressed on April 24th. The CP together with the revisionists mobilized trade unionists and youth behind the trade union bureaucracy and the liberals, behind the Muskie and McGovern, behind the most vicious enemies of the working class.

Morris cannot hide the history of his party. In his column he goes into the past of the labor movement in an attempt to slander the Workers League.

"The objective effect of the work of such sects is service to reaction whether they know it or not. The history of struggles for freedom is full of the tragic consequences of lives and destruction of organizations, due to abortive 'general strike' calls and sole reliance on leaflets and press releases to get action."

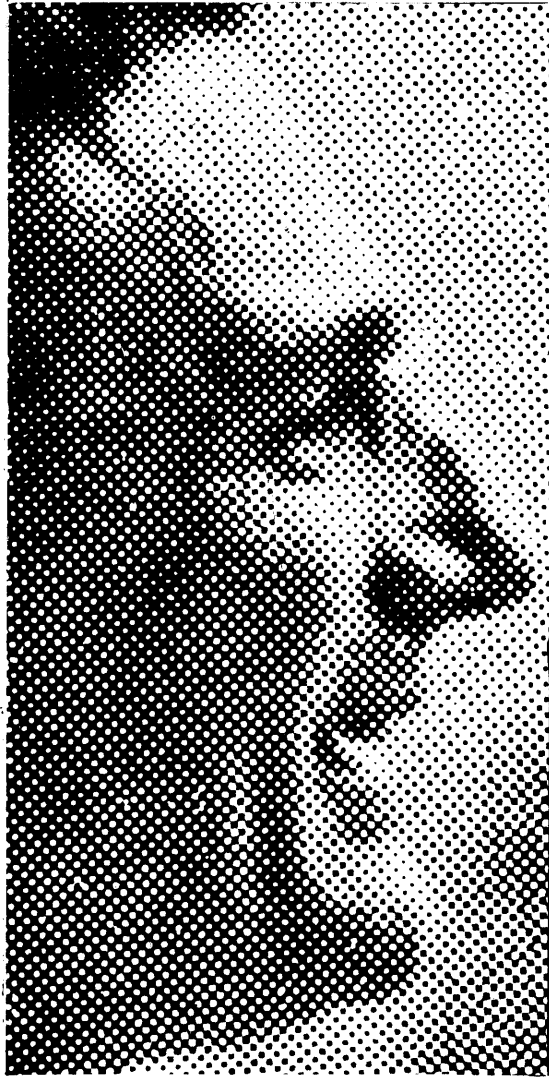
"The working class has long ago paid a price for anarchist and 'super-leftist' disruption and for the concept that a small conspiratorial group plus terrorist tactics can bring progressive change."

We say the real history of the working class is that it has paid a heavy price for Stalinism from the rise of fascism in Germany, to the Second World War, to the betrayal of the French General Strike in 1968. The workers and peasants of East Pakistan and Ceylon today are being massacred at the hands of the Stalinists.

It is the Stalinists, the Morris' and the CP that are today preparing the same future in the United States. This is the meaning of their support of Woodcock and his call for a new popular front like the one that "got us out of the depression."

The Stalinists and the Woodcocks together with the capitalist class fear the massive movement of the working class, and yes, the coming general strike.

As this movement develops it is laying the basis for the leap required by the working class, the break from capitalism and its parties and the building of a labor party. But this development can only go forward in the working class and among the youth through the relentless struggle against Stalinism.



Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

5 Alienation & The New Working Class

NEO-CAPITALISM IS THE starting point for a wholesale revision by Mandel of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky on every principled question. Beginning with the elimination of crisis from the capitalist system Mandel proceeds to a rejection of the Marxist theory of class struggle, a rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class, the substitution of a program of reform for one of revolution, a rejection of the Marxist theory of the state and, above all, a rejection of the Leninist party.

With the last section we cover basic features of Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism. In the present section we will examine in particular Mandel's revision of the Marxist theory of class struggle with his theory of alienation and the related theory of the "new working class."

MATERIALISM

The first thing in regard to these theories that it is necessary to establish is that once one accepts the theory of neo-capitalism one throws out the whole materialist basis for the struggle of the working class for socialism.

If capitalism is capable of a continuous upward development of the productive forces interrupted by nothing more severe than periodic recession there ceases to be any reason, in fact, any possibility of overthrowing it. The only basis for a battle against capitalism that remains is the moral outrage and indignation of the petty bourgeoisie.

We have already quoted Marx showing how the opening of a period of socialist revolution flows from the conflict of the productive forces with the productive relations, i.e., private property relations under capitalism. This conflict takes in particular the form of the periodic assault of the bourgeoisie upon the working class in the form of their efforts to drive the living standards of the working class below subsistence, to exclude millions of workers

from employment as the opening of a period of crisis threatens the rate of profit and makes the continued operation of whole sections of industry unprofitable. It is the struggle of the working class in a period like the 1930's and today to defend its conditions of life achieved in the preceding period that poses the question of going beyond merely defensive trade union struggle to the revolutionary seizure of power.

In Mandel's theory however all this is thrown out and he goes over to a completely idealist theory as to the source of the class struggle.

SUBTERFUGE

Before Mandel goes over to his openly idealist explanation of this struggle, however, he brings forward a number of subterfuges in order to give the appearance of still being a materialist.

In a number of places in Mandel's work he puts forward the conception that although capitalism has overcome its necessity to push the working class back in a fundamental way, still the working class on the basis of its being periodically hit with recession, will struggle for socialism.

Thus Mandel says: "In absolute quantities, the loss and waste caused by these recessions are substantial, and continue to testify regularly against the capitalist order, exhorting us to replace it with a more rational economic and social system...."

"The idea that the workers will agree indefinitely to be doomed to unemployment every four years, or at least threatened with it, and that they will regard this state of things as normal and ruling out any need to transform it structurally, does not seem to be at all realistic."(1)

This is all wrong. The struggle for socialism is based upon the inability of the working class to live under capitalism, not that socialism would be relatively better than capitalism. It is not that socialism is a "more rational economic and social system" than capitalism but that capitalism is absolutely irrational and in absolute conflict with the interests of the proletariat, dooming them not to periodic recessions every four years but to death and destruction.

TROTSKY

Writing on the three premises or conditions for socialist revolution, Trotsky makes quite clear in relation to the productive technological premise the distinction to be made between the period from the 1880's to 1913 when it could be said that socialism was more advantageous than capitalism and the period after 1913,

when it became an absolute necessity. "Before 1913 we were conditionally correct in saying that socialism is more advantageous than capitalism...since 1913 capitalism already signifies a condition of absolute stagnation and disintegration for Europe, while socialism provides the only salvation. This rendered more precise our views with respect to the first premise for the proletarian revolution." (2) (my emphasis—D.O.)

But for Mandel socialism today is merely "more advantageous" than capitalism. It is certainly not seen as "the only salvation." Mandel turns the class struggle back to the period of 1880 to 1913.

When Mandel rests the struggle for socialism today on the same material premises that existed prior to 1913, what he is really doing is eliminating the material basis for that struggle. The working class in its mass will not take up the struggle for socialism because it is better than what they have today, but only out of necessity. In the words of the Young Communist International "if they (the workers) are to be able to live the capitalist society must die."(3) The struggle for socialism is based upon the fact that the alternative to socialism today is barbarism.

WAGES

Mandel is not only wrong in saying the struggle against "recession" provides the basis for the struggle for socialism; he does not believe it himself. He is hardly willing in any case to rest his case for the struggle for socialism exclusively here. If we look elsewhere in Mandel's work we see that his position is that the struggle for wages and employment is really only a peripheral aspect of the class struggle anyway. The struggle over wages and employment is seen by Mandel as one among many catalysts that serve to bring forward what Mandel clearly believes to be the main contradiction between the classes under neo-capitalism—alienation. Thus Mandel says:

"Conjunctural shifts in the trends of income and employment, a slight decrease of real wages after a long period of increase; a sudden increase in unemployment after a long period of full employment; a sudden threat of technological unemployment and mass layoffs in some key sector of industry etc.; a crisis of leadership in the ruling class; a deep going political crisis as a result of foreign imperialist adventures; a sudden upsurge of militancy and anti-capitalist activity in "marginal" sectors of society like students or teachers all these factors and many others can create a favorable climate for

a growing awareness by the workers of their alienation as producers and for a sudden shift of the class struggle to questioning the employers' authority in the shops, factories, and offices themselves."(4)

In other words marginal reductions in wages and employment operate along with other factors to create a "favorable climate" for the emergence of struggle around the central question of alienation and workers control.

REFORMIST

The key thing is that for Mandel the struggle on the question of wages themselves and more broadly the whole struggle over the material conditions of the working class, whether wages, employment, or the level of medical care and education, do not represent the fundamental basis of the class struggle. In fact what dominates Mandel's writing is that the struggle on wages and employment have only a reformist significance under neo-capitalism and therefore are quite minor questions.

Thus Mandel says in defense of his program of fighting for structural reforms rather than wages:

"But what can be said of those who support all the struggles for increasing wages, for decreasing the work week, for lowering the pension, for doubling pay for vacations, for free medical care and free medicines but who, at the same time, reject anti-capitalist structural reforms?"

"They don't realize that they too, are fighting for reforms; but the difference between them and us is that they fight only for those reforms that capitalism has time and time again proved it is capable of giving, of incorporating into its system, reforms which thus do not upset the system itself."(5) (my emphasis—D.O.)

This quote shows just how far from reality Mandel's neo-capitalist theory really is. At the very moment when the entire international capitalist class has centered its battle to save capitalism upon the most ruthless attacks on wages and employment of the working class in thirty years and at a time when the whole economic and political counteroffensive of labor in every country flows from this attack, Mandel says that the fight on these issues is purely reformist and that it can be contained within capitalism.

TRANSITIONAL

It was not for nothing that Trotsky puts at the very beginning of the Transitional Program the demands for the sliding scale of wages and hours.

If ever there were two demands which formed the "bridge," as Trotsky posed it "stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat." (6) it is the demands for increasing wages and full employment.

Mandel, in throwing out the struggle on questions of wages and employment, is not only turning his back on the real material struggle which is laying the basis for civil war in all the advanced countries, he is also throwing out the core and essence of the Transitional Program.

MAY-JUNE

In defense of his false perspective Mandel will stop at nothing. He even goes so far as to clothe himself with the May-June events in an effort to prove that the wage and employment fight plays a negligible role in the class struggle. Here is what he says:

"In order to prove that the working class has lost its revolutionary potential, it would be necessary to prove that all the periodic explosions of working class discontent—whose reality nobody can deny—are centered exclusively around problems of higher wages and shorter working hours, to enable them to have more time to consume capitalist's commodities and enjoy the services of the capitalist's leisure industries. But this image does not correspond to the reality of Western European workers discontent; . . . nor will it correspond to the future explosions of discontent in the United States. . . ."

"Any analysis of the May 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France cannot but arrive at the conclusion that its main thrust, on behalf of the working class, went far beyond questions of higher wages and shorter working hours. And since May 1968 we have had an uninterrupted series of examples reflecting this main thrust in all the main industrial countries of Western Europe. . . ." (7)

The sophistry by means of which Mandel twists the meaning of May-June in the passage just quoted is truly amazing. What Mandel is seeking to do is to draw from the obvious fact that the May-June events went way beyond the wage and work week questions, i.e. did not focus "exclusively" on these two issues, the conclusion that wages and employment played a negligible role.

But the whole point is that in the May-June events it was shown that the question of wages and employment and the question of proletarian revolution are inseparably connected—that the latter must now flow from the former. In other words, the May-June events went beyond the question of wages and employment as such precisely because, as the Transitional Program poses, these demands could not be met within the framework of capitalism and therefore inexorably drove the French working class to take up the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

DETONATOR

We completely reject the student detonator theory by which the material basis of the May-June events is completely eliminated. It was precisely the pressure of the emerging world capitalist crisis that had exploded on the surface in '67 with the devaluation of the pound and which took the form in France of sharp new attacks on the material conditions of the French working class under DeGaulle's Fifth Plan and the Fouchet Plan, that brought the working class to the brink of revolutionary upheaval.

If the explosion therefore that was building up within the French proletariat was set off by the student rebellion of May and inexorably went over into a struggle for power, this in no way diminished the centrality of the wages and employment question in this explosion and in no way turns the May-June events into grist for Mandel's idealist mill.

