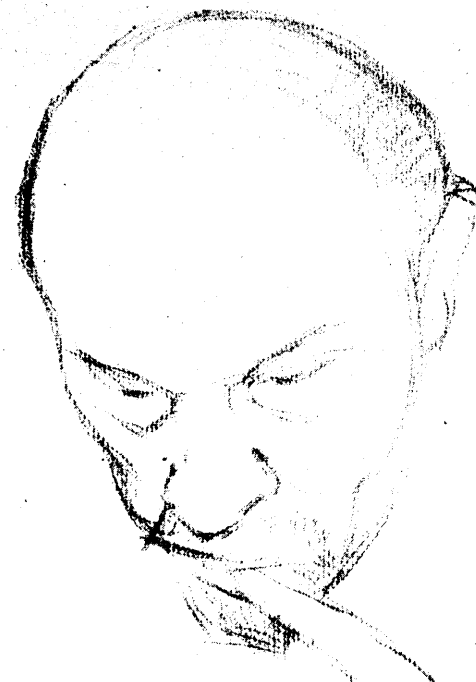


LENIN MEETS IDEALIST

Book Review By Tim Wohlforth



Bulletin

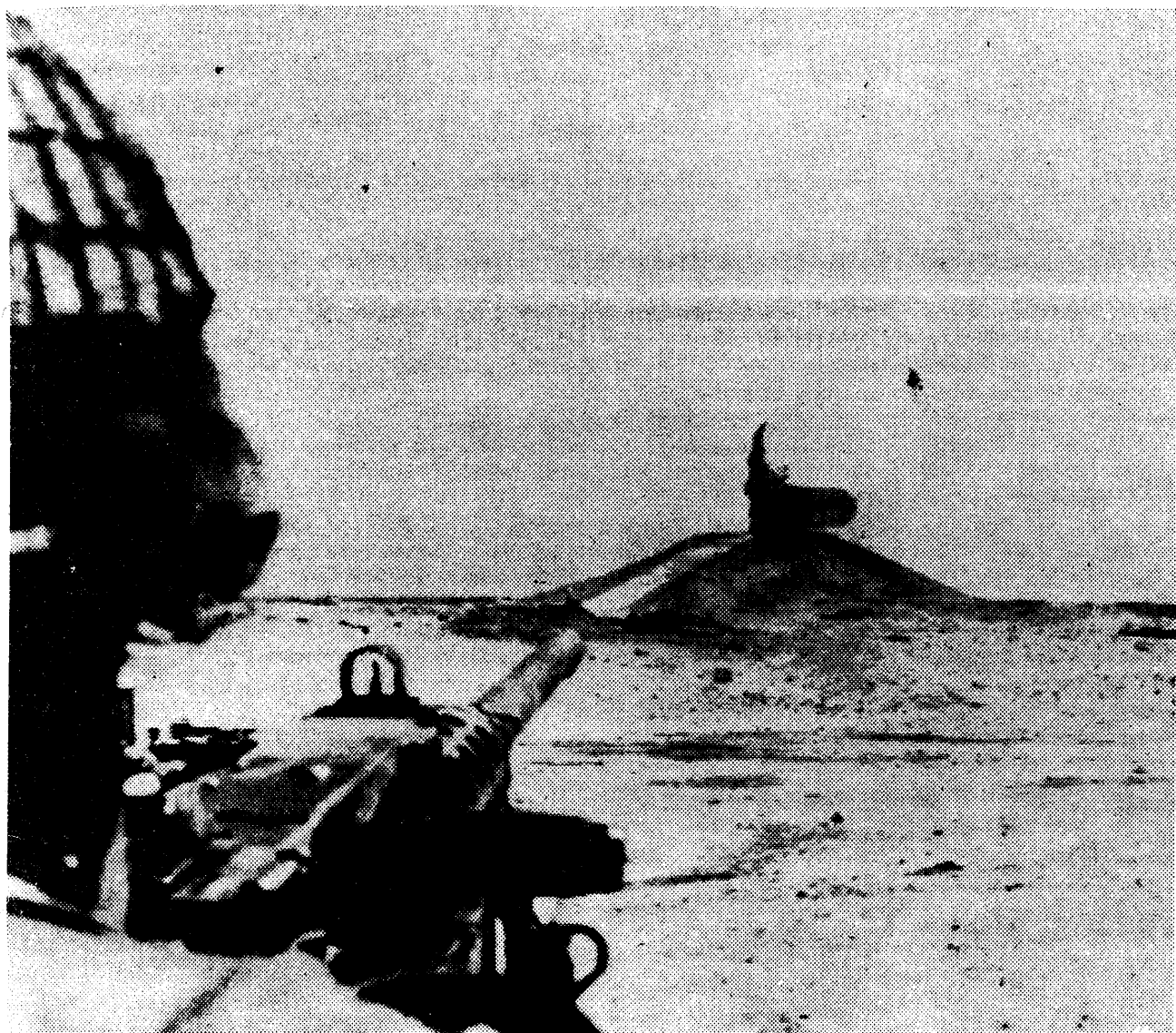
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A Political Assessment

ILWU WORKERS MUST JOIN WITH TEAMSTERS TO SMASH PMA



HO CHI MINH-A POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

BY ROBERT BLACK

The political life and contribution of Ho Chi Minh was rich with contradictions. There can be no doubt that he contained within himself, and came to personify, all the anti-imperialist hatred and fighting spirit of the colonial peoples. This was recognized as much by his enemies as his allies.

We pay an unstinting tribute to this anti-imperialist tenacity in Ho and recognizes that his qualities as a leader have undoubtedly done much to inspire resistance to imperialism, not only in Vietnam and southeast Asia, but throughout the entire colonial and semi-colonial world.

But a Marxist estimation of his life must go deeper than this.

An ever-present factor in his mature political career always dragged him back from total victory and enabled the enemies of the south east Asian people to steal back what had been torn from them on the political and military battlefield.

NEGATIVE

That negative factor was Stalinism's counter-revolutionary politics.

Like Mao Tse-tung, Ho instinctively yearned to do battle with imperialism and the internal forces of reaction within his native country.

But also like Mao, his political development as a communist leader coincided with the ebbing of the European revolutionary tide.

Stalinism, not Leninism, became the predominant force in the Communist International after 1923, and it left its indelible mark on all those who were not theoretically prepared to understand and fight it.

After a short stay in France, where he attended the 1920 Tours Congress of the French Socialist Party (voting with the majority that split to become the French section of the Communist International) Ho moved to Moscow.

There he studied for three years at the University for the Toilers of East, arming himself politically for his return to Indo-China and the battle against French imperialism.

The tragedy of Ho, and with him whole generations of devoted revolutionaries, was that he found himself thrown into political campaigns for which, because of Stalinism, he was politically ill-equipped.

Ho's political tutor, with whom he returned to China in 1925, was Borodin, the man responsible for the



HO CHI MINH AS YOUNG DELEGATE TO 1920 TOURS CONFERENCE OF FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

application of the policy of the "bloc of four classes" in the Chinese Revolution up to the 1927-1928 massacres.

Stalin's theory of the "two-stage revolution" was foisted on the immature Chinese Communist Party, forcing it into a suicidal alliance with the Kuo Mintang under the leadership of the anti-communist butcher of the workers and peasants, Chiang Kai-shek.

Perhaps Ho, like Mao, learned to distrust the political line of Stalin after the defeat of the first Chinese Revolution.

If he did not, the events of 1945-1947 surely must have done.

The first Gaullist administration of September 5, 1944, contained two Stalinist ministers, Billoux and Tillon.

The working class was in a revolutionary mood. Many were armed. Only by giving the government a more "left" face could the tottering capitalist regime begin to stabilize itself.

The return of Maurice Thorez, CP secretary, from Moscow was the signal for de Gaulle to elevate this "Communist" to the position of vice-president until May 1947, when the Stalinists were dismissed following a sharpening of the "Cold War."

Back in Indo-China, Thorez's "comrade", Ho Chi Minh, having heroically organized the resistance of the Vietnamese people to Japanese imperialism, began to press for the removal of all traces of French

colonial influence.

After several skirmishes between Ho's forces and the French colonial troops, large-scale fighting broke out in November 1946. French forces bombarded the towns of Haiphong and Hanoi, with thousands dead and wounded.

STALINISTS

The war, which was to end with the crushing defeat at Dien Bien Phu, had begun--with no fewer than five Stalinists remaining in the French government.

More than that, the Stalinist Billoux was Minister for Defence and was personally responsible for the prosecution of the war against the Viet Minh.

The French Stalinists never resigned from the French government. They were thrown out.

Right to the end they continued to uphold the "rights" of French colonialism in Indo-China.

Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh were on one side of the barricades, Thorez, Stalin and French imperialism on the other.

But like Mao, Ho remained silent.

He never publicly denounced either Thorez or his political tutors in the Kremlin. He was to pay for this silence once again in 1954, when, through the intervention of the Soviet bureaucracy and Molotov, imperialism was able to salvage the southern half of Vietnam from the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu.

Right to the end, the Stalinist bureaucracy struggled to deflect Ho from his chosen goal of the unification of Vietnam.

But a stubborn refusal to follow such "advice", even when prompted by an organic loathing of imperialism, is no substitute for a worked out, international revolutionary strategy.

Ho turned his back on the factional struggles and theoretical lessons of the inter-war years and devoted all his political energies to the Indo-Chinese struggle.

At a certain level, this concentration paid tremendous dividends, but now its long-term weaknesses are more and more revealed.

Like the Chinese Revolution of which it is a part, the struggle in Vietnam has to break out of the confinements forced upon it, not only by imperialism, but by the Stalinist theories of its leadership.

Ho was a supporter of Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" and though he suffered many times from the practical consequences of that theory when applied by Thorez, Stalin and Molotov, he clung to it to the very end.

Ho's persecution of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement flowed from that failure to break from the politics of Stalinism.

The Vietnamese section of the Fourth International was in the van-

guard of the struggle against French imperialism, and spearheaded the Saigon insurrection of 1945 against the returning French troops.

Despite their unconditional, but critical support of the provisional government set up under Ho's leadership, many members and supporters of the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement were killed by the Viet Minh, greatly weakening the common struggle against imperialism.

We do not forget these crimes committed against our movement by Ho Chi Minh, any more than we seek to play down his very real contribution to the struggle against world imperialism.

The lesson of Ho Chi Minh's life is surely that that all the qualities of militancy and courage (which Ho possessed to the full) are still not enough to bring victory.

Marxist theory, which today can only be Trotskyism, is the essence of the strategy for victory.

WEEKLY BULLETIN TO BE 12 PAGES

The struggle for the Weekly Bulletin has gotten off to an excellent start as the number and size of pledges received make it possible for us to now raise our fund goal from \$5,000 to \$7,000. The additional funds will not only make it possible for us to launch the Weekly on a firmer financial footing but at the same time maintain the 12 page size of the paper.

Fund Goal Raised To \$7,000

Work has already begun so that we can carry over the four page theoretical sections of the paper on a weekly basis. Present plans call for publishing Robert Black's critically important series "Fascism and the German Working Class 1930-1933", his new series "30 Years After--The Lessons of the Spanish

Civil War", and a new series of articles on the Progressive Labor Party by Lucy St. John. Other projects are also in the works.

Money has already begun to roll in on the Fund Drive. Some \$952.38 has been received. It is very important that as much of the pledges come in as soon as possible and not be allowed to await the November 1st deadline as many of our costs for the weekly will be incurred within the next immediate period.

The recent Weekend of Recreation and Education in the Catskills, sponsored by the New York and Brooklyn branches of the Workers League gave the Weekly drive a big spurt. The need to launch the Weekly paper was kept to the fore of all the discussions and as a result \$683.38 was raised in cash, new pledges and increases on old pledges. All the participants in the weekend, almost half were non-members of the

Workers League, contributed to the weekly paper.

This Fall the Bulletin will be sold in ten new areas across the country. This will contribute not only to our total circulation but increase our political impact and give a firmer base to the weekly paper.

We urge all our readers to contribute as much as they can to the Weekly Bulletin Publications Drive. We need every possible penny to make this weekly paper a success.

