

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

HOOPER
MAY 13 1971
INSTITUTION

Ceylonese Youth Battle 'Left' Coalition

VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER THIRTY-TWO (192)

APRIL 19, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

As Firemen Reject Contract Workers Must

CLOSE DOWN NEW YORK

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What we think

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Demonstrate with The Workers League

against IMPERIALISM for SOCIALISM

Washington - San Francisco April 24th



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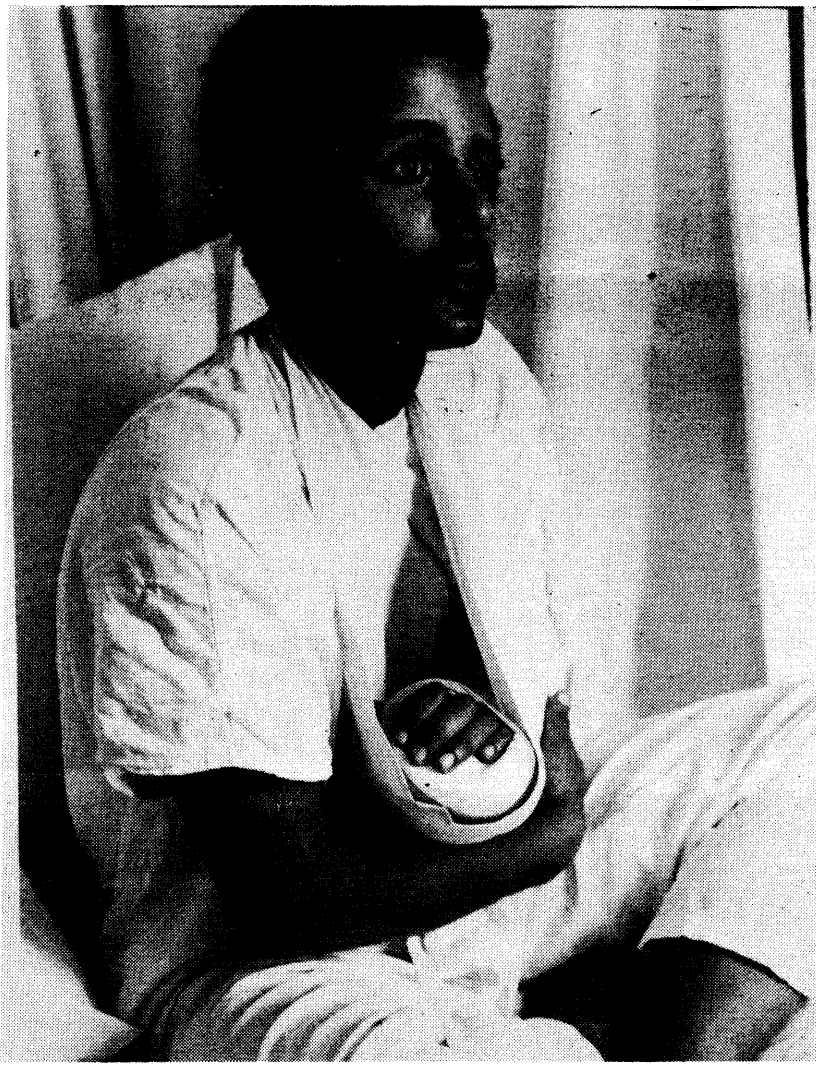
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Demonstrate with The Workers League

for SOCIALISM



Ceylonese Youth Battle Against 'Left' Coalition

BY MELODY FARROW

Ceylon is verging on a state of civil war. "The United Left Front" government of Premier Bandaranaike has launched a vicious drive to wipe out the Peoples Liberation Front, known as Che Guevarists, and all militant organizations.

Virtual martial law has been declared on this island off the tip of India, as army planes are sent throughout the country to hunt down and destroy the insurgents. Police outposts and government buildings have been attacked by the group.

Bandaranaike declared that any groups which seek to aid the Peoples Liberation Front will be given the death sentence. Members of the Revolutionary Communist League, the Ceylonese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, have been arrested.

Bandaranaike lashed out in fear at the organization which she labeled "a gang of power hungry schemers" who want to plunge the country into "chaos and bloodshed." "These enemies of democracy will not let democracy come into its own," she declared.

Her attack is in reality aimed



Mrs. Bandaranaike

at the increasing struggles of the entire worker and peasant population of Ceylon. The "power hungry schemers" are some 20,000 young unemployed workers and peasants, who repor-

tedly have the sympathy of five times their number.

YOUTH

These youth have moved into opposition to the government because of its inability to do anything about skyrocketing unemployment which is now at 750,000. Youth on the big plantations work only three days out of the week.

Recently they have fought the government's aid to West Pakistan. Planes are allowed to refuel in Ceylon before going to East Pakistan to suppress the independence struggle.

The Ceylonese government, elected in May of last year, has rapidly destroyed the illusions and hopes that the working class placed in it.

It is composed of three organizations, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike, the LSSP, composed of former members of the Pabloite Fourth International, and the Communist Party. The LSSP joined the first coalition government in 1964 in an open betrayal of the Ceylonese working class.

The "United Left Front" replaced the United National Party, a right wing pro-imperialist government which could not hold back the rising strike wave against its plans to cut wages and crush the unions. The capitalist class hoped that Bandaranaike's coalition would be able to hold the working class back.

MEASURES

It was not long after the Front's election victory that the LSSP member, Finance Minister Perera, declared there would be no nationalization of the tea, rub-

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'No Right To Strike' Says Federal Court

BY A CORRESPONDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.—A special three-judge federal district court handed down a ruling on April 1st that has proven both very dangerous as well as very revealing to the labor movement.

Ruling on a suit by the United Federation of Postal Clerks against Postmaster General Blount, the court held that there was no such thing in the United States as the constitutional right to strike, both for public and private employees.

For private employees, the court added, only the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act, and the amendments to them since 1935 (the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts) were the basis of any sort of strike rights.

The Postal Clerks leaders brought the suit as a way of diverting the militancy of their ranks.

But what was shown instead is that the ruling class, through its courts, is moving to return to the "good old days" of a century or more ago, when the trade unions were treated as an illegal combination, a conspiracy against society, and prosecuted as such.

The ruling class is throwing aside its old forms of deception. Millions of workers who thought that the U.S. Constitution protected their most basic rights are being given a sharp awakening.

The U.S. is shown to be no different from Canada and Ireland, where the "civil liberties" in force for years were overnight destroyed, and shown to be mere scraps of paper.

Last year, the postal workers went far beyond their leaders and took strike action, Constitution or no Constitution, to get a much needed pay increase. It was only by consciously refusing to work the no-strike provisions of the federal law that they got anywhere, and it is this that we should never forget.

The FBI, Nixon & Bonapartism

BY FRED MUELLER

The latest uproar over the charges of FBI wiretapping of Congress is another serious warning to the working class.

On April 5th House of Representatives Democratic Majority Leader Hale Boggs charged that he had been the object of FBI investigation and wiretapping and called for the resignation of the notorious J. Edgar Hoover.

Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell immediately jumped to Hoover's defense. The FBI categorically denied the wiretapping charges, but would not comment on whether it had ever had Boggs under investigation.

Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst said that Boggs was "either sick or not in possession of his faculties."

These developments follow almost immediately the Nixon intervention in the Calley case. All of this reflects the continued and stepped up preparation for dictatorship, for civil war against the working class.

This goes far far beyond the FBI or Hoover, who has become the favorite whipping boy of the liberals. It is a question of the

entire machinery of the capitalist state being tooled up for repression. As Mitchell himself said so truthfully several months ago, referring to his liberal critics: "If they think there's repression now, they haven't seen anything yet."

BONAPARTIST

All the moves of the capitalist government are a direct res-



Over 1,500 British Young Socialists vote for international report given by Dany Sylveire (right). See story on page thirteen this issue.

Transit Workers Begin Strike In Philadelphia

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

PHILADELPHIA, April 12th—This morning 5200 members of the Transit Workers Union Local 234 struck the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) shutting down all trolleys, buses and subways in the city.

The strike was forced by the ranks when they voted down the rotten proposal recommended by the negotiating committee. This sellout was based on the recommendation of a fact-finding committee, the terms of which included a 15c per hour immediate increase and 60c additional to be paid in stages.

UTU

At the same time as the TWU is out, the Red Arrow drivers (UTU) are preparing to strike and Shortline drivers have just ended a strike against that com-

pany's offer of a 40c wage cut. It is common knowledge in Philadelphia that SEPTA is falling apart at the seams.

The TWU must stand firm on their demand for a \$1.00 an hour increase over 2 years which would bring Philadelphia workers up to parity with New York City transit workers.

POLITICAL

A fight must be waged for the support of the rest of the city labor movement. The injunction which SEPTA has filed against the union on the basis that the strike raises a threat to "public health and safety" is a political attack and not a mere technical difficulty.

The Ciclerico-Cooper leadership's nonchalant attitude of "we'll cross that bridge when we come to it" raise a great danger to the strike. An injunction must be met with the call for all city labor to join with the TWU in a general strike.

ponse to the upsurge of the class struggle in the U.S. and internationally. While Nixon may still occasionally hold out the carrot in some of his lying public statements, it is the stick of Bonapartist dictatorship which he is preparing to use. The vicious persecution of Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, and other political prisoners, combined with Nixon's solicitous concern for Calley, reveals what the capitalist class has in store not just for a section of the militants but for the entire working class. They intend to bring the war home.

Marx explained it very clearly just 100 years ago, after the crushing of the Paris Commune on 1871: "The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge."

The tremendous sharpening of the class struggle is pushing the ruling class towards Bonapartism, the "strong state." A government standing "above" classes is required at certain

moments in order to defend the interests of the ruling class.

Bourgeois democracy is fast becoming a luxury which must be dispensed with, even for the bourgeoisie itself. The differences among the capitalists have to be subordinated to the need for a "strong state" to deal with the working class.

This is the meaning of the FBI furor, with a section of the ruling class and its spokesmen expressing its extreme fear of the crisis and of the measures which are becoming necessary.

The moves toward dictatorship also pave the way for fascism, the mobilization of the petty bourgeois masses in order to destroy the organization of the working class entirely as a desperate last resort of the capitalists to save their system. Of course the fascists and their sympathizers are greatly encouraged by all the Nixon-Mitchell-Agnew moves in their direction.

The outrage of the liberals only touches the surface of the machinery of repression. As the New York Times explained, "Congress had long known that

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Mao Supports Butcher Khan

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The counterrevolutionary character of Maoism was sharply exposed as the Stalinist bureaucracy in China sent a note on April 12th to the butcher of the Bengali people, Yahya Khan, dictator of the West Pakistani government.

Addressing Khan as "Your Excellency," Premier Chou En-lai assured him that China was in full support of his bloody efforts to crush the struggle of the workers and peasants of East Pakistan for independence.

The letter contends that the struggle in Pakistan is simply a matter of the internal affairs of Pakistan. But the struggles in Pakistan are class struggles. Khan is being fought by workers and peasants of East Pakistan at the same time that the working class in West Pakistan is rising up against his regime. In this struggle the Maoist bureaucracy has lined up with the bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants.

This is the logic of Mao's New Democracy based on the Stalinist policy of a bloc of four classes. It was precisely this policy that led to the murder of a million workers and peasants in Indonesia in 1965. The Chinese Communist Party supported the bloc of the Indonesian Communist Party with Sukarno who in turn opened the door to the bloody massacre in which hundreds of thousands of communists were murdered.

Today the Chinese Communist Party is giving open support to the reactionary regime of Khan and his brutal war against the workers and peasants.

It is no accident that precisely as the Chinese leadership allies itself with dictator Khan, it literally opens the door to US imperialism.

Almost simultaneously with Chou En-lai's letter, the bureaucracy granted visas for the first time since the Chinese revolution to three American newsmen. The visas granted to the newsmen to cover a table tennis match may seem to be a minor matter but the political implications are tremendous. The newsmen are now being wined and dined and taken on a grand tour.

As the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extended its hand to US imperialism, the Chinese bureaucracy is expressing its willingness to collaborate with imperialism and its agents such as Khan. This occurs at a time when imperialism is developing its strategy to destroy the gains of the October and Chinese Revolutions.

What the Stalinists fear above all, and this is what lies behind all their moves, is the tremendous movement of the working class which is sweeping throughout Asia from Pakistan to Ceylon to Indochina. This movement threatens the rotten parasitic bureaucracy. Only the international Trotskyist movement can take forward the struggle to victory.

City Labor Must Shut Down New York City

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

NEW YORK, April 14—Today the ranks of the firemen's union overwhelmingly voted down the contract agreement worked out between the City and the union leadership. One fireman at the meeting told Bulletin reporters: "The vote was almost unanimous. Anyone who was for it could not be heard."

"The older men want an increase in their pensions. They got no increase at all. The younger guys want an increase in pay. All we were offered was \$1900 over 23 months—that works out to about 25c an hour increase. The contract is rotten."

While the firemen were voting to reject the contract over a thousand members of the city welfare union SSEU-371 marched on City Hall. There were shouts of "Strike," "Strike" throughout the militant demonstration. The Committee for New Leadership marched with the banner: "No Layoffs! Call a General Strike! Build a Labor Party!" The president of the SSEU-371 said at the rally that if the City does not offer a decent contract, the union will strike.

These actions come at a time when Lindsay is preparing to announce massive lay-

offs in all city departments. The City has refused to discuss job security with the SSEU-371 and is going through with (Continued On Page 12)

BOBBY SEALE DENOUNCES CLEAVER

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, who is in jail in New Haven, Connecticut, on trumped up charges, issued a statement last week on the split in the Panther Party.

The statement printed in the April 3 issue of *The Black Panther*, makes clear where Seale stands in relation to the split in the Panthers:

"The diversionary, counter-revolutionary actions and jive tactics of Eldridge Cleaver is doing nothing but aiding the pig power structure. Aiding the pig power structure in their attempt to put in gas chambers and jails over 130 political prisoners who are presently, like myself and Ericka, caught up in these jails and are being railroaded to the gas chamber, where we're fighting for our lives in these trials. And this is the only thing that Eldridge's actions are doing."

"And I, Bobby Seale, am the Chairman of only one Party, and



On Tuesday night, April 13, The NTU held a rally Committee and many walked out of the hall in the East Side High School at which Anthony protest. Imperiale called on Marciante to hold a general strike but he made it clear that the alternative, native, which he preferred, would be to prepare for a race war, using the teachers strike as an excuse for his political aims.

Gibson Out To Smash Newark Teachers

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, April 12—As the Newark Teachers strike goes into its eleventh week, the very survival of the NTU as a viable union is hanging in the balance.

It is becoming clear that the threat of defeat can be turned into a victory only through the mobilization of the Newark labor movement for the defense of the NTU and its demands.

A month ago, Charles Marciante and the AFL-CIO leadership threatened a general strike against Gibson and the Board of Education. Their excuse for calling it off was that "meaningful negotiations" had started again to end the strike.

Clearly, such "negotiations" never got off the ground. The Board has begun at every point with the need to smash the NTU. Thus it has deepened its attacks every time the NTU leadership has retreated—on wages, binding arbitration and nonprofessional chores.

But the main question facing the striking teachers—that of their existence as part of organized labor—now comes to the forefront sharply as the NTU's demands to maintain the clauses on binding arbitration and nonprofessional chores from their last contract becomes the focal point of the Board's attacks. The Board is crying out that these demands of the union would keep control of the schools out of the hands of the "community" and that nonpro-

fessional chores are needed to keep the teaching jobs "humanized."

COVER

In this way, the Board is using the cover of "community control" and is aided in this by the poverty pimp LeRoi Jones and his nationalist periphery (the "community"). But in reality, these demands of the NTU have nothing to do with "controlling education" or "dehumanizing teaching," but it has everything to do with the existence of the union.

At the same time, as Anthony Imperiale and his fascist "Ironbound Citizens Committee" maneuver around the NTU, the capitalist press is screaming "race war." The *New York Times* is scraping up all the quotes it can get hold of in order to cover over the real class conflict brewing in Newark with cries of "apocalyptic convulsions" and "guns are being loaded."

The capitalist news media must now whip up this kind of racial hysteria as a way of stirring up sentiment against the NTU. The danger is being magnified out of all proportion. All this talk of "apocalypse" is based on two meetings held

recently which Jones and Imperiale packed their supporters into, in order precisely to help in building up these kinds of fears.

The danger is that the NTU leadership will give in to these frenzied threats. In this they would be aided by the Communist Party, which on April 9th issued a policy statement that came out in an unequivocal defense of the actions of not only the NTU bureaucracy, but of Gibson himself.

This is not surprising however, since these Stalinists supported Gibson, a capitalist politician, for mayor as part of their popular front tactics of politically tying the working class to their capitalist masters.

STALINISTS

And now the Stalinists state that:

"None...should be quick to blame the first black mayor of a major Eastern city for the problems of Newark....The roots of the fiscal crisis in Newark reach far beyond the mayor's desk."

While it is in a basic way true that the "problems" of Newark "reach far beyond the mayor's desk," neither do they simply lie in "the treasuries of the 'giant monopolies'" as the Stalinists state. The fiscal crisis is one which now comes to bear on the capitalist economy as a whole, and while Gibson is not to "blame" for the crisis itself, the working class must begin from the understanding that it is Gibson's job to attack the living and educational standards of the workers within the framework of the fiscal crisis.