Yes, Mr. Mandel, if you like, the working class's discontent does focus "exclusively" around its ability to consume "capitalist commodities" and the "services of capitalist leisure industries." It is for want of these, because it is now threatened with the loss of what it has already achieved of these, or because it has been, relatively speaking, denied them all along, that the South East Asian working class is driving the Nixon government out of Laos and Vietnam, that we had the May-June events in 1968, that we had a General Strike in 1971 in Britain and that we had the American Watts and Newark insurrections, and that the question of general strike, which leads over to the question

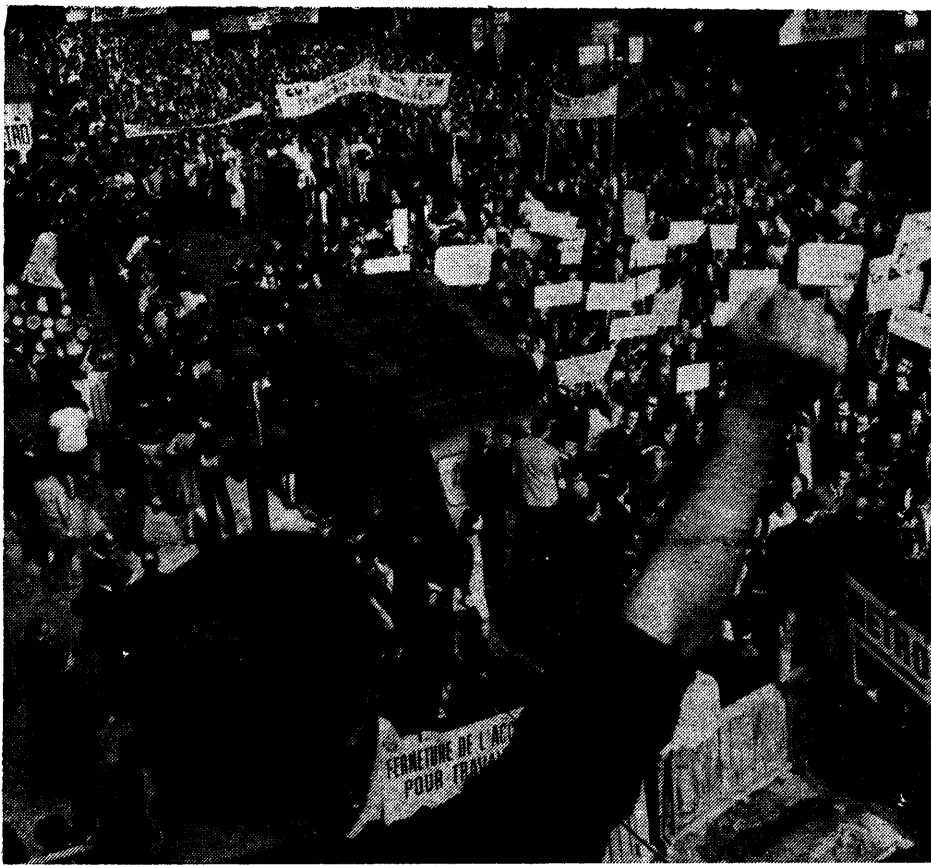
of labor party and to revolution, is now being raised in the United States.

ELEMENTARY

When we say that the struggle on wages and conditions, and in general the material conditions of the working class, is the center of the struggle of the working class for socialism, we are only putting forward what is elementary for Marxists. We are saying that all the political developments in the superstructure of capitalist society are explicable in the last analysis only on the basis of the struggle between the owners of capital and the proletariat over the surplus value created at the point of production. We are saying that the working class' struggle for socialism lies in these productive relations which now become the source of a huge world crisis of capitalism and the sharpening class struggle preparatory to civil war in every country. We are putting forward what is at the heart of the strategic conceptions developed during the period of the first five years of the Communist International and carried forward in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

Mandel, on the other hand, rejects all this, abandons the standpoint of materialism and Trotskyism and instead turns the class struggle in completely idealist fashion entirely around the axis of alienation.

Mandel, in fact, openly admits the need to "re-examine the dynamics of working class struggle, consciousness and revolu-



Mandel uses sophistry to twist meaning of May-June, 1968. Workers' wage, work week demands could not be met in capitalist framework, opened road to proletarian revolution.

tionary potential against the changes which neo-capitalism has effected in the classical modus operandi of the class struggle." (8)

In his pamphlet "Workers Under Neo-capitalism," against this "classical modus operandi" an entirely new "modus operandi" is counterposed:

"Whatever the increased consumption of the working class may have been. . . it (neo-capitalism) likewise universalizes alienation to an extent Marx and Engels could only have dimly imagined a hundred years ago. Many passages on alienation in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, in the German Ideology and in the Grundrisse have only been truly realized in the last decades. . . ."

"In any case labor under neo-capitalism is more than ever alienated labor, forced labor, labor under command of a hierarchy which dictates to the worker what he has to produce and how he has to produce it. And this same hierarchy imposes upon him what to consume and when to consume it, what to think and when to think it, what to dream and when to dream it, giving alienation new and dreadful dimensions." (9)

The contradiction between property relations and productive forces expresses itself under neo-capitalism:

"By a periodic large scale revolt of masses of industrial and intellectual workers, as well as youth in general, against the persistence of these capitalist relations of production, which mutilate their needs, their lives and their capacity for self realization, and human freedom." (10)

The great threat posed by neo-capitalism becomes:



Socialism is seen by Mandel as "preferable" to capitalism, as in pre-1913 era (above), rather than absolutely necessary if working class today (right) is not to be destroyed.

"The output of an ever increasing mass of increasingly meaningless commodities of increasingly doubtful quality; the pollution of the atmosphere, land and water, and the threat of nuclear and biological warfare. . ." (11)

Herein lies the basis for the working class's struggle for socialism according to Mandel's theory.

PETTY BOURGEOISIE

Every bit of this is of course filled with the spirit of the moral revulsion of the middle class against capitalism. It has nothing to do with Marxism and the class struggle. What Mandel has done is transformed the class struggle into what is no more than the refraction of the class struggle in the consciousness of the petty bourgeoisie.

Marx's early writings however, and his writings on alienation in general have little in common with the use to which Mandel is seeking to put them. Marx in 1844 was seeking to define conceptions taken over from Hegel, like alienation, in materialist terms, that is, in terms of man's actual social relations, which he was thereafter to do in his mature work, particularly Capital.

Marx is able to show in Capital that in the very process of capitalist production which alienates man from his product and men from each other and themselves, there also emerges a fundamental contradiction and a class force which provides for the smashup and overcoming of this state of affairs through socialist revolution.

Once this discovery is made Marx's whole preoccupation is no longer with alienation per se (though he returns to the subject occasionally) but is with the development of this contradiction.

Mandel moves in the opposite direction. Abandoning the theoretical conquests of Capital, namely that the question of alienation is resolved in a material class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat over questions of its material conditions of life, he uses the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts to liquidate Marxism back into the idealism of Hegel.

Thus the source of the class struggle becomes the abstract personal feelings of alienation, of loss of individuality, and freedom, in the heads of the workers (actually in the heads of the petty bourgeoisie).

NEW WORKING CLASS

Mandel develops his theory of a "new working class" in close connection with his theory of alienation. Mandel's attempt to explain the movement of the working class in terms of the protest movement of the petty bourgeoisie is only fully completed by Mandel's "new working class" theory.

This theory essentially consists of a broader redefinition of the working class. Mandel's aim is to include within it whole layers of the petty bourgeoisie, even the students, and at the same time to place the center of gravity of the working class as a whole onto these layers, and layers in the working class of a more petty bourgeois type who are relatively removed from the productive process. This is done so as to place the axis of the struggle of the working class as a whole on its more petty bourgeois strata and through them on their middle class protest forms of struggle and above all, their supposed preoccupation with alienation.

CLASSICAL WORKERS

Here is how Mandel develops this theory. In the first place he draws a clear distinction between the "classical conveyor-belt workers of Renault and Sud-Aviation," etc. and the so called "new" working class of highly skilled workers and technicians in semi-automated factories like those of Brest. (12) This new working class is elsewhere broadened out to include workers in agriculture, distribution, service industries and administration. The term "intellectual labor" (13) is brought forward to describe not only these layers but also scientists, professors and even students who are seen as "partial" or "future" workers in relation to the new working class. He sees them as "apprentices" in relation to "intellectual labor" (14) much as an apprentice carpenter is related to a skilled journeyman.

HOMOGENIZATION

Mandel, while drawing this distinction between "classical working class" and "new working class," also says there is a homogenization taking place within the working class as a whole. He says that the distinction between "purely productive manual workers and the purely unproductive clerical white collar and semi-productive repairman become more and more effaced." (15)

Thus, he says, that:



"The third industrial revolution is repeating in the whole society what the first industrial revolution achieved inside the factory system: a growing indifference towards the particular skill of labor, the emergence of generalized human labor..." (16)

Mandel tries to cover himself by throwing into the middle of his exposition of this theory the suggestion that this homogenization is somehow taking place on the basis of the "industrialization of the new working class, the enhanced proletarian character of these new layers" when in fact his real theory is the very opposite.

Thus we get the following piece of sophistry:

"One could say that the third industrial revolution at one and the same time both reduces industrial labor in the factory as a result of growing automation and increases industrial labor on a vast scale in agriculture, distribution, service industries and administration. For the automation revolution must be seen as a vast movement of industrialization of these different sections of economic activity both economically and socially." (17)

Though what Mandel appears to be saying here is that those layers that have been traditionally incorporated in the petty bourgeoisie are now being depressed into the proletariat, this is an inversion of his real position. What is actually being said is that the homogenization of the proletariat is taking place on the basis of the ascendancy of these petty bourgeois layers to the center of economic life. Simultaneously, manual workers in basic industry wither away. What is taking place is a gigantic "petty bourgeoisification" of the proletariat as a whole.

FUNDAMENTAL

Furthermore when Mandel talks about a new working class, just as when he talks about neo-capitalism or a third industrial revolution, he is not playing a mere terminological games. He is talking about a fundamental qualitative change having occurred.

Thus Mandel asserts that: "Neo-capitalism in the long run strengthens the working class much as did laissez-faire capitalism or monopoly capi-



Gerard Bloch, French Trotskyist.

talism in its first stage." (18)

In comparing the development of a "new working class" today to the epochal process lasting throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, whereby the development of capitalism brought into existence the modern working class as we know it, Mandel is saying that something of this significance is again taking place.

The fact is that Mandel's new working class theory flows directly from his theory of a third industrial revolution. He is saying that this third industrial revolution, based as it is upon a tremendous release of science and technology, brings about a fundamental qualitative change in the actual relationship between the proletariat and the capitalist class in the productive process.

SCIENCE

To be specific, according to Mandel's theory science and technology, now having become a direct implement of production, the exploitation of living labor is rendered obsolete in the productive process. Correspondingly a new working class (which is no working class at all) arises on this new productive footing and the working class as we know it disappears. This is in essence the whole theory.

Gerard Bloch, the French Trotskyist, has exposed in detail the way in which Mandel and other revisionists have seized upon certain of Marx's writings to bear this theory out and how this is what underlies the whole intellectual labor power, and student and intellectual vanguard thesis.

Bloch maintains that it is on the following text from Marx's "Fondements de la critique de l'economie politique", not yet published in English, which were the basic notes for Marx's Capital, that all the revisionists base themselves:

"The exchange of living labor against materialized labor, i.e., the manifesta-

conditions of society's progress have become subordinated to the control of the general intelligence and bear its mark..." (19)

"Must we conclude" Bloch asks, "therefore, that insofar as science 'becomes an immediate productive force' capitalism becomes capable of guaranteeing a new stage of the progress of civilization?" (19) Or we might ask does this mean the exploitation of living labor is supplanted by intellectuals acting in a supervisory capacity over purely mechanical productive forces?" (20)

"Marx's point of view," says Bloch, "is the exact opposite. According to him, this process brings the historical contradiction of capitalism to its culminating point and renders the proletarian revolution so much the more urgent." (21)

MARX

He then quotes Marx: "So soon as labor in its immediate (direct) form, has ceased to be the principal source of wealth, labor time ceases and must cease to be its measure, and exchange value ceases to be the measure of use value. The surplus-labor of the masses has ceased to be the condition for the development of wealth in general, just as the non-labor of others has ceased to be the condition for the general development of the forces of the human brain..."