We urge all our readers to write material for the paper, write in their comments on the material which appears in the paper, pass copies on to friends and shopmates and help us get new subscriptions. We will honor all full year subscriptions up to November 1st at \$2.00. After that the rate will go up to \$3.00.

Please send contributions, articles and comments, subscriptions to: BULLETIN, Rm. 7, 243 E. 10 St., New York City 10003.

HELP US LAUNCH THE WEEKLY BULLETIN!

Please send a contribution now so we can reach our goal of \$7,000 by November 1st and launch the Bulletin as a 12 page weekly on November 3rd.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WEEKLY NOW AND SAVE!

We will honor all year subscriptions received before November 3rd at the \$2.00 rate. Subscribe now and be sure to get Robert Black's series "Fascism and the German Working Class 1930-1933", his new series "30 Years After--The Lessons of the Spanish Civil War", and a new series by Lucy St. John on the Progressive Labor Party.

--Enclosed is ---contribution to the Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive
 --Enclosed is \$2.00 for a years subscription to the Bulletin
 --Enclosed is 50c for a 10 issue introductory subscription to the Bulletin

WEEKLY BULLETIN DRIVE ROOM 8, 243 EAST 10 STREET NEW YORK 10003.

robber barons plunder alaska

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The oil robber barons and their bankers with the fire of greed in their eyes boarded a 14 car train rented by them for \$10,000 a day and headed to Alaska. For days the train, cloaked in the deepest of secrecy, road back and forth from one Canadian city to another while the tycoons plotted the rape of Alaska.

The CIA would have a difficult time equalling the intrigues these profit hungry millionaires carried out in order to get a cut of the loot. When the barons got to Anchorage they checked out the thickness of the hotel room walls to make sure none of their competitors would get a lead on their bids. Some even went to bed with their briefcases while others wrapped their bids in envelopes lined with aluminum foil to guard against x-ray camera eyes.

The event that reduced these tycoons such as J. Paul Getty, reportedly the richest man in the world, and H.L. Hunt, to common spies, was the auction by the government of Alaska of 450,858 acres in the North Slope the choicest oil territory in the Western Hemisphere. When the bidding ended the oil magnates had gotten quite a deal. For a piddling \$900,220,000 they recieved billions upon billions worth of potential profit.

While the Alaskan government has kindly handed the riches of the state to the tycoons, the citizens and in particular the natives of the state remain with nothing. The land on the North Slope was sold despite the unsettled claim of the 60,000 Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts to 90% of Alaska's land.

The state government in Alaska has shifted the settling of the claim onto the federal government. But the bill is being held up in Congress

because the state has refused to give the natives rights to leaseable minerals including oil, gas and coal on the land they would receive. Such a deal would mean that the natives would be giving up 90% of the wealth of Alaska in return for a mere \$500 million.

Meanwhile the likes of the Hickels and the J. Paul Gettys have drained Alaska of its resources and prevented industrial development of that state. The 60,000 natives who represent over a quarter of the entire population live in the most abject poverty. More than 70% of the natives live in rural villages where they subsist on hunting and fishing. Their unemployment rate in the winter runs about 60%. The only income they have is from seasonal employment and welfare.

Though Alaska is nearly twice the size of any other state it has only 4,000 miles of paved roads and travel is expensive. Many Alaskans never leave their native villages. Many of the native children are still flown thousands of miles to states outside of Alaska to attend Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

HUTS

Taxes and prices are incredibly high and there is a tremendous housing shortage. Up until last year the workers who were employed by the billion dollar profit oil industry were forced to live in tiny huts in which they huddled together in the dead cold of the Alaskan winters.

The lack of development of any industry at all in Alaska is clearly shown for example in the fact that although Alaska has some of the richest timber, there are no facilities for producing building materials that meet federal regulations. All the milk for the south of Alaska must be brought in by ship from Seattle.



JOHN PAUL GETTY

It is clear from the initial remarks of the capitalist politicians that the \$900 million that was gotten from the oil men will not go to changing this situation. Governor Miller of Alaska told it like it is: "There should be no mistaken impressions that all of Alaska's financial difficulties will disappear. We can't spend money just because we have it. The funds must first be appropriated by the Legislature."

PORK

Mark our words! That legislature is run and supported by capitalist interests. That money will become the biggest "pork barrel" ever witnessed in the U.S., a country weaned and built on such graft. Each politician will have his "pet project" to further advance his interests, like Hickel and the interests of the other capitalists.

Meanwhile the thirst of the land grabbing oil tycoons has just to be whetted. They are already fighting to get the freeze of 103 million acres, imposed by Hickel's predecessor, Udall, removed in order to run a pipeline from the North Slope 800 miles to the nearest warm

water port. This has been opposed by some who see it as a danger to the natural resources, in particular to the native fishing industry. As one oppositionist put it: "The North Slope has the potential of twenty Santa Barbaras." That is, the absolute destruction of natural resources when that pipeline cracks.

HICKEL

But we are living under capitalism. It is clear that the oil bosses buddy Hickel will very soon unfreeze the freeze. It is highly probable that Hickel was appointed precisely for this reason--to insure the interests of the oil barons in Alaska, his home turf. In fact the oil companies have already ordered the equipment and the first shipment of pipe line is due to arrive in Valdez, Alaska this week.

The greatest contradictions are expressed in Alaska between the tremendous potential for economic development with some of the world's greatest resources, and the private appropriation of these resources by the capitalists for profit, not for the needs of the people and the economy. These in fact are the contradictions of capitalism. Imperialism cannot develop the colonial countries out of which it has extracted tremendous profits, just as within its own borders American capitalism cannot develop its 50th state. Just as in Bolivia, in Alaska this kind of system leads to the destruction of the natural resources and the starvation of the masses of people. This decay stands in bold contrast to the kind of development that has taken place under a worker's state, under a planned economy, in the Soviet Union. Tremendous industrial development has taken place in Siberia with the kind of resources and with even more serious weather impediments than Alaska. The soviets have been able to build industrial cities above the Arctic Circle with populations equal to the entire population of Alaska.

CRISIS

The frenzied avarice of the robber barons last week was not just the normal temperament of the capitalist, but was the anxiety of men who are seeking the last strongholds of super profits from a fast declining and decaying system. It is this kind of crisis which is behind the world wide attack on the working class. Not only the natives of Alaska are to be kept at starvation level, but the industrial workers of the U.S. are also being forced to pay. The only solution is the fight by the working class for a Socialist U.S.A. Only under a socialist planned economy can these vast resources be harnessed for the development of mankind.

ISRAELIS LAUNCH WAR ON ARAB REVOLUTION

BY MARTY JONAS

The vicious attack by Israel on the UAR on September 9th has now been followed by a new air offensive on the same region. The war between Israel and the Arab people has begun again, and again at the initiative of the Israelis. At any moment this limited war can be transformed into a full-scale war like the 1967 Six Days War.

The bloody swath cut by the Israeli Army and Air Force along the Suez coast left few Arab survivors. The whole point was to land, destroy as much as possible, and leave quickly. No prisoners were taken. As an Israeli reporter, along on the mission describes it:

"One of the first vehicles we encountered after our tank force left the beach was a truck loaded with cotton - a single shot turned it into a blazing pyre...The tanks were firing away at all targets and the road we were following was lined on both sides with burning vehicles of all descriptions, destroyed buildings and shot-up positions...The units forged ahead, blowing up segments of the road behind them."

Behind the new Israeli offensive in the Gulf area is the increasing effectiveness of Egyptian bombardments and anti-aircraft activity in the Suez region, combined with guerilla activity on a number of fronts. Israel conducted its Six Day War supposedly to secure its borders by conquering as a buffer

the Sinai, Golan Heights, and West Bank of the Jordan River. The actual result of this imperialist policy was to extend Israeli borders to a completely indefensible limit, to incorporate under Israeli rule hundreds of thousands of hostile Arab peoples, and deepen the determination of the Arab masses to beat back the Israeli aggressor.

This is what makes the new offensive so dangerous. The Israeli military openly admit to the foreign press what they still seek to hide from the Israeli people--the strike in the Gulf region was necessitated by the devastating blows against the Israelis in the Suez region.

From a military point of view the strength of Israel lies in its highly mechanized, disciplined, cohesive army. This army, striking out in blitz fashion much like the Waffen SS of the Nazis, from the concentrated center of Israel, was able to do fantastic damage in a short time in 1967.

However, over a period of time this military initiative loses its effectiveness when it comes to occupying and policing huge stretches of land surrounded on all sides by a hostile population. At the same time the Arabs of the occupied regions continue their agitation and struggle. Guerilla warfare has such popular support among millions of Arabs that it is extremely difficult for the ruling oligarchies of the Arab countries to really control them.

Thus the Israeli military clique around Dayan moves ever closer toward preparation of a new 1967-style blitz. What occurred in the Gulf region was a mini-blitz. The talk now is that the next blows will be directed against Egyptian population centers.

Inside Israel such a policy of renewed imperialist offensive against the Arab masses must mean that the threat of dictatorship grows every day. Golda Meir's administration is nothing more than a caretaker government as the military based factions of Allon and Dayan within the Mapai party jockey for power. The Israeli labor movement will soon find that it is not possible to have military adventures abroad and any form of democratic functioning for the working class at home.

The Arab workers were taught a bitter lesson in 1967. The present capitalist and feudal rulers of the Arab countries cannot be trusted with the defense of the Arab peoples against aggressive Israel. Already they seek to whittle away at the functioning of the refugee guerilla armies.

What is needed now is the independent struggle of the working class for power in these countries. Only a workers and peasants government can defeat the Israeli aggressor and fight for a socialist Middle East which guarantees complete freedom to Jews and Arabs on the basis of democracy and equality.

sseu ranks demand back pay now!



CNL MEMBER
RONNIE ROBERTS TAKES
THE FLOOR AGAINST
MORGENSTERN LEADERSHIP

STOP PRESS: At the September 16th membership meeting of SSEU-371 the Committee For A New Leadership's motion for a work stoppage on Sept. 30th was passed unanimously.

BY A 371 MEMBER

A showdown is now on the way between the City of New York and 12,000 members of SSEU-371 over the issue of retroactive pay. This fight is by no means the first of its kind. Under the Lindsay administration the cheap trick of withholding pay increases for months and even years after they are negotiated has become an institution. This thievery, fattening the city's coffers with interest rightfully belonging to city workers has forced one city union after another to engage in one day strikes and other work actions to pry their money from the penny-pinching swindlers in City Hall. By the time the back pay is actually received 4-5% has been chewed off the top by inflation.

This is exactly the situation facing SSEU-371. The union contract, rotten in all respects except its 25% plus wage hikes over 2 years, was signed on July 17, taking effect retroactively to January 1, 1969. From July 17 until the present the membership has waited patiently for some word from the City as to when the \$800 to \$1000 now owed them will be

forthcoming.

Now membership patience is at an end. When the City came forward last month not with a date for the back pay but with a deal involving the splitting up of the back pay into two portions, one to be paid soon, the other at some unspecified later date, it became clear that the City has no intention of paying union members their money before election day. The City's energies far from being spent in getting this money into the checks as soon as possible are being devoted to hatching schemes to dupe the union members out of this money for as long as possible.

We say that if this money is not forced out of Lindsay and Procaccino before election day there is simply no telling when the membership will see it.

This means the SSEU-371 is going to have to launch a fight for this money and do it fast. The leadership, for its part, is busy with everything BUT this fight. Together with a few dozen union "radicals", most notably the Progressive Labor supported Worker-Client Alliance, it has

spent the last two months chasing after welfare client demonstrations of every variety.

This activity, in the first place, has nothing in common with a fight by the union against the attacks by the government on welfare clients. On the contrary having abdicated this fight, as for example when it signed a contract eliminating 9,000 jobs in welfare, the Morgenstern leadership ducks out of the fight. Just for the record he urges union members to "do their own thing" with their local client groups. Welfare clients are thus left under the leadership of charlatans and demagogues in the community who lead them into futile disorganized adventures like the current school clothing boycott.