GIBSON

Thus, Gibson and the Board he appointed must attack the NTU and try to destroy it. But this is only the beginning of their campaign. They mean to smash back the living standards of the working class in Newark—white, brown and Black—and this means that the defeat of the teachers union will pave the way for deeper attacks on the rest of the working class.

So when the Stalinists defend Gibson and their unprincipled alliance with him, they also support the betrayals of the teachers and the working class in Newark. When Gibson cracks the whip, the Stalinists move in to protect him from the workers.

VICTORY

The NTU must now demand that Marciante and the AFL-CIO make good on their promises of (Continued On Page 12)

that is the party that Brother Huey P. Newton is the Minister of Defense of, and one of the supreme top servants of the people..."

"...And we're going to free political prisoners; and we're going to keep these survival programs going, and we're going to wage a People's revolutionary struggle, and not no jive, individualistic, defecting actions by some individual who wants to play power games."

Prior to the release of this statement, the Cleaver camp claimed that Seale in fact supported them, and was prevented from communicating this to the outside world by Newton's maneuvering. But what Seale now says about Cleaver aiding the ruling class to send him to the gas chamber is in fact true. Not only does Cleaver's "defection" and the logic of that as expressed with the New York 21 actively undermine the defense of the Panthers under attack, it is also being used by the bourgeoisie, along with charges of Newton's "personal corruption" to deepen the political attacks

on the Panthers.

These charges are spread in *Right On*, the Cleaver faction paper, at the same time as Cleaver has the closest relations with the reactionary right wing military dictatorship in Algeria, and thus with imperialism itself.

POLITICAL

Seale raises the survival programs and the freeing of political prisoners in opposition to Cleaver's policy of fleeing the country and talking of "military actions," but he does not in his statement deal with the political questions involved.

These questions, centering around Marxism and philosophy, are again raised in a statement by Michael Tabor in *Right On* in which he says that the *Black Panther* paper was "full of redundant articles that no longer educated the people, but only confused and turned them off. After the release of Huey P. Newton, the situation rather than moving progressively for the better, did just the opposite, it (Continued On Page 12)

Behind The MPI Attacks

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

The latest of a series of attacks on supporters of the Workers League by the leadership of the Movimiento Pro Independencia took place in front of the MPI's headquarters in New York on April 10th.

Before that other incidents had occurred in which MPIers harassed and attempted to prevent Workers League members from selling the Bulletin at rallies and streetcorners.

These unprovoked attacks confirm the complete political bankruptcy and total rottenness of the MPI leadership. The attacks and the whole series of slanders, some taken right out of the Stalinists' arsenal of slanders and lies against Trotskyism, are MPI's "answer" to an article that appeared under my signature in the March 8th

Spread Slanders Against Farinas

It has come to the attention of the Workers League that rumors are being spread that Juan Farinas, who is appealing his conviction for daring to oppose the war in Vietnam, was involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion. These vicious lies are being spread on campuses like CCNY, where PRSU members first reported this to Workers League members. The worst traditions of the Moscow Trials are carried on with these rumors, which are now being inspired by MPI's counterrevolutionary attacks on the Workers League.

We unequivocally state that Juan, who was 14 years old at the time and who now faces jail for waging a socialist struggle against imperialist war, was not in fact involved in the imperialist Bay of Pigs invasion! We state that those who spread these rumors and those who inspire them are the REAL counter-revolutionaries!

issue of the Bulletin.

The article attacked the perspective that the MPI pushes in relation to the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. These conceptions were taken up concretely in relation to the recently formed alliance between the MPI and the counter-revolutionary Stalinist Communist Parties of the United States and Puerto Rico. The article stated in part:

"The reason why the MPI, which is a nationalist organization, can have a joint conference and issue a joint statement with the Stalinist Communist Parties is that, despite all its recent talk of 'socialism' and turning the MPI into a 'Leninist revolutionary vanguard,' it has never fundamentally broken from its nationalist and middle class past.

"It sees the struggle in Puerto Rico as a 'patriotic' one whose aim is the establishment of an independent republic of Puerto Rico which, through some unknown process, will eventually move toward socialism.

"The nationalism of the MPI fits right into the policy of the Stalinists, who have for ages pushed precisely this kind of perspective in the colonial countries. This perspective of a 'two-stage revolution' (first the fight for independence, later the fight for socialism) in the colonial countries has brought defeat after defeat to the international working class."

COUNTERPOSED

To this perspective we counterposed the Trotskyist perspective that the fight for independence has to be the fight to mobilize the working class inde-



Felix Ojeda, Gus Hall and Juan Mari Bras

Communique of solidarity

The conference in San Juan, January 22, between the top leaders of the MPI (El Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico), headed by its general secretary, Juan Mari Bras, the top leaders of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico headed by its general secretary Felix Ojeda, and the U.S. Communist delegation, headed by Gus Hall, issued the following statement:

In the spirit of internationalist anti-imperialism and in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality a meeting took place in the office of the National Mission of the MPI.

Present were Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the MPI; Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; Felix Ojeda, general secretary, Communist Party of Puerto Rico. Others present were Julio Vives Vazquez, Pedro Baiges Chapel, Jenaro Rentas, Manuel de J. Gonzalez and Angel Agosto, members of the Political Committee of the MPI; Gertrudis Melendez de Perez, and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico; and Pat Toobey, member of the national committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The talks focused on the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and for the elimination of U.S. military, economic, and political domination and influence over Puerto Rican life. All parties agreed that Puerto Rico is subjected to a direct, classic form of colonialism by the U.S. imperialists.

The talks included a discussion about the developments in the struggle for national liberation throughout the world. The meeting took note of the new and ominous steps of escalation in Southeast Asia by the Nixon Administration. Because of this, all parties present agreed to intensify and heighten the struggle to end the U.S. aggression in Indochina.

The discussion dealt with the movements and struggles for independence in Puerto Rico, and in the U.S., with the various struggles against imperialism and war; with the struggle for black liberation, and against the special oppression of 1,600,000 Puerto Rican people now in the U.S. The talks took note of the serious nature of the present economic crisis and its severe and damaging effects upon the working people of our two nations.

The meeting developed a number of concrete forms and actions, especially around the following issues:

A. To eliminate the U.S. naval presence and its criminal bombardment of the Island of Culebra. We see this struggle as the initial stage in eliminating the presence of U.S. imperialism's military forces in Puerto Rico.

B. To heighten the struggle for the freedom of Angela Davis. We see this as a struggle to save the life of a beautiful human being and symbolic of the struggle against racism and all other forms of imperialist ideology. We see it symbolic of the need for unity of all victims of imperialist oppression.

C. To expose the hypocrisy of U.S. imperialism in now proclaiming that Puerto Rico is not included in the Tlatelulco Treaty for Nuclear Free Zone in Latin America. This only shows that the criminal intentions of U.S. imperialism are to continue the economic, military, and political oppression of Puerto Rico; to continue it as a regional military staging area and to have, in Puerto Rico, nuclear weapons bases from which it can threaten the independence of all nations in our hemisphere.

D. The talks canvassed the meaning of the unprecedented mass militancy of the youth of our two nations. The meeting agreed on special steps that are needed to render assistance and mass support to the hundreds who have been arrested or indicted because of their courageous stand against the U.S. military draft.

E. The meeting took special note of the centrality of the need to promote unity and a fighting, militant, fraternal relationship between the workingclass and trade union organizations of our two nations. We will seek ways to put an end to the ability of U.S. corporations to use the working class of one nation against their class brothers of the other.

The conference concluded, strengthening comradeship between us in spite of the different views that each party may have about a number of things, as symbolic of the future ties and friendship that will grow and deepen between our two peoples: based on an end to U.S. imperialist oppression of Puerto Rico, as neighbors in independence, equality and mutual respect.

San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 22, 1971

Above is the "Communique of Solidarity between CP and MPI reprinted from Feb. 13 World.

pendently from the native capitalists in a struggle for power and socialism. This, I said, can only be done by a party which is not "Puerto Rican" as such but part of an international revolutionary movement of the working class that bases itself on the struggles of the international working class for the last 150 years and on the struggle for revolutionary socialism led by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

I put forward that only the International Committee of the Fourth International is such a party and that the Workers League, in solidarity with that movement, struggles here in the United States to construct this party as the revolutionary leadership of the working class in the United States, including the Puerto Rican workers here in the U.S. and for the building of a section of this world movement in Puerto Rico.

MPI, instead of answering politically these questions, launched a whole series of attacks on the Workers League and its supporters. The first

one occurred in front of the MPI's New York headquarters when this writer and another comrade were surrounded and harassed by about seven or eight MPIers, led by their leader here in New York, Jose Antonio Irizarry. According to them they "would not tolerate" our selling the Bulletin there and made claims that we were obstructing the way into the hallway.

When confronted with the fact that we certainly were not obstructing any traffic and that we were standing in the public street they came out with the real reason saying that the "Bulletin is a counterrevolutionary newspaper" and that they would not allow it to be sold "no matter what." At this point Irizarry lunged to grab the papers. We then left since we were outnumbered.

The second incident occurred at the march commemorating the Ponce Massacre. First the MPI tried to prevent the Workers League contingent from participating in the demonstration but were stopped from doing this by the other participants in the

march. Later, at the rally, they beat up several Bulletin salesmen and tore up our banners which were calling for an independent and socialist Puerto Rico and defeat to imperialism and Stalinism. At the same time they whipped up all kinds of slanders from the platform saying that we were CIA agents and provocateurs."

The third incident occurred in front of the MPI's headquarters, where a bunch of MPIers attacked three of our comrades and saw fit to hit only the one woman comrade present. Later they called for the assistance of the ultra-Stalinist "Mass Line" group, whose crying slogan is "Death to the Trotskyites."

ALLIED

But what really exposes the MPI for what they are is that after the incident last Friday they immediately went running to the Communist Party, which was holding a forum on "Trotskyism: The Racism on the Left." At the CP's platform they denounced the Workers League and Trotsky- (Continued On Page 12)

Saigon Colonel Calls Laos War 'Miserable Defeat'

BY DAVID NICHOLS

In the words of Colonel Nguyen Van Tho, Commander of the Third Brigade of South Vietnam's Airborne Division, captured by Liberation forces during the Laos invasion, South Vietnam's forces were "...miserably defeated" in Laos.

But those two words also apply to the whole of Indochina, as during the Laotian fiasco and since then, the imperialist forces have been consistently beaten back.

CAMBODIA

In Cambodia, 17,000 puppet troops have been beaten back from their attempt to seize a supply base of the Liberation forces. The strategic Pich Nil pass, vital to the imperialist defense of Pnompenh has been captured. Further south, a two mile stretch of Route 4, Cambodia's only outlet to the sea, has been captured. And despite repeated attempts by puppet troops to retake the area, the two mile stretch has been enlarged to ten miles. During last year's invasion of Cambodia, the opening of Route 4 was the prime target. Closer to Saigon's bor-

der a Cambodian battalion was overrun and destroyed by the workers and peasants.

In the five northern most provinces of South Vietnam numerous attacks have been successfully carried out. Danang and Khe Sanh have been rocketted and mortared.

Firebase 6 has been under siege since March 31st despite the use of B-52 Bombers to beat back the attack. Meanwhile along the coast directly opposite Firebase 6, the town of Bong Son is under attack by liberation forces.

Saigon, in an attempt to get on the offensive, has launched a drive into the U Minh Forest, in the Mekong Delta. It seems as though the puppet government has forgotten the experience of the French when they sent an airborne battalion into the swamps and canals of that forest that was never heard from again. Or perhaps they are trying to make up for the last time they tried

to penetrate the U Minh Forest, and were immediately repelled.

All of which brings us back to Col. Tho's phrase "...miserably defeated." American pilots have reported that traffic down the Ho Chi Minh Trail is moving freely.

NIXON

At the same time the Pentagon announces the highest American death toll in ten months. The weekly casualty rate is over four hundred men wounded a week.

It is within this context that Nixon steps on T.V. and lyingly claims that the Laotian invasion was a success and that Vietnamization is working. Nixon also made clear his plans to continue the war.

But the working class in the U.S. together with the workers and peasants in Indochina will put an end to this war and to imperialism.



Thousands of panicked troops wait for helicopters to take them home.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas
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MPI Thugs Knife Bulletin Salesmen

Eyewitness Account Of Hooliganism

BY PAT CONNOLLY
AN EYEWITNESS

NEW YORK, N.Y., April 10—Last night members of the Workers League were brutally attacked by members of the MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia), who

were armed with lead pipes and knives.

One comrade received a concussion, another was stabbed in the hand and required seven stitches, and a third comrade, John Holmes, was slashed on the wrist, severing four tendons and cutting his wrist through to the

bone. He was operated on last night, and there is a 50 per cent chance he will regain the use of his hand.

This hooligan attack was a continuation of a series of unprovoked attacks by MPI.

On a previous occasion when two comrades were selling the

Bulletin at an MPI meeting, they were threatened and physically assaulted by ten MPIers.

Last night 15 members of the Workers League were stationed in the area to defend those selling the Bulletin if any attacks were forthcoming from MPI.

The sale started at about 7:40 with four comrades selling the Bulletin on the sidewalk area in front of the MPI office. After about ten minutes two persons came down from the MPI office, and one of them said "We have warned you not to sell your rag sheet here before." As Juan Farinas was about to reply, he was jumped by the other MPIer, and they tried to drag him into the narrow hallway of the MPI office.

Workers League members came running up the block when they saw Juan attacked, and MPIers began pouring down the stairs, armed with lead pipes and knives. Our members immediately slammed the door and held it shut, keeping the armed MPIers inside.

Carmen Baerga, an MPI leader, stood inside the door shouting that we were CIA agents, as the MPIers brandished the pipes and knives.

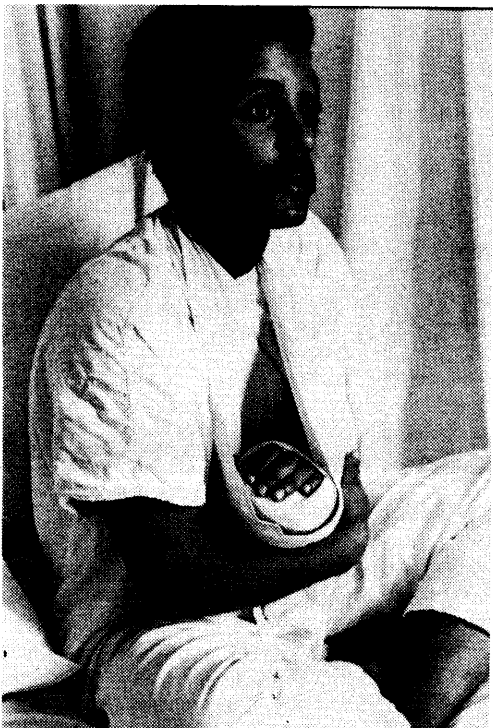
The two MPIers who had attacked Juan were still outside and had been joined by another who had come up from the street. These three continued to attack those who were holding the door shut, and demanded to know why the door was being "obstructed." Behind the door were at least 20 armed MPIers. As those outside continued to attack, they were grabbed and stopped.

Baerga and the others were told several times that the three MPIers would be let into the office if they would take their knives and pipes and go upstairs.

At this point, the MPIers on the inside pushed out the plastic window and began hitting with pipes and slashing through the opening. Bob Kukiel was smashed on the head with a lead pipe, and blood began pouring down his face.

Then John Holmes picked up the square of plastic window and threw it back into the hallway through the opening. As he reached into the opening to ward off the pipes and to try to wrest them away from the MPIers, he was knifed on the top of the wrist, a cut which severed four tendons and cut right through to the bone, appearing to almost sever his hand from his arm. Another comrade, Ernie MacIntyre, who was trying to hold off the pipe blows was slashed on the hand with a switchblade as he tried to take pipes away from them.

As police sirens began, the MPIers ran upstairs, and the Workers League members left to bring three persons to a hospital.



John Holmes is 20 years old. He is presently a student at New York City Community College. John grew up in Jamaica, New York. He first got involved in politics in high school in the Afro-American Club and was active in the student strike in that period.

He joined the New York Black Panther Party while he was in high school. He was one of the co-founders of Black Students United at Community College and was the Minister of Political Affairs.

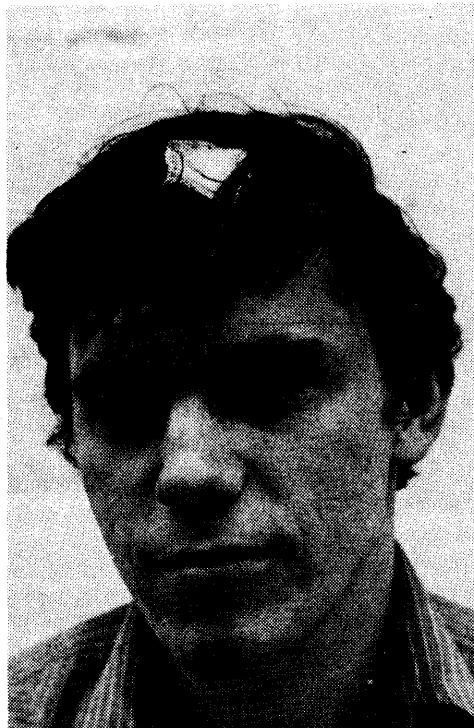
John began working with the Workers League Club at Community College and joined the party in the spring of last year. He has been a leader of the party's work.