"The laboring masses must therefore themselves appropriate their surplus value..."

"If labor-time is the measure of wealth, that means that wealth is founded upon poverty, and that free time results for the contradictory basis of surplus labor; in other words, this state of affairs assumes the whole of the workers time, time shall be considered as labor time



Ghetto rebellions by Black workers and youth were prelude to movement of working class as a whole as crisis deepened.

tion of social labor into the antagonistic form of capital and wage-labor is the final development of the value relation and of production founded on value.

"The premise of this relation is that the total sum of labor time, the quantity of labor used represents the decisive factor in the production of wealth. Now, to the extent that large scale industry develops, the production of wealth depends less and less upon the labor time and the amount of work put into it, and more and more upon the power of the mechanical agents set in motion in the course of the work. The enormous efficiency of these agents, in its turn, bears no relation whatsoever to the labor time immediately involved in their production. It depends rather upon the general level of science and the progress of technology, on the application of this science to production..."

"Labor thus presents itself not so much as a constituent part of the process of production. Man's behavior is much rather that of a supervisor and controller vis a vis the process of production. (This is so not only for machinery, but just as much for the co-ordination of human activities and the circulation between individuals)..."

"The development of fixed capital indicates the extent to which science in general and knowledge have become an immediate (direct) productive force and, consequently, to what extent the vital

and that he himself is dragged down to the level of simple laborer and subordinate to labor.

"This is why the most up to date machinery today forces the workers to work longer than did the savage, or than did the laborer when he worked only with more rudimentary and primitive implements." (22)

Commenting on this, Bloch makes the following observations:

"In a word, in the capitalist system, the transformation of science into an immediate productive force far from liberating the workers, constantly aggravates their enslavement still more.

"At the same time the capitalist system does not negate itself; its reason for existence is to produce exchange value, measured by labor time; and capitalism continues to reduce the amount of labor socially necessary for the production of a given sum of commodities.

"Its motive force is the production of surplus value, only living day-to-day labor produces surplus value; and yet the portion contributed to the productive forces by the immense accumulation of means of production, machines, automatic control mechanisms, the product of past labor increase ceaselessly.

"Science becomes an immediate force of production; for this reason it is urgent that the working class expropriate capital and socializes the means of production." (23)

Mandel's view is just the opposite. When Mandel poses the emergence of a new working class based on the development of science, he is actually saying that the system does negate itself. In other words, the contradiction between the emergence of science and the fetters imposed upon the whole of the productive forces by capitalism which Marx sees as heightening the antagonisms within the system, Mandel sees working itself out, resolving itself under capitalism. In other words Mandel believes that the state of affairs which Marx describes when he says "labor presents itself not so much as a constituent part of the process of production. Man's behavior is more rather that of supervisor or controller vis a vis the productive process" has essentially already been achieved. It is this conception that lies behind the theory of the new working class.

AUTOMATIC

We have already seen in earlier articles how this rationalizing away of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism has expressed itself in other spheres. Thus Mandel holds that the productive forces, e.g. atomic energy breaks spontaneously through the fetter of private property; that the contradiction between the internationalization of the productive forces and the barriers imposed by the nation state finds its resolution in the Common Market, and that the pressure of imperialism on the colonial countries automatically unleashes a colonial revolution and a process of industrialization that breaks through the imperialist stranglehold, all without the necessity for socialist revolution.

The same kind of thing is being put forward by Mandel when he talks about the emergence of a new working class. Science and technology emerge as the

principal productive forces; labor time automatically eliminates itself as a factor in the productive process. A new kind of working class emerges, whose labor power no longer stands in relation to capital as a commodity to be exploited and drained of surplus value. The role of this working class in production is rather to oversee and supervise the mechanical agents who alone become the source of wealth.

Thus the potential to be realized under socialism emerges full blown here and now under neo-capitalism. The conflict of opposites which provide the source of the breakup and overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat, is peacefully resolved, drained of its contradiction. Development no longer takes place dialectically through leaps, through socialist revolution, a bloody clash of classes, but through the simple evolutionary process mocked by Lenin as a caricature of dialectics, the gradual increase of one side of capitalism's contradictions and the gradual decrease of the other. Socialist relations evolve out of capitalist relations in a wholly automatic, smooth and spontaneous process.

REPRODUCTION

It is precisely this theory which is being expressed when Mandel says that in the big corporations there is a "shift of the centre of gravity away from problems of production towards problems of reproduction." (24)



Mandel uses "new working class" theory to place students and sections of petty bourgeoisie as main revolutionary force.

Mandel goes on to say the following:

"The real bosses of the big corporations no longer mainly discuss the problems of how to organize production: . . . they discuss. . . future plans: plans for replacing the existing machinery, plans for financing that replacement, new fields and locations for investment, and so on. . .

"What this movement reflects is the growing preoccupation with 'pure' problems of accumulation of capital. . . real cost reduction and income maximization is impossible if profitability is reckoned only at plant level." (25)

In other words, the capitalist class is no longer centrally preoccupied with the struggle with the proletariat over surplus value, the struggle for minutes and seconds of excess labor time, with pushing down wages and speeding up the workers at the point of production. This has receded to a secondary or tertiary matter. The basic relationship between capital and labor which Marx puts at the center of the movement of capitalist economy and capitalist society as a whole has been transcended.

EXPLOITATION

If the capitalists are no longer preoccupied with surplus value extraction then the implications for the proletariat is clear. If the wealth of the bourgeoisie is no longer based upon its exploitation, it is no longer an exploited class. Its relation in production changes. The antagonism between capital and labor evaporates. The working class emerges in the same basic relation to production as the capitalists. Just as the capitalists wheel and deal, finance and refinance, acquire new companies, build and unbuild their conglomerates, i.e. preoccupy themselves with managing and supervising wealth whose production is basically assured, so the new working class also emerges in a similar if more restricted supervisory capacity.

In fact, the antagonism that arises between the workers and the capitalists has nothing to do with the antagonisms described by Marx at all. It is superseded by an entirely different conflict over who can best manage the neo-capitalist economy. Will it be the capitalists with all their prejudices from the pre-neo-capitalist era who are pictured as "absentee factory owners" or the "true technicians," the intellectual laborers of the new working class?

Thus Mandel says:

"The more Big Capital is exclusively pre-occupied with problems of capital accumulation and reproduction the more it leaves plant management and organization to lower echelon experts, and the more the smooth running of the economy must clash with the survival of private property and the hierarchial structure of the factory." (26) (my emphasis D.O.)

In other words, in spite of the fact that neo-capitalism has raised the productive forces out of the muck and mire of traditional capitalist private property relationships, the remnants of the old order remain. Thus along with the "survival of private property" we have also the survival of the hierarchial structure in the factory. This is a remnant of the day when strict compulsion and rigid control of labor time were essential methods whereby the capitalist insured the maximization of his profits. It is an anachronism in conflict with with the otherwise smooth running of the neo-capitalist economy, based as it is on another modus operandi. Finally it is precisely this which becomes an important source of rebellion and alienation of the new working class:

"The higher the level of education and scientific knowledge of the average worker-technician, the more obsolete must become the attempts of both capitalists and managers to maintain the hierarchial and authoritarian structure of the plant, which even contradicts the logic of the latest techniques—the need for flexible cooperation within the factory in place of rigid command." (27) (my emphasis D.O.)

Again, in Mandel's warped theory, it is the needs (logic) of technique that should determine the role and the relations amongst the workers or technicians in the plants. What Mandel has rejected and is blind to is that whatever the need of technique, this need is subordinated today as always under capitalism, to the overriding need to extract surplus value from living labor. The chain of authority and all that goes with it in the factories is neither obsolete nor absurd as Mandel elsewhere calls it. It is a necessary aspect of capitalist production, a living expression that there is no third industrial revolution and no new working class, that there is only imperialism and a constant and brutal battle over every ounce of surplus value between capital and the working class.

The struggle of the working class against capitalism is not, as Mandel's theory would have it, a matter of the

new working class ridding the neo-capitalist economy of absurd and obsolete excrescences from an earlier era. Rather the working class must overthrow the power that enslaves it and threatens it today with death and destruction.

Labor in the basic industries—steel, auto, construction, rail, trucking, maritime—remain the center of gravity of the modern proletariat. This is precisely because capitalism is based as ever upon the extraction of surplus value from living labor in the productive process. It is here that the basic production of wealth takes place, not as Mandel would have it "in the laboratory and research departments, before actual production begins, and in the dispatching and inventory departments when actual production is over." (28) It is precisely because this is the central source of wealth and also of capitalist profit that the class struggle is here the sharpest and the proletariat has accordingly at this point created its most powerful class organizations. It is this layer of the proletariat whose place in production makes them the main force for carrying through the socialist revolution and for the construction of socialism after the revolution.

Let us break down Mandel's "new working class" intermediate layers and petty bourgeois strata into their constituent elements.

While students may come from the working class as well as the middle classes and some may even be forced into the working class upon leaving school, as students they are a section of the middle class intelligentsia. Their relationship to the working class is not based upon their future occupations as "intellectual laborers." Or more accurately, to the extent that it is, this role will be reactionary—will be to bring into the working class middle class ideology.

Students can play a leadership role only to the extent that their ability as part of the intelligentsia to more readily grasp questions of theory draws them to abandon their actual middle class standpoint for the standpoint of the working class. Students can play a vital and progressive role in relation to the working class only by becoming Marxists and fully intergrating themselves in the working class party.

As far as the other intermediate layers that Mandel incorporates into the new working class are concerned, let us say that in great part what Mandel is including is what Lenin himself clearly considered to be not a new working class but a new middle class. Thus Lenin wrote the following on this subject in a review of Kautsky's reply to Bernstein in 1899:

"The chapter on the 'new middle estate' is likewise extremely interesting, and, for us Russians, particularly instructive. If Bernstein had merely wanted to say that in the place of the declining petty producers a new middle estate, the intelligentsia is appearing, he would be perfectly correct, says Kautsky. . .

"In all spheres of people's labor, capitalism increases the number of office and professional workers with particular rapidity and makes a growing demand for intellectuals.

"The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly

to the wage worker as increasingly (capitalism) deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard. The transitional, unstable, contradictory position of that stratum of society now under discussion is reflected in the particularly widespread diffusion in its midst of hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas, an urge to rise verbally to the highest spheres and to conceal the conflicts between the historical groups of the population with phrases—all of which Marx lashed with his sarcasm half a century ago." (28)

At the same time there are in fact whole layers who are today pushed from this new middle class directly into the proletariat. The unionization of vast numbers of teachers, social workers and public employees in general as well as militant strike movements among these layers testify clearly to this.

This development represents the very opposite kind of process than the one seen by Mandel. The process takes place as part of the crisis of capitalism and not as part of the emergence of any third industrial revolution or transcendence of crisis as Mandel envisions. This process actually consists in the proletarianization of these layers both in their thinking and methods of struggle. Thus, as against the organization of public employees into professional associations, the growth of capitalism's crisis in the past ten years has seen among teachers and many other layers a huge rise in strike struggles and trade unionism.

In other words this process is one of a gravitation by these layers towards the methods of struggle and thinking in basic industry in spite of their relative removal from production itself. Thus the process is the very opposite of what takes place according to Mandel's thesis, i.e., the "petty bourgeoisification" of the working class. The center of gravity in the working class remains with the proletariat in basic industry, with the axis of struggle on the questions of wages and hours and it is towards this struggle that all other layers and even the petty bourgeoisie gravitate, including students who are turning toward the working class in even larger numbers as the present economic crisis deepens.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p.534
2. Trotsky, Leon, The First Five Years of the Communist International, p.307
3. Quoted in Questions Facing Progressive Labor by Lucy St. John (Bulletin Pamphlet Series), p.36
4. Mandel, Ernest, Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries, pp.10-11
5. Mandel, Ernest, "The Debate on Workers Control," International Socialist Review, Vol. 30 No.3, p.2
6. Trotsky, Leon, The Transitional Program, (Socialist Labour League pamphlet) pp.14-15
7. Mandel, Ernest, Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries, p.9
8. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," International Socialist Review, Vol. 29 No.6, p.5
9. Ibid., p.5
10. Mandel, Ernest, Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries, p.8
11. Ibid., p.8
12. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," International Socialist Review, Vol. 29 No.6, p.7
13. Ibid., p.9
14. Mandel, Ernest, The Revolutionary Student Movement, p.8
15. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," International Socialist Review, Vol.29 No.6, p.7
16. Ibid., p.8
17. Ibid., p.5
18. Ibid., p.9
19. Marx, Karl, Fondements de La Critique de l'Economie Politique, quoted in "Marxism and Anarchism," by Gerard Bloch, Fourth International, Vol.6 No.1, pp.9-10
20. Bloch, Gerard, "Marxism and Anarchism," Fourth International, Vol.6 No.1 p.10
21. Ibid.
22. Marx, Karl, op. cit., pp.10-11
23. Bloch, Gerard, op. cit., p.10
24. Mandel, Ernest, "Where is America Going?," New Left Review, No. 54, p.6
25. Ibid., p.7
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., pp.7-8
28. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," International Socialist Review, Vol. 29 No. 6; p.7
29. Lenin, V.I., Collected Works, Vol.4, pp.201-202



"Professionals", like Newark teachers (above), have been forced to take traditional workers' methods of struggle to defend living standards.