POWER

The SSEU rather than giving a real lead by taking the issue of the cuts right into the Central Labor Council where the power to force Albany to repeal these cuts resides, restricts itself to supplying a little additional manpower to the demonstrations. It asks its members to keep their children out of school, to donate a day's pay to the welfare rights organizations and so on. The Worker-Client Alliance leads isolated actions in local welfare centers, leading to the arrest and suspension of three union members at Bushwick Center, everything but what is required.

Above all, the unions frenzied activity in the client field is used as a mask to cover complete inaction on basic issues hitting welfare staff like back pay and overwork. Not only, then, is Morgenstern's program of client activity a farce, but the fight on the central trade union issues has been completely abandoned. In fact the fight for the clients is counterposed by the leadership to the fight for the members, when clearly it is only within the framework of the fight for the membership that the fight for clients and those outside of the membership can be taken up.

Morgenstern sees the fight on wages and conditions as completely subsidiary to the so-called "client fight". There are those in the leadership who go a step further and see the fight on wages and working conditions

as completely reactionary. These views found a clear theoretical justification on the back page of the Sept. 5th SSEU News. Even more to the point was SSEU's first Vice President, Stanley Hill's response when the idea of the SSEU taking up the fight for back pay was first suggested at a recent Delegates Assembly meeting. Hill remarked: "What will the clients think?"

CNL

The SSEU-371 Committee for a New Leadership representing those who led the fight both for affiliation and against the present contract will have nothing to do with this middle class radical garbage. This is why the Committee for a New Leadership is proposing at the upcoming general membership meeting that the union go whole hog in its fight for the back pay. Specifically the CNL will introduce a motion already carried in a number of local chapters for a one day strike and mass City Hall demonstration on September 30th unless an October back pay date is guaranteed before hand.

All the other key issues facing the union such as rehiring, overwork, support to Local 1707 (Day Care Center workers now on strike), as well as the demand for the restoration of the Welfare budget cuts and repeal of the Taylor law must be brought into the demonstration proposed by the CNL to coincide with the one day strike.

The central point is that the fight on these broader issues cannot go forward outside of the framework of the union throwing itself into struggle with the City on the basic issues hitting its members. Without this fight there will be more union meetings with no quorums and the further deterioration of the SSEU as a fighting force. This would not only be a tremendous blow to SSEU members but to New York's half million welfare recipients as well. Victory can only come through the SSEU taking the fight against the welfare cuts into District Council 37 and the Central Labor Council with the insistence that they make this part of an all out offensive by labor against the reactionary moves of the Democrats and Republicans.

Nixon Gives Rich Tax Relief

BY FRED MUELLEK

The Nixon Administration's so-called tax reform package should make absolutely clear to every worker and trade unionist in this country the nature of the government in Washington.

A Congressional plan proposed to hand out a few crumbs in tax relief. Nixon and his cabinet intend to destroy even this phony tax reform. The plan proposed by Treasury Secretary Kennedy would take away practically every crumb suggested in the earlier proposal, while greatly easing the increases proposed for corporations and the high income brackets.

Nixon is clearly taking his orders from the big bosses on Wall Street and in major industry. When the officials in Washington say that any real tax relief, even the crumbs earlier proposed, will discourage investment and economic growth, what they are really saying is that capitalism must attack the working class. And Nixon's tax plan reveals this more openly than ever.

Meanwhile inflation marches on, the latest boost being a 3.9% average increase from General Motors in the price of new car models. This increase is considerably larger than in previous years. As previously, it is expected to set the pattern for the entire industry and to have a very big impact on the entire economy.

Here too, Nixon shows his hand. He makes no comment on the new price increases. This is to be expected from the most open representatives of the bosses, from a government which has always shown great concern for maintaining profits.

Meanwhile the continuing decline in automobile sales indicates the recessionary trend which the Federal government is encouraging. While inflation continues, the bosses prepare to attack the unions through unemployment. Nixon's policies are based completely on this two-pronged attack.

Nixon's policies must be understood and consciously fought through the trade unions. They are an attack upon every worker.

REVIEW—TWO THINGS NEW IN BLUES

BY LEO BACH

DAVE VAN RONK AND THE HUDSON DUSTERS on Verve/Forecast RUNNING, JUMPING, STANDING STILL, 'Spider' John Koerner/Willie Murphy on Elektra

The new John Koerner and Dave Van Ronk records are welcome innovations. Van Ronk has established a reputation as a great folk-blues singer, probably the best around. But his new record is a complete turn-about. Using a rock band with two guitars, a piano/organ, a bass guitar and drums, he creates a record that's really a masterpiece. Dave Wood's arrangements are great; their versions of "Chelsea Morning" and "Clouds" by Joni Mitchell are classics. The vocals, although not perfect, fit the songs fine.

John Koerner came out of "Blues, Rags and Hollers", a group with Dave Ray on guitar and Tony Glover on harmonica. Although his new record is not too different from what's expected of him, it differs from Van Ronk's and is unique on the market. Koerner and Murphy wrote all the songs, they use a great variety of different instruments,

they cover lots of musical areas-- blues, rock, ragtime and modern jazz.

The songs are happy and more purely entertainment on "Running, Jumping, Standing Still", while Van Ronk's selections include some serious songs with a social message. What is impressive about these records is the optimistic and non-moody attitude. Koerner's music is seemingly apolitical, but that's better than the Populist politics of Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs and their ilk. At least Koerner doesn't fill people's minds with middle class idealist illusions such as Ochs' "Draft Dodger's Rag" and Seeger's "Turn, Turn, Turn" from working class politics!

Van Ronk has shown his working class sympathies by singing such songs as Dylan's "Old Man" on previous records. He continues this orientation by mocking middle class values in several of his new rock songs.

These are both good records from any standpoint and I'm sure you'll enjoy them. Both artists can drive home a funky blues or a gentle ballad with ease and style.

LENIN— IDEALIST ENCOUNTER WITH A MATERIALIST

ENCOUNTERS WITH LENIN by Nikolay Valentinov. Oxford University Press, New York, 1968. 273 pages. \$7.00.

This book is probably the last reminiscence of Lenin to be written. Valentinov, who died in 1964, did not get around to writing about his days with Lenin in 1904 until 1953. However, the most significant aspect of the book is that it sheds more light on not only the critical split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903 but on that early dispute over philosophy which produced Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism."

Valentinov was an early advocate of empirio-criticism within the Russian party. In fact it was Valentinov who first introduced Lenin to this theory of Mach and Avenarius. It was over this question of philosophy that Valentinov first parted ways with Lenin and the Bolsheviks and then after a short stay with the Mensheviks with all factions of the socialist movement.

This relatively minor incident of an individual's break with Bolshevism is of importance because it occurred some four years before "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" was written at the very time that Lenin was hammering out his understanding of the 1903 split in the party and writing "One Step Forward--Two Steps Backward". It thus helps to underline the connection between the struggle for materialism in philosophy and the development of revisionism in the movement--the link between the 1903 split and the 1908 philosophical and factional struggle with Bogdanov within the Bolshevik Party.

EMPIRIO-CRITICISM

In this light stands its critical importance to the movement today for while "Empirio-Criticism", the philosophical fad in the early 1900s, is today a curiosity piece, attempts to dilute materialism with doses of idealism abound everywhere. Such philosophies are reinforced, not so much by their internal logic, but by very real and material capitalist relations themselves.

Capitalism was capable of a militant materialism only in its early progressive revolutionary period and then only under the most extreme conditions such as the French Revolution. The natural philosophical expression of capitalism in its maturity is dualism: just enough recognition of material reality to develop the productive forces and thus amass profits tempered with as much idealism as possible to obscure the exploitative nature of class relations, the irrationality of these exploitative relations, and the historical limitedness of capitalist rule. So under capitalism we have a philosophical dualism which reflects the contradiction between the high level of the productive apparatus with the anarchic and irrational form of ownership.

We are now in a period of decline and decay of world capitalism. Under such conditions idealism takes on new vicious forms and irrationality threatens to destroy the productive forces themselves in war, depression. Racism, fascism, religious cultism, hippyism, drug taking, religious reviva-

lism--these are all forms of idealism gone mad and a reflection of a social system gone mad.

Under conditions of capitalism in decay the slightest concession to idealism opens the door to the destruction of society itself. This issue is posed with all its sharpness like a loaded pistol at the head of the revolutionary party.

FATEFUL SPLIT

It is with this in mind that we return to 1904 and the encounters of a young student from Kiev, much impressed with his own importance, with Lenin in Geneva, Switzerland only months after the fateful split Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

Particularly interesting is Valentinov's description of Lenin's struggle to produce his book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward." As Valentinov saw Lenin almost every day during the writing of the book, we are able to trace Lenin's own development of an understanding of what this split was all about. In the beginning Lenin saw the differences this way:

"In substance there are no great differences of principle. The only disagreement at all of this order is on paragraph 1 of the party rules, that is, on who is to be considered a member of the Party. But this is a very unimportant disagreement. It is not a matter of life and death for the Party. Paragraph 1 of the party rules was adopted at the Congress as drafted by Martov, not in my version.

BOOK REVIEW BY TIM WOHLFORTH

I was left in the minority, but neither I nor the others who supported me had any thought whatever about causing a split; yet, nevertheless, this happened. Why? Plekhanov has explained it very well: it was because of "la greve generale des generaux." A number of party "generals" were offended because they were not re-elected to the editorial board of Iskra and to the Central Committee, and this was where all the trouble started."

And a little later on, he remarked about the Mensheviks: "They can't bring themselves to admit even now that if a party is to be led properly, and its members given jobs in accordance with their capacities and qualities, one has to put aside petty, cliquish considerations -- and not worry about hurting people's feelings."

So, the most fundamental party split in the history of the Marxist movement which produced a political party not only capable of coming to power but which came to power--this critical split began over some very petty questions. But this pettiness reflected fundamentals for on the one hand Lenin proceeded from the needs of the party as an objective instrument of the working class for power, while the old party generals proceeded from themselves, their own feelings, their prestige. What is this but a reflection of two philosophical views--materialism and subjective idealism? Is it

only coincidental that subjective idealism in the form of empirio-criticism arose within the Russian intelligentsia at the very same time?

PROCESS

But let us proceed along a little further with Valentinov's description of Lenin's views of the split. Once Lenin had gotten further along with the actual writing of the book he explained to Valentinov the process he himself had gone through in seeking to understand the split:

"There is a children's game of bricks," he told me. "Each side of each brick shows a part of something--of a house, a tree, a bridge, a flower or a man. Unless they have been matched up, these pictures are nothing but a meaningless jumble. But if you find the right sides of the bricks and fit them together, you get a meaningful picture. You can do exactly the same with the 'bricks' of the minority. At first sight the declarations, words, and actions of the minority suggest only lack of

thought, the stupid chatter of a clique, personal resentment, inflated self-esteem. If, however, you have the patience to play about with the bricks of the minority for long enough to find the continuation of what is depicted on one side of a given brick on the side of another, you will finally arrive at a political picture whose meaning can leave you in no doubt. The picture shows beyond all doubt that the minority is the opportunist and revisionist wing of the party. Sooner or later--most probably sooner--they are bound to break with orthodox Marxism. This wing is led by intellectuals who are infected with the bourgeois spirit and who hate proletarian discipline"

And a little later on: "Being a Marxist does not mean learning Marxist formulae by heart. A parrot can do that. Marxism without appropriate deeds is nothing--only words, words, and more words. But for deeds, the right mentality is needed. The words of the minority are Marxist in outward appearance, but they have the mentality of wishy-washy intellectuals, individualists who have rebelled against proletarian discipline, against clear organizational forms, against firm party rules, against centralism, against everything that they regard as a restriction on their 'psyche.' Their mentality is that of bourgeois democrats, not of socialists."

Thus we can see that the split was originally between those who began



A SKETCH OF LENIN
IN 1920 MADE BY
N. A. ANDREYEV

with the working class and the party and subordinated everything else to this and those who began with themselves, with "their psyche", and rebelled against anything which restricted this psyche. For the latter Marxism was a matter of words without deeds and the party a collection of propagandists, a circle, not a disciplined instrument of struggle. That the latter ended up breaking with every tenet of Marxism and the former led the Russian working class to establish the world's first workers state shows that the "trifle" around which the split began was no trifle at all but a fundamental class division. No wonder soon after the split Lenin was to be forced into a new struggle within his own party in the course of which he would throw himself into philosophy to produce the world's most polemical philosophical work, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism."