Ernie MacIntyre is a 22 year old student at New York City Community College in Brooklyn. He was active in High School SNCC, and in 1966 participated in the rebellions in Bedford-Stuyvesant, where he grew up.

Ernie was a member of the Black Arts Theater and was active in BAND (Blacks Against Negative Dying), a Black anti-war group. He participated in the voter registration drives conducted by the New Democratic Party of Alabama against the Wallace campaign there last year.

Ernie was a founding member of the New York Black Panther Party and joined the Workers League in January 1971.



Bob Kukiel is a 23 year old unemployed construction worker. He is a member of IUOE Local 478. He was in the Marine Corps in Vietnam from July 1967 to August 1968.

After returning from Vietnam he was the co-editor of an anti-war GI paper, *Head On*, at Camp LeJeune, North Carolina. He joined the Workers League in September, 1969. He was the organizer of the Connecticut branch of the Workers League and is a member of the National Committee. Bob is now living in Newark, N.J., where he has been active in defense of the teachers strike. He is also a reporter for the *Bulletin*.

Open Letter To Workers, Minorities, Youth

On Friday, April 9, a group of supporters of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) attempted to prevent supporters of the Workers League from selling their newspaper, the *Bulletin*, outside the headquarters of the MPI at 106 E. 14th Street in New York City.

The group of *Bulletin* salesmen were physically assaulted with pipes and knives. Three of them were injured, including two who were hospitalized. Greater and possibly fatal injuries were only narrowly averted.

The Workers League calls upon all working class, minority and youth organizations to take a stand against any and all hooligan attacks within the movement. The Workers League proposes the following:

- 1) that all organizations reject and denounce all physical attacks

on other tendencies in the working class movement; that we specifically affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature; that we oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights.

- 2) that all tendencies, whatever their political differences, reject the charges that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, are agents of the CIA and FBI. These slanderous charges are rooted in the infamous Moscow Trials, and were refuted not

only by the Dewey Commission in 1937, but by history itself, in particular by the famous speech of Krushchev's to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956. These absolute fabrications are now being brought forward once again to justify physical assaults on working class tendencies.

- 3) the Workers League is prepared to come before an independent workers' commission of inquiry, to present all the necessary evidence which will prove that its supporters have been the victims of vicious, murderous and unprovoked attacks on the part of MPI. It proposes that MPI affirm its willingness to testify before such a commission, composed of impartial representatives acceptable to both sides.

The Workers League and its supporters continue to face at this time not only the slanderous charges of being CIA agents but direct physical threats. We therefore appeal to you to act as quickly as possible. We ask that you:

- 1) communicate to us your agreement with the above proposals
- 2) publicize this attack and your opposition to it as widely as possible
- 3) help us to defend ourselves and to prevent similar attacks in the future.

Fraternally,

Tim Wohlforth,
National Secretary
for the Workers League

Yakir Warns Congress Of Stalinist Resurgence

BY A CORRESPONDENT

Pyotr Yakir, the courageous Soviet oppositionist whose father was murdered by Stalin, wrote to the 24th Communist Party Congress in Moscow warning about the resurgence of Stalinism in the USSR.

His letter was given added point when CP secretary Leonid Brezhnev launched an attack on writers like Alexander Solzhenitsyn for "seeking to reduce the diversity of present-day Soviet reality to problems that have irreversibly receded into the past."

Nothing could be further from

the truth, as Yakir makes clear. Stalin was one of the century's biggest criminals, Yakir says, and the memory of those innocent people who suffered under him made any kind of reconciliation with Stalinism impossible.

There has been a rebirth of Stalinism in the political, social

and cultural life of the country, he says.

Political prisoners were again appearing in the camps, and those "not responsible for their actions" were being thrown into the infamous "mental hospital" prisons. For them, the chief sign of getting well is a change of convictions, Yakir says.

"Many thousands of Soviet citizens are alarmed by the trend. This alarm is felt by a huge if not overwhelming, part of our

creative, scientific, and technical intelligentsia.

"It is felt by thousands of people whose rights were taken away under Stalin and have not been restored, and by many, many other citizens who are not indifferent to the fate of the country."

HOUNDED

Letters and appeals to the government had gone unanswered, and in some cases their authors had been locked up.

"Is this the way to prove one's case to fellow-citizens and the world?" Yakir asks. "Can ideological uniformity of society be achieved in such a way?"

Yakir himself has been systematically hounded by the secret police in the past five years.

His letter vividly underlines the crisis in the Soviet Communist Party, where, after Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Stalinists are preparing repression for the workers and intellectuals at home.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Build WL Rally Against Muskie-CP-SWP Bloc

The platform for the April 24th demonstration sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition and the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice is now shaping up. This platform will be bought and paid for politically by the ruling class, and in particular by the Democratic Party.

The latest spokesman of capitalism to join the cabal is none other than Edmund Muskie, chief contender for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. Muskie now joins McGovern in endorsing this rally being built by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The counterrevolutionary character of this demonstration is openly revealed. The main speaker on this platform may very well be the next president of the United States, the next leader of world imperialism. For the platform of these men is imperialism and its bloody wars against the working class.

But the capitalist class cannot accomplish this without the aid of the Stalinists and revisionists. The Socialist Workers Party is attempting to cover its role in April 24th by attacking the PCPJ and the CP for subordinating "the antiwar movement to reformist politics and to the liberal Democratic Party politicians in particular." The SWP berates the CP for not saying "a word about breaking from the Democratic Party." (Militant, 4-16-71)

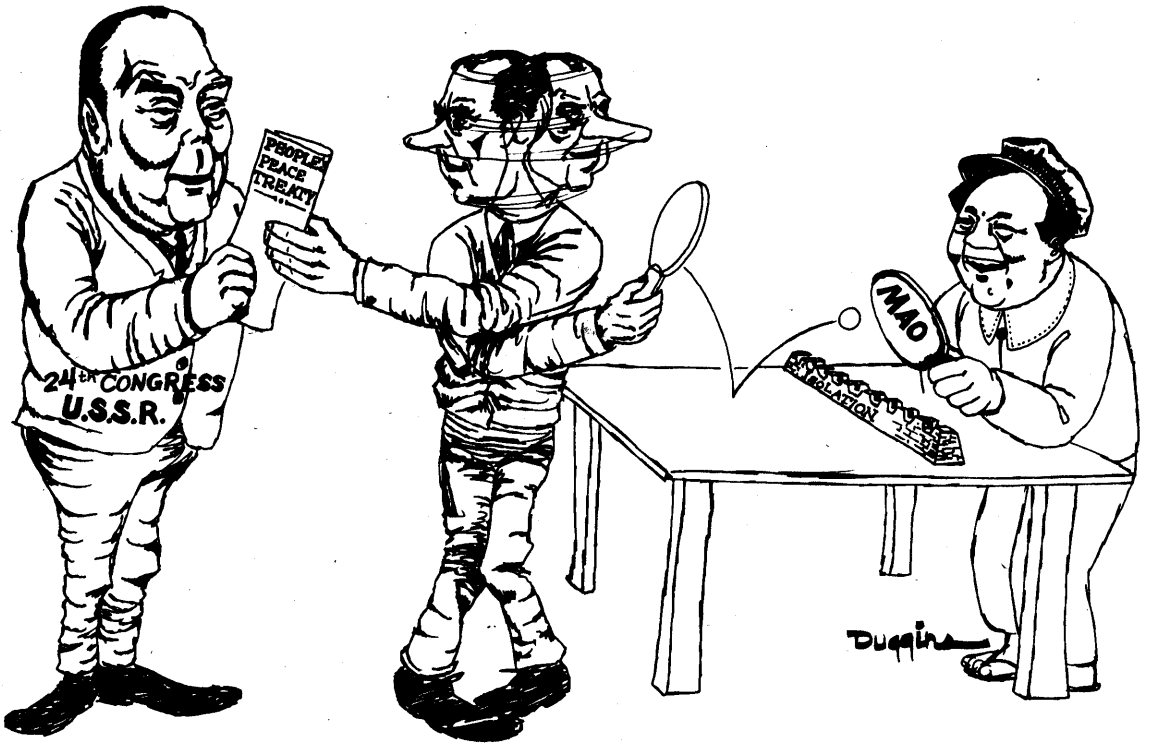
But it is NPAC uncritically supported by the SWP which has invited and welcomed the Muskies and McGovern. It was in fact Don Gurewitz, head of the Student Mobilization Committee and an SWPer, who wrote a letter begging Edmund Muskie to join the antiwar movement. And not one word, we might add, has been said by the SMC, SWP-YSA in the antiwar movement about breaking from the Democratic Party and building a labor party.

The SWP cannot escape the political logic of its alliance with Stalinism. This logic was clearly expressed last week by the Communist Party whose trade union commission openly issued a statement in support of Kenneth Gibson in his efforts to break the Newark Teachers Union. This is the logic of a political perspective that can welcome a Muskie who has been even more vehement than Nixon himself in demanding a wage freeze against American workers.

We say that the war in Indochina is an imperialist war, a class war. There are only two sides in this war, the side of imperialism or the side of the working class.

This is why there will be two demonstrations on April 24th. In Washington and San Francisco the Workers League is calling independent rallies against imperialism, against ALL its spokesmen. At the center of the Workers League demonstration will be the fight for socialism, for the independent mobilization of the working class and youth to defeat and destroy capitalism.

We say to all workers, Blacks, Spanish-speaking militants, students and youth—give absolutely no support to the NPAC-PCPJ march. March against Nixon, Agnew, McGovern and Muskie. Come to the Workers League demonstration on April 24!



In time of need, help from all sides.

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

by the growth of Stalinism in the United States. This fall we proposed to the SWP common meetings around the assassination of Leon Trotsky as a stand of solidarity against the Stalinists. At the recent Washington Conference of the SMC the Workers League was in the forefront of the political struggle against Mike Zagarell and the Stalinists who pushed the People's Peace Treaty popular front peaceful co-existence line while at the same time distributing Zagarell's Moscow Trials-inspired gutter pamphlet "Trotskyism—Inside Job."

The SWP and YSA refused to see the Boston attack as an expression of Stalinism. The SWP and YSA have refused to hold joint meetings with us on the assassination of Trotsky or even meetings of their own. The SWP and YSA refused to take up Zagarell and in fact since that conference have re-formed their bloc with the Communist Party in the anti-war movement.

Now comes this new attack by MPI. This assault occurred the same evening as a Communist Party Forum "Trotskyism—Racism on the Left." The forum was viewed as a continuation of Zagarell's "Trotskyism—Inside Job" and featured Tony Monteiro of the Philadelphia Young Workers Liberation League.

The speech was a vicious attack on Trotsky and Trotskyism with particular emphasis

on the SWP-YSA. The speaker quoted Trotsky out of context and combined this with the SWP's position on Black nationalism, the usual quotes from Lenin made before 1917 against Trotsky borrowed from Stalin, in order to try to "prove" that Trotskyism was racist towards the Blacks, paternal and hostile to white workers, sows disunity on the left, and can in no way be considered a legitimate part of the workers' movement.

Its aim was clearly to stir up Black and minority youth against Trotskyism seeking to have Trotskyists forced out of the workers' movement as was attempted by Stalin in the 1930s.

In the course of the floor discussion a spokesman of the Workers League and Bobby Washington of the YSA were cut off and not allowed to complete their remarks.

In the middle of the discussion period two representatives of MPI entered the room and conferred with Dennis Mora of the CP and Monteiro. Mora then stated:

"In order to really see the nature of Trotskyism, we have to turn to life. I have a companero here from the MPI who will tell you what happened at their headquarters on 14th Street with a microsect of the Trotskyists."

An MPI spokesman then spoke calling the Workers League "CIA agents," stating that the Workers League had been told not to sell their "rag sheet" in front of the MPI offices, that the Workers

League was not part of the radical movement and that the Workers League and Juan Farinas in particular "are pigs."

Clearly the MPI is leaning on Stalinism to answer political criticisms and in turn the Stalinists are seeking to pit minority youth against Trotskyism. Their aim is to try to drive Trotskyism out of the workers' movement reviving all the old slanders of the Moscow Trials in order to do it precisely because they fear the impact of Trotskyism on the youth.

We warn the SWP and YSA that it is not possible to duck this question of Stalinism, to compromise with it in order to avoid a head-on confrontation. There is no escaping it. The SWP and YSA must take up the fight now by joining with other organizations in repudiating hooligan attacks on other political tendencies and openly answering those who slander Trotskyists as "pigs" and "CIA agents."

It is the responsibility of the SWP and YSA to take the lead in this matter. We in turn announce publicly, despite the deepest political differences our willingness to work out any and all cooperation and common activities against Stalinism. Specifically we propose once again a joint meeting, sponsored by our organizations, on the question of Stalinism as an answer to Zagarell, Monteiro, and those like the MPI who take up their slanders and resort to Stalinist hooliganism.

Big Response To Bulletin Sub Drive

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

As the campaign to increase the Bulletin's circulation by 2,000 by May 15th nears the half way mark, we have received 668 new subs to the Bulletin.

We are waging an all out campaign nationally and in parts of Canada to penetrate new layers on the campuses, in the high schools, the Black and Spanish communities and in the labor movement.

In New York the Bulletin sub drive has been launched in the housing projects in the Fort Green area of Brooklyn, and in upper and lower Manhattan. The Bulletin has received a tremendous response there particularly from the youth.

Subs are coming in from the colleges in the Minneapolis area.

During the Local 285 Teamsters strike against the linen supply companies in Detroit we have received over 30 subs from the striking workers.

As the struggle deepens in the labor movement, we are receiving subs from members of SSEU-371 and Local 1199 Hospital Workers in New York.

Since the launching of the 16 pager and the development of our West Coast News section, we have received a large number of subs from the West Coast. Last week we received 31 subs from San Francisco and Berkeley.

We urge all readers and supporters of the Bulletin to start actively campaigning in your schools, communities and shops for subs.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

The attached statement was sent by wire to the Chairman of the National Peace Action Coalition Steering Committee with the request that it be read to the Steering Committee at their meeting April 10, in Washington, D.C.

Fraternally,

Lou Renfrow
Chairman
Ohio New Party

On November 19, 1970, I urged N.P.A.C. to continue "a policy of total independence from the imperialist two-party system and prepare the ground work for independent political action" on a mass scale.

Unfortunately, N.P.A.C. has moved in a totally opposite direction. As a Steering Committee member I protest the red carpet treatment given members of the two-party system. I object strenuously to Jerry Gordon's solicitation of Muskie and McGovern, and other Democrats and Republicans.

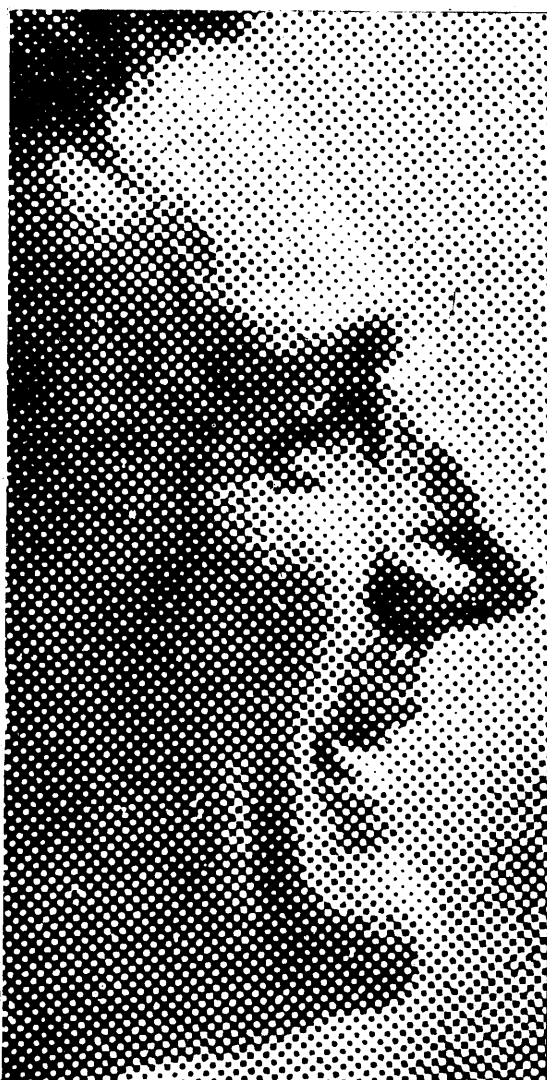
Those who feed the propaganda mills of the Democratic Party, while it is out of power, only prepare the ground work for its electoral lesser-evil trickery.

The "diamond in the rough" magnification of Senator Hartke's individual endorsement of immediate withdrawal only helps reinforce illusions that there is hope for the second party

of imperialism. (It obviously intends to be the first party in '72.) The role of the McGoverns and the Muskies is clear: to grab the free publicity and/or short circuit any mass break from the two-party system.

N.P.A.C. as an organization should in no way bring these Democratic Party hopefuls in the front door, much less the back door. N.P.A.C.'s policy must be: No spokesman for either party of imperialism.

If a two-party politician wishes to speak, let him or her first resign from their blood-drenched party they are serving so faithfully. Let them tell the truth about the two parties: that both are the main transmission belts for the War System.



Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

3 Third Industrial Revolution & Theory of Neo-Imperialism

IN THE PREVIOUS article we showed how Mandel's neo-capitalist scheme, rather than basing itself on actual qualitative structural changes in imperialism, is nothing more than the product of a series of impressions of the boom which he has abstracted out of the whole development of imperialism in this epoch and transformed into a new third stage.