BOOKS

ALEX STEINER

Humanism And Terror

HUMANISM AND TERROR. By Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Beacon Press, Boston, 189 Pages, \$2.95.

The upsurge of the working class in the recent period has been marked by a dramatic growth of interest in Marxism. This has spawned a flood of literature about Marx, Marxism and revolution.

Much of this is the product of literary hacks and political prostitutes be they social democrats, anarchists and syndicalists, Stalinist and ex-Stalinist intellectuals, and anti-theoretical minded New Leftist and "counter-culture" faddists. A small percentage of this literature, however, represents an attempt to confront the present epoch and the possibilities inherent in it for the future of the human race.

The series of essays by the late Merleau-Ponty titled *Humanism and Terror* is of these more serious efforts, but along with the great majority of the recent literary output, it is anti-Marxist through and through.

COMMENTATOR

The author provides us with an overview of his intentions in the "Preface." He begins not as a partisan of the workers movement and socialism, but as a commentator offering comradely critiques of capitalism in a period when the possibility of revolution seems to have passed. In the meantime, until a new era of revolution emerges, he writes, we must limit our criticism to the constructive end of preserving genuine liberty without becoming implicated in imperialism or the "mystifications of liberalism." He writes:

"Now that this outcome (of revolution) has become problematic, it is imperative to maintain the habit of discussion, criticism, research, and the apparatus of social and political culture. We must preserve liberty while waiting for a fresh historical impulse which may allow us to engage in a popular movement without ambiguity." (page xxiii)

Communism is identified by him with the official Stalinist "Communist" Party. Liberalism, i.e., the ideology of the bourgeoisie, is counterposed to a "true liberty" which can exist in a workers state as well as a capitalist state. These basic categories serve to define the postwar situation for him, wherein one is forced to choose for or against Communism, but wherein it is also the case that for the "concerned" individual, "It is impossible to be an anti-Communist and it is not possible to be a Communist." (page xxi)

What emerges from these statements is that the author tries to take a position between, or rather "above" the two major classes as they come into conflict. Political movements are seen as abstract ideas, divorced of any relationship to the class struggle and devoid of any historical development. 'Liberalism' is criticized on the ground that it is not able to realize its principles and therefore, these principles become a "mystification." Since a revolutionary overturn of that society that perpetuates the liberal ideology seems ruled out, the present task consists politically and intellectually in maintaining an atmosphere of free discussion and questioning and renouncing the dogmas and "mystifications" of liberalism. That is to say, a "new reality" replaces the previously valid Marxian analysis of history as the history of class struggle, i.e., the struggle between an abstract and classless "Democracy" against an equally abstract and classless "Totalitarianism." The Stalinists are even criticized for not defending "Democracy" diligently enough after breaking away from the postwar Popular Front government.

The author, in line with his middle class interests and perspective, tries to mediate or reconcile the struggle between the two classes, a conflict which is absolutely irreconcilable. He criticizes the Stalinists from the right when he condemns their then current break with the French bourgeois

government, while all the time accepting their basic premises and perspective. Thus, the Stalinists' brief alliance with De Gaulle, which served to resurrect French imperialism at a time when it was nothing more than a corpse, is noted by the author as demonstrating the Communist Party's "good intentions" to work for "democracy" and the interests of the "nation" as a whole.

It is completely forgotten that the Gaudist dictatorship which the Stalinists supported was responsible for the disarming of the revolutionary masses organized in the bands of the *maquis*, the persecution of Trotskyists and other revolutionaries who threatened the stability of the nation, and the prosecution of a murderous war against the Indochinese and African workers and peasants in the French colonies—all in the name of a common effort on behalf of "democracy."

The polemic against Koestler verges on a concept of "the ambiguity of history." In political life, the author states, we are forced to make decisions which involve the fate of other men. These decisions look toward an open future whose consequences are purely contingent and cannot be predicted in the present. Unjustified violence against other human beings may be the result of such decisions, but these decisions can be avoided as little as political life can be avoided.

According to Merleau-Ponty, the only justification for such decisions lies in their being in the service of the ideal of Marxism. Koestler is taken up because he rejects the necessity of political violence, which is seen as part of the human condition, and thus the ideal of Marxism along with it, which can serve as its only justification.

The philosophical framework within which Merleau-Ponty criticizes Koestler leaves him in basic agreement with him on the most essential questions. He grants that there is no objective understanding possible of history and thus our intervention on one side of the class struggle can only be an act of faith in the service of an ideal. He uses the "contingency" of events to divorce the past from the present and the present from the future. But in reality, there is an essential relationship between different "contingencies" and it is only this essential relationship that gives meaning to the "contingencies."

NECESSITY

Here we have an expression of the more general problem of the relationship between freedom and necessity. The author sees a dichotomy, in the Kantian tradition, between freedom and necessity. Lenin however, in his reading of Hegel's *Logic* underlined the following passage as expressing the dialectical relationship between freedom and necessity:

"...If freedom is regarded as the abstract opposite of necessity, this is merely the Notion of understanding of freedom, whereas the true and rational Notion of freedom contains necessity as transcended within it." (Vol. 38, page 181)

A few pages further, Lenin underlined the following statement, and wrote in the margin, "Hegel and historical materialism":

"In his tools, man possesses power over external nature, although as regards his ends, he frequently is subjected to it." (Vol. 38, page 189)

The highest tool at our disposal is Marxist theory of the knowledge which demands that we go beneath the surface of contingent events and penetrate to the essential movement of classes underneath. Freedom lies in our ability to consciously develop theory so that we may intervene in the class struggle in order to transform the relationship of classes and bring the working class forward. It is only through the intervention of the revolutionary party in the movement of the working class, bringing the class to the realization of its historical task of capturing state power and the building of a socialist society, that our own "subjection to necessity" in the form of capitalist exploitation, can be overcome.

Thus, while the general character of our epoch is one of wars and revolution, every new upsurge in the class struggle cannot be predicted as to exactly where and how and under what circumstances it will break out, but its essential relationship to the epoch as well as its more specific relationship to the concrete development of the class struggle must be understood and anticipated. Our understanding of how past developments have given rise to the present prepares us for the tasks of the future.

Though our knowledge is necessarily imperfect, it is real. Merleau-Ponty can see only the present moment in which decisions are made on the basis of one among several equally likely perspectives toward the future. History is an ironic judge which redeems the actions of some while condemning the actions of others. No matter what our position is, we can never be confident that we are right.

It is with such a method that he discusses the question of political terror and in particular, the Moscow Trials. Any proper discussion of the Moscow Trials, however, must begin with the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, its historical development as the negation of Bolshevism, and the political requirements that the bureaucracy faced for its own survival. Above all else, such an understanding demands that the true facts relating to the trials be presented. This is crucial, for we can never penetrate to the essence, to the meaning behind these trials, unless we begin with a correct understanding of what actually happened. But to Merleau-Ponty, this is secondary. He writes:

"We have not examined whether in fact Bukharin led an organized opposition nor whether the execution of the old Bolsheviks was really indispensable to the order and national defense of the U.S.S.R... Our purpose was to understand Bukharin as Koestler sought to understand Rubashov." (page xv)

Trotsky on the other hand, spared no limits in exposing the web of falsifications surrounding the Moscow Trials. He did not end his examination of the Moscow Trials at that point, but went on to explain them in light of the historical role of the bureaucracy and its need to eliminate the last vestiges of Bolshevism. But it was essential to begin with a correct estimate of the facts.

TROTSKY

The author does even less justice to Trotsky himself in the essay entitled *Trotsky's Rationalism*. We are served up a very sophisticated reading of Trotsky the "ultraleftist," the "idealist-visionary" who insists on following the "straight Marxist path" (page 138) no matter what the outcome. It is this image of Trotsky which is so often served up by admirers of Trotsky such as Isaac Deutscher to use as a battering ram against the Trotskyist movement.

We are called upon to pay tribute to Trotsky's heroism, but alas, his defeat was inevitable because he ignored the practical exigencies of building socialism in the Soviet Union. Such a concept of Trotsky is buttressed by a series of misrepresentations of his positions, such as that he opposed collectivization and industrialization, ignored the role of the peasant, and that his theory of permanent revolution called for apocalyptic simultaneous uprisings throughout the world. The falsifications of Trotsky's positions, which are still perpetrated by the Stalinists, have been more than adequately dealt with in two recent publications, Fred Mueller's *Stalinism and Trotskyism in the U.S.A.* and Robert Black's *Stalinism in Britain*.

Merleau-Ponty depicts a Trotsky who insists that history is thoroughly rational, that it is free from "ambiguities," and therefore one need never compromise one's principles to be successful in any historical endeavour. However, if we go back to the history of the struggle, Trotsky never opposed Stalin merely on the grounds that the latter had compromised, for com-

promises, as Lenin pointed out in *Left-wing Communism* may not only be permissible, but necessary if their overall consequence is to advance the struggle of the working class.

Trotsky fought to develop Marxism within the party so that the new developments in the international arena could be understood and revolutionary parties could be built that would bring the working class to power and come to the aid of the isolated workers' state. This was a necessary struggle that had to be waged in the party as long as there remained any possibility of transforming the party and making it face up to its historical tasks.

This struggle against the prevailing stream of demoralization and defeat for the international working class had to be waged in order to prepare the party and the working class for the next revolutionary upsurge. If the party did not change then it would become a factor paving the way for further defeats for the working class.

RATIONAL

It is of course correct to describe Trotsky's view to be that history is thoroughly rational in the sense that it is thoroughly materialist and thought is thoroughly a reflection of material reality. This attack on the rationality and materiality of history, this open defense of mysticism, is an actual defense of extremely real and material butchery of revolutionaries in the very real and material interests of a bloated Stalinist bureaucracy.

The one question Merleau-Ponty absolutely fails to ask, is, whose perspective, Trotsky's, Bukharin's, or Stalin's, really was based on the interests of the working class. This cannot be reduced to the question of who it is who inhabits the Kremlin walls today. It is only through a concrete examination of their different programs that the question can be answered as to the class content of these different perspectives. This class content is totally ignored and we are instead served up with a superficial examination of the forms of power. (e.g.: The form of Trotsky's employment of force to suppress the Kronstadt rebellion is the same as the form of Stalin's use of force against the Opposition. Trotsky is wrong to denounce the suppression of the Opposition because he himself used the same methods.)

This is the method used to justify the Moscow Trials and to judge the politics of Trotsky and Stalin. The current Soviet bureaucracy is identified with the guardians of the spirit of the proletarian revolution and the future of mankind. The objective movement of class forces is completely ignored—all that is left are the outward forms of Marxist phraseology and Bolshevik organization. This is actually a return to Hegelian idealism—for just as Hegel saw in Napoleon the bearer and agent of the French Revolution, so Stalin is depicted as the bearer of the future of mankind opened up by the October Revolution. In neither case is the historical individual seen as the representative of certain class forces. Nor is the question posed as to which direction the forces lead—whether they take the revolution forward or throw it back into a Thermidorian reaction.

And that is the sum of it. The author's poverty of theory becomes the poverty of the whole world. Such is the paralysis to which his anti-Marxist method leads him.