Lenin reiterated to Valentinov in 1904 what N. I. Alekseyev said he stated to him as early as 1902--that he expected to see the socialist revolution in his lifetime. This was a view little held in the Russian party at that time, as all wings of the party were hypnotized by Russia's backwardness and by mechanistic formulae of the capitalist revolution having to be completed before the struggle for the socialist revolution begins.

DETERMINATION

Lenin began with the concentration and revolutionary determination of the Russian proletariat on the one hand and the complete rottenness and bankruptcy of the Russian bourgeoisie on the other--all within the international framework of world capitalism in decay. Reinforced by the upsurge of the working class which led to the abortive 1905 revolution, Lenin conducted his struggle to build the Bolshevik party with the objectively-based belief that this party would come to power in his lifetime. Of course it was only in 1917 that he theoretically resolved all aspects of this question by going over to the position of the permanent revolution, but as early as 1902 he held an outlook which dramatically distinguished him from his whole generation of Marxists.

This view had much to do with the question of the party. If socialism was some distant dream then a party did not need to be fashioned now which would face the actual task of the seizure of power. If socialism was some distant dream then why allow the needs of the party to take precedence over one's personal life?

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT)

A balance sheet of Gaullism

By TOM KEMP

FRENCH SOCIETY

PART TWO

FROM ITS inception the Fifth Republic, created by de Gaulle when he came to power in June 1958, has been a crisis regime.

It was an attempt, by resort to the strong man and the abandonment of traditional parliamentarism, to overcome French capitalism's historical crisis. Instead it concentrated its problems in a still more explosive form.

The departure of de Gaulle after the referendum of April 27, 1969, beneath the surface of normality, leaves the ruling class at grips with 1958's problems, but in a more intensified form.

In May 1968, ten years almost to the day after the crisis which brought de Gaulle to power, the country was totally paralysed by the biggest strike in history and brought to the brink of revolution. That, in itself, provides absolute proof that the Bonapartist regime had failed to accomplish the major tasks undertaken in 1958.

The immediate background to de Gaulle's return to power in 1958 was the breakdown of parliamentary government in the face of the revolt of the settlers and the Army chiefs in Algeria. It was, therefore, a reflection of the decline of French imperialism, which had already been obliged to with-

draw from Indo-China after the defeat at Dien-Bien-Phu, as well as from Tunisia and Morocco. In the face of the threat of a military take-over the politicians were thrown into complete panic. Almost to a man, they turned to de Gaulle, the 'national saviour' of 1940 and 1944-1946.

Coming out of retirement—he had hardly appeared in public for three years—the General was able to set his own terms: a completely new constitution concentrating supreme power in his hands.

The new regime's immediate task was to end the Algerian war under conditions favourable to French capital. After failing to achieve a military victory it did this through a political compromise with the Algerian nationalists (FLN). In order to safeguard the investments in Algeria the mass of the European colonists were repatriated and material aid was provided to establish the new Algerian state. The elements in the Algerian population and the Army who opposed this settlement were brought to heel. The final showdown came with the suppression of the army revolt of 1961.

The role of Bonapartism

Through this period de Gaulle had the wholehearted support of Guy Mollet and the Socialist Party—which had played a crucial role in bringing him to power. But it was also evident

that the task of making peace in Algeria could not have been carried through without the complicity of the other working-class organizations under Communist Party control.

It is important to understand that the regime is properly described as 'Bonapartist', which means that the strong man had to balance and manoeuvre, playing off one section against another, and that at this stage the working-class organizations were a necessary part of the game. When the rebel generals threatened de Gaulle, the Communist Party, together with the other working-class organizations, showed its solidarity by calling a strike in support of the de Gaulle regime. For his part the General understood that his main task—of reaching a satisfactory Algerian settlement—could not be carried through in any other way.

In the early years of Gaullism, therefore, the offensive against the working class was postponed. The regime needed the working-class organizations as a counterweight to the right-wing opponents of its Algerian policy and the oppositionists in the army.

Like the previous regime, it required a working-class movement controlled and disciplined by reformist leaderships and the Stalinists who pursued a policy of compromise and class-collaboration.

It was precisely these leaderships which had enabled French capitalism to get on its feet again after the war. Once again, in 1958, instead of taking advantage of the dire crisis of the bourgeoisie to make a claim for power on behalf of the working class, they preferred, in their own fashion, to assist de Gaulle to power.

French capitalism was competitively weakened in its struggle to retain a place in the world market and to oppose a take-over by American capital. This resulted from a whole complex of historical forces noted in a previous article.

Getting clear of the Algerian entanglement was a first requirement to arrest the decline. Gaullism then turned to the other major task: a general 'modernization' of the state and economy to bring them into line with the requirements of the second half of the 20th century.

The decade from 1958 saw frenzied activity in all directions, under the guidance of the state, intended to re-enforce bourgeois rule at home, improve the competitive standing of French industry and pursue an 'independent' foreign policy.

It would require a whole book to deal adequately with Gaullism's policies in these spheres. As far as the state apparatus is concerned, the need was to bring the police and the army under centralized control. Special attention was given to strengthening the forces of internal security, which were seen at work in May-June, 1968 (the CRS). De Gaulle also aimed at providing France with a highly-mechanized army, increasing the weight of the professional military element and equipping it with an independent nuclear striking force.

De Gaulle's economic tasks

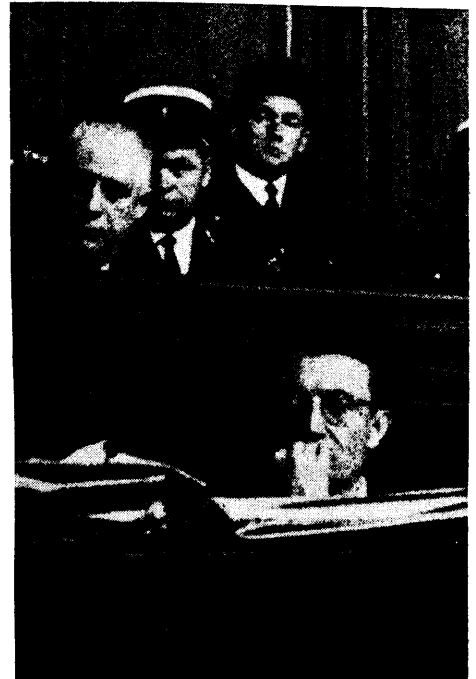
The most important tasks, without which those in the political, military and diplomatic fields could not be fulfilled, were economic.

Through the national economic plan, which had been established as a general framework to guide industrial development after the war, a more resolute attempt was made to overcome French capitalism's weaknesses.

At the same time, beginning with the 1958 franc devaluation and the monetary reform which followed it, a policy to strengthen the currency and control inflation was put in hand. The aim was to make exports more competitive, to encourage investors and assist the concentration of industry into larger and more efficient units.

Favoured by the growth in world trade which took place in the 1960s, French capitalism did undergo what looks like an impressive expansion if measured in terms of industrial production, national product or income per head. However, on a comparative basis the performance was overshadowed by that of Japan, Italy, Germany and other countries. The lowering of tariff barriers between the Common Market countries exposed the vulnerability of sectors such as that of household appliances to more efficient competitors. The improvement in the balance of payments and franc's standing resulted from the increased demand for traditional French exports and the influx of US capital into French industry and not from competitive marketing of advanced technological products.

Despite considerable modernization, the speeding-up of concentration and lavish state assistance to industry, the Gaullist period has seen no real improvement in French capitalism's competitive position. All the reports on



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future prospects, the aims of plans and government projects, stress the urgency of making industry more competitive. In doing so they admit that Gaullism's principal task has not been achieved.

All temporary fluctuations aside, the prospects now are scarcely more hopeful than they were when de Gaulle came to power.

Then the franc was a weak currency and had to be devalued; now it is once again weak and devaluation is practically inevitable.

Then French industrial products, particularly those based on technologically advanced methods of production, were not able to compete with foreign products; the picture today is precisely the same.

Then the industrial structure was cluttered with many small, backward units; the concentration so far carried out has not been sufficient to change this picture fundamentally.

And so, through other spheres, such as the distributive system, banking methods, telecommunications, industrial research, agriculture, the same story can be told. The changes brought about during the reign of de Gaulle have barely sufficed to enable France to maintain the same relative position as in 1958. French capitalism is thus very far from having solved its problems and in certain cases it has continued to fall behind its foreign rivals, including those in the Common Market.

The National Liberation Front, which had many heroic young fighters like the one captured above, finally compromised with capitalism in Evian agreements.



TIETY IN CRISIS

RT TWO

The reason for this situation, the reality behind the regime's propaganda, lies in the inherited structures of French capitalism, the divisions and timidity of the bourgeoisie itself. For over 30 years France has, as it were, lived on the brink of a precipice; throughout that period the question of power has been posed.

Tensions remain below surface

Basically, the bourgeoisie as a whole long ago gave up believing in its right to rule and lives only for the day. It panicked in May 1968 as it did in 1936, in 1940, and in 1958. After voting de Gaulle back into power in June 1968, it showed the real valuation it placed upon the regime in its rush to change its francs into Swiss or German money in the following November! Such a bourgeoisie has forfeited its right to rule and it knows it.

De Gaulle did succeed in rallying support for a modernization programme, but he was also the prisoner of an historical situation. Unlike the fascist dictators, he was never able to build up an independent power base in the shape of a mass political party of the middle class.

The Gaullist party, under different names, has always been a heterogeneous coalition of divergent interests brought together for electoral purposes. Led by 'notables' in the various towns and regions attached to local business interests, it depends on the voting strength of the middle classes and the peasantry.

Certainly, at its summit, Gaullism stood for the interests of big capital and was a promoter of combinations and concentrations. But it could not rule independently of a mass of supporters—connected with small- and medium-sized capitalist enterprises, which had a vested interest in slowing the rate of modernization.

This means that throughout the period of Gaullism the deep fissures and long-standing tensions in French society continued. The clash of interests of big business with the peasantry, with shopkeepers and other sections of the middle class could not be pressed to the point of decision by the regime, because it would otherwise be cut off from its electoral big battalions.

Why did it need this electoral support? Because it was a Bonapartist regime. The peasantry and lower middle class were needed as a counterweight to the working class. This was clearly demonstrated in the June, 1968, elections and in this year's presidential elections.

When de Gaulle took power in June 1958, his form of government was the only one which permitted the continuation of bourgeois rule. More, he was the only candidate for such a role. The bourgeoisie had, therefore, to resign itself to the suspension of parliamentary government as it had been known under the Third and Fourth Republics. The Bonapartist ruler thus acquired scope for impressing his personal desires on shaping policy.

Bourgeoisie submits to Bonapartism

The bourgeoisie had to put up with de Gaulle's idiosyncrasies, which were not to the taste of all of them, as well as serious options which, under different conditions, they would not have chosen. In the former category comes, for example, de Gaulle's appeal to French-Canadian nationalism; in the latter, the whole foreign policy orientation which resulted in France leaving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and attempting to play the

role of honest broker between the two power blocs.

These policies are clearly not essential for the French ruling class and do not, for that matter, comprise the essential character of Gaullism either.

If the bourgeoisie submitted to Bonapartist rule, despite its overheads, they did so because it protected them against a working-class revolution at a time when they were not yet in a position to smash the working class.

Many people must have wondered why de Gaulle permitted the survival of parliamentary forms—free elections, civil liberties, working-class rights, etc. Of course, all these existed on sufferance and given the willingness of the leaderships of the working-class organizations to co-operate tacitly in the maintenance of the social order, albeit on Bonapartist lines. In other words, on condition that they confined their opposition to verbal and formal gestures within the confines of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic.

In the early years of the regime, with the main danger coming from Algeria and the right, it leant upon the working-class organizations to a very marked degree. Then, more clearly, the intention to integrate these organizations into the social order became obvious. The political requirements of the regime came into contradiction with the economic needs of capitalism. Bonapartism needed the support of the working-class leaderships, but French capitalism was bound to strike at the working class in order to improve its competitive position on the world market.

Gaullism devised various schemes to overcome this dilemma of which 'participation' was the last and most highly publicised.