What is involved, however, is a great deal more than a crude misinterpretation of the boom. When Mandel asserts that the existence of a third stage of capitalism, "as different from monopoly capitalism...as monopoly capitalism was different from classical laissez-faire capitalism," he is above all launching a head on attack on Lenin and Trotsky.

Lenin and Trotsky in their analyses of the imperialist stage of capitalism concluded that beginning with the twentieth century capitalism had completed its progressive historical mission and had become a fetter upon—and, in fact, threatened the absolute destruction of—the productive forces. Lenin and Trotsky saw the opening of the twentieth century and the emergence of imperialism as the opening of an historical period described as follows by Marx.

"At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of a society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."⁽¹⁾

IMPERIALISM

It was for this reason that Lenin and Trotsky spoke only and always of imperialism as the "highest," and therefore last, stage of capitalism, precluding beforehand any possibility of the emergence

of a new third stage.

Lenin could not have been clearer about imperialism's place in the history of capitalism and in history generally. In fact, in his chapter in *Imperialism* entitled "The Place of Imperialism in History," Lenin states the following:

"We have seen that the economic quintessence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This very fact determines its place in history, for monopoly that grew up on the basis of free competition, is the transition from capitalism to a higher socio-economic order."⁽²⁾

Imperialism, thus, is the last stage of capitalism, that stage transitional to and therefore contiguous with socialist revolution.

When Mandel poses the emergence of a new stage of capitalism, therefore, he of necessity comes into head on collision with Lenin's theory of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. What Mandel is really saying is that Lenin's and Trotsky's whole analysis of imperialism as the period of capitalist decline and the stagnation of the productive forces; therefore a period of socialist revolution like that described by Marx was wrong.

EVADE

Mandel is counterposing to this analysis the theory that capitalism is capable of continuing to develop the productive forces right on into the twentieth century just as it had been able to do in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Mandel, of course, tries to evade the conclusion that he is in open rebellion against Lenin. He therefore tries to pose his third stage theory in such a way as to make it appear that he is perfectly consistent with Lenin. He does this by portraying neo-capitalism (and this is the whole point of elevating it to a third stage) as a further development of Lenin just as Lenin's analysis represented a further development and in no sense a rejection of Marx.

We will examine in detail how Mandel attempts this artful bit of sophistry so as to eliminate from the outset what is nothing more than a smokescreen he uses to mask his totally anti-Leninist position.

Peter Jefferies in dealing with this and other aspects of Mandel's neo-capitalist scheme (see the *Workers Press*, Dec. 2, 1969, "Mandel Revises Marx") quotes the following statement made by Mandel in his article "The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism." In confronting the question of whether his third stage and "third industrial revolution" theories overthrow Lenin Mandel says:

"Does this view of a new industrial revolution overthrow the classical Marxist-Leninist conception of imperialism as

the final stage of capitalism? It does not, no more than the appearance of monopoly capitalism overthrew the classical Marxist conception of competition being the driving force of capitalism.

"The third phase in the history of capitalism reproduces most of the basic features of imperialism on a higher scale just as monopoly capitalism reproduces capitalism on a higher scale."⁽³⁾

SOPHISTRY

Jefferies, in dissecting this sophistry, makes the following key point:

"It is not that imperialism merely reproduces the features of earlier capitalism on a higher level.

"It was a stage which had grown organically out of capitalism in which many of the characteristics of 19th century capitalism were by this century turned into their opposite, e.g. the relationship between finance and industrial capital, the development of monopoly out of competition, and crucially, the transformation of capitalism as a progressive force into one which was now a complete fetter on the further development of the productive forces."⁽⁴⁾

In other words, the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism was not simply a qualitative development which left open the possibility of a further qualitative development at a later point, but a transformation of phenomena into their opposites, the transformation of living, flourishing capitalism into dying "moribund capitalism" as Lenin called it.

Thus while one can talk about reproducing competitive capitalism on a higher scale, if this formulation is simply extended by analogy (which is what Mandel attempts to do), one is then talking about reproducing dying capitalism on a higher scale. This is pure gibberish. Clearly Mandel is resting his analysis on a formula whose content he has never bothered to probe. He uses it, as we have contended he uses bits and pieces of Marxist orthodoxy all along, simply to buttress his anti-Marxist theories. The formulation has a scientific sounding ring to it, so Mandel grabs hold and uses it.

In fact if Mandel were to actually probe through the real meaning of the formulation, "reproducing the basic features of imperialism on a higher scale," in relation to the actual content of imperialism, he would have seen that such a formulation only undermines his whole neo-capitalist theory.

LENIN

This can be seen in relation to the other aspect of Lenin's definition of imperialism. Lenin speaks of imperialism not

only as the highest stage of capitalism but that stage "when the features of a period of transition from capitalism to a higher social economic system begin to take shape and reveal themselves all along the line..."⁽⁵⁾ In other words under imperialism the huge socialization of the productive forces that emerge in the form of huge factories, in the vast network of banking and in the creation of an international division of labor anticipate, (if only in a one sided way, in that they emerge still



Lenin saw imperialism as highest stage.

within the framework of capitalism), the basis of a new social economic order.

If one bases oneself on Lenin's analysis, one can certainly talk about the "reproduction of the basic features of imperialism on a higher scale." But then one is talking about the reproduction of those features which under capitalism present the form of a new social economic order, on the basis of the transformation of their content, namely the overthrow of capitalism. In other words one would be talking about the emergence of the new social economic order—socialism itself.

Thus the very formulation Mandel uses to describe the emergence of neo-capitalism turns against Mandel and is revealed as a description not of the transition of imperialism to neo-capitalism for which no scientific description is possible because no such phenomena exists, but of the transition from imperialism to socialism itself. Mandel's case is torn apart.

Mandel's attempts to make neo-capitalism out to be a third stage of capitalism and thus a development of, rather than a revision of, Lenin, is basically unserious. It is pasted together with a string of sophistries and verbal tricks.

KAUTSKY

Mandel's attempt to make a case for a third stage of capitalism is in fact 100 times weaker than Mandel's predecessor in the same endeavor—Karl Kautsky. Kautsky's theory of "ultra-imperialism" posited a phase of "common exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital in place of mutual rivalries of national finance capital." (6) Kautsky based this theory, if wrongly, on the concrete analysis of concrete phenomena which if they had developed as Kautsky predicted, would have constituted a fundamental qualitative change in capitalism and could rightly have been designated a new stage of capitalism.

Mandel on the contrary, does not base himself on any serious theoretical analysis of concrete phenomena, but entirely on empty formulas torn from Lenin, sophistry and artful dodges. Kautsky and Mandel are equals when it comes to revisionism but Kautsky is clearly the more serious thinker.

If we probe through the unseriousness of Mandel's argument for a third stage of capitalism to its actual meaning what we must conclude is that Mandel's whole third stage theory is nothing more than a gigantic smokescreen. Beneath it Mandel is able the more readily to proceed with his main line of attack which is aimed at demolishing Lenin's theory of the second stage of capitalism, imperialism.

It is not so much that Mandel is interested in establishing a third stage of capitalism as such. Primarily, he uses this formulation to cover his attack on Lenin. What he really opposes is the conception that capitalism in its imperialist stage, in spite of whatever cyclical oscillations, becomes qualitatively different from capitalism of the 18th and 19th centuries. He opposes the idea that capitalism ceases any longer to play a progressive role, that it renders impossible any further systematic development of the productive forces and that it threatens with increasing malevolence the total destruction of mankind's productive forces so long as the proletariat does not replace it with socialism.

REVISION

It is wrong to think that Mandel agrees with Lenin and Trotsky on their characterization of the imperialist epoch for the years 1900 to 1929 or 1945, and that neo-capitalism is nothing more than a theory describing capitalism from 1929 or 1945 to the present. The very fact that Mandel extends the date for the possible beginning of neo-capitalism from 1945 back to 1929 shows that his theory implies a great deal more than simply a revision of Lenin in relation to the postwar boom. He in fact has used the postwar boom to make a much more general revision of Lenin's theory of imperialism, embracing not only the boom period but the entire period back not only to 1929 but to 1914 as well.

This is shown particularly by the different approach taken by Mandel in his two volume Marxist Economic Theory published in 1962. In 1962 he neither used the term neo-capitalism nor did he draw a line of demarcation either at 1929 or 1945, claiming that since these dates a new third stage of capitalism had evolved.

CHALLENGE

In this book Mandel does make reference to a special phase of capitalism beginning with the Second World War. But most of the features of capitalism which he later posits as specifically neo-capitalist, he posits here as late as 1962 as features characteristic of the "age of capitalist decline" as a whole beginning in 1914. In other words the whole period beginning with 1914 which Lenin described as imperialist Mandel is really saying is neo-capitalist.

Neo-capitalism which begins as an empirical adaptation by Mandel to the boom becomes by its very logic and the method upon which it has been erected a direct challenge to the economic principles upon which the Marxist movement has proceeded since 1914. Not only does Mandel misrepresent the meaning of the postwar boom but, as we will show later, he turns the crisis of the 1920s and 1930s into the very opposite of what they meant for Trotsky, Lenin and all other Marxists.

Though Mandel often goes to great lengths to mask his opposition to Lenin and Trotsky, the reality of the situation is that Mandel has nevertheless reached the point where he now with increasing frequency openly attacks them. Mandel's real position on Lenin and Trotsky and their analysis of imperialism comes through loud and clear in just such a frontal attack made by Mandel in his pamphlet "The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism." Mandel says:

"In any case, the key aspect of this development is to understand the oversim-

plification of the assumption (of which even Lenin and Trotsky were at moments victim) that the structural crisis of the world capitalist system, which undoubtedly began with the First World War and the Russian Revolution, somehow is identical with an absolute in the development of the productive forces.

"And each time, when a period of revolutionary upsurge of the working class in the industrial countries ends in defeat, this creates a situation in which the economic recovery is not only possible but inevitable for the imperialist bourgeoisie" (7) (our emphasis—D.O.)

ABSOLUTE

Here the whole revisionist position of Mandel pours out. When Mandel says that there was no absolute reached in the development of the productive forces with the First World War simply because there have since been periods of capitalist recovery or boom, he is denying the essence of Lenin's and Trotsky's position. The First World War did indeed mark an absolute in the development of the productive forces, the postwar boom notwithstanding.

As we have already indicated, capitalism which had until that point provided

to retard the productive forces relative in the 19th century that with the advent of imperialism the relationship of the relative to the absolute was reversed. Capitalism's tendency towards parasitism, decay and crisis became absolute, its ability to provide the basis for periods of partial temporary and conditional growth of the productive forces relative.

Lenin and Trotsky both understood this full well and therefore Mandel's attack upon them is nothing but ignorant slander.

In the first place Trotsky makes clear that the year 1913 marked an absolute in the development of capitalism. In a report on the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International in 1922 he states:

"Twenty-five years ago and more, the replacement of the capitalist mode of production by socialist methods would have already represented objective gains, that is mankind could have produced more under socialism than under capitalism. But 25 or 30 years ago this still did not signify that productive forces were no longer capable of development under capitalism. We know that in all parts of the world, including and especially in Europe...the productive forces still continued to grow. And we are now able to fix the year up to

tinues to breathe until death, so the heart-beats of capitalism continue—in the infancy and in maturity and on the death-bed alike. Its heart continues to beat but the heart-beats are not the same. When a man is dying his heart beats in an entirely different way from a healthy man's, and by taking the pulse, it is possible to determine his condition. Similarly it is possible to determine whether capitalism is ascending, or resting on one and the same level, or disintegrating. In 1920, and even earlier in 1913, there occurred an unmistakable breaking point..." (9)

ANTICIPATED

Thus Trotsky in no sense takes the absolute reached by the productive forces to preclude periods of relative growth and development. Even more the very kind of development that occurred in the ensuing 50 years, namely, a series of monumental defeats of the working class being followed by a long period of crisis, war and stagnation followed in turn by a new capitalist boom, was not only not ruled out by Trotsky, it was theoretically anticipated as a possible variant.

Trotsky did not see even this kind of development as one which would constitute a refutation of his and Lenin's fundamental assessment of imperialism as being an absolute barrier to the development of the productive process.

Thus he says in his report to the Third World Congress of the Communist International:

"If we grant—and let us grant it for the moment—that the working class fails to rise in revolutionary struggle, but allows the bourgeoisie the opportunity to rule the world's destiny for a long number of years, say, two or three decades, then assuredly some new sort of equilibrium will be established. Europe will be thrown violently into reverse gear. Millions of European workers will die from unemployment and malnutrition. The United States will be compelled to reorient itself on the world market, reconvert its industry, and suffer curtailment for a considerable period. Afterwards, after a new world division of labor is thus established in agony for 15 or 20 or 25 years, a new epoch of capitalist upswing might perhaps ensue." (10) (emphasis in original—D.O.)

Thus Trotsky saw no conflict between his assertion that imperialism placed an absolute limit on the productive forces and his assertion that the productive forces could undergo cyclical periods of growth even (under certain circumstances like that described above) a long period of boom. The same is true of Lenin.

DECAY

Lenin makes very clear when he poses imperialism as the epoch of the decay of capitalism that he is not ruling out the possibility of partial growth. In Imperialism Lenin states:

"It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of production, certain strata of the bourgeoisie, and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before; but this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (Britain)." (11)

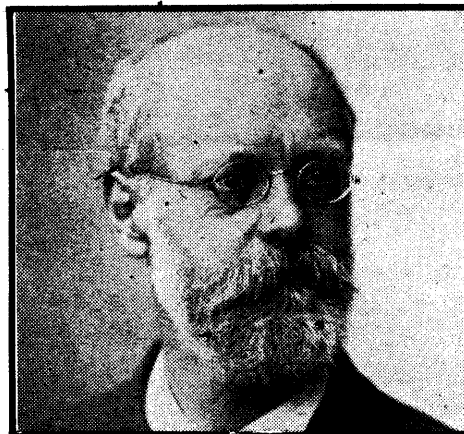
This statement does not prevent Lenin from concluding shortly thereafter:

"From all that has been said in this book on the economic essence of imperialism, it follows that we must define it as capitalism in transition, or, more precisely, as moribund capitalism." (12)

Thus neither Lenin nor Trotsky took their theory that mankind's productive forces stagnate under imperialism in the crude sense that Mandel seeks to imply. They do not hold that imperialism cuts off the possibility of periods of relative development of the productive forces in the process of cyclical booms and crises.

What they did hold was that whatever the momentary conjuncture of the economic cycle, capitalism in its imperialist stage is a dying organism. Therefore whatever the momentary, partial, and conditional ups and downs in the conjuncture, these had to be seen always within the overall framework of the break up and decay of capitalism in its imperialist stage.

When Mandel takes Lenin and Trotsky to task for their identification of the "structural crisis of capitalism" beginning with the First World War with an "absolute in the development of the productive forces" it is this he is attacking. It is not simply that he wants to correct



Mandel has revived the "ultra-imperialism" theory of Kautsky (above). Trotsky (below at Comintern Congress) held that World War I (above right) did mean end of real development of capital.



the basis for the development of the productive forces became thereafter a fetter upon them. The First World War marked a watershed in the history of capitalism after which there could be no talk of the systematic development of the productive forces. In the words of the Transitional Program: "Mankind's productive forces stagnate."

To say, however, that an absolute had been reached in the development of the productive forces does not at all mean, as Mandel seeks to imply and thereby accuse Lenin and Trotsky, that the productive forces simply cease to grow or develop at all. When Lenin and Trotsky identified imperialism with the imposing of an absolute barrier on the productive forces they were not as Mandel accuses them, denying the possibility of periods of temporary recovery in the face of plethoric defeats. They were simply asserting that there could be no more even, systematic growth of the productive forces as in the 18th and 19th centuries. They were saying that there could be no growth that is not self-contradictory in the sense that it at the same time prepares for new economic catastrophes, new wars and revolutions and the ultimate destruction of the productive forces.