It should be noted that the author's middle class philosophical method eventually led him to openly defend the bourgeoisie in the name of "democracy." While still maintaining a rather nebulous attachment to "Marxism" the author wrote several polemics against the Soviet Union in the 1950s and sided with imperialism in the Korean War. In this there remains a lesson for all revolutionaries—that capitulation to the methods of the bourgeoisie on the philosophical front will inevitably lead to the open political embracement of imperialism.

Workers League Marches For Socialism On April 24

(Continued From Page 5)

ers; Melody Phillips who spoke on attacks on hospital workers; Tyrone DeGross of the TWU who pointed to the need to build an alternative leadership against the union bureaucrats; Frank Casden who brought in the teachers' and municipal workers' struggle in Philadelphia; and John Zupan, vice-president of AFSCME Local 1497 who spoke of the growing struggles in Detroit.

Angel Marcano, an active fighter for Puerto Rican independence from Stony Brook, stated: "I come here as a student, not a worker. But we must all become dedicated revolutionaries not just for the independence of Puerto Rico but for the international revolution of the working class."

OVATION

Juan Farinas, just returned from a national tour on his case, spoke about the importance of a united class defense of all victims of the capitalist state. Farinas has been convicted and given a two year sentence for distributing an antiwar leaflet at an induction center. He is appealing his case and is asking for support. He was

met with a tremendous ovation from the audience, many of whom had worked for his case or heard him speak as he toured the country.

John Holmes, a 20 year old student from NYC Community College and a founder of Black Students United there, spoke on the violent attacks on himself and other Workers League members by the nationalist MRI organization. He stood before the audience with his arm still in a cast and it is still not known whether he will regain the use of his hand.

"This attack on the Workers League," Comrade Holmes stated, "shows the reactionary character of nationalism in this new period of the movement forward of the working class. Nationalism resting on Stalinism, seeks to destroy the revolutionary leadership which takes forward this movement. This attack must be repudiated by all militants in the movement. We cannot have a return to the Moscow Trials butchery."

VOTE

Holmes then read the statement which the Workers League is urging other organizations and indi-



Part of the Workers League contingent marches down Constitution Avenue with flags flying.

viduals to sign. Lucy St. John then put it to a vote and it carried unanimously by the 500 people.

Speakers from other organizations at the rally included Lou Renfrow, Chairman of the New Party of Ohio and NPAC Steering Committee member, who de-

nounced NPAC for soliciting support from the "blood-drenched two parties of imperialism." Also speaking was Philip Raup of Mass Strike, a group in Boston, who supported the rally but stated his group thought the question of sexism was important.

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, was the concluding speaker. Addressing himself to the question of the Vietnam war, Wohlforth stated:

"It is precisely the fear of the independent movement of workers and peasants throughout the world which brings forward these liberal capitalists today in their hope to cut off this movement. The U.S. and its puppet troops were beaten in Laos by the workers and peasants. Now the masses are rising in East Pakistan and in Ceylon."

"We must deal with the treacherous role of Stalinism. While we meet here the West Pakistani butchers armed to the teeth by the Kremlin and with the full support of Mao Tse-Tung and China are murdering thousands of Bengali rebels. In Ceylon the Soviet Union sends MIGs so that the coalition government can shoot down the youth leading the rebellion in the countryside."

"The Stalinists are murderous betrayers. The SWP unites with them here and helps their betrayal by foisting liberals on this massive demonstration just as the Stalinists furnish arms and support to the bourgeois governments

of Asia in their murderous war on their own people."

TROTSKYISM

"There has been talk here of a return to the 1930s as we speak with our marshals protecting the rally from fascist hooligans. There will be no return to the 1930s in the sense of allowing Stalinism to mislead the workers, to lead them to fascist domination. There will be no return to this."

"There is only one force which can stop this and that is the Workers League. That is why we are holding this rally. Our party consciously represents this movement of the working class. We are the Trotskyists and only Trotskyism carries forward the struggle for Communism into our period. We will not allow the Stalinists to repeat what they did in the 1930s."

"We will go into the student movement and fight it out against the Stalinists and revisionists. We will go into the trade unions and take forward this beginning rank and file movement expressed here. We will reach out to the minority youth and combat nationalism and Stalinism to bring forward this vanguard section of the workers' movement."

"Only the Workers League can take forward this struggle. I urge each one of you to join the Workers League right now. Take up the struggle with us for a socialist America and a socialist world. Forward with the Fourth International!"

Showdown With Nixon In Steel

(Continued From Page 4)

upcoming contract which does not center on the need for big wage increases and a shorter work week, but instead pushes demands for more "democracy" in the union and the restoration of the right to strike over grievances.

The bulk of the speakers reported on spoke for such a perspective.

TOMKO

But the actual feelings of the ranks in the steel mills cannot be totally blotted out, even in the press of the American Stalinists. The end of the article, very carefully tucked away on page eleven, adds: "Anthony Tomko, former president of McKeesport Local 1408, called for a \$10,000 annual wage for laborers and 'upwards from there.'"

Unmentioned by the Daily World is the fact that Tomko was a leader of the Dues Protest Movement, a syndicalist opposition in the USWA in the 1956-61 period. Centered in western Pennsylvania, with scattered support elsewhere, this movement's candidate for USWA President in 1957, Donald Rarick, got some 40% of the vote against the entire McDonald machine.

At the 1960 USWA convention, McDonald and Abel had Tomko beaten up as he handed out anti-McDonald literature.

What Tomko's call for \$10,000 for grades 1 and 2 means is over \$2.00 per hour immediately across the board.

To fight for this, the CP would immediately be brought into sharp conflict with the USWA bureaucracy, and would shatter the cozy relationships they have been building up with the so-called "progressive" sections of that bureaucracy.

The role of the CP is to cover for Abel against the ranks just as they do with Woodcock.

PROGRAM

What must now be built is a rank and file movement in the USWA that can take up the struggle for a living wage against the betrayals

of the bureaucracy and its Stalinist allies, on the basis of a program to win:

Wages: Abel's \$1.10 is a complete sellout. There must be an immediate \$2.25 an hour across the board increase the first year, plus an extra 50¢ for the iron ore miners. There must be an additional 75¢ an hour hike for each additional year of the contract, as a way to catch up with what the steelworkers were shortchanged on in the past twenty years. The cost of living clause must be restored from the first day of the new contract.

Job Security: Abel has stopped talking about the four day week with five days pay. But the growth of unemployment makes it essential that this be won in 1971.

Grievances: There must be an end to compulsory arbitration and the restoration of the right to strike over grievances.

Job evaluation: Scrap the CWS-Job Evaluation system! All job rates and grades should be determined by collective bargaining, not by an arbitrator.

USWA members must force their leaders to stop working the CWS-Job Evaluation system until it is thrown out.

Speedup, Overtime: Action can be taken on these issues right now. Abel and Co. must be forced to stop all cooperation with speedup systems; a complete ban right now on overtime working is what is needed to prevent further stockpiling by the steel corporations. The incentive bonus system must be thrown out—a substantial basic rate increase is needed, not piecework.

Racism: There must be a conscious effort to end all discriminatory practices towards Black and Spanish-speaking workers in upgrading and other working conditions. The union must have the right to strike against racist practices by the foremen or local management.

These demands must be made **NON-NEGOTIABLE.**

Steelworkers must regain the right to vote on their contracts.

The can contracts were ratified by the local union presidents, not the ranks.

PARTY

Abel now says that if only the Democrats were in office, things would be just fine. Yet such Democrats in Congress as Humphry and McGovern are today the greatest hustlers for a wage freeze.

And it was due to the direct intervention of the liberal Democratic President John Kennedy that the steelworkers got a contract in 1962 with not one cent in wage increases.

This must be answered by a fight for the creation of a labor party, based on the unions, to defend the interests of all workers. This was raised at last fall's USWA International convention. Abel got this motion sent to the Executive Board, where it has since been "non-concurred" in.

But it is a fight for a break from the politics of the employers and the trade union bureaucracy, that today is the road the labor movement must take to politically advance its movement for wages.

20,000 City Workers Demonstrate Against Layoffs

(Continued From Page 3)

Some 30,000 city workers then descended on Albany Tuesday afternoon for a huge rally protesting layoffs and budget cuts on the steps of the state capital.

Victor Gotbaum foisted upon this huge gathering a whole line up of Democratic and Republican state senators and assemblymen, including State Senator Zaretzky and even Republican Roy Goodman who had voted for the cuts and who was roundly booed by the crowd.

This follows in line with Gotbaum's foisting of Lindsay, Badillo, and Abzug on the rally in New York City earlier in the day.

At one point Gotbaum's cheering squad on the capital steps even began to chant for the appearance of Rockefeller himself.

The complete bankruptcy of the Gotbaum leadership was likewise expressed in the completely chaotic and disorganized character of the mobilization throughout the day, which resulted in masses of workers catching only a few minutes of the all day rally and hundreds becoming separated from their busses.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership contingent which had fought to drown out Lindsay when he spoke at the morning rally led the fight against this filthy conspiracy between Gotbaum and the capitalist politicians by interrupting these speakers with chants of: "Labor Party in, General Strike."

Near the end of the rally Gotbaum was forced by the incessant demand of the CNL for a general strike to declare that

"there may have to be a strike" and that he "hoped that those chanting will be prepared to put their money where their mouth is."

BREAK

The reality of the situation is that without not only a general strike of city labor but also a break by the city labor movement from the vicious Democratic and Republican capitalist windbags, many of whom spoke at this rally, not only will the 90,000 workers be laid off, but there will be much worse to come.

The CNL is not only prepared for such a fight, but it is determined and is already leading a rank and file rebellion within the ranks of the District Council aimed at breaking the back of the Gotbaum leadership.

BY FRED MUELLER

The Stalinist techniques of slander and violence against the revolutionary movement are as old as Stalinism itself. It is inevitable that along with the new upsurge of the working class internationally, Stalinism is forced to go back to its old slanders, to dust off and bring forward more than in recent years all of the measures of the past.

This is the response of Stalinism to this upsurge, to the working class and to Trotskyism which represents the conscious vanguard of the class. The most recent in a series of slanderous attacks upon Trotskyism by the Communist Party is the article by George Morris in the April 22 issue of the *Daily World*.

In this article, we are told that the Workers League is "one of half-dozen ultra-'leftist' Trotskyite organizations in the U.S." Morris says that "the objective effect of the work of such sects is service to reaction whether they know it or not." And further, "The working class has long ago paid a price for anarchist and 'super-leftist' disruption and for the concept that a small conspiratorial group, plus terrorist tactics, can bring progressive changes."

Morris' ire was aroused by the intervention of the Workers League at the meeting of the "Labor-University Alliance" in St. Louis on April 17-18. Morris is seeking to defend top auto worker official Leonard Woodcock from the criticism leveled at him at this meeting by supporters of the Workers League, criticism which is widely shared by many union militants.

George Morris has well over 40 years of experience as a purveyor of Stalinist filth in the labor movement. For some years he has written on labor subjects the *Daily World* and other CP publications.

With his latest contribution, Morris is only getting his feet wet. The most breathtaking exhibition of the old filth to which Morris and the entire Communist Party are now returning is contained in a pamphlet entitled "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement," written by Morris himself and published in January, 1945.

LIES

This pamphlet is filled with 31 pages of the most repulsive lies and revealing solidarity with the employers. It was written at a time when the Communist Party openly proclaimed its allegiance to Roosevelt and the capitalist system he headed.

Let us examine some of the charges brought up by Morris in this pamphlet. There is one general area in which his charges have some truth, a truth of which the revolutionary movement can be proud.

That is the charge that the Trotskyists opposed the capitalist government, opposed Roosevelt and resolutely opposed the imperialist role of the United States as well as the Axis powers in the Second World War. All over the world the Trotskyist movement took a principled Leninist stand, unconditionally defending the Soviet Union and exposing the imperialist character of the war on the part of the Nazis and the "democratic" imperialists.

All over the world the Trotskyists suffered in prison and gave their lives because they upheld and acted upon the truth that the only struggle against war was the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, the preparation for revolution.

What did Morris say about all of this? He charged that the Trotskyists:

- 1) Oppose the war and United Nations collaboration, with the most bitter hostility directed against the Soviet Union.
- 2) Oppose national unity and all common labor-employer-government action to win the war.
- 3) Ridicule a post-war outlook of national unity and full employment and pin their hopes on a sharp crisis.
- 4) Oppose labor's wartime no-strike pledge and do everything in their power to violate and undermine it.
- 5) Foster factionalism within the trade

unions and seek to undermine the authority of those in labor who are the most outspoken win-the-war and win-the-peace leaders.