Bonapartism's strategy was based on an assumption that the working class, after 1958, was incapable of breaking away from its traditional bureaucratic leaderships and entering the field as an independent force. The 1963 miners' strike, when 200,000 miners stood out for five weeks against the state and made a mockery of de Gaulle's requisition order, opened a new phase in the relations between the regime and the working class.

The last five years of de Gaulle's rule were a period of rising class tension and growing working-class confidence.

These years also saw a growing realization in ruling-class circles that the old relationships could not be depended upon. At a time when, more than ever before, industrial costs could only be held down at the expense of the working class, it could not tolerate a situation in which the balance of class forces continued to change to its own disadvantage.

A series of measures was put in hand to deal with the threat. They consisted, in part, of tuning up the repressive police and army apparatus and making legal provisions which could be used to curtail working-class rights and liberties. The other side was a series of social and economic measures intended to reduce the scope of the Social Security system (the ordinances of August, 1967), hold down wages, create unemployment and facilitate the shift-



General de Gaulle pictured with wife in England in 1942. He was waiting in the wings when Fourth Republic slowly ground to halt in 1958

ing of labour from area to area, or from job to job, in accordance with the employers' needs.

In short, this was a steady but not spectacular offensive against the working class. The government was not yet confident of its ability, after the miners' strike, to take on the working class and win.

The period leading up to the May-June events was one in which the policy of Gaullism was being put to a more severe test than at any time since it came to power. And, likewise, the same working-class combativity was straining the capacity of the bureaucratic organizations to control their members and prevent a general movement on wages and the defence of conditions which would inevitably have a political character.

In these respects, then, the conditions for the working-class intervention in the May-June events were being prepared. The struggle in the universities thus brought forward a conflict which had been maturing for a long time; which would, in any case, though in a different form, have sooner or later taken place.

The significance of the student struggle was that it exposed the weakness of the government, revealed the depth of class tensions and temporarily weakened the control of the reformist

and Stalinist leaderships over a working class ready to fight.

Thus the balance sheet of Gaullism at the time of the General Strike of 1968 shows clearly that it had solved none of the problems which it had been brought to power to answer, except that of the Algerian war.

True that is a significant exception, for had the petty-bourgeois FLN leadership not been willing to enter into the Evian Agreements, it is practically certain that the Fifth Republic would have run into severe difficulties at home long before 1968.

Let us say, then, that it had been able to solve none of the other problems which French capitalism had inherited from its past. The attempt to maintain a strong franc had imposed restrictions on expansion at home ('stabilization' in 1964) which further slowed down the modernization of the economy and aggravated class tensions. All that effort was blown sky high in 1968 and the franc once again became a weak currency tottering on the brink of devaluation.

The betrayals of the leaderships

In the international crisis of imperialism, French capitalism, like British, has been particularly exposed by reason of the deep-seated weaknesses it carries over from the past. The coming to power of de Gaulle was a product of this historical crisis. But the turn to Bonapartism by a bourgeoisie long ago discredited and lacking real confidence in its own ability to rule would only have been possible given the betrayals of the working-class leaderships of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the trade unions.

It survived thanks to the betrayals of 1936, of 1944-1946, and of 1958, when Mollet invited de Gaulle to take power and the Communist Party called for the 'defence' of a discredited political and social order. The lesson of Gaullism, as far as the working class is concerned, is the need to break from the grip of these leaderships and take the revolutionary path to power.



by Tom Kemp 75¢

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FRENCH SOCIETY IN CRISIS

PART TWO

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AN IDEALIST ENCOUNTERS LENIN IN 1904

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

How many socialist intellectuals today approach the question in the same spirit--especially in the United States? A serious party cannot be built on the basis of the concept that socialism is a question for future generations but from the scientifically-based realization that there may be no future generations unless socialism is established in our time.

Now we come to Valentinov's confrontation first with Plekhanov and then with Lenin over his philosophical views. Valentinov had an appointment with Plekhanov to discuss an article he had written for a party publication. As the split had yet to be consummated such consultations between sides took place. It seems that Plekhanov kept Valentinov waiting for a long time. Valentinov, subjectively reacting to this "insult", went out of his way to bait Plekhanov on the question of materialism. Knowing full well that Plekhanov was identified more closely than any other figure of his time, not only in Russia but throughout Europe, with the defense of materialism, Valentinov stated: "I finally abandoned this materialism several years ago and I am now convinced Marx's economic doctrine and his sociology, the so-called materialist conception of history, need not be indissolubly linked with philosophical materialism and that the empirio-criticism philosophy of Avenarius and Mach provides a substantially better epistemological foundation."

PLEKHANOV

Plekhanov had never even heard of Avenarius and Mach but he had no intention of letting this stand in the way of a reply. As Valentinov describes it: "Plekhanov threateningly raised his moustache-eyebrows almost up to the middle of his forehead. 'Avenarius? Mach? Are you dragging these fellows out of the basement of bourgeois thought in order to "correct" Marxism with their help?'"

Plekhanov went on to explain that since he knew anyone associated with historical materialism, Avenarius and Mach must be bourgeois philosophers. And since he was acquainted with all the great bourgeois philosophers like Kant and Hegel, he could only assume Avenarius and Mach "have their being in some lower atmosphere, probably the lowest there is."

Valentinov was deeply shocked by this affair, particularly since Plekhanov attacked his two pet philosophers without having heard of them before. But Plekhanov was able to do this because he did not begin with these philosophers but with the whole development of Marxist theory since 1848 and an understanding of the class roots of philosophical theory. For Valentinov each theory, each event was to be judged in isolation, in a classless context.

Valentinov ran to tell Lenin about his battle with Plekhanov only to be doubly shocked by Lenin's defense on the level of philosophy of his political enemy. "Plekhanov once said to me," Lenin told Valentinov, "about a critic of Marxism (I've forgotten his name): 'First, let's stick the convict's badge on him, and then after that we'll examine his case.' And I think we must 'stick the convict's badge' on anyone and everyone who tries to undermine Marxism, even if we don't go on to examine his case. When you see a stinking heap on the road you don't have to poke around in it to see what it is. Your nose tells you it's shit, and you give it a wide berth."

"Lenin's words took my breath

away", Valentinov continues. "I have gotten out of Plekhanov's frying pan into your fire," he told Lenin. "I fully agree with Plekhanov," Lenin went on. "Marx and Engels have mapped out and said everything that needs to be said. If Marxism needs further development, then this can be done only in the direction indicated by its founders. Nothing in Marxism is subject to revision. There is only one answer to revisionism: smash its face in! Neither Marxist philosophy nor the materialist conception of history, neither the economic theory of Marx nor the labor theory of value, neither the idea of the inevitability of the social revolution nor the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat--in short, not a single fundamental point of Marxism is sub-

intolerance of Lenin, who would not brook the slightest deviation from his ideas and beliefs. Under such conditions, could I continue as a member of the Bolshevik organization which implicitly obeyed Lenin in everything?"

REVISIONISM

Lenin insisted that a party be built that was serious, which objectively chose who filled what position on the basis of the needs of the party alone, that it be a serious, disciplined party not a collection of intellectual propagandists--and a whole section of the party split away denouncing Lenin as a Napoleon, a Jacobin, a dictator. Lenin insisted that Marxism could only be developed within the Marxist

workers in struggle.

How small, how weak, how powerless and insignificant is the individual psyche of the intellectual which Valentinov and a host of others sought to defend theoretically and practically from Marxism, from the inroads of materialism. Valentinov lives historically as a footnote in a book by Lenin and in what he happens to remember of the fleeting moments he spent with Lenin. After 1917 the state created by the struggle in which Lenin played such a decisive part employed him in a minor capacity. The difference in roles lies not in the strength of the two individuals as personalities but the objective class roles they were to play. Defense of the psyche means defense of the bourgeoisie and the struggle for materialism is the central philosophical task of the working class party.

PARTY

The traditional home for idealism in capitalist society is the middle classes. Largely removed from direct participation in the productive process, members of this class start with the illusion of their own individuality and with what happens within their own minds rather than in material reality.

Today the basic classes in society are in sharp confrontation over real material issues not only in this country but everywhere in the world. The middle class world of ideas and individual psyches starts to crumble under the blows of class conflict. Idealism, rather than disappearing, takes on a frenzied character, its complete separation from reality leading to grotesque spectacles.

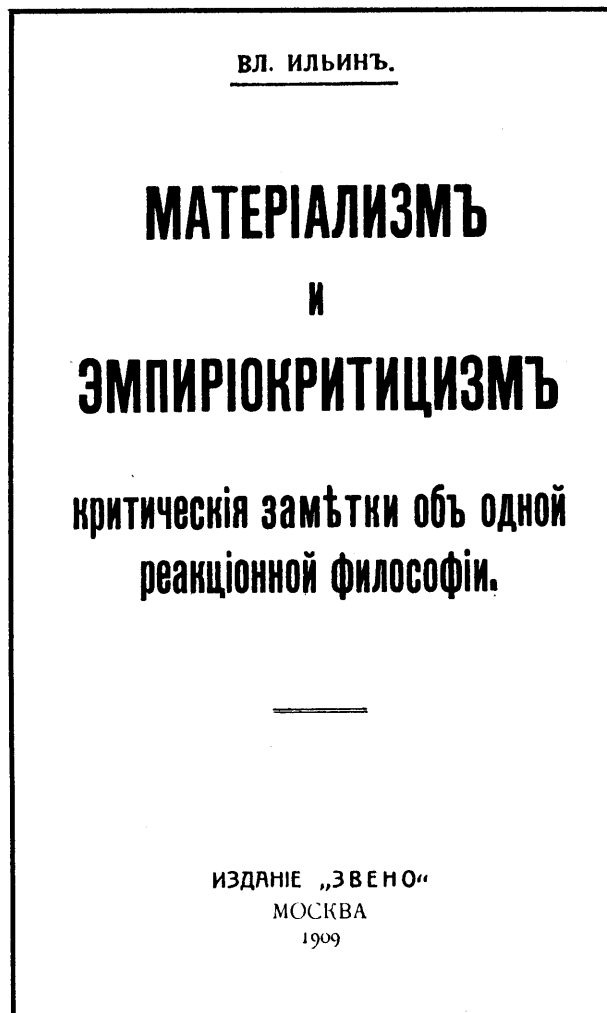
This is the meaning of the SDS convention with the waving of red books, the expulsions, the group therapy women's "liberation" bouts. This is the meaning of Progressive Labor's attempt to exorcise racism away with chants of "fight racism", the Black Panthers wild attacks physically and in the most outrageous language, on working class tendencies and on its own membership; the 400,000 rain-drenched hippies in the corn fields of the Catskills attending concerts at which most could not hear a note.

IDEALISM

Today idealism takes the form of the frenzied confusion of the middle class student radical; tomorrow it can take the form of organized fascist detachments breaking up working class meetings. Idealism under conditions of capitalism in decay is more than confusion; it can become a deadly weapon aimed at the very heart of the working class.

There can be no concessions whatsoever to idealism. It must be routed out of the revolutionary party no matter how disguised its form. There is a direct class link between the idealism of the complacent party propagandist who resolves the class struggle in his head but not in the factories and the frenzied youth who today may chant "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" and tomorrow be part of the future American Storm Troopers.

Now is the time for a serious study of the Marxist struggle for the materialist view of history and reality. Valentinov's book will be helpful if it aids only a little those seeking to understand Lenin's uncompromising battle against the slightest concession to idealist thinking. It is time "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" as well as Plekhanov's writings were taken up in earnest within the movement.



COVER OF
THE FIRST EDITION
OF V.I. LENIN'S
'MATERIALISM
AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM'
PUBLISHED IN 1909

ject to revision!"

This, Valentinov recounts, was the beginning of the end of his relationship with Bolshevism. Later he was to bring to Lenin his collection of books by Avenarius and Mach on Empirio-Criticism. Lenin read the books and then had a violent argument with Valentinov in which he outlined the basic points he was to take in his book "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism." Lenin's point was that if one abandoned the materialist approach one would certainly move to revisionism and a rejection of Marxism. Valentinov strongly objected claiming to be orthodox on everything else but just wanting to develop a little further this philosophical question. Valentinov was to shortly move so far to the right on questions of theory that in 1907 even Plekhanov would not allow his writings to appear in the same volume with his.