SLANDER

To say that the First World War and the beginning of the imperialist epoch marked an absolute in the development of the productive forces was to say that whereas the progressive character of capitalism had been absolute and its tendency

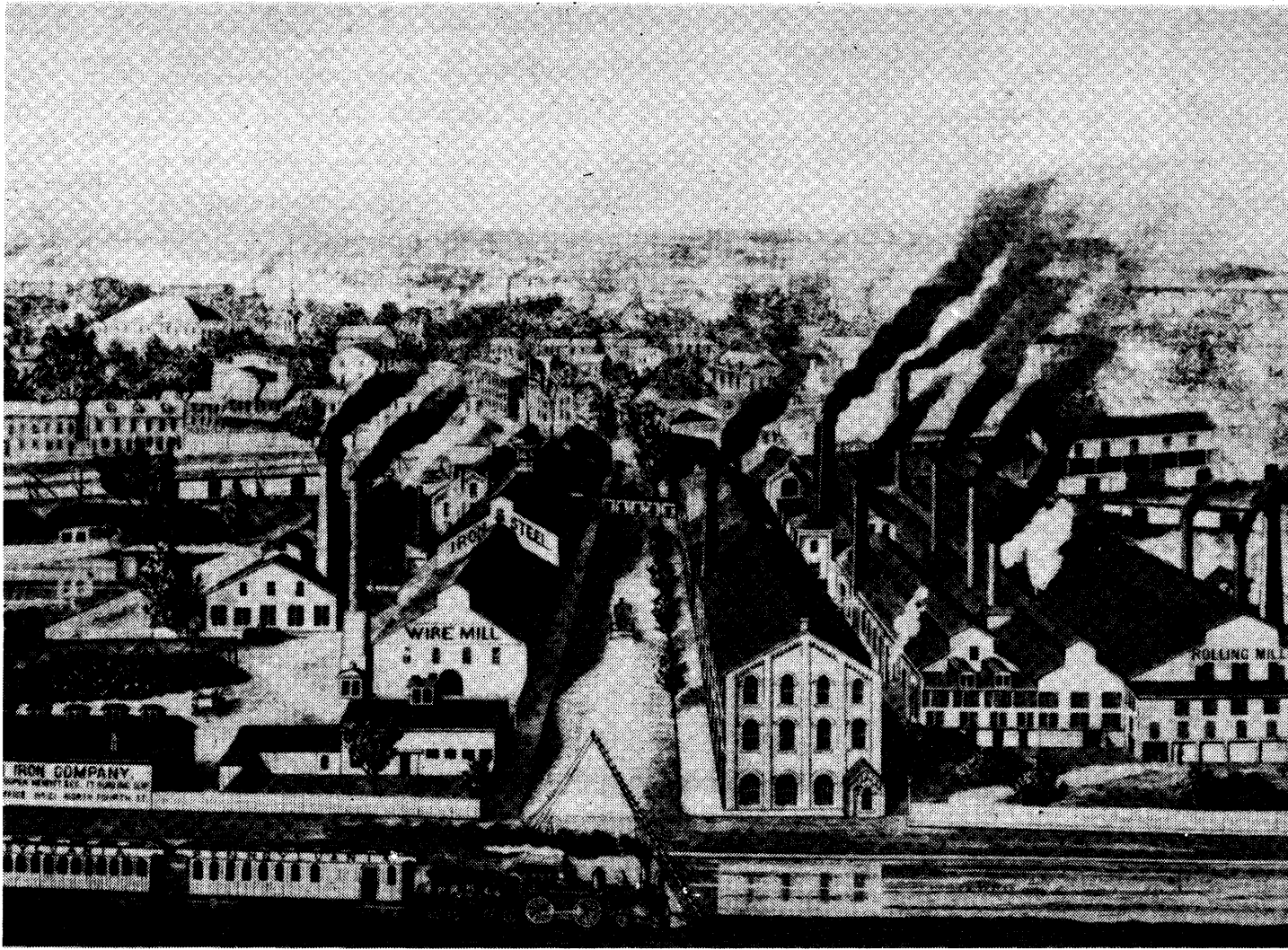
which they continued to grow in Europe: the year 1913. This means that up to that year capitalism represented not an absolute but a relative hindrance to the development of the productive forces. Beginning with 1913—and we can say this positively—the development of capitalism, of its productive forces came to a halt one year before the outbreak of the war because the productive forces ran up against the limits fixed for them by capitalist property....

"It therefore follows that since 1913 capitalism already signifies a condition of absolute stagnation and disintegration for Europe, while socialism provides the only salvation." (8)

TROTSKY

What, however, does Trotsky mean by "absolute stagnation and disintegration?" Does this rule out all development, all movement whatsoever of the productive forces? The answer is no. In another report on the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International delivered earlier the same year Trotsky makes this perfectly clear. "In the epoch of capitalist decline, the productive forces are decomposing; as has been by and large the case in the epoch which began after the war, which has endured to this day and which will continue to endure for a long time to come.

"This means that in the epoch of decline the crises strike deeper than the booms: the crises surpass the booms. Can capitalism develop without cyclical fluctuation, without transition from boom to crisis? No. Just as a human organism...con-



Mandel seeks to identify recent technical change with industrial revolution of 19th century which produced steel mills like the above in place of hand crafts.

Lenin and Trotsky to the extent of pointing out that cyclical fluctuations are still possible after 1913.

This is only his cover. What Mandel is really saying, and attacking Lenin and Trotsky for denying, is that capitalism is still capable of developing the productive forces to the same degree as in the 18th and 19th centuries. In other words, Mandel is denying that imperialism is or ever has been dying capitalism.

INTERWAR CRISIS

This can be partially seen just from the way in which Mandel treats the whole period of interwar crisis of the 1920s and 1930s.

Mandel says in his Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory:

"It seems obvious to me that the period 1913 to 1940 was one of these long-term cycles of stagnation in capitalist production during which all the successive cycles from the crisis of 1920 to 1929 were marked by particularly severe depressions because the long term trend was one of stagnation." (13)

Jefferies in his article on Mandel comments on this passage:

"For Mandel the interwar period was not a manifestation of crisis of imperialism but merely a long-term capitalist stagnation which has been replaced by a similarly long term expansion." (14)

Mandel, in other words, denies the catastrophic character of the 1920s and 1930s. The 1920s and 1930s, however, were not just manifestations of a long term stagnation but of the smash up and death agony and disintegration of capitalism that was prevented from going all the way to proletarian revolution only because of Stalinism. It was a crisis of such intensity that it provided the material basis for the emergence of a new kind of barbarism like nothing known to the 18th or 19th centuries.

Mandel's thesis that 20th century capitalism is not fundamentally different from capitalism of the 19th century in its ability to develop the productive forces finds its sharpest expression, however, in Mandel's theory of the "third industrial revolution," which we will now examine. This theory, we must remember, is one of the main pillars of Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism.

THIRD REVOLUTION

In his Marxist Economic Theory, Mandel says the following about the so-called "third industrial revolution:"

"With the nineteen forties, appeared the warning signs of a third industrial revolution. The first industrial revolution was based on the steam engine, the second on the electric motor and the internal combustion engine. The third industrial revolution is based on the release of nuclear energy and the use of electronic machinery." (15)

Clearly then Mandel identifies the technological changes in industry beginning after 1940 with the industrial revolution of the 19th century.

In so doing Mandel again comes into headon collision with Trotsky and the Transitional Program.

The whole of the Transitional Program and the organization of parties of the Fourth International upon it, is based upon the fundamental premise that there is a stagnation of the productive forces under imperialism.

Thus the Transitional Program asserts that:

"The economic pre-requisite for the proletarian revolution has already in general achieved the highest possible point of fruition that can be reached under capitalism. Mankind's productive forces stagnate. Already new inventions and improvements fail to raise the level of material wealth." (16)

If the developments in industry beginning with the 1940s constituted a development of the same kind as the industrial revolution of the 19th century, this whole premise and the Fourth International, upon which it is based, is thrown out the window. It is no longer true to say that the economic pre-requisite for socialist revolution has reached its highest point or that it is even present.

It is no longer correct therefore to say that "the world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." (17) If one holds to the theory of a third industrial revolution, one is denying that capitalism survives only because of the crisis of proletarian leadership. On the contrary, one is saying that it survives through its own inherent strength, its ability to continue the development of the productive forces, and therefore it need not and cannot be overthrown. This is the logic of Mandel's theory.

Mandel's theory, however, is wrong.

TECHNIQUE

What is wrong with Mandel's theory is that it bases its whole contention for the existence of a "third industrial revolution" on developments in productive technique.

If we take the definition of this "third industrial revolution" as it appears in Mandel's Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, we note how Mandel relies exclusively on this single aspect of the productive forces.

"In the current period of expansion, we are witnessing an accelerated technical progress, a genuine technological revolution for which the expression 'second industrial revolution' or 'third industrial revolution' hardly seems adequate. We find ourselves, in fact, before an almost uninterrupted transformation of the techniques of production." (18)

Again Mandel says:

"We are passing through an era of almost uninterrupted technological transformation in the sphere of production. You have only to recall what has been produced during the last 10-15 years, starting with the release of nuclear energy and proceeding through automation, the development of electronic computers, miniaturization, the laser and a whole series of phenomena in order to grasp this transformation, this uninterrupted technological revolution." (19)

The industrial revolution of the 19th century, however, represented far more than a mere development of technique. The industrial revolution of the late 18th and 19th centuries saw a revolutionary transformation in every aspect of social structure. It saw the consolidation of capitalism as a system all over the face of the globe, a transformation in the whole structure of the world economy.

It saw the final defeat of the old feudal order. It laid the basis for and brought about the transformation of the working class into the huge and powerful revolutionary force it became on the eve of the twentieth century. It saw the rise of whole new industries and the complete elimination of others.

To say a qualitative change of this magnitude has taken place since 1940 not only conflicts with Marxism; it is impossible to substantiate. To speak of a "third industrial revolution," means nothing if it does not mean that changes on the order of the 19th century have indeed taken place. Mandel does not even bother to make a case for such far reaching changes. As we have already stated, Mandel bases his whole case on the development of technique.

In so doing Mandel is simply putting forward the same distortion originally put forward by the Stalinists. It was the Stalinists who were responsible for falsely identifying "forces of production" with "technique" or "implements of production." In point of fact the development of science or technique represents only a single aspect and by no means the main aspect of the productive forces.

MARX

Marx himself said that "of all the instruments of production the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself." (20) Furthermore, from the very inception of the capitalist era the development of science and technique have been in conflict with the working class. Under capitalism the development of science and technology takes place exclusively for the purpose of increasing profits. This means therefore it is developed by the capitalists to increase the surplus value they can extract off the back of the working class.

However, in the period of the 19th century, though this development took place for the purpose of deepening the exploitation of the working class, it nevertheless served on the whole to advance the productive forces including the working class.

With the advent of imperialism, however, the development of technique turns into its opposite. Not only does it no longer provide a lever for the development of the productive forces as a whole, but now threatens their utter destruction.

Thus Trotsky, while recognizing full well the existence of a continuous development in the fields of science and technique under imperialism, hardly had any illusion that this meant that the productive forces as a whole were continuing to develop.

On the contrary, Trotsky states in his pamphlet Marxism in Our Time the following:

"Human progress is stuck in a blind alley. Notwithstanding the latest triumphs of technical thought, the material productive forces are no longer growing." (21)

What this means concretely is that the development of atomic energy and automation, the two axes of Mandel's "third industrial revolution," rather than being utilized since their development for the further conquest of nature by mankind, have been used for the opposite purpose. They have been turned inward and aimed against the productive forces themselves. Atomic energy has been monopolized by imperialism for the sole purpose of preparing nuclear destruction and automation is used solely to create mass unemployment.

STANDPOINT

Mandel's theory of a "third industrial revolution" represents, in fact, the interests of the bourgeoisie in relation to the productive forces. The bourgeoisie indeed sees the developments as an advance particularly given the necessity to sharply step up the exploitation of the working class and to prepare an overturn of the October Revolution. This is what is required to preserve their system.

From the standpoint of the working class, matters stand otherwise, however. Atomic energy and automation stand under imperialism as nothing more than implements in the hands of the bourgeoisie threatening the working class with destruction.

Mandel's theory of a "third industrial revolution" is not only the product of his empirical, one-sided, non-dialectical view of the technical developments since the 1940s, but it is also a product (which itself flows from this abandonment of dialectics)



Automation like Chrysler plant (above) represents development of industrial revolution.

of his abandonment of the standpoint of the working class as the basis for theoretical analysis.

How far Mandel has departed from the class standpoint in relation to atomic energy and automation can be gauged from remarks in his Marxist Economic Theory.

In the chapter entitled "The Economy of the Transition Period," Mandel begins by enthusing about the introduction of atomic power stations in Britain and America and in the huge advance in labor saving techniques introduced into industry throughout the world.

Mandel then turns to the question of the dangers or contradictions in these developments. As to the dangers, Mandel assures us first of all that "the third industrial revolution is breaking through the framework of private property." (22) What he is saying is that the implements of production can break through private property and that this is not a political task for the working class. But we quickly see more fully the meaning of what Mandel is saying. Against the conception of private property, Mandel counterposes control by the capitalist state. Thus Mandel says:

"In every country, it has been possible to develop atomic power only in public laboratories and enterprises. Its transfer pure-and-simple into the private sector would involve the risk that mankind might be at the mercy of a madman with the power to blow up entire countries. Nuclear technique is the first modern technique for which advanced forms of public control are indispensable, not only for the sake of profitability, health or justice, but in order to safeguard the very survival of mankind. Even in the hands of the capitalist state, this technique is a threat to the existence of mankind, in so far as it implies an arms race and the risk of atomic war." (23) (my emphasis, D.O.)



In colonial countries (above sleepers on Calcutta street) poverty remains untouched because capitalism is incapable of extending industrial revolution to these areas.

Here the real bankruptcy of Mandel really comes through. For our part, we assure Mandel that we feel little security in the fact that imperialism's atom bombs are in the hands of Nixon, Agnew, Heath and Pompidou, and perhaps soon will be in the hands of a new Adolf Hitler, rather than in the hands of General Motors, or General Electric.

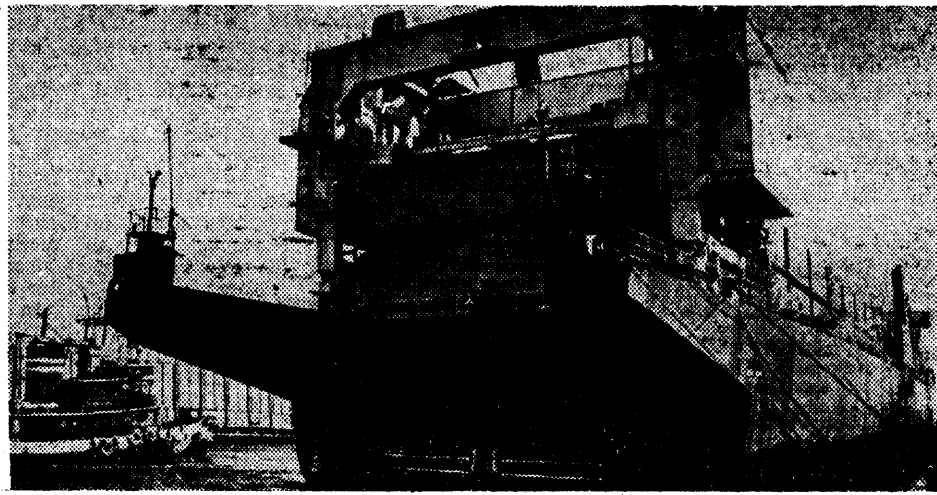
We don't think there is any great deal of difference. We do not think that there is any such thing as advanced forms of public control. Imperialist control is imperialist control. Imperialist development of atomic energy implies its development not for peaceful purposes but its development exclusively for the purpose of nuclear war. This is because imperialist control means the subordination of atomic energy to the needs of preserving capitalism without regard, Mandel, to "health," "justice" or the "survival of mankind." It is not the irrationality of a madman, furthermore, that threatens nuclear destruction but the irrationality of capitalism itself. Mandel's assertion that there can be a progressive development of atomic energy in the hands of the capitalist state is nothing but an open repudiation of Marxism.

The same warped perspective is put forward by Mandel in relation to automation.

AUTOMATION

After extolling the benefits of automation, Mandel here also points to the dangers. This is to give himself at least the shred of a cover. He says:

"Furthermore, automation entails such a development of the productivity of labour



New techniques, like this LASH ship, means unemployment and deepens class struggle.

that only a complete upheaval in the economic system (a radical reduction in prices, tending towards zero, and in working hours, etc.) can in the long run prevent it from being a constant source of disturbance..." (24) (my emphasis, D.O.)

Thus it is not that automation today throws millions of workers on the unemployment lines, not even that this will ever be the case in the future. At worse, automation can "in the long run" become a constant source of disturbance; in the meantime and even then it remains fundamentally progressive. This is Mandel's position.

Marxists hold, on the contrary, that science and technique can only be developed in a progressive way today if the conflict between the productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production is overcome through socialist revolution. As long as this is not accomplished, such developments can only become more and more reactionary. So much for Mandel's theory of a "third industrial revolution."!

differences in the standards of living, the brutal subjection of one nation to another, prepare the way for the colonial revolution which in turn pushed forward the industrialization of the colonial countries and intensifies the international contradictions of capital." (25) (my emphasis, D.O.)

The real international contradiction of capitalism as far as the colonies are concerned, namely that there can be no development in the colonial countries without the smashing of imperialism, is transformed into its opposite. Imperialism is now threatened by the industrialization of the colonies. If this were indeed the international contradiction of capitalism, capitalism would hardly be in the difficulty it is today. It would mean, as with Mandel's theory of the "third industrial revolution," that capitalism was still capable of developing the productive forces on a world scale. There would be no need for a colonial revolution.

What Mandel actually says is that the securing of formal independence like that achieved by a whole string of colonial countries during the boom constitutes the freeing of these colonies from the imperialist yoke. He is saying that formal independence creates the necessary conditions of industrialization. The socialist revolution is no longer required or with it, the independent mobilization of the working class against the colonial bourgeoisie. Here is how Mandel puts it:

"The economic underdevelopment of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is a result of imperialist penetration and maintained, preserved and intensified by this domination. To eliminate it is the fundamental condition for clearing the way to progress; it is even more important than the removal of the native ruling class, though these two processes are usually interconnected." (26) (My emphasis, D.O.)

The whole point of the theory of the permanent revolution is that even the democratic and agrarian tasks in the backward countries can only be carried through under the leadership of the proletariat through a successful socialist revolution. The two processes are not, as Mandel states, "usually interconnected." One is not "more important than the other." This is nothing but an assertion of the old two-stage theory. They are either inseparably fused or the colonial revolution is aborted as has been the lesson in country after country, from the 1927 defeat of the Chinese revolution to the 1965 slaughter in Indonesia.