6) Concentrate fire chiefly upon President Roosevelt and the other "Big Three" United Nations leaders.

Of course the Trotskyists, far from directing the most bitter hostility towards the Soviet Union, defended the Soviet Union against Nazi imperialism, but directed the most bitter hostility against the Stalinist bureaucracy which, as even the Krushchev revelations subsequently showed, gravely undermined the defense of the first workers' state.

Let Morris explain what happened to his wonderful "post-war outlook of national unity and full employment." The Trotskyists did not "pin their hopes" on a crisis but understood that such a crisis was inevitable as long as capitalism had not been overthrown.

Within a few months the Stalinists had to use U.S. Party Secretary Earl Browder

against Trotskyism, he tied it all together with the defense of another trial, a trial which took place here in the U.S. in 1941. In this pamphlet Morris openly defended the first use of the Smith Act against a tendency in the labor movement, he defended the Smith Act Trial of the "Minneapolis 18," the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. Let us hear it from Morris himself:

"Several days before Pearl Harbor, the bulk of the local's (Teamsters Local 544 in Minneapolis) leadership, including James P. Cannon, secretary of the 'Socialist Workers Party' as the principal group of Trotskyites call themselves, Vincent Dunne and Albert Goldman, Trotskyite attorney, were convicted for sabotaging of National Defense...."

"From the evidence on Trotskyite crime," writes Morris, "Tobin (top Teamsters union official), Roosevelt or any other American, would be perfectly justified in demanding their prosecution."

The Real George Morris



George Morris and CP refused to defend these Minneapolis workers.

himself as a scapegoat in order to cover for their own crimes, their own calls for national unity, their repeated sell-outs of the working class on behalf of the war effort. Within a few months of the publication of this pamphlet, Morris himself was eating these words about "national unity," without, of course, repudiating overall Stalinist policy and the subordination of the working class to the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

NO-STRIKE

Yes, Trotskyists opposed the vicious no-strike pledge, and within a short time the Stalinists had an awful lot of explaining to do on why they had supported it. Yes, the Trotskyists opposed those "labor leaders" who worked so closely with Roosevelt, the Stalinists and the employers to make the workers pay for the war.

The Stalinists knew that it would not do to simply indict Trotskyism for its revolutionary opposition to the war and to capitalism. These charges had to be connected to the most gigantic lie of all time, the charge brought forward at the Moscow Trials, in which Trotsky in absentia was the chief defendant. All the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were charged with having been for many years the agents of fascism, with having committed terrorist attacks on government leaders and with having planned and executed acts of sabotage. All these fantastic charges as well as the "confessions" extracted from the defendants at the show trials were brought up and quoted by Morris in this pamphlet.

SMITH ACT

But not only did Morris make use of the Moscow frameups in this pamphlet

But, as the Minneapolis court record shows, they were convicted not for union activity but on their bluntly announced intention to disrupt the war effort and demoralize our armed forces. Justice was indeed generous to them with sentences ranging from only a year to 16 months."

Thus Morris and his party line up completely with the ruling class on this use of the Smith Act to repress the working class and the revolutionary movement. They openly appeal to "any American," to the ruling class itself, to take care of the troublesome Trotskyists. This was a clear expression of the solidarity of the Stalinists with capitalism, the solidarity which is clearly expressed today in all their reformist policies.

GROVELLING

Morris went so far as to append to his pamphlet a vicious article from the Teamsters' union magazine in which a notorious bureaucrat denounces the Trotskyists, saying "The CIO is now discovering that Trotskyites cannot be good union men because they do not believe in the principles of unionism nor do they believe in the American form of government or the American flag." (!)

Just a few years after this article was printed, the Stalinists were themselves the victims of a vicious witch-hunt in the unions and in the courts through the use of the very same Smith Act which they applauded in this pamphlet.

All their grovelling before the capitalists in this period helped them not at all when the interests of capitalism dictated attacks on the Communist Party, just as the German Social-Democrats did not save themselves from the concentration camps through their

treacherous policy of pleading with the fascists during Hitler's rise to power.

BETRAYALS

The enormity of these lies set down by Morris corresponds to the enormity of the betrayals of the Stalinists. At the same time as they were negotiating with the fascists, making territorial concessions to Hitler, and handing over socialists and communists to the concentration camps, they accused the Trotskyists of these crimes.

At the same time as they saluted the flag and applauded every move of the "democratic" imperialists, to the extent of viciously attacking all workers who fought for higher wages during the war and all those who sought to continue the fight for racial equality, they had to divert attention away from these betrayals by accusing the revolutionary forces which exposed what they stood for, of even worse crimes.

It is Morris and the CP which has supported terror directed against the revolutionary movement. This very day their leaders in Moscow are supplying the Ceylonese coalition government with planes and other equipment to carry on its barbarous war of extermination against the youth fighting for socialism. In order to bolster their current campaign for a popular front to hold back the working class, they now bring forward the old slanders against Trotskyism.

It is Stalinism which inspired the recent physical attacks by the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement against salesmen of the *Bulletin*. Not only did MPI justify its vicious assault on the grounds that the Workers League were "CIA agents," they proudly reported on their attack to a Stalinist meeting which was taking place on the very same night.

When the Young Workers Liberation League was asked about this attack, and asked for its response to the Workers League's Open Letter calling upon all organizations to denounce hooliganism in the working class movement and to reject as slanders the charges that Trotskyists are CIA agents, it answered that our letter was "a bunch of bull."

When specifically asked, the Young Workers Liberation League spokesman refused to denounce physical attacks and claimed they might sometimes be "necessary." They likewise refused to reject the charge that Trotskyists are counterrevolutionary and CIA agents.

That is the real meaning of Morris' pamphlet today. Every class conscious worker must know that the Communist Party today rests upon all these crimes. Their hands drip with the blood of workers and communists. Morris and his party should know that we will give them no quarter whatsoever. As we have said before, this is not the 1930s.

Let this article serve as one more reminder to all concerned, to class conscious workers as well as to the Stalinists traitors: Every crime which has been committed in the name of socialism and communism must and will be unearthed and exposed so that the entire working class may learn from its defeats.

These crimes, such as Morris' pamphlet itself, will be shown in their concrete expression today, in the workers movement, so that we may better fight and destroy the source of the crimes, the source of the betrayals, the syphillis of the labor movement—Stalinism and the bureaucracy upon which it rests.

Stalinism & Trotskyism
In The USA 50¢

By Fred Mueller

The only existing history of the real role of the American Communist Party.

LABOR PUBLICATIONS
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Two Interviews With Militants In Argentina, Mexico Class Struggles In Latin America

The following are excerpts from two interviews that were translated from *Informations Ouvrieres*, the newspaper of the French Trotskyist Communist International Organization (OCI).

The first is an interview with a member of *Politica Obrera* (Workers Politics) which took place before the coup d'etat in March. Sections of the interview dealing with events prior to the coup d'etat have been cut for space purposes.

The second interview is with a militant of the L.O.M. (Workers Marxist League) in Mexico. Both of these organizations are now confronting the questions of Trotskyism, Pabloism and Stalinism and for this reason these interviews are important.

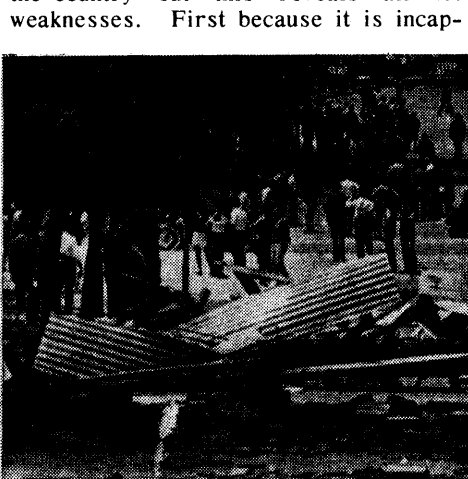
Q: What are the lessons the Argentine proletariat has learned from Peronism and Stalinism?

A. There is no doubt that the Argentine proletariat is freeing itself from Peronism by great leaps. The most significant expression of this process is the depth and extent of workers opposition to the Peronist trade union bureaucracy. This is reflected in the workers response to leftist propaganda and especially to the Trotskyist slogans.

During big mobilizations and demonstrations over the past years, the slogans and banners of the Peronists have been replaced by those of the left organizations. Several important strikes, in the auto industry especially, have been led by these forces.

Certainly in electoral politics, Peronism is still the main political force in the country but this reveals all its weaknesses. First because it is incap-

able of confronting the competition in direct mass mobilizations, and secondly because in holding elections it is totally dependent on the military and must meet their conditions.



able of confronting the competition in direct mass mobilizations, and secondly because in holding elections it is totally dependent on the military and must meet their conditions.

Independent of this or that partial success, the Stalinists do not have great influence on the workers. In 1962 they proposed dissolving their organizations to fuse with the left Peronists and the pro-Peronist and pro-Castroite social democrats. Since 1960, they have gone through a constant crisis especially among the youth who accuse them of being to the right of Castro and of providing Peronism with a left cover.

Q. How is "Politica Obrera" fighting Pabloism?

A. Argentine Pabloism has followed a trajectory which has led it to totally turn its back on Marxism. In 1956 Moreno's organization which rejoined the Unified Secretariat took a position favoring Peronism and maintained this position until 1964. At the beginning of 1968 they made a turn toward Castroism and declared that the historic task was the construction of an armed branch of OLAS in Argentina.

When they began to implement this orientation, the Pabloites were divided in two: on the one hand a guerilla group which became the official section of the Unified Secretariat (El Combatiendo) and the Moreno group (La Verdad) which followed a strictly syndicalist position often to the right of the Stalinists. (Moreno is called a sympathizer of the Unified Secretariat).

Since its formation our organization has fought guerillism and we have conducted this fight in particular against the Pab-

loites which has enabled us to win over numerous militants to the proletarian revolution.

Q. What is the position of "Politica Obrera" in relation to the reconstruction of the Fourth International?

A. Our organization declared itself Trotskyist since its beginning and has fought national and international expressions of tendencies which oppose proletarian internationalism and the Transitional Program.

At first we thought that the construction of the international was a historic task that had to be started from zero, a position that we have overcome as we have come into contact with the international movement. It is clear that the reconstruction of the Fourth International is the indispensable framework of all international work.

Q. What is the political situation in Mexico today, particularly since the big student demonstrations of 1968, and what forms have the struggles of the working class taken?

A: The movement of the youth from July to October 1968 is an expression in Mexico of the new stage which has opened up in the international class struggle with the French General Strike and the process of political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The movement of 1968 and the way that the bourgeoisie resolved it (with the

geoisie is undergoing a profound change.

This was seen in a whole series of strikes, in minor sectors it is true, which developed in 1970. During these strikes the workers violently repudiated their union leaders, corrupted and tied to the bourgeois party.

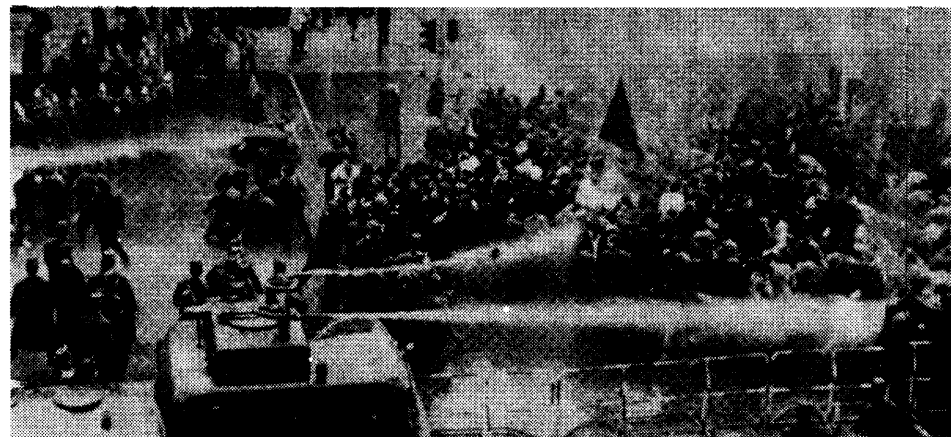
This was also seen in the appearance of new leaders who fight for the independence of the unions, and finally in the attempt by the well know workers' leader Vallejo, to form a kind of independent union liaison committee. Vallejo is a leader who spent twelve years in prison and whose liberation was a concession by the bourgeoisie, for demagogic purposes, to the 1968 struggles.