At the end of this session, Valentinov recounts, "I grabbed the books which I had lent him and ran out into the street. As I made my way home, in the most wretched of moods, I was thinking: I had run away from Plekhanov, and now I had run away from Lenin. It was not merely a matter of philosophical disagreements. What was wrong was the incredible intolerance shown by our leaders, and most of all the savage

movement on the basis of the fundamentals discovered by Marx and that any attempt to revise Marxism be militantly fought--and Valentinov ran away from the party denouncing Lenin for his "savage intolerance."

The October Revolution was carried through by those who fought for socialism in their own lifetime, who subordinated themselves to the needs of the party, who militantly defended Marxism from revisionism, who were completely hostile to every attempt to see theory as something separated from the material world who fought those who ran in the other direction when the task became not simply of the militant defense of Marxism as a theory but the struggle to make the Marxist program live in the consciousness and action of millions of

PAMPHLETS

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hospital workers fight lay offs

BY AN I199 MEMBER

On September 3, 1969, Local 1199 Hospital Workers Union held an emergency meeting to discuss the threatened shutdown of Knickerbocker, St. Mary's, Gouverneur and Bronx Lebanon hospitals. Since that meeting 14 other hospitals announced they are planning serious cutbacks in services.

Workers who attended this meeting expected a concrete plan of action to stop the shutdowns and layoffs. Instead they discovered that the union planned to delay any action in order to make some more pleas to Governor Rockefeller. The leadership announced that it would take "appropriate action" only if layoffs occur, i.e. at the last minute. Ted Mitchell, Vice President of 1199 attempted to assure the workers that the hospitals were really not planning to lay anyone off.

FRAUD

The rank and file know that such assurances are a fraud when every day more and more rumors circulate about shutting down different areas.

The union leaders were clear on one point. They would not lead the fight against lay offs. They are attempting to set up a coalition of union representatives, management and community leaders to be crowned by none other than Mayor Lindsay. Rather than mobilizing the rank and file who are more than ready and willing to fight, the ball is handed over to Lindsay and politicians with "influence". President Davis would rather maneuver and make some quick deals for a few more crumbs

from the bosses table, only putting the crisis off for a very brief time.

The coalition is nothing but a smokescreen for the hospital bosses who have not for one second declared a truce on layoffs. One delegate from Bronx Lebanon reported that the feeling of insecurity and fear among the workers at his hospital was intolerable due to the open plans of the administration to lay off clinic workers. Meanwhile the union closes its eyes to such situations and justifies its coalition by declaring that the workers and management have a "common interest" in keeping the hospitals open. What they forget is that when the funds are not forthcoming the hospitals proceed to throw workers out of their jobs. Lindsay has been let completely off the hook. He throws up his hands and feigns helplessness. We got an example of Lindsay's abilities last year when both Republican and Democratic parties sanctioned the budget cuts in Albany.

MILITANCY

The union's retreat on fighting the job freeze, their refusal to call any demonstration despite the militancy of the ranks should be a clear warning to every hospital worker. The 1199 leaders refused to take action for fear of disturbing its honeymoon with Lindsay whom they have endorsed for the November election. Well, Mr. Davis, the honeymoon is over. 1199 must now launch a struggle together with DC 37 and 144 of the AFL-CIO and call a citywide demonstration of all hospital workers to demand: No Layoffs, No Shut Downs, Unfreeze the Job Freeze!

Trailways Bus Strike Ends With Sell-Out Contract

BY TOM GORDON

Eastern Trailways bus lines drivers, clerks and baggage handlers recently returned to work after a three-month long strike for better wages, improved vacation and fringe benefits, and better work conditions. Drivers in the United Transportation Union were granted a roughly three year contract with a raise of five to seven dollars a week, along with full pay after two and a half hours layover while waiting for a driving assignment.

Drivers also won a slight improvement in company contributions to their pension fund. The company's practice of cushioning drivers to other cities, at half pay for the mileage travelled, was not changed. Neither did Trailways do anything about the complaints of New York drivers that routes be more evenly given out to men of high seniority.

Baggage handlers and clerks in the Amalgamated Transit Union won a fifty-one cents an hour raise, spread out over three years, above the old rate of \$3.50 an hour. Job conditions were improved by ending floor sweeping and toilet cleaning duties for baggage handlers. Clerks and baggage handlers also won minor improvements in vacation pay.

Neither union won any kind of job security, although Trailways promised no reprisals for the strike.

DISUNITY

Disunity between the Amalgamated Transit Union and the United Transportation Union was used by the companies to force a settlement in

this strike. Although a rank and file coordinating committee for the two unions was set up in New York, the bureaucrats in these unions sabotaged any unity in bargaining.

INTERNATIONAL

Discussing the committee, a shop steward active in the strike said, "Personally I think the international is full of crap. They decide what they think they can sell (for a contract) but they don't get out and push the companies from the outside like they should. They don't tell you how to vote, but they tell you to try to go along with the settlement. They more or less told us if they didn't like the way we were going to vote they would write in and ask for a mail vote."

"The international didn't want us to do this (form the rank and file committee), said the steward. "They said it would make the boss react differently and make the bargaining position of the drivers weaker. They didn't want to put pressure on the management."

The bureaucrats of the ATU and the UTU and their boss pals fear the ranks much more than they fear each other. A movement by the ranks to ally and then join with the powerful Teamsters, TWU, and the Machinists around a program of job security through a cut in the work week with no cut in pay, equal pay throughout the industry for equal work, and an escalator clause to fight inflation, is the tactic for combatting the bargaining strength of the conglomerates such as Holiday Inn.



PROTESTERS MARCH PAST CONSTRUCTION SITE IN PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH RACISM DIVIDES WORKERS

BY PAT CONNOLLY

On Monday, September 15, 4,000 marchers demanding more jobs for Negro workers marched to a construction site in downtown Pittsburgh, beginning again the demonstrations which started in late August.

After three days of demonstrations at the end of August, there was a counter-demonstration of white construction workers protesting pay lost when the building sites were closed for negotiations between the unions and the blacks. Three days later Nixon announced a 75%, \$1.6 billion slash in federal construction contracts.

At the same time as black and white workers are pitted directly against each other for jobs, the government has launched a tremendous attack on the working class as a whole. This attack comes after many warnings about "inflationary labor costs" in construction, and after building has already been cut back because of the 8.5% interest rates.

"Fortune" magazine puts it this way: "The explosive inflationary pressures generated by labor conditions in the \$90 billion construction industry pose a dramatic threat to the national economy. Most of the wage settlements won by the building trades unions in the first six months of 1969 call for annual wage increases of between 15 and 22 percent. These contracts, totally unrelated to productivity, reflect the unchallenged power of the building-trades unions at the bargaining table."

RACISM

So the bosses and the government are trying to blame the workers for the problem in their "national economy", and are carrying through on threats of massive unemployment to make them pay. While this is going on the workers are divided by racism.

Some of the slogans raised in the counter-demonstration in Pittsburgh included "Wallace in '72" and "White

Police and Union Unity". If these workers are aware of Wallace's labor record in Alabama and what wages are as a result, they might think twice before supporting his racism. And "White Police and Union Unity" will mean nothing when union workers are pounding the streets looking for jobs and "white police" are escorting scabs to work.

This is what the threat of massive unemployment in construction means, this is what Nixon's 75% cutback in construction means. These attacks on the workers are meant to weaken the unions, to lower wages through unemployment, and to pit black and white workers against each other for a decreasing number of jobs.

The only solution to having white workers in the Building Trades Unions and black unemployed workers at each others throats is to open up apprenticeship and membership in the unions freely to Negro workers, who in Pittsburgh only make up 2% of these unions.

JOBS

At the same time, to cut across the fear of unemployment which is gripping workers under this new attack, the unions must demand that there are jobs for all, that there be a shorter work week at no loss in pay for all workers in the industry.

While Nixon is cutting back funds for construction and the bosses are trying to make the workers pay for it, there is a tremendous need for construction. Hospitals are being closed at a time when there is a desperate need for new hospitals. Schools are appallingly overcrowded and there is a vastly increasing shortage of housing. There is enough work to employ millions of workers in construction.

The ranks of the construction unions must take up the fight for a common program for all workers. This means an uncompromising fight against racism in these unions.

WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

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DOCKERS-TEAMSTERS MUST UNITE

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO--The crisis on the West Coast docks has now reached the explosion point. As this is being written Bay Area Teamsters are defying a court injunction prohibiting picketing on the docks. Determined to defend themselves against the loss of thousands of container stuffing jobs, roving squads of Teamster pickets are turning back trucks at dozens of piers succeeding in bringing shipping in San Francisco-Oakland to a virtual standstill.

We say all out support for the teamsters!

We say this struggle must be turned against the bosses and against all their plans for cutting out jobs through containerization. The Longshoremen in the ILWU must join their brothers in the Teamsters on the picket line and demand that not one Teamster's job and not one longshoreman's job be lost, that all jobs be guaranteed through the thirty hour week for forty hours pay. If the bosses say they cannot afford it, then we say nationalize the docks under workers control!

SHUT DOWN

Despite all of Bridges' 'left' talk and his attacks on the Teamsters--the fact is the Teamsters have defied an injunction (something Bridges never has done) and are closing down the docks. The Longshoremen must now move on the initiative taken by their brothers to shut down the entire West Coast until the job security of all the workers is won.

The current struggle signifies that a whole new stage of struggle on the docks is opening up. The days of the boom and all that it meant in terms of compromise and the appearance of relative equilibrium between transport workers and the employers are gone for good. The waterfront will never be the same again.

The division between the ILWU and the Teamsters is a matter of burning concern to every worker. Here in embryo on the West Coast docks is the sort of future the employers are preparing for every trade unionist. It is no accident that long-

ILWU Must Support Teamsters Strike!

shoremen and teamsters are being whipped into a frenzy to go at each others throats in a battle for jurisdiction over a diminishing number of jobs.

The capitalist press in San Francisco has opened up a daily campaign of front page articles designed to obscure and divide the struggle on the docks. Dark hints of threatened bloodshed between the unions coupled with sympathy for the poor employers who simply do not know what to do to restore peace or what to expect next.

BUREAUCRATS

The labor bureaucrats play right into the hands of the PMA. Teamster head Tim Richardson, the 'law and order' man, is ready to defy both law and order to wage a struggle which as he sees it is designed to guarantee that longshoremen do not get teamster jobs. Harry Bridges on the other hand urges dockers to approve a pact which agrees to a wage cut and the signing away of every gain ever made on the docks in order to prevent the teamsters from getting the jobs of longshoremen. Bridges, who only a few months earlier was prevented by a PMA injunction from boycotting container work, refuses to speak out when the same injunction is used against the IBT.

Despite everything the employers and the labor bureaucrats have done, it is absolutely clear that there is no sentiment among the rank and file for the sort of struggle being waged by the leadership.

The Workers League has been campaigning on the waterfront and among teamster members to provide an alternative lead. We have been fighting to warn dockers and teamsters that any acceptance of the schemes of the employers to eliminate jobs or rationalize working conditions can only lead to the destruction of the unions.

No compromise is possible. Only by mobilizing a united fight to hurl back the employer's wage and job cutting offensive can the workers deal with this crisis. It is absolutely clear that as much as the ILWU and IBT leadership would like to find some way out through bureaucratic maneuvers there is no solution short of an all out fight against the PMA to see to it that not a single job is eliminated.

It is very significant that when the Workers League intervened on the docks with a leaflet denouncing the misleadership that has allowed a divisive situation to develop and calling for a massive no vote on Bridges' Container Freight Station agreement coupled with a fight to bring about a rank and file conference of longshoremen and teamsters for a united fight with the PMA there was an extremely favorable response from the rank and file. This so panicked the bureaucracy that League members were ordered out of the union hall.