Mandel, however, rejects this totally. He actually goes so far as to say that there is no reason why the colonial world cannot develop today in the same way as Japan did in the earlier part of the century. He does this by lumping the development of Japan along with that of Argentina, Egypt and India.

He says:

"It is hard to deny that the lack of foreign domination was the decisive factor making possible the industrialization of Japan, encouraged by all the resources of the State. For the period 1896-1900 industrial production per head of population was only three times bigger in Japan than in India...in 1936-38 the difference had become enormous. All the colonial countries and semi-colonial countries which have won political freedom or have been governed by the industrial bourgeoisie have undertaken vigorous efforts at industrialization which sharply contrast with the attitudes of imperialist control. The examples of Argentina under Peron and Egypt under Nasser are typical, likewise the Indian Five Year Plans." (27)

This is completely wrong. The development of Japan did not take place because it gained formal political independence. The industrialization of Japan took place because Japan was the last country to

complete the bourgeois revolution before imperialism fully partitioned up the whole world and choked off the possibility for any further development of this kind.

Furthermore, and for this very reason, the development that took place in Japan simply has not occurred in Egypt, Argentina, India or anywhere else. Development in two thirds of the world remains stunted while the gap between the colonial and metropolitan countries grows. Dire poverty, oppression and wars dominate the colonial sector. This is the reality, not Mandel's theory of neo-imperialism. Mandel's picture of the colonial countries rising as a huge competitor to the advanced countries is sheer nonsense.

If we examine concretely the development in the colonial world during the period of the boom we note the following. In the first place the boom first affected the colonies by placing a terrible burden on the peasantry and nationalist petty bourgeoisie through a world reduction in agricultural prices. This forced the nationalist bourgeoisie in several countries to react with statist measures and the institution of Bonapartist regimes based in many cases on formal independence and the driving out of feudal reactionary elements.

In this way and with the aid that was supplied by the metropolitan countries in this period, the national bourgeoisie was able to do a balancing act between imperialism and its peasant and worker masses. However from the early 1960s onward with the first appearance of capitalist crisis in the advanced countries, not only were the modest aid programs of the boom cut off but a whole wave of political reaction then set in as these bonapartist regimes increasingly became the victims of right wing coups, as in Algeria, the Congo and Indonesia.

Thus for the past ten years, the colonial revolution, which Mandel has transformed after the fashion of neo-capitalism into the source of a neo-imperialist era in which the contradiction of underdevelopment was supposedly being overcome under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, has been unfolding in the opposite direction. At the same time in reaction to this development, the working class now emerges in the colonial world as part of its offensive internationally, a factor completely discounted in Mandel's neo-imperialist theory.

Thus in the present development, it is the theory of the permanent revolution and the unchanged character of imperialism which is being confirmed by events. Mandel's theory of neo-imperialism is exposed as merely another expression of his empirical adaptation to the surface of the boom, part and parcel of the fraud of neo-capitalism, which like neo-capitalism is now torn apart by the collapse of the boom and the offensive of the working class.

FOOTNOTES

1. Marx, Karl, "Critique of Political Economy," Reader in Marxist Philosophy, eds., Howard Selsam and Harry Martel, pp. 186-187
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3. Workers Press, Dec. 2, 1969
4. Ibid.
5. Lenin, op. cit., p. 88
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8. Trotsky, Leon, The First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. 2 (Pioneer Publishers), pp. 306-307
9. Ibid., pp. 199-200
10. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 211
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12. Ibid., p. 126
13. Mandel, Ernest, Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, p. 55
14. Workers Press, Dec. 2, 1969
15. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 605
16. Trotsky, Leon, The Transitional Program (SLP pamphlet), p. 11
17. Ibid., p. 11
18. Mandel, Ernest, Introduction to Marxist Theory, p. 57
19. Ibid., pp. 58-59
20. Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, final section
21. Trotsky, Leon, Marxism in Our Time, p. 25
22. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 606
23. Ibid., pp. 606-607
24. Ibid., p. 607
25. Ibid., p. 465
26. Ibid., p. 476
27. Ibid., p. 476,

BOOKS

TIM WOHLFORTH

Writings Of Leon Trotsky 1935-36

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1935-36) Pathfinder Press, 1970. 152 pages. \$2.95

Pathfinder Press, the publishing house associated with the Socialist Workers Party, continues its schizophrenic activity of publishing the writings of Trotsky which in turn are direct polemics against the current writings and activities of the SWP. In this they follow in the footsteps of the Communist Party's International Publishers.

Nothing illustrates this more strikingly than the latest in the series of Trotsky's "Writings" in English, the collection covering 1935-36. This book, like the others in the series, by printing virtually all of Trotsky's shorter writings in English published in a particular time period, offers us a slice so to speak of what it was that concerned Trotsky at that time.

POLEMIC

The book is almost equally divided between polemics against Stalinism and polemics against centrist and sectarian tendencies who combined in their opposition to the construction of the Fourth International. In every article it is Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International which comes through.

For instance in a resolution passed at a conference of supporters of the Fourth International in 1936, Trotsky wrote:

"Thus, all the tasks of the revolutionary struggle unfailingly lead to one task—the creation of a new really revolutionary leadership, capable of dealing with the tasks and possibilities of our epoch. Direct participation in the movement of the masses, bold class slogans taken to their conclusion, an independent banner, irreconcilability towards compromises, mercilessness towards traitors, here lies the road of the Fourth International. It is both amusing and absurd to discuss whether it is yet time to 'found' it. An international is not 'founded' like a co-operative, but created in struggle. The June days provide an answer to the pedants who discuss its 'timeliness.' There is no room for further discussion."

Trotsky devoted the sharpest, most hostile struggle against Stalinism in that period. He analyzed the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, where the traitorous policy of the popular front was officially enconced. He began his great struggle against the Moscow Trials while at the same time defending the Soviet Union against Hitler.

At the same time he led the Trotskyist movement tactically into the centrist and reformist parties but only in order to carry out the most implacable struggle against centrism and reformism. In the course of this work he came into collision with the sectarians whom he saw as "twins" with the centrists in their hostility to dialectics and the Fourth International.

PEACE

Today the SWP unites in the peace movement with the Stalinists and therefore adapts to their popular front politics. How distant this organization is from the Trotsky who writes in its publications. The article which illustrates this most clearly is entitled: "To Young Communists and Socialists Who Wish to Think." It could today be entitled: "To YSA Members Who Wish to Think!"

Trotsky writes in this article a polemic against the German centrist group S.A.P. (which in English coincidentally happens to stand for Socialist Workers Party):

"No high-sounding phrases on the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can wipe away the real, that is pacifist, character of the S.A.P. policy which proposes to gather 'all forces' for disarmament and peace to form for this purpose an 'all-embracing committee.' Whoever preaches that the imperialists can—under the 'pressure' of the masses—disarm peacefully, denies at the same time the necessity of proletarian

revolution. For what sort of a revolution can there be against a disarmed bourgeoisie?...Whoever combines phrases on the social revolution with agitation for pacifist disarmament is no proletarian revolutionist but a pitiful victim of petty bourgeois prejudice."

And later in the article he states, predicting what will be the fate of the SWP in this period:

"The shilly-shalliers, the confused, the centrists, the pacifists can vegetate years on end, issue papers, hold conferences, yes, even register temporary organizational successes. Great historic turns, however—war, revolution—turn these parties over like a house of cards."

Where is the Socialist Workers Party of Germany today? Where will the Socialist Workers Party of America be tomorrow?



What Is Spartacist?

WHAT IS SPARTACIST? By Tim Wohlforth. Labor Publications, 1971. 68 pages. 50 cents.

In the 1930s Trotsky had considerable experience with sectarian and centrist groupings in the course of his struggle to construct the Fourth International. Trotsky did not shy away from writing about such groupings even if they were insignificant in size and in almost every case barely outlasted the period Trotsky lived in.

Trotsky understood such political tendencies played a role albeit a negative one in the historically necessary process of constructing the Fourth International. The struggle with such tendencies, if conducted in a theoretical way from the point of view of the Marxist method, was not only necessary for the construction of the party, but invaluable for the education of its cadres.

Today our most central task is the construction of the Fourth International

under new conditions of capitalist crisis and class struggle. In the course of struggle to prepare for this new period we have of necessity come into collision once again with similar tendencies to those Trotsky fought in his day.

As Trotsky wrote in that period:

"Though he swear by Marxism in every sentence, the sectarian is the direct negation of dialectical materialism which takes experience as its point of departure, and always returns to it. A sectarian does not understand the dialectical action and reaction between a finished program and a living, that is to say, imperfect and unfinished mass struggle. The sectarian's method of thinking is that of a rationalist, a formalist, and an enlightener. During a certain stage of development rationalism is progressive, being directed critically against blind beliefs and superstitions (the Eighteenth century!). The progressive stage of rationalism is repeated in every great emancipatory movement. But rationalism (abstract propagandism) becomes a reactionary factor the moment it is di-

rected against the dialectic. Sectarianism is hostile to dialectics (not in words but in action) in the sense that it turns its back upon the actual development of the working class.

"...For analysis of reality the sectarian substitutes intrigue, gossip and hysteria.

"Centrism is in a certain sense the polar opposite of sectarianism; it abhors precise formulas, seeks routes to reality outside of theory. But, despite Stalin's famous formula, 'antipodes' often turn out to be ...'twins.' A formula detached from life is hollow. Living reality cannot be grasped without theory. Thus, both of them, the sectarian and the centrist, depart in the end with empty hands and join together ...in the feeling of animosity towards the genuine Marxist." "Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International" in Writings of Leon Trotsky

So it has been with Spartacist. Those who founded the Workers League began in a common tendency inside the SWP with Robertson and those who founded Spartacist. To some extent in this early period the common tendency was rationalist in that it made a criticism of the revisionism of the SWP in a formal way.

The tendency evolved as part of an international tendency and this international tendency was going through a theoretical development in which the program and method of Trotsky was being developed in a new period of crisis. As the struggle got down to the serious theoretical questions, the "rationalism" of a section of the tendency led by James Robertson became "directed against the dialectic." As the International Committee developed a deeper and deeper theoretical understanding of the objective conditions and what is required in this period, the Robertson grouping retreated more and more into "intrigue, gossip and hysteria." In the end they became nothing more than a degenerate clique politically for hire.

Time and again despite their extreme dedication to the purity of their abstract programmatic formulas Spartacist has ended up in the same camp as the centrists slugging away precisely at the Trotskyist movement. Not only did they have no difficulty in collaborating in a common project around the 1966 Healy Reconstructs pamphlet but today they bloc with the Stalinist Progressive Labor against the Trotskyist movement.

Spartacist typifies the propagandist method and the subjective clique existence of middle class radicalism in its sickest form. Today when this strata is thrown into its deepest crisis by the impending storm a study of Spartacist can be of the greatest value to the political hygiene of a new layer of radical youth.

For this reason this pamphlet may well be the most important of the whole Bulletin Pamphlet Series so far published.



Gibson To Smash NTU

(Continued From Page 3)

support. There must be a complete turnabout in the situation to stop the compromises and retreats, and to fight for a real victory.

The NTU must demand that the AFL-CIO call a general strike to unite the working class in the city around the strike and to win the following demands:

- \$1000 per year of the contract
- No binding arbitration—Union control of grievances
- No nonprofessional chores
- Free all prisoners and lift all charges and suspensions
- Reduce class sizes and improve the schools.

Seale Denounces Cleaver

(Continued From Page 3)

became worse." This is again an attack on the articles and speeches by Newton on philosophy and dialectics.

What now must be taken up, not only by Seale and Newton, but by the ranks of the BPP, are the questions which lie behind the split in the Panthers—the question of Marxism, of theory, the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism—which must be at the center of the construction of a revolutionary movement which can destroy capitalism.

Ceylon Youth Battle Coalition

(Continued From Page 2)

ber and coconut plantations as they had promised, because the regime depended heavily on loans from imperialist countries. In line with this, Bandaranaike said her country would continue to export tea to racist South Africa.

It became clear that the government intended to carry out the same anti-working class measures as the United National Party, all in the name of "socialism."

In September two tea workers were shot dead and one wounded during a strike for higher wages. 100,000 workers went on strike in the provinces to protest the murders and 2,000 marched through the capital under the banners of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

Striking textile workers were charged and beaten with clubs.

Close Down New York!

(Continued From Page 3)

its reorganization plans by instituting the so-called "Triangle Plan." This plan would eliminate the traditional social service centers. Workers would be split up according to neighborhoods and ethnic groupings and would be employed at the invitation of community groups. SSEU members would compete with "community residents" for a minute number of jobs. This is a conscious attempt to divide workers, and pit employed against unemployed.

So far there has been no movement on the basic issues between the City and the SSEU. SSEU-371 members voted last week for a referendum for strike action on April 26th and for CNL motions against accepting layoffs and reorganization.

ists as "CIA agents" and "pigs." They claimed we had been slandering the MPI by saying that they had allied with the CP, which they claim is not true. The MPI and the CP think they can make people believe the earth is flat by just saying it. If there is any retracting to be done on this question I suggest to the MPI that they direct their efforts at their own leadership and at the Communist Parties. It is they who signed the declaration we reproduce here, not us.

FRENZY

The MPI is thrown into a frenzy in their attempts to discredit the Workers League before the eyes of Puerto Rican youth. In order to understand these seemingly irrational attacks by the leadership of the MPI we have to understand what is behind these attacks and what is behind the MPI itself. Today we are living in a period of extreme crisis for capitalism, in a period in which this crisis and the movement forward of the youth and working class internationally pose in a concrete way the revolutionary change of society, the complete and final defeat of imperialism on a world scale.

YOUTH

But the sharpness of this crisis and the movement forward of the working class throws into deep crisis all those tendencies

STALINISTS

This government has shown where it stands—with capitalism and imperialism at the expense of the elementary rights of the masses. The role of the Stalinists of the Communist Party and their Popular Front collaborators in the butchery of the working class is out in the open. Once they are in power they do the dirty work of the bourgeoisie.

Their support to the witch-hunt against the Peoples Liberation Front is the logical extension of their support to the massacre of the population of East Pakistan. Any movement

At the same time at Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, the Administration has announced it will lay off about 65 members of 1199. The leadership is now saying the union will strike the City if any workers are laid off.

The lessons of the Newark Teachers strike are now sharply raised. The labor bureaucracy in Newark opened the door to defeat when Charles Marcicante, head of the New Jersey AFL-CIO called off the general strike planned in Newark.

What is shown by the action of the New York firemen and the SSEU is that now the whole situation can be reversed by mobilizing the labor movement in a general strike.

- CLOSE DOWN NEW YORK!
- CLOSE DOWN NEWARK!

and organizations which base themselves on the defeats of the working class and the stability of capitalism, namely the Stalinists and the nationalists. In an unprecedented development thousands of Puerto Rican working class youth are coming out in struggle against capitalism and seeking a way out of the conditions of extreme exploitation and discrimination that faces them under capitalism. MPI fears this movement and scurries to the Stalinists, forming alliances with them in order to provide themselves with a "left" cover for their entirely reformist and bourgeois politics.

This is why they must attack not only the conscious expression of this movement of the working class internationally, Trotskyism and the Workers League, in particular, but must strike out against the form that this movement takes at this particular time in the Young Lords Party.

These attacks are a continuation and expression of the MPI's right wing line of independence now and socialism later, a line which has been reaffirmed by the head of MPI, Juan Mari Bras, during his recent talks at campuses here in New York City. They express the tremendous fear that the MPI has of the youth and that the youth will go beyond the narrow nationalist course that the MPI, with the help of the Stalinists, is trying to impose on them. It is the mortal fear of socialism, of the working class, and its conscious expression in the Trotskyist movement that

which threatens their close ties with imperialism and their policy of peaceful coexistence must be stamped out.

In a brief report in the April 9th *Daily World*, paper of the American Communist Party, the insurgents are linked with what Bandaranaike calls "reactionary forces" because they attacked a textile factory built with aid from East Germany. The Stalinists who sit in the same government as the capitalists accuse the Peoples Liberation Front of serving the interests of imperialism!

SWP

The Pabloite United Secretariat and its American supporters in the Socialist Workers Party must also share responsibility for this betrayal.

This organization allowed its Ceylonese section, the LSSP, to drift toward open liquidationism. At the time they joined the Bandaranaike government they were still members of the United Secretariat and were only expelled after they broke with it. The bourgeois press is now only too happy to label these traitors as Trotskyists to discredit them in the eyes of the working class.

RCL

The conditions for defeating capitalism once and for all in Ceylon are being laid by the bitter lessons the working class has learned from this experience.

This fight can only be taken forward by the Revolutionary Communist League. The RCL has doubled the circulation of its paper since the election. It is fighting for the unions to call a general strike and set up a workers and peasants government.



Juan Mari Bras (r.) with Jose Irizarry (l.) head of MPI in New York

makes MPI resurrect the old Stalinist slanders and hooligan tactics against Trotskyism.

These attacks are a sharp warning to all political tenden-

Nixon And Bonapartism

(Continued From Page 2)

the FBI occasionally spied on its members. But no one ever rose on the floor to ask what business the FBI had checking on members of Congress. Many potential critics assumed the FBI knew all their secrets and that such secrets might be used against them any time Mr. Hoover felt the urge.