Vallejo was the leader of the rail strike in 1959. Led or influenced by the Mexican Communist Party, he was abandoned to his fate by the Stalinists as soon as he criticized them from prison.

To conclude: A change of great importance is about to take place in the activity of the exploited masses, a change comparable to the one that took place on the eve of 1910 and which led to the revolutionary movement of 1910-1917. This movement will be qualitatively superior because now, it is the proletariat which will take leadership and be the fundamental motive force.

Q: In this situation how does the LOM fight for the construction of the revolutionary party in Mexico?

A: LOM must consciously express (in terms of organization and program) the movement and the needs of the proletariat and the toiling Mexican masses.



Representative of the class struggle sweeping Latin America is Cordoba general strike (left). In Mexico class struggle is also growing since student demonstrations in 1968 (Mexico City right).

massacre of Tlatelolco) added a new dimension to the crisis of the regime which the bourgeoisie calls a regime of "the Mexican revolution." This is a semi-corporative and Bonapartist regime through which the Mexican comprador bourgeoisie has controlled the masses for more than fifty years.

This regime has based itself primarily on the semi-integration of the unions into the state, on the most total corruption of the union bureaucracy, on legislation which institutes compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes...on a whole series of nationalist prejudices, on a caricature of a Parliament and finally on the Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence of the Mexican Communist Party.

But in spite of this control, the class struggle has not ceased.

The new government headed by the former Interior Minister, one of those directly responsible for the 1968 massacre, is a government in crisis. All the means of control that permitted the previous regimes, especially after World War II, to maintain a state of "tranquility" are being transformed because of the development of the crisis of capitalism.

At the same time the new government directly attacks the working masses. This, which we analyzed during the 1970 electoral campaign, is becoming clear to the workers. One month after its election, the new government raised prices 30% on necessary items.

But more important, the relationship between the proletariat and the bour-

We can state that around the work of numerous militants (like Vallejo and whole currents of the workers movement) the idea and the necessity of forming a workers party is emerging in a more or less unconscious way.

The Mexican working class has not succeeded in building such a party until now (although it was attempted several times). However, at the same time the pressure and repression of the bourgeoisie as well as the orientation of the Communist Party weighs down on these militants.

The answer of LOM has been the formation of an organization of workers committees. This is the framework in which we organize, discuss and fight beside all the militants who are moving towards a political conception of the struggle. However, we do not see the formation of the workers party as a simple arithmetic sum of workers committees, considering as we said before, the sudden leaps that will take place in the consciousness and combativity of the Mexican masses...

Presently the Organization of Workers Committees is conducting a campaign to work out a platform of demands in defense of the democratic rights and living standards of the masses....

One of the central demands in the platform is the demand which synthesizes our position towards the union organizations, towards the Federation of Mexican Workers (CTM) which includes more than two million workers. Despite those who have abandoned the work in

this organization, either because they find it extremely difficult or because they think it controls the working class...we say that we must fight for an independent CTM, for a CTM independent of the bourgeois party, for a CTM based on the class struggle....

Q: What is the place of Stalinism in Mexico?

A. The PCM does not control decisive sectors of the class, although it controls small unions and has influence in a few large unions. The strongest position is among the youth, mainly the peasant and student youth. In these areas it has developed two mass organizations, the Federation of Democratic Students, and the Independent Peasant Federation.

However, we have seen that even a small Stalinist party can do its job of propping up the bourgeois order and play an important destructive role in a period when the masses are becoming radicalized. During the 1968 movement the Communist Party held a "dialogue" with the President of the Republic not only because it represented the strongest organization but because it corresponded to the students' illusions concerning their independent power. This isolated them from the working class and led them to defeat.

The Mexican Communist Party as a part of the international Stalinist apparatus...is undergoing a violent crisis which is most openly and clearly expressed in their youth movement which refused to accept the party's positions at the last congress.

Q: What is your assessment of the centrist and especially the Pabloite tendencies in Mexico?

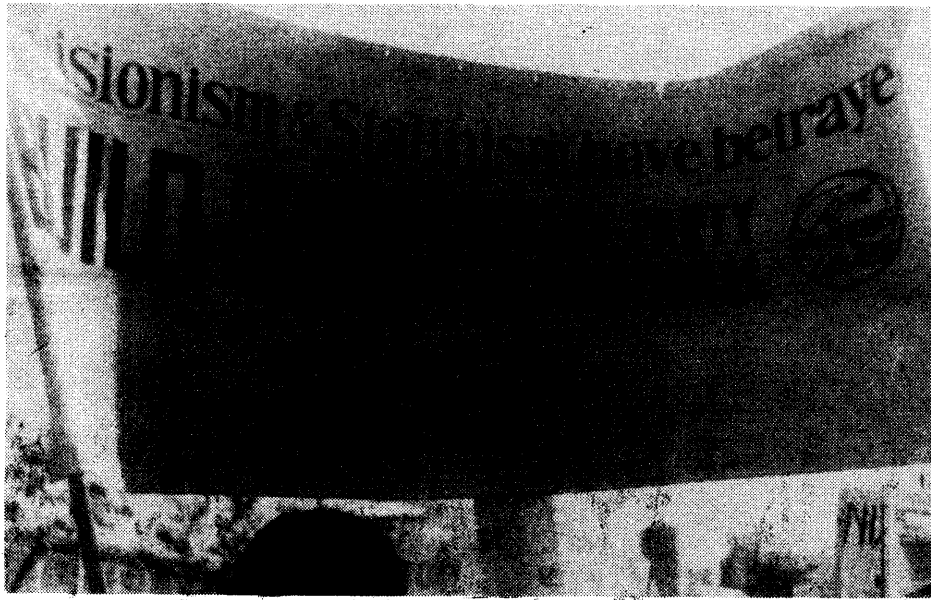
A: ...Since 1963-1964 we have fought to defend the Transitional Program against those, who following the orientation of the Unified Secretariat, said that we had to put the Transitional Program aside "for awhile" and work out a program for Mexico. The group which remained with the Secretariat and which is called GCI (International Communist Group) has followed a series of zig zags.

First they supported guerilla warfare as a method of struggle. But this is easier to talk about than to organize. Later they started purely ideological work in a few working class areas. Today they are happy with strictly "intellectual" work, refusing to leave the university because they claim the union bureaucracy and the Mexican bourgeoisie are too powerful.

During the last three years, the Pabloites have only hid behind the Stalinist positions in all the important events. During the 1968 student movement they accepted the policy of having a "dialogue," creating all kinds of illusions among the students with their "French export," the committees of "struggle." During the 1970 presidential elections it echoed the Stalinists' abstention with the slogan: "Vote? For Who?"

However, we do not underestimate their importance because the crisis in the Communist Party pushes many layers of militants towards Trotskyism. If we do not intervene in a conscious way the Pabloites can come forward as a false alternative. From this point of view they are an obstacle towards building a revolutionary party.

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Workers League Holds Rally In San Francisco

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO, April 24—Hundreds of thousands of people marched here in an absolutely bankrupt display of middle class frustration and impotence.

The circus in Golden Gate Park was complete with balloons, crackerjacks, and peanuts. The essence of this demonstration was summed up when Chicano youth stormed the speakers' platform and sent Republican Representative Pete McCloskey scurrying to safety.

SWP

This was a fitting tribute to the SWP's efforts to divide the march along racial and sexual lines with separate contingents representing every conceivable division of the working class.

These youth were led by the extremely reactionary nationalist leader Abe Papia, of the Mexican American Political Association in Los Angeles. Their program amounted to little more than seizing the platform for the minorities. Nevertheless the class hatred of the youth for this middle class betrayal found an ex-

tremely sharp expression, even in this confused and disoriented fashion.

VINDICATION

The entire incident was a real vindication of the program of the Workers League, which was forced to operate under the most difficult conditions. The Workers League was denied a permit to hold a rally anywhere in the vast expanse of Golden Gate Park. Nevertheless we fought in an absolutely principled way against this "peace" fraud.

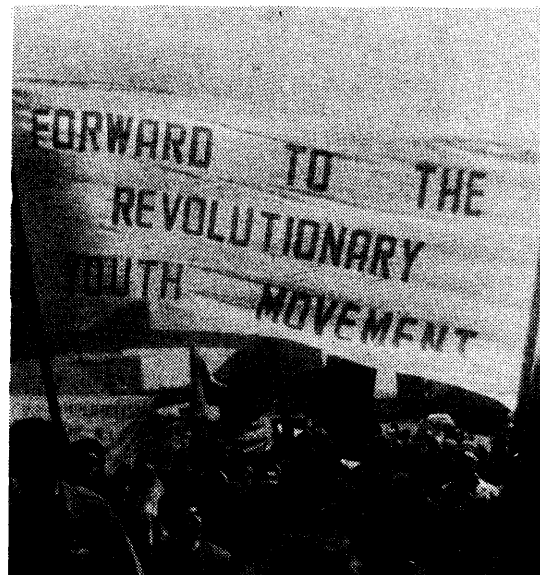
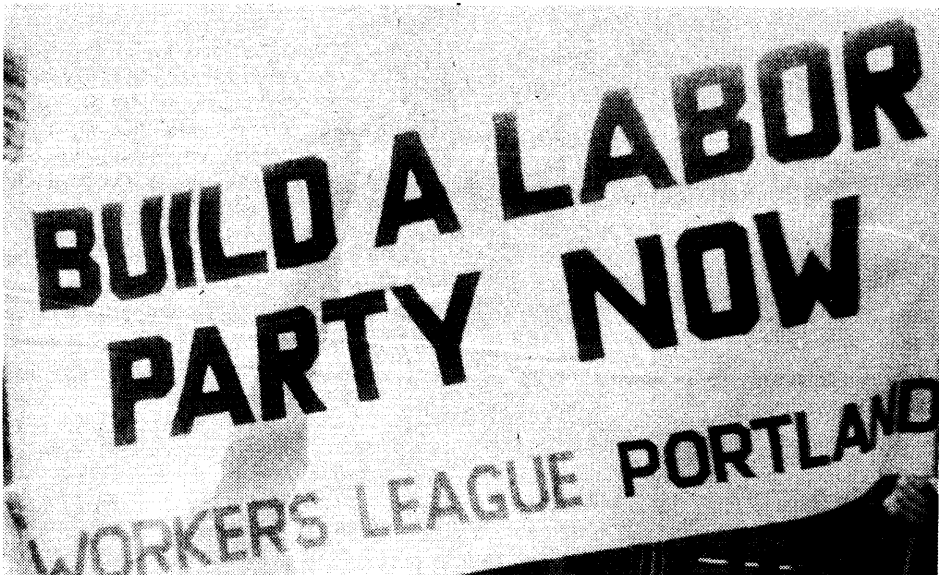
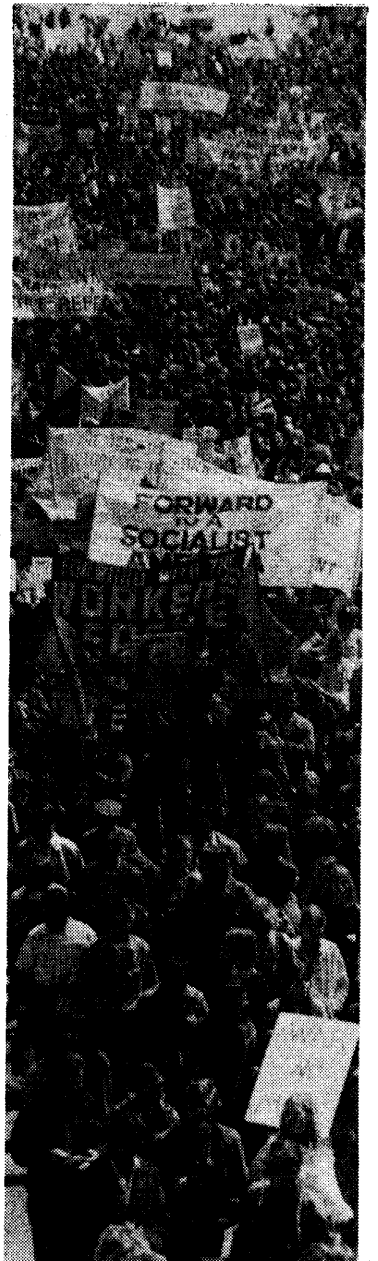
The Workers League fought for and provided an alternative to anyone who wished to stand firm against this middle class stampede. We marched in contingents from up and down the coast. Our banners expressed the alternative of the party: for a labor party, for a student strike and a general strike of labor, for victory to the NLF and a Socialist America.