Curran Goons Threaten Militants As Critical Convention Nears

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- On Friday, August 29, twenty-seven members of an anti-Curran caucus in the National Maritime Union walked off the ship Santa Paula just before it sailed from New York. The caucus members, and five other NMU members who went with them, were protesting the presence of a union agent sent to intimidate the crew into electing a pro-Curran delegate to the October 6th Convention of the NMU in New Orleans. NMU members on the ship Santa Rosa have charged similar threats by Curran goons. "Curran persuaders" have also been on the SS United States. All of these ships have caucuses opposed to Curran.

This struggle between the ranks and the Curran bureaucracy centers on the election of delegates to the NMU convention. The rotten NMU deep sea contract has been signed. The Curran slate has been re-elected to office. The next betrayal by Curran will be another deal with the ship owners to 'build up' the American merchant marine through more fat government subsidies--and fatter profits for the companies. We say that this is his object in calling the convention.

FAIR

Curran will give his usual speech about NMU men getting a fair share of the profits due from containers and larger, automated ships. But the new contract negotiated this summer shows what this 'fair share' means. It means early retirement at a starvation pension with delays in getting any money at all. It means wages that still lag far below the Seafarer's Union of the Pacific, with no escalator clause to fight the effects of inflation.

The new contract means absolutely no job protection through a shorter work week with no cut in pay. The decline in U.S. shipping has already caused over forty private ships to be laid up this year. Included are the Brasil, the Argentina, the Independence and the Constitution, with over fifteen hundred jobs between them.

It is clear that Curran wants to save the merchant marine for the

The spectacle of union bureaucrats backed up by several dockers who are supported by the Communist Party, gives a clear indication of the role the CP intends to play.

The only future for longshoremen lies in recognizing the immense struggle that is opening up and breaking completely from the Bridges' leadership. The container agreement must be rejected with a massive "NO" vote.

CONFERENCE

A rank and file caucus must be built based upon the perspective that the transport workers will not give up a single job or penny to the PMA. Now is the time to begin a campaign to bring about a united conference with the IBT for rank and file representatives to confront the PMA with the strength of both unions, determined to see to it that not one single cargo handling job is eliminated, any diminution in work to be handled with a shorter work week.

The Workers League is fighting to bring about meetings of rank and file members of both unions in order to fight for this perspective. We call on rank and file teamsters and dockers to join us in this fight.

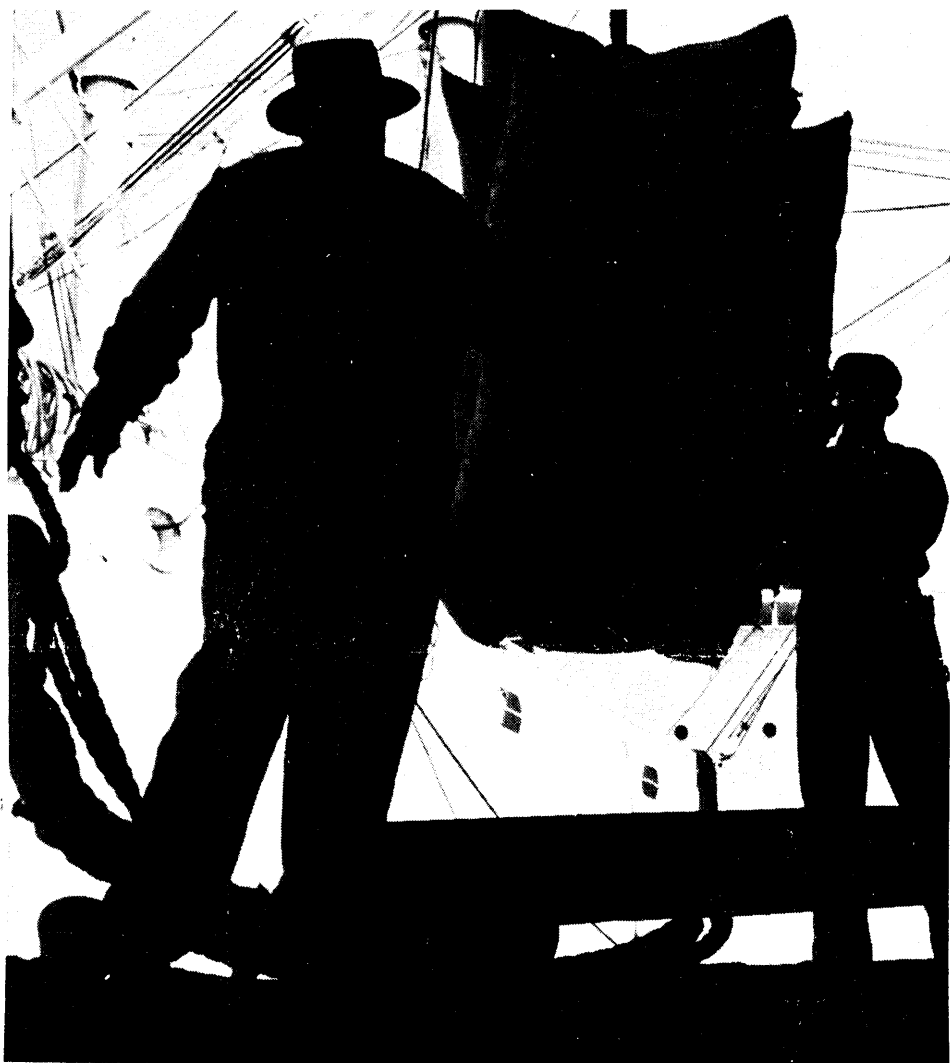
bosses while protecting himself from the ranks by showing the bosses what a raw deal he can hand to seamen.

HOTTER

Alliances with the bosses and the use of goon squads are not the only means Curran can use to try to crush the ranks. He can always call in the FBI and police again, as he did in 1948 to rid the NMU of rank and file leadership. The decline in shipping will make things much hotter for Joe Curran. The bosses are pressing for higher profits. The ranks are struggling for wage hikes and improvements in job conditions. Curran will use every means to crack down harder on the rank and file in order to keep the bosses from attacking him in their efforts to lower wages and cut out jobs. All the constitutional changes which Curran plans to ram through the convention are meant to help in this attack.

Job protection and wage hikes can come now only through a struggle by the ranks in the NMU linking their efforts in a common struggle alongside men in the ILA, the ILWU, and the Seafarers' International Union. But instead of staying on board to give leadership to the struggle against the Curran agent, the Santa Paula caucus leaders left the ship and lodged complaints with the Coast Guard against Grace Lines for helping Curran by letting the agent on board. No matter who wins the battle in the courts, the crew of the Santa Paula have been left without leadership at a crucial time.

The only solution to the love-in between Curran and the bosses is to struggle for a reopening of the contract at the convention. A fight must be waged for the nationalization of runaway ships under workers control, for the four-watch system with no cut in pay, for an escalator clause and for wage parity with the Seafarers' Union of the Pacific. Seamen in the NMU must struggle NOW to build demonstrations for this program at the October 6th convention in New York, and also to carry that struggle into the convention itself.



germany holds critical elections

BY V. BARAT

When this issue of the BULLETIN has gotten into readers' hands, the national elections in the German Federal Republic will have been held. Irrespective of which party gets the most votes, the German working class will not have won.

True, of the four major electoral parties, there is one presumably representative of the proletariat: the Social-Democrats (SPD), the political organization of the powerful trade union movement. But its odor, if anything, has become even more putrid since World War I, when Rosa Luxemburg condemned it as a "stinking corpse" for its unconscionable betrayal of the workers in that holocaust. To this day, the SPD remains the major bulwark of German capitalism and the chief obstacle on the road to the socialist revolution in West Germany.

UNDERMINE

To protract to the maximum the conjunctural prosperity of West German capitalism--from January to May of this year alone, production rose 16% higher than during the same period last year, putting the country far ahead of all other European nations, approaching in fact, Japan's rate of growth--the SPD traitors have used their governmental position and their authority as the party of the workers to undermine further the general conditions of the proletariat. They have even joined with the bourgeoisie in an effort to cripple the ability of the trade unions to defend themselves from attacks by helping to pass the so-called Emergency Laws. Under these measures the capitalists state is now authorized to abolish parliament and rule with dictatorial powers if any inner "peril" arises. Every one knows this is aimed at the German working class.

The rulers of the country know what they are doing. It is undeniable that

the German trade unionists have become increasingly restive as a result of direct governmental assaults on them, the extreme exploitation on the job, and the inflationary attack on their living standards. This past June at a national conference of German industrialists, Professor Giersch, a leading figure in the nation's Industrial Conference, admitted that wages had fallen behind "as never before."

NEGOTIATION

The recently concluded negotiations between the metal workers and the industry reveal how the narrow political ambitions of the SPD and trade union functionaries clash directly with the vital material interests of the membership. The metal workers are organized in the huge trade union, I.G. Metall. The national heads of this union began negotiations with the employers' association for a new contract on July 26, 1969, the current one terminating at the end of September, 1969.

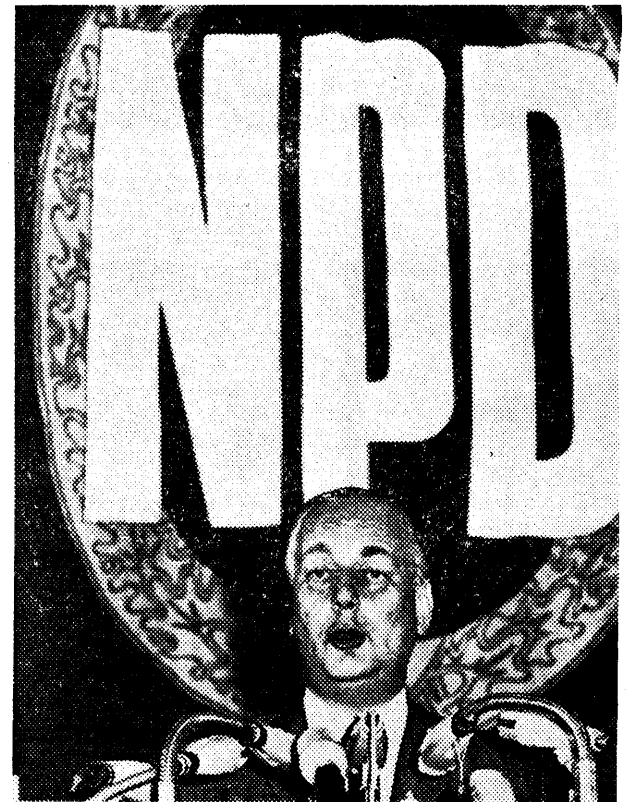
Uppermost in the minds of the union leaders was to get a settlement as quickly as possible so as not to embarrass SPD governmental office holders Brandt and Schiller during the election campaign. Hence, despite the admittedly enormous profits made by the firms concerned (the independents alone had an average net income increase of 23% during the same period that wages had risen by only 4.5%), the union tops asked for a mere 12% wage increase, plus certain fringe benefits. Negotiations were carried out in complete secrecy. The ranks were fed only rumors. So it is understandable that they began to exert pressure on their locals.

Anxious now for a speedy settlement with the companies, the union leadership on August 1st dropped its original demand on wages to 9.5%, of course without consulting the membership. A day later an agreement was

reached. The workers were to receive an 8% increase, plus certain fringe benefits for the militant apprentices and some general minor improvements for the workers as a whole. The settlement was regarded as a sell-out by most of the ranks.

In Bavaria the new agreement was jerrered because some existing conditions were to be replaced by worse features. In the important area of Baden-Wuerttemberg the local leaders decisively rejected the settlement by a vote of 55 to 17. Such broad-based hostility to the new contract was even reflected in the very top negotiating committee where in the final voting more than a third of them opposed acceptance (8 against and 14 for).

Becoming more perilous is the threat from a resurgent fascism. There is no question that Social-Democratic treachery has created a



ADOLF VON THADDEN, NEO-FASCIST LEADER

political medium in which a neo-Nazi movement like Adolf von Thadden's National Democratic Party (NPD) could experience such a hot-house growth. And this growth parallels the years of the SPD's participation in the "Grand Coalition", when it could no longer even pretend to be a party of protest. The German proletariat must, of course, view with alarm the report that a few frustrated and disoriented workers have already become a prey to NPD middle class demagogy.