While Congress is getting disturbed over the scope of the surveillance, what goes unmentioned is the vast network of spying and wiretapping on radicals, students, Black militants, the labor movement. For every Congressional wiretap that is now causing such a commotion, there are of course many thousands of other wiretaps, "illegal" in the sense that the courts have not given specific permission as is supposedly required. In addition to all of this, there are the moves toward preventive detention.

AGENTS

There are tens of thousands of paid intelligence agents, provocateurs and murderers at work at home and abroad. This is the face of imperialism, including its "liberal" spokesmen. It was Kennedy who planned the 1961 invasion of Cuba and seriously considered the assassination of Castro. It was Johnson who knew and approved the vast expansion of army intelligence on civilian activities. And it is Nixon whose every move underlines the depth of the crisis today.

There can be no fight against repression and the threat of fascism without an understanding of the class basis of the repression.

The liberals and their staunch supporters in the Communist Party systematically delude the working class, underestimate the attacks, ignore their true meaning.

Congresswoman Bella Abzug, asking for a Congressional investigation of the FBI, stated that "Stolen FBI files have shown us that the agency routinely maintains large and inaccurate dossiers on special groups and individuals—notably the peace movement and Black activist groups—whose politics the director finds personally offensive. These incidents show us that the FBI may be slowly but inexorably invading the privacy, the constitutional freedoms and the peace of mind of us all."

ABZUG

By her use of the phrase "inaccurate," Mrs. Abzug tries to suggest that perhaps all would be well if the FBI concentrated on genuinely subversive groups. She

then goes on to say that the FBI may(!) be slowly(!) invading "our" rights.

This is the kind of duplicity expected of Abzug and all the other liberals. For all of her militant language she is completely prostrating herself before the ruling class, pleading for reasonableness if only we can remove J. Edgar Hoover and his penchant for attacking those he finds "personally offensive."

What an absolute lie! Hoover only expresses more openly the policies of Nixon and of the dominant sections of the ruling class. It is this which Mrs. Abzug cannot say, cannot face up to, because she is part of this class and of one of its political parties. All that can be expected of the liberals, including their most "left" spokesmen, is this kind of bankruptcy. It is then a question of whether we want a slow death or a fast one. The only way to fight the spying and repression is through the political independence of the working class directed massively against the capitalists and their policies. The working class must choose victory, not one form of defeat or another.

Instead of fighting for such a political break, the most burning lesson of the stepped up repression, the Stalinist Communist Party, true to its history and its loyalty to the counterrevolutionary Moscow bureaucracy, calls for a new popular front, a new alliance with the liberals against fascism, on the liberal's program.

PROP

The Communist Party's *Daily World* urges that Hoover be fired. It even goes so far as to suggest that the FBI should be abolished as a "threat to democracy." It sees the invasion of Laos and Nixon's intervention in the Calley case as a "challenge to the nation." It uses the dangers pointed up so sharply by all of these developments to push for its policy of subordination to the liberals.

The Stalinists are a vital prop for the liberals and the entire capitalist system. Their complete support for the liberal bourgeoisie is not a "mistake," but a conscious policy of betrayal, one which has been followed unswervingly for decades. This policy is becoming more and more dangerous every day. Its policies must be fought and defeated. The fight for the independent action of the working class against capitalist repression and war is our most urgent task today in the building of the revolutionary party.

1500 Attend YS Conference

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

1500 young workers and students, including 592 delegates pledged to build a mass socialist youth movement to defeat the Tory government at the 11th National Congress of the Young Socialists, the Trotskyist youth organization in Britain.

This was the largest conference in the history of the Young Socialists. Thousands of youth throughout Britain, facing no future but unemployment and exploitation and repression are coming forward to fight the Tory government.

This Conference takes place at a time when the British working class is entering a new stage of struggle against the 10 month old Tory government. The Tories have declared war on the living standards and union rights of the workers.

But the Tories face a powerful and undefeated working class which has gone out in two one day General Strikes against the Industrial Relations Bill. This conference took place at a time of tremendous confrontation between the capitalist class internationally and the working class.

John Simmance, a 21 year old engineering worker and National Secretary of the Young Socialists, said that the February 14th rally of 4500 workers and youth, organized by the YS and the Socialist Labour League was a tremendous vindication of the movement's confidence in the strength and revolutionary role of the working class. The key, he emphasized, in taking this movement forward to seizing power and establishing socialism was to build a revolutionary leadership of the working class.

He said that the traitors in the Labour Party leadership and the Stalinists in the Communist Party were prepared to collaborate with the Tories by refusing to call a General Strike against the Industrial Relations Bill which, if accepted, would do away with all the rights and gains workers have made through their unions.

PAPER

Simmance called on the youth to build their monthly paper, **Keep Left**, into a weekly, to recruit 1000 new youth before the annual summer camp and mobilize the unions behind the YS campaign to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour party government based on a socialist program—no unemployment, nationalization of industry and a big expansion of all social services.

Protect ILA Gains!

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Shippers are preparing now to take away from longshoremen every gain won in the 1968 contract. At a meeting of the Containerization Institute in New York recently, James Farrell of Intermodal Terminal Operating Company called for the end of the fifty-mile rule, under which ILA men can strip and stuff containers loaded within fifty miles of the Port of New York.

American Export Isbrandtsen Lines in its annual report, blamed its \$38 million loss last year on competition and overcapacity in containers. It plans to rationalize its containerization through pooling its contain-



Apprentice youth, like those above, attended British YS conference.

The Young Socialists, Simmance said, join with revolutionary youth all over the world who are fighting capitalism.

"We salute the fight of the young Irish workers against the British imperialist Army of occupation."

"We salute the victorious fight of the young workers and peasants in Vietnam against the greatest imperialist force in history—the U.S. war machine."

"We salute the fight of Angela Davis and Bobby Seale in the American Black Panther movement against U.S. capitalism."

Youth, he said, must be the spearhead of the workers offensive, "...above all now is the time for the youth to fight for a revolutionary party—the new leadership of the working class."

MARXISM

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, also addressed the conference and urged the youth to take up a serious study of Marxism which is the key weapon in the fight to build a revolutionary leadership.

He warned the Conference: "Once again we have the dole queues, once again police brutality on the streets, once again its army oppression in North Ireland, once again all the machinery of the Hitlerite state is being established."

"This is staring us all in the face here today. We must overcome all our problems in conflict within ourselves and within the working class."

The growth and determination of the Young Socialists movement in England is an inspiration for revolutionary youth all over the world who seek a way to fight the capitalist system. All the

slander and repression that the frightened bourgeoisie can muster will not stop the offensive of young workers and students.

W. Pakistan Workers Fight Khan Regime

BY TOM GORDON

Workers in West Pakistan are joining the struggles of workers and peasants in East Pakistan against the Yahya Khan regime, which has totally failed to crush the revolt in the East.

"Industrial unrest" has been reported again in Lahore, Lyallpur, and other West Pakistan (Punjabi) towns. Meantime, Rangpur and Jessore in the East (Bengal) are firmly in the hands of the rebels who also control most of the land west of the Padmas-Ganges River, about half of Bengal. The rebels are armed with only ancient small arms and a few captured tanks and artillery pieces, won at great sacrifice through "human sea" attacks against the well armed West Pakistan troops.

Monsoon rains are beginning to hamper the operations of General Khan in the East. The rebels are going over to guerrilla tactics and are receiving aid from Naxalites (Maoists) and others in India.

The agitation for democratic rights in the Punjab through mass demonstrations and strikes, along with the struggles which have broken out in Ceylon, can only aid the brave fighters in Bengal.

American workers must come to their aid by refusing to han-

dle arms still being shipped to General Khan's regime from the U.S. American imperialists shipped over \$1 billion in arms to Pakistan and continue to supply it with spare parts and other aid. American-built C130s were used to ferry troops from West to East to crush the rebels. American tanks have been used against the workers and peasants.

CHINA

General Khan and American imperialism have found a ready ally in China, which now publicly gives full support to Khan's suppression of the rebels. China has allowed only broadcasts by General Khan. to be reproduced in China, and has called on all nations to stop interfering with the "internal affairs of Pakistan." This is in addition to allowing General Khan's planes to refuel in China on the way to doing their bloody work.

Obviously the opportunistic bloc with Pakistan dating from the Indian-Chinese war means more to Mao than the lives of thousands of workers and peasants, than the victory of socialism in Pakistan. The completely counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism could not be clearer.

The role of the Soviet Union has been equally indefensible. General Khan replied to Soviet President Podgorny's call for "peaceful" solutions to the civil war by assuring him that the situation was under control and asking him to use his "undeniable influence" to prevent any Indian aid from reaching Bengali liberation fighters.

CP

The Communist Party's paper the **Daily World** has completely blacked out all news from Pakistan. Where does the Communist Party U.S.A. really stand? Does the CPUSA back Podgorny in his call for peaceful coexistence with General Khan, a killer unequalled since the Indonesian coup of General Suharto, which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives?

Victory to the workers and peasants of Pakistan, and defense of right to self-determination of all Bengalis, requires the construction of a Trotskyist leadership against all the betrayals of Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism in the struggle for socialist revolution.

Governor Mandel Denies Wage Increase To DC 67

BY STEVE DAMON

BALTIMORE—Governor Mandel has set the stage for a general strike of all state workers with his insolent official statement that there will be no wage increases for state workers this year.

At the same time Mandel has seen fit to raise the salary of judges by \$7500. With the legislative session due to end on April 9th, the state labor movement has been thrown into a flurry of activity aimed at pressuring the legislature to appropriate funds for a \$650

across the board increase.

The complacent leaders of the state labor movement assume that it will be an easy task to get this money. The legislature, they feel, only needs some prodding. Accordingly, their basic tactic is the sick-in.

These protest actions are being planned by various AFSCME locals. The leadership of District Council 67 has pledged its support to any work actions taken by the locals, but has abdicated any responsibility to lead the actions.

But while the labor leaders confine the fight to protest, the state is preparing all its forces to defeat the unions. The federal court ruling supporting the ban on strikes by public employees is to bolster the intransigence of the state governments.

Rank and file state workers have to fight for a policy based on the situation. The leadership of District Council 67 must be forced to go beyond protest and to call a general strike of all state employees for a \$2000 across the board increase.

MARXISM & AMERICAN PRAGMATISM

By Tim Wohlforth

These lectures were originally given in the fall of 1970 at Workers League Weekend Schools. The pamphlet also includes material originally given as part of the Trotsky Memorial Lecture Series under the title "Trotsky's Struggle Against Revisionism."

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Carpenters Defy Nixon's Wage Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW HAVEN—On April 2nd, Carpenter Local 79 of the AFL-CIO went out on strike here. There are 800 members in the local and the call for strike action was supported by an overwhelming majority.

The main issue in the strike is the differential between the New Haven wage and the rate paid in surrounding areas. The union is asking for an increase from \$6.05 an hour to \$8.15 an hour. This is about a 30% raise—five times more than Nixon's executive order on wage increases proposes.

NIXON

The strike in New Haven is not just a local issue. Local 79's strike confronts directly Nixon's attempts to slash the wages of construction workers and of all workers.

In order to win the strike the ranks of Local 79 must demand the AFL-CIO broaden the strike. Already in Bridgeport there are rumors of a strike in certain building trades. The state AFL-

CIO must be forced to call a general strike against Nixon's executive order.

POLITICAL

The strike in New Haven is a fight against the government. Because of this the strike is more than a trade union struggle around economic demands, but a political strike.

DEMOCRATS

This is a political fight against both the Democrats and the Republicans. Joe Duffey, the "great" liberal Democrat supports a wage freeze. The only opposition from the Democrats to Nixon's executive order is that it is not strong enough and that it should cover all workers.

GENERAL STRIKE

The fight for a general strike must be combined with the demand that Vincent Sirabella, President of the New Haven Central Labor Council and candidate for mayor of New Haven, break from the Democratic Party and launch the fight to build a labor party.

Kirrane Sells Out Local 101

BY A LOCAL 101 MEMBER

On March 30, the night before the expiration of TWU Local 101's contract with Brooklyn Union Gas, the Local 101 leadership held an eleventh hour mass membership meeting. The purpose of the meeting was to put before the rank and file for ratification or rejection a wage settlement reached between the BUG bosses and negotiating committee controlled by the Kirrane leadership.

This contract is another rotten betrayal of the ranks by the union bureaucracy. The fact that not one minute of discussion was allowed on the contract before the vote clearly shows Kirrane's real fear of possible strike action and the movement of the rank and file expressed at two previous demonstrations in front of the BUG main office.

Before the meeting the Kirrane leadership circulated the rumor that the Local did not have funds to support a strike.

ROTTEN

The settlement includes a 20% wage increase over 25 months, a dental, insurance and increased pension plan plus a host of other minor gains such as two free pairs of shoes for street crews,

a half day for Christmas and New Years. Kirrane stated very clearly at the meeting his pride in this rotten contract.

Considering the fact that inflation in New York this year is at an 8% level, the 10% provided for by the first year of the contract is greatly reduced to a mere 2%. And with the cost of living expected to double in 1972, BUG workers will have received little over a 4% increase. This barely enables the ranks to keep their heads above water.

But what is more significant is Kirrane's total failure to fight for an escalator clause to combat inflation and for job security in the face of BUG's plans to automate. This plan will elimi-



Johnny Mitchell, International Representative, Amalgamated Meatcutters, addresses Juan Farinas defense meeting at Boston University in Boston. He urged full support of his union for the case.

17,100 Auto Workers Laid Off At Fords

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT—Ford Motor Company announced on April 8th that 17,100 workers would be laid off at five plants nationwide for an entire work week, starting April 12th.

These attacks include two plants in this area—3500 workers at the River Rouge complex and 4300 at Wixom. The other plants are Mahwah, N.J., where the

figure is 4600; Metuchen, N.J., 2600; and Los Angeles, 2100.

All the plants except Metuchen are listed as being closed "to bring dealer inventories of certain models into balance with current market demand." The shutdown of the Metuchen plant is being blamed on a shortage of British engines for the Pinto because of the strike against Ford in England.

These layoffs are the largest by far that have hit Ford workers for many, many years and follow right on the heels of a number of other massive layoffs at Ford plants and other auto companies in past weeks.

These layoffs are just the beginning; the next ones will be permanent. With the 14% unemployment rate in Detroit now, any more layoffs could well cause more problems for Detroit Mayor Gribbs, Woodcock and Nixon than they could control.

There are tremendous dangers for the ranks of the UAW in the betrayals of President Woodcock. He is doing absolutely nothing to fight these layoffs at Ford.

The immediate pressing question for the UAW ranks is a real struggle to build a national rank-and-file caucus to defeat Woodcock.

Detroit Busmen Demand 60% Raise

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT—Local 26 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, the bus drivers of the Department of Street Railways here, has announced that its wage demand this year will be for an average of \$14,800 yearly.

This is a 60% increase from \$9,200. Detroit firemen and police are presently demanding \$14,000 and \$15,000.

DEMANDS

The other important demands of the 1,550 member local are for a \$50,000 felonious assault policy on each driver, a dental care program for employees and their dependents fully paid by the city, and full uniform allowance. The men want to be paid for the off hours in split shifts; some men only drive during rush hours but do not get paid for the four hours spent in the garage. A cost of living clause based upon the Big Three is also on

nate jobs in all departments. On these vital issues Kirrane remains completely silent.

It was these very same issues that the Local 101 Rank and File Caucus fought to mobilize the ranks against the leadership. The caucus fought for the demands of \$2.00 an hour increase over two years, an escalator clause and job security, no lay offs or forced transfers.

What is now posed before the ranks is the building of a strong and serious opposition caucus within Local 101 to wage a fight against the union leadership who seek at every turn to hold back the rank and file and compromise with BUG.

the list. Another demand is a paid half hour lunch period, as they have to eat on duty now, which gives the men no rest and leads to dangerous situations.

MAD

Three years ago, the Detroit DSR drivers had the third highest wages for public and private transit drivers in the U.S. Now they are 18th because of the shoddy deals they have gotten in these last years, particularly the 30¢ increase last year.

The Local president has said, "The membership is mad this year and we're out to really negotiate. We've had labor peace at DSR since 1951, and I don't like to mention strikes, but we're taking a serious look at it."

The DSR general manager said that the drivers' demands are astronomical and that the system has already lost \$5.2 million this year. DSR just recently boosted bus fares from 30¢ to 40¢, plus 5¢ for a transfer.

The City of Detroit is in a deep financial crisis as are most large cities across the nation. While there have been no massive attacks on city employees except the teachers so far, the sword of the 14% unemployment in the city as a whole is hanging over all city workers.

Mayor Gribbs is preparing the same kind of attacks that have hit city workers in San Francisco, New York, and Newark.

BUREAUCRATS

The only obstacle between the city workers and victory in San Francisco, New York, and many other cities has been the sellout maneuvering of the union bureaucrats. In Detroit, the Federation of Teachers head Mary Riordan has put up no real fight at all against the layoffs of 200 teachers. The ranks of the DSR drivers must prepare for an all out struggle against the city to win their demands.

Unemployed Up To 8.6% In Connecticut

BY DAVE FRANKLIN

NEW HAVEN—The Connecticut State Employment Office's March unemployment figures continue to set records. March figures for insured unemployed in the state stood at 119,300 or 8.6% of the work force.