Ours was a class contingent that united youth, students, minorities and labor. Refusing to capitulate to the pressure, the Workers League and supporters broke from the march, and despite the ban, proceeded to the park where an independent meeting was held and addressed by Workers League spokesmen and by representatives from the Communist Workers Collective in Los Angeles.

REVISIONIST

Not another tendency on the West Coast dared to break from this swamp in a principled way. All were in one fashion or other forced to capitulate to the pressure and liquidate into this revisionist cesspool.

The Spartacists, speaking for them all, actually issued a leaflet denouncing us for daring to separate ourselves from this mass confusion and betrayal. Their real perspective was summed up by the NPAC monitor who chased our contingent when we broke off, screaming that there was no permit to leave.



UFWOC Launches Union Drive In San Diego

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee recently opened a drive to unionize farm workers in San Diego County.

With 500 of San Diego's approximately 1,000 farms as initial targets for strike action, UFWOC's first picket lines were thrown up in response to the firing of 12 union sympathizers at one farm in south San Diego county.

Workers began to walk out of the fields in protest of the firings. The UFWOC strike completely shut down the operation. There is tremendous international solidarity for the operation, as workers from Mexico have not only refused to cross picket lines but are actively supporting the strike.

About 12,000 workers commute daily to the fields from Tijuana. The UFWOC organizing efforts span both sides of the border and

threaten to eliminate the profitable system of exploitation of Mexican labor in US fields by insuring that foreign labor also comes under union protection.

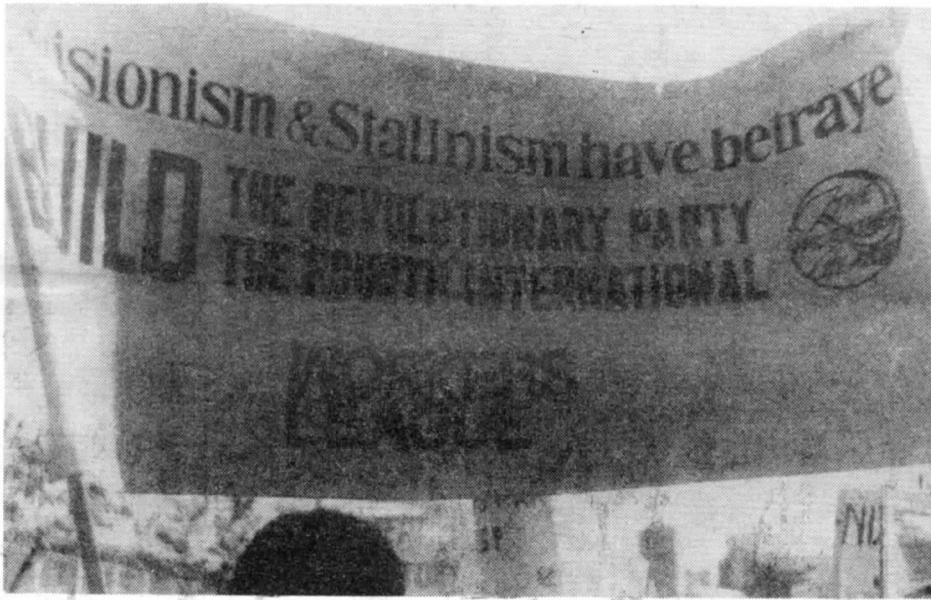
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They are threatening to shut down agriculture, a \$143 million

business, sell the land, "take long vacations," "move to Mexico" and so on.

For years the employers, passing under the name of various "growers associations" have terrorized Mexican workers to death. Today they face class war in the fields and no amount of demagoguery or lamentations will get them out of it. The way forward for UFWOC is clear—shut down agriculture in San Diego County.

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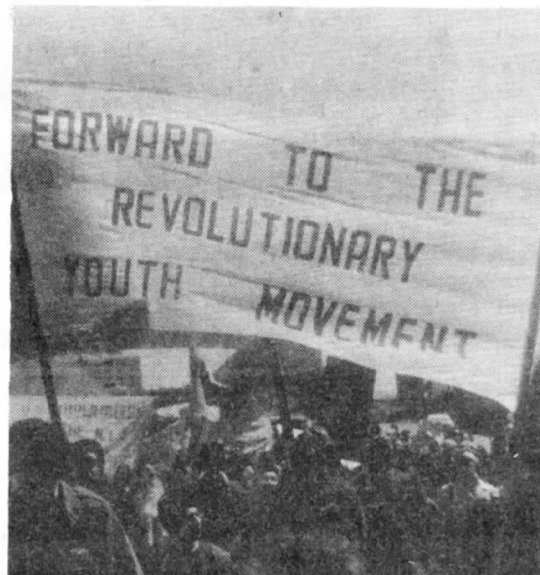
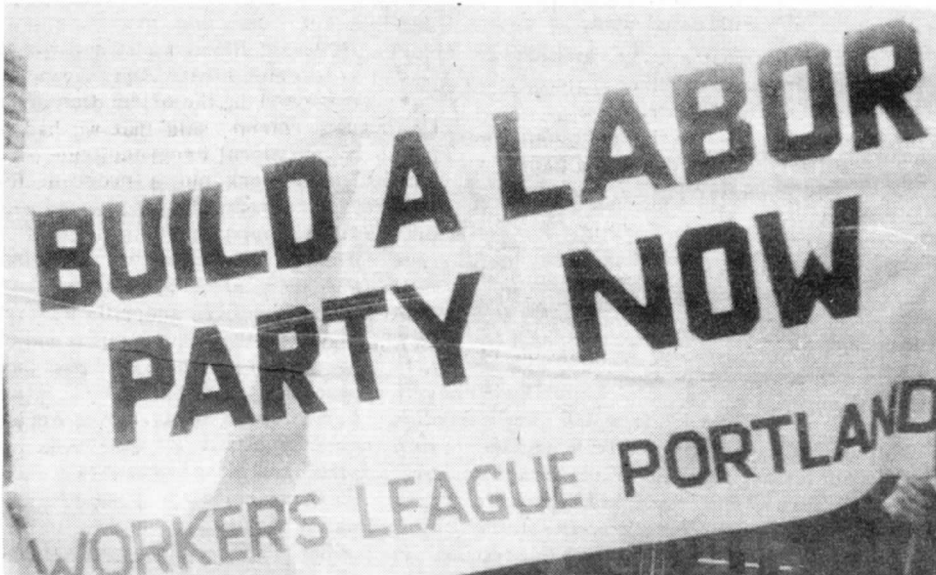
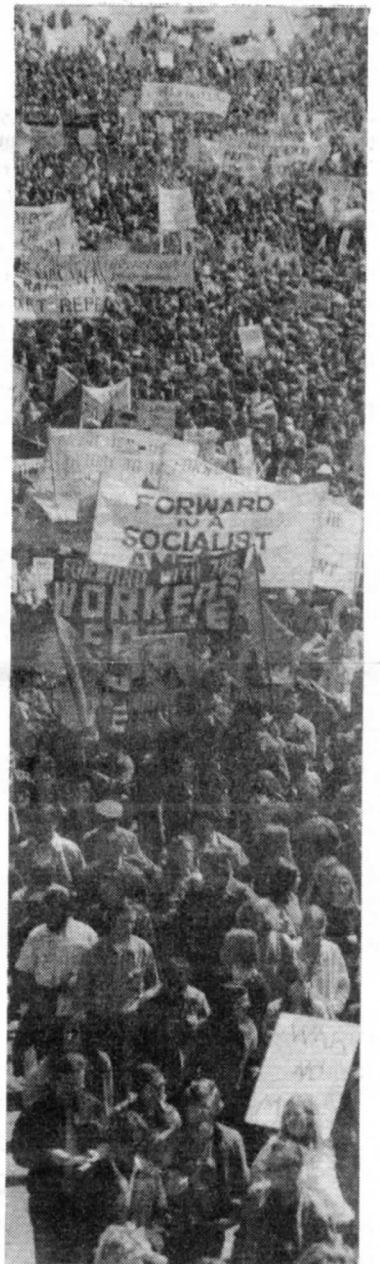
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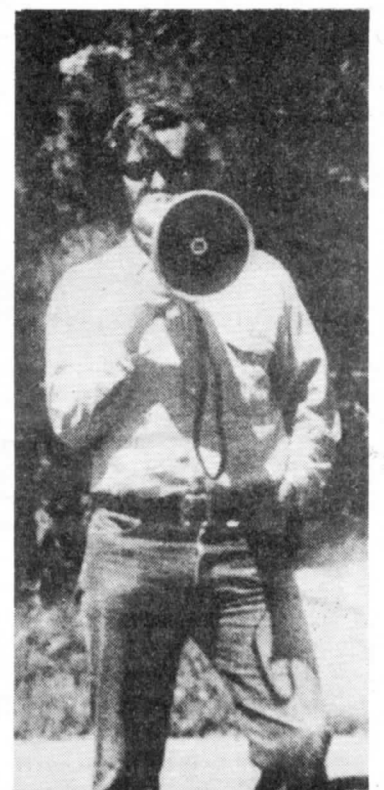
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EDITOR: JEFF SEBASTIAN WESTERN EDITORIAL OFFICE: ROOM 313 3004 16TH STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94103 PHONE 415-621-1310

Panthers Join CP In Defense Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
SAN FRANCISCO—In an open letter to Huey Newton published about a month ago, the Workers League posed very sharply the central theoretical tasks facing the Black Panthers in coming to grips with the historical struggle of Trotskyism and Stalinism.

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The featured speaker at this rally is Julian Bond of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Once again the Stalinists acting through the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Rank and File Committee, is exerting every possible pressure to tie the defense of political prisoners to the bourgeoisie through the popular front.

This alliance is posed precisely at a time when the YWLL is seeking to smash the independence of the working class by applauding the hooligan attacks of the bourgeois nationalist MPI on the Workers League.

Simultaneously, new assassinations are directed against the Panthers and followed up by mass arrests of Panthers by the ruling class. These same Stalinists now intensify their efforts to present the defense of Angela Davis as a civil liberties issue completely separate from the defense of Ruchell Magee.

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In fact City management is unwilling to give employees anything. They have already tried to knock out any discussion of fringe benefits such as holidays, shorter hours, overtime, retirement and educational bonuses, saying that such a discussion would be "out of place" in salary negotiations.

Furthermore, the City Council has decided that they will grant no mid-year salary increase, the current equivalent of escalator pay. The Council promised last year to consider such raises. This promise was a major factor in getting the firemen back to work.

The leadership of the Municipal Employees Association has already caved in to this pressure and has scrapped the fringe benefits.

All of the leadership's talk about making the City pay a premium to employees is pure demagoguery to cover moves for a sellout. The City has taken a stand and these bureaucrats are doing everything possible to avoid throwing up picket lines.

This is precisely the time when all city employees must close ranks and shut this city down to get a decent contract. One year ago the Bulletin said that firemen must bring out all city workers with them to win their strike. The leadership refused to do that and forced the ranks back to work.

Today with all city workers up for contract, a total strike is even more necessary. The alternative is that the workers will continue to shoulder this city's deepening financial crisis. To this we say: All city workers out for the full demands! No deal!

Bloody Easter In Elysian Park

BY BILL WINGFIELD

LOS ANGELES—The Woodstock days are over in Los Angeles. Glen Weeks, the Chief Ranger of the Department of Recreation and Parks, made that clear in his comments on the bloody Easter experienced by more than 5,000 youth in Elysian Park:

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"Everybody," said Balash, "was just kind of shocked because there was no way the place could be cleared in two minutes." The youth were in the Solano area of Elysian Park, in a valley bounded by steep hills, so that the only exit was a single narrow road. Most of the crowd tried to comply with the order to disperse but, as Balash describes, "everybody got up to leave in a big hurry, but the road was already clogged and nobody could move very fast."

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