With the deepening of the crisis of world imperialism, the NPD will be pushed more and more to the front by a desperate German bourgeoisie, as was Hitler's movement forty years ago. Even now von Thadden is able to boast to his masters of proletarian victims. His well-equipped goons, stealing a leaf from the Nazi SA of the thirties, cracked the skulls of protesting young workers in Frankfurt, West Germany, on July 25th of this year.

STALINISTS

The Stalinists, whose movement has been restored to legality by the German bourgeoisie, joined with the SPD-Trade Union functionaries in sponsoring an innocuous popular-front type anti-Nazi public meeting in Frankfurt. Here one of the spokesmen even invited "good", "anti-monopoly" capitalists from the CDU to join the "democratic" forces. The German Trotskyists with the support of young revolutionary workers and students intervened and warned of the disastrous consequences in opposing fascism by popular-front tactics instead of fighting it with the methods of the international class struggle.

The problems facing the German bourgeoisie are not going to be solved by this election or by the size of the vote which von Thadden's NPD received. One thing is, however, certain. The owners of German industry will have to redouble their efforts in the attempt to make an undefeated working class, apprentice and student youth pay for the crises of capitalism.

TWIN CITIES CLASS

Sept. 21: The Marxist analysis of capitalist society
 Sept. 28: The philosophical foundations of Marxism
 Oct. 3: The capitalist crisis today
 Oct. 10: Dialectical materialism and the building of the Party
 TIME: SUNDAYS at 2:00 PM
 PLACE: 2420-11th Ave. So. UPSTAIRS
 MINNEAPOLIS

TC Teachers Fight Back With 'Sick Days'

(This article was submitted to the BULLETIN by a teacher at St. Louis Park High in Minneapolis. It describes a situation that is being repeated at over a dozen Twin Cities suburban school districts. The next issue of the BULLETIN will contain a discussion article pointing towards the kind of program teachers are going to need to win now and next Spring.)

MINNEAPOLIS-- A protest action occurred recently in the suburb of St. Louis Park in the western part of Minneapolis. Eighty-nine members of the high school faculty called in sick and failed to appear for their teaching assignments on Friday, September 5th. The significance of the action was that it was the first time that teachers have defied the no-strike law for public employees in this state. Unless there is some sign of favorable response by the St. Louis Park School Board, similar "sick days" could follow in the near future.

Teachers in this school have shown unusual patience in dealing with this Board. During the course of negotiations, they have been confronted by employers who have not desired to discuss basic issues. Almost from the start the local officials have who would review the findings of both sent to arbitration. It astonished the faculty completely that the Board so readily abdicated in favor of another body.

The results of arbitration in the immediate area soon indicated why the St. Louis Park Board was happy to follow such a course. The pro-

cedure in nearly every district produced similar results. One member of each arbitration committee was chosen by the local school, one was chosen to represent the teachers, and the third member was a neutral party, wanted the salary negotiations to be sides objectively. Yet in nearly all the districts the third member submitted a majority report with the school board member. When a minority report was submitted, it was submitted by the teachers' representative. The wording in these reports showed astonishing similarities from district to district. If one considers that these were independent bodies with an unbiased view, as they were said to be, why would they have any interest in contacting one another?

The Board of St. Louis Park had stated from year to year that it sought to reward the "professional" teachers who had served the district the longest, and that the salary schedule was established to reward those teachers who sought to improve themselves by returning to college to take credits for advanced degrees.

In reality, however, the schedule offered this year represented a 9.2% increase for a teacher with a B.A. degree and no experience. It offered the teacher with a B.A. degree and twelve years of experience a 5.7% increase. The teacher with a Ph.D. degree a 7.0% increase without any experience. If the doctor in question had 11 years of experience, then he received the lowest raise on the whole salary scale, a 5.0%. The teachers

in this district rejected the salary more on the basis of such false indexing than they did because of an inadequate financial settlement.

Settlements are often as notorious for the omissions in them as they are for their inadequacies. Such an example in this negotiation was the desire for a set grievance procedure. The present policy produces a direct confrontation of the teacher with the administrator, then if it is not resolved, with the school board. At no point in the negotiation was there an absolute rejection of the teachers' request for a fixed procedure, yet this was not to be found in the final settlement.

The normal divisive tactics of school boards were also present in this settlement. Young teachers were given higher percentage increases in an attempt to cut the effect of the indexing scale. Older teachers became more concerned with the index than they were with the total settlement for the Teachers' Council. The policies of A.F.T. locals often play directly into the hands of such boards. The older union members often concern themselves with their personal gains more than they concern themselves with the welfare of their fellow teachers. Little solace can be found by the young teachers in turning to the Education Association, for this organization still includes in its ranks the administrators who side with the school boards in salary negotiations. Improvements must come from the labor movement itself.

BEHIND RIOTS OVER UNILINGUALISM

BY CHARLES HENRY

MONTREAL--The recent riots in the Montreal suburb of St. Leonards demonstrates in its extremity where the Quebec nationalists movements are leading and the real meaning behind such trends for unilingualism. St. Leonards also exposes the reactionary opportunism of such "socialist" groups as the League for Socialist Action who support these groups and actually criticize them from an ultra-nationalist position for not going far enough.

The Workers League has always insisted that this Quebec nationalism could only end up by splitting the working class into English and French

speaking; that the primary task was and remains even more so today, to unite the labor movement for the final task of overthrowing capitalism in Canada. We also pointed out that such movements as the Ligue pour L'Integration Scolaire (L.S.), led by Mr. Lemieux in St. Leonards could only end up by discriminating against English speaking workers and particularly Italian immigrants who would not be able to adopt the language of their choice. All this was confirmed at St. Leonards in the riots between the separatists and the Italian immigrants.

The example of St. Leonards could very well spread to the labor move-

ment splitting it from top to bottom on the question of language.

NDP

It is important to fight for a strong New Democratic Party in Quebec, as the alternative to the reactionary middle class separatist movements. An NDP which will be pledged to the introduction of a truly bilingual Canada which will unite the working class.

It is important to point out in more detail the role and the direct responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the Pabloite League for Socialist Action (supported by the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.) for the riots in St. Leonards. In an election leaflet of last year in St. Leonards itself, they state:

"The percentage of French speaking people in Quebec is falling and in 20 years English could very well become the majority language in Quebec. We cannot permit such a development. The unilingual French school system chosen in St. Leonards must become the rule in Quebec--Quebec must become French speaking and officially unilingual."

It is in this way that these people with their support for unilingualism have actually opened the way for the ruling class to divide and split the working people of Quebec and Canada as a whole. It is the same method that they plan to take into the labor movement across Canada.

LESSON

The riots in St. Leonards are a hard lesson for the working class movement of Canada. Not in any way should we be fooled by the fact that Lemieux calls himself a Marxist. His objective role is to do the dirty work for the capitalist class, and the League for Socialist Action gives him the left cover.

We repeat, the primary task before the working class is to unify itself against the onslaught of the capitalist state. The first round has been fired by Trudeau's anti-inflation speech and the rise in unemployment. Montreal will be one of the first areas hit by this recession and this can only feed the already deep divisions that exist in St. Leonards and the rest of Montreal.

The French language is undoubtedly discriminated against in the business world of Quebec and the rest of Canada. Equality of the French language is a legitimate democratic demand, but the only way it is realizable is by fighting for bilingualism within a whole working class program. Any other demand is completely reformist and reformism in this period of the capitalist crisis can only end up dividing the working class, pitting the French and English speaking workers against each other.

Now the importance of our program must be realized, there is little time left.

Fight to build a strong NDP in Quebec pledged to a program of nationalization, the elimination of anti-union legislation and for a united socialist Canada.

RIOT POLICE ARE CAUGHT BY THEIR OWN TEAR GAS DURING SEPARATIST DEMONSTRATION IN ST. LEONARDS CANADA



BOSSSES USE TEMPORARY HELP TO BREAK CWA

BY A CWA MEMBER

TORONTO--On the first round of the contract talks between the Communications Workers Locals C4 and C9 and the Northern Electric Company, the bargaining committee for the union got a rude shock. At the meeting the company proposed among other things, the introduction of temporary help whose job would be to run cable, erect frames and auxiliary. These jobs are now done by installers particularly those with the most seniority, and the introduction of this temporary help must be a prelude to the laying off of this group of installers.

The temporary help would only be employed when needed and therefore would not be covered by the union contract. They would not even be members of the local. This demand by the company cannot in any way be underestimated. It is designed by the company as a major offensive against the hard won gains of the union for the last 12 years.

Behind this move by the company to employ temporary help is the plan to start lay offs of a large number of installers, to break the dues shop that already exists and ultimately to smash the union for good. Never before in the union's whole history has it faced such a serious challenge from the company and never before has the future existence of the union been so tied up with the winning of the present contract.

It is a measure of the union's weakness that the company could even plan such a move. This weakness is the fact that the membership is split into grades of wages, dependent on seniority and that because in the past the union has been unable to forge ahead with substantial wage increases to win over the Bell employees and thus make the bargaining position of the union that much stronger. Now is the time,

in the struggle over the contract, to eliminate this weakness.

IMPETUS

The bargaining committee must fight tooth and nail for a wage increase that will leave the Bell employees far behind, giving them more impetus to join the union and smash their company association. It must fight for the four years for top rate to eliminate the division between the older installers and those with less seniority. The above demands must be part of the over all package deal that includes the cost of living bonus and full paid medical benefits.

There can be no retreat on any of these proposals. It has become a question of installers jobs and the very existence of the union.

At the same time it is necessary to understand that to win this contract it is necessary to fight in a political way. With the introduction of Trudeau's anti-inflationary measures Bell Telephone did not get the raise in their telephone rates that they asked for and they are now planning to stop all expansion. This makes installers first in line for layoffs, as it is they who install new equipment.

These same measures have also added to the already high unemployment figure of 4%. This unemployment has a direct bearing on the present contract. It makes impossible the usual high turnover that the union traditionally uses for wage increases, and more important, it is the unemployed that the company plans to use on a temporary basis.

ACTION

It follows therefore that it is impossible to limit the struggle to the two locals. We must take it to the NDP and fight for them to include the nationalization of the telephone industry in Canada under workers control, and demand that they immediately fight the Liberal government's deflationary measures which

are creating unemployment, and that they fight for the repeal of all anti-union legislation. Only by combining militant action with a political offensive can victory be guaranteed.

We are in a different period now. The outlook of the union leaders--of getting a few crumbs from the employers, is no longer possible. The fight in the union must be based on the militancy of the rank and file that was shown at the general contract meeting. The members must demand that the union prepare for a strike if their demands are not met.

Day Care Workers Battle For Living Wage

BY LOU BELKIN

The strike of 13,000 Day Care Center workers, operating in more than 1200 locations around New York City is entering its third week as we go to press. The Day Care workers are represented by Local 1707, the Community and Social Agency Employees, part of the 100,000 member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

They are striking for \$6,000 minimum NOW, 40 hour uniform work week (they now work 45 hours), full grievance procedures, and promotions through full educational opportunities. The union negotiating committee faces the boss, Lindsay and the City Council and their hirelings, the Day Care Council.

SUPPORT

A full campaign led by AFSCME must be launched to back 1707 as it confronts the full might of the Lindsay administration, financially racked and dead set on implementing fully the budget cuts out of Albany.

The teachers, counselors aides and maintenance workers who are out have faced the most vicious and demoralizing working conditions and lowest wages of comparable titles

in Civil Service. For example, maintenance workers, one of whom this reporter spoke to on one of the picket lines in the Bronx, told us she began work in 1965 at a salary of \$3500 per year and is now making only \$3900 for 45 hours per week plus occasional work on Saturdays and evenings. She told us that she wants \$6000 immediately, not after three years, and a forty hour week now, not after 18 months.

Teachers in the Day Care Centers earn \$6400 and are demanding \$7500 immediately for a forty hour week.

RALLY

The blame for the isolation of this strike must rest with Jerry Wurf and the AFSCME bureaucrats who have not lifted a finger in support of the strike. The only way this strike can be settled victoriously is through an all-out battle to reinforce picket lines with workers from other unions, that picket lines be maintained by AFSCME sound trucks and manpower from AFSCME's eight district councils. Wurf and Gotbaum must call the biggest rally this city has seen and raise funds for these strikers.