According to the department these are the highest figures since 1937 when the department began keeping records!

In New Haven there are 13,400 people out of work representing 7.2% of the work force. In Bridgeport, a more heavily industrialized center, there are 17,800 jobless or 10.1%.

These figures are a sign of the deep threat posed by this decaying capitalist system to all working people. Nixon is going ahead with his plans to drive the workers' living conditions back to the level of the 1930s.

Last year's unemployment figures were half of what they are today. And now Nixon and the bosses have escalated the attacks with action on wage-freezes beginning with the construction workers. But who will join the unemployment line tomorrow? Whose pay check will be slashed next?

Connecticut trade union bureaucrats have done nothing in retaliation against unemployment. The President of the State Labor Council makes an occasional statement predicting how bad unemployment will become in the coming months, but he avoids a fighting program. The bosses echo the same bankruptcy with their announcements of layoffs: "We regret to inform you but..."

Characteristically, Vincent Sirabella, President of the New Haven Central Labor Council has gone completely over to the side of the bosses through the announcement of his mayoral candidacy on the Democratic ticket.

The labor movement's answer to unemployment and wage freezing must be a general strike around the demands of 30 for 40 and the building of a labor party. This means an immediate fight within the unions against the Sirabellas to demand the building of a labor party with a socialist program.

STALINISM & TROTSKYISM IN THE USA 50¢

By Fred Mueller

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

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West Coast News

Berkeley Radicals Win

BY TED BLAKE

BERKELEY—In the April 6 municipal elections 3 out of 4 of the city council seats up for grabs were won by the candidates of the April coalition, in addition to the election of "radical" Warren Widener, as mayor.

The long and notorious history of revisionism in Berkeley has swung full circle from the anti-ROTC and People's Park adventures to its logical conclusion in the stomach turning reformism of the April coalition. The April coalition built its campaign around the fraudulent issue of community control of police along with the usual reformist demands of rent control, school reform and lower taxes. The community control of police initiative would have divided Berkeley into 3 police districts each with its own elected board to "control the police." Each district was to represent a "community" of Berkeley: Black, white and student.

The measure was advertised as the way to end political repression, but it was designed to obscure the nature of police repression, sharpen racial polarization, and lead the working class away from action which could deal with political repression.

As capitalism enters deeper and deeper into crisis the capitalist class is forced to use its instrument, the state, to openly

attack the working class. The political repression, which the community control of police purports to halt, is the direct manifestation of the sharpening class conflict. Far from ending police repression, this measure would have the ultimate effect of giving the government a special police force to be used against the Black community of Berkeley, complete with a black "control" board full of little strike-breaking Gibsons and Stokes.

The overwhelming defeat of the community control of the police measure was a decisive repudiation of the attempt to further divide and polarize the races. At the same time the sweeping victory of the so-called "radical" slate, while reflecting dangerous reformist illusions was a clear vote for better living conditions and against the attack of the state on these conditions. The bankrupt liberals of the April Coalition will soon enough show their class teeth as they attempt to administer and prop up their "community" in the face of diminishing revenues and slashes in State and Federal funding. This slate was backed up all the

way by the Communist Party organ, the Peoples World and hailed in their latest issue as a victory for "power to the people." This Stalinist popular front won almost total support from every middle class revisionist group in Berkeley. The Stalinists will have to share a big responsibility for the black power, community control forces that will now seek to come forward in a strike-breaking campaign around such issues as community control of the schools. The lessons of Newark are all too clear.

The SWP played the role of a left cover for Stalinism throughout the campaign. Running as "socialists", their program was virtually indistinguishable from that of the April Coalition. They ran on a program of Chicano power, black power, and community control and called it socialist. They refused to raise a class perspective and never mentioned the need for a labor party. The fact that they received almost one thousand votes is an indication nevertheless of the potential for a real break from capitalist politics.

Docker Speaks Out!

(The following is an interview with an ILWU B man by Bulletin reporter, Deborah O'Connell, in San Francisco.)

Bulletin: What did you do before coming to work on the docks?

A: I quit work in a box factory. Some guys here quit jobs they had for 13 to 14 years to come down here but they've lost their homes and cars now. At the time, longshore was 'where it's at.' Everybody thinks you get lots of money.

Bulletin: How much work a month do you have?

A: Five days. Most of us are on unemployment. It goes like this for B-men; If you don't get enough hours in for a month, you don't get any benefits, medical or dental care. I remember times when I didn't have enough money to even get to the hall to try to get work. But I have to pay the very same dues out of what I make in a month as the steady men do, and they have work all the time.

Bulletin: What do you think the existence of the steady men means?

A: It means that one group gets a 5 day guarantee, while the rest of us have to pick up what we can from the hall. Actually, there's no point in the hall system now with the steady men. It's destroying the hall. If you've got a family and bills to pay you've got to fight to save the jobs.

Bulletin: Do you think that having a shorter work week with 40 hours pay would help the situation any?

A: This would create more jobs without a cut in pay.

Bulletin: What do you think of Nixon's proposal for transport legislation?

A: It is taking away strike power. Strike power is the only power you've got. There will be a fight to strike against the legislation. This development shows sharply that the union's struggle has actually been a political fight all the time. It's a class struggle.

Bulletin: Why did they bring in the 647 men for the container-freight stations?

A: The PMA wanted the container agreement. Bridges wanted the jobs for the longshore, so the B-men had to be brought in. They are desperate and hungry. They'll take dirty coffee jobs now and container jobs later.

Bulletin: What happened at the one B-men meeting that was called?

A: We questioned Bridges on this problem of benefits. A lot of brothers raised good points. But he got up and made a long speech that said nothing at all. Our questions got lost somewhere in that speech. He was scared and in fact, he walked out of the meeting. That's the only meeting that's been held for us.

Bulletin: What about building a new leadership?

A: Yes. We're not going to get a struggle with the one we have now.



Striking teachers, like those above, have been sold out in settlement.

S.F. Teachers Return Lose '68 Strike Gains

STOP PRESS

SAN FRANCISCO—Teachers here voted to return to their classrooms on Monday. In accepting the city's proposals the union leaderships have carried out the greatest betrayal in the history of the union.

In essence the teachers have given up their major gains from the 1968 strike. They have agreed to the massive attrition of 340 teachers and have accepted new hiring of only 80 as opposed to the promised 300.

The city eagerly agreed to restore most of the cuts in the educational programs in exchange for massive elimination of teachers. This is precisely what Alioto wanted from the very beginning.

The road is cleared for the attrition and lay-off of huge numbers of city workers. Class sizes will soar, making a mockery of all pretense of education reform.

As the Workers League warned from the beginning, the refusal to mobilize the rest of city labor was a conscious policy designed by the leadership to isolate and demoralize the teachers to lay the basis for the sell-out.

The struggle is not over. When teachers begin to realize the enormity of the conditions they have signed away, huge explosions will be on the agenda. The only way forward will be the fight to unite the entire city labor force in a general strike movement.

The Workers League fully intends to continue the fight.

Lettuce Bosses Launch Goon Squad

BY EARL OWENS

SALINAS—In a few weeks the lettuce will be ripening again in Salinas. The growers have already organized a vigilante squad called "Operation White Horse" for the purpose of guarding scabs and identifying militant workers.

The lettuce strike a year ago in Salinas cost the Farm Workers Union (UFWOC) \$290,000, paid out largely as strike pay with payments averaging \$50 a family each week. Although the union is on a firmer financial base than it has ever been in its history, the union leadership is planning not to have any strike at all! Even the boycott is temporarily suspended as a goodwill gesture. At the present time, the lettuce appearing in the stores is coming from Arizona and the Imperial Valley. Many of the pickers are members or sympathizers of UFWOC working under non-union conditions without a contract, while the union leadership prepares boycotts instead of strike action.

It is true, of course, that strikes are financially much more costly than boycotts, but that is not the reason the Chavez leadership is opposed to strikes. Despite all of Chavez's appeals for class reconciliation and the intervention of the Virgin of Guadalupe, strikes of farm workers have developed into class wars which Chavez has attempted to hold back with his well publicized hunger fasts.

Boycotts are much safer. Boycotts take place in the city, far away from the farm worker. Militants are sent to the city

to organize boycotts where they can work off their militancy.

A few pickets with flags and leaflets in front of a Safeway store is no substitute for the unionization and shutting down of Safeway's million acres of agricultural land. The boycott is no substitute for the class struggle.

The agreement between UFWOC and the Teamsters on March 11 eliminates the major roadblock to the unionization of farm workers. UFWOC will have jurisdiction over field workers; the Teamsters over shed and

Stanford Explodes Over Hospital Firings

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tionaries. The days of student power confrontations and minor sentences ended with the shooting of the Kent State students.

The role of the Venceremos group in these adventures is absolutely criminal. The Venceremos is the essence of the petty bourgeoisie gone mad. An "organization" without history, without theory, without principle, it rides the wave of middle class hysteria, seeking to turn every development into an insane confrontation. Venceremos combines an adoration for the most hideous and barbaric aspects of Stalinism with a total adaptation to the filth of racism.

Thus members of Venceremos can attend a meeting of the Workers League Club at Stanford and attack us in classic Stalinist fashion as police agents while advocating the most uncritical endorsement of Madame Binh's Peace Treaty and the April 24th betrayal. Indeed these same elements indicated their desire to perform the dirty work for the Communist Party by threatening

cooler workers as well as truck drivers. A truce between the two unions is not enough. A joint organizing committee must be formed to coordinate organizing plans and to prepare for a general farm workers strike.

Such a general strike is no longer a remote possibility but feasible with the Teamsters' control of the transport to the market. There can be no question that farm workers, whether Chicano or Filipino or Black, will support such a strike. The UFWOC ranks must now force Chavez to fight.

to attack our independent contingent.

The real logic of their politics can be discovered in their total prostration before the nationalists. The BSU, MECHA and Venceremos support and foster nationalism. In so doing they accept racism as an eternal fact and encourage the perspective that minority youth should fight for the crumbs of capitalist society, for entrance into the petty bourgeois strata of black and brown people. Such a perspective offers nothing but continued oppression and exploitation to the masses of these youth.

Venceremos and nationalism were blatantly exposed at Stanford this week. One day before the BSU calls for general support to defend a black worker, it holds a rally at which the speaker from the BSU makes a broadside attack on "whitey" and in particular on white radicals. He expresses open contempt for Marxist theory, quotes liberally from Stokeley Carmichael, whose theories of Black socialism and

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The Soledad supporters were forced outside the court building, where a rally was held on the front steps. George Jackson's mother spoke about Calcagno's

contempt for the constitutional rights of the defendant and said she didn't see why her son should even bother to return to court, since a fair trial was impossible anywhere in the country. Mrs. Jackson is of course profoundly correct. There is no justice under capitalism anywhere, especially now when the ruling class intensifies its witchhunts and

frameups. The only way that the Soledad Brothers, Davis-Magee, Seale-Huggins, and all political prisoners can be freed is through working class action to smash this system of injustice. As Juan Farinas has said, "There is a war going on both inside and outside of the courtroom;" this war exploded in all its fury Tuesday.

March For Socialism!

The Workers League West Coast contingent will assemble on April 24th at California and Market Streets. We will march all the way with contingents and banners from Portland, San Francisco, San Jose, Stanford, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Orange County and San Diego. An independent rally will be held in Lindley Meadow in Golden Gate Park.

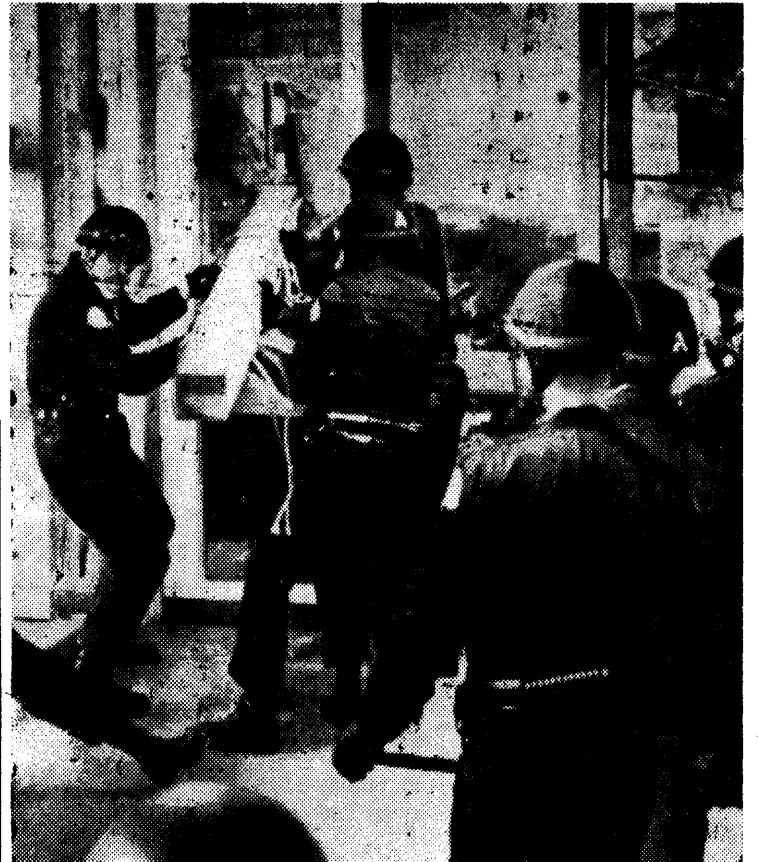
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We will march, not for peace, but for class war, for a fighting alternative to point the way to power. For a general strike of workers and students, for a labor party built by labor, youth and minorities, for victory to the NLF, for a socialist America.

To every worker, youth and minority group we say place yourself under the spotless banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the red flag of the international working class.

To all those who stand with us in absolute opposition to the capitalist class and for the complete independence of the working class we say join us and speak on our platform.



Police use battering ram to break into Stanford Hospital in siege area.

Stanford Explodes Over Job Layoffs

BY BARRY PORSTER

STANFORD—An extremely dangerous and explosive situation is rapidly developing on the Stanford campus.

In response to continued layoffs and cutbacks by the administration of Stanford University and by Stanford Hospital, students and workers from various organizations have joined together to demand the rehiring of fired workers and no layoffs in the future.

The boycott of university cafeteria facilities instituted last quarter by Venceremos and United Stanford Employees in response to the firing of twelve cafeteria workers has been reinstated this quarter with a marked effect on the volume of business in the main cafeteria. The Stanford Black Students Union and the Black Liberation Front, a group based in neighboring Redwood City, have joined in support of the boycott.

This past week the firing of Sam Bridges, a black maintenance worker at Stanford Hospital, prompted the formation of a Black United Front, a coalition of the BSU, the Black Liberation Front, and the Black Caucus of United Stanford Employees. The Black Liberation Front held a rally and

demonstration which attracted substantial student support to demand that Bridges be rehired and that Stanford Hospital adopt a minority employment program. The following day Stanford MECHA held a rally in front of the hospital to protest the hospital's decision not to grant tenure to Dr. Jose Aguilar, a Chicano neurosurgeon on its staff who is also active in a free clinic in Redwood City. The rally, at which members of the Black United Front spoke in support of Dr. Aguilar and Bridges, was followed by a sit-in in the hospital to obtain a reply to the Black United Front's demands.

REPRESSION

The layoffs at Stanford go hand in hand with massive cutbacks in education, spiraling tuition rates, and repression of militant students and workers. The administration has obtained a preliminary injunction banning from campus non-student members of Venceremos, including those recently suspended for their political activities. The injunction in effect outlaws all political activity which the administration deems harmful to its interests.

Under these conditions the response of the Stanford authorities was inevitable. The fifty people who had barricaded themselves in a corridor of Stanford Hospital in support of the Black United Front's demands were attacked by club swinging police. Twenty two were arrested on charges of felonious assault on a police officer and assault with a deadly weapon.

The extreme seriousness of these charges demonstrate the determination of the ruling class to eliminate militants and revolu-

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ILWU Strikes Docks

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—As we write this six ships are tied up in the Port of San Francisco and Oakland. ILWU Local 10 is picketing selectively to protest the failure of the PMA to live up to the Container Freight Station Agreement and turn container stuffing work over to longshoremen.

This decision was taken by Local 10's executive board which has been under tremendous pressure from the ranks to do something about the work situation. This action intensifies the danger of a jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters who also claim the work.

It would appear that the picketing has been called in order to give the leadership a militant posture. On June 30 both the longshore contract and the CFS agreement expire. Calling a limited action in only one local three months before the contract is up will solve nothing.

The leadership is committed to CFS, which will enlarge the "steady man" problem and employ dockers at lower wages and inferior conditions. At the same time they abandon with these tactics any strategy to obtain joint action with the Teamsters.

The leadership may very well think it is allowing militants to blow off steam while preparing to betray the struggle this summer. CFS will only lead to a more rapid deterioration of all the con-



Longshore union pickets against unfair practices in San Francisco.

ditions dockers are fighting to maintain.

The only answer lies in a decision to scrap the CFS agreement along with the M & M and to launch an all out fight to guarantee every docker a full weeks pay no matter how many hours he works.

Civil war with the Teamsters is suicide. The ILWU ranks must begin the battle for a joint rank and file conference with the Teamsters to map out a strategy for all out war. This will mean a joint decision to stand firm, to see to it that not a single transport job is eliminated in either union, no acceptance of attrition schemes and a guarantee of a full week's wages for Teamsters and dockers.

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