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What
we
think

SWP & Newark Teachers Strike

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Very interesting! Mr. Morrison must have been reading the *Bulletin* and this has had at least some beneficial impact. He now holds the position that a general strike could have produced a "more favorable" settlement than a "racial polarization." He thus must feel that such a general strike would have been preferable to a racial polarization.

From the very beginning of the strike the Workers League and the *Bulletin* fought day in and day out to bring about such a general strike. This battle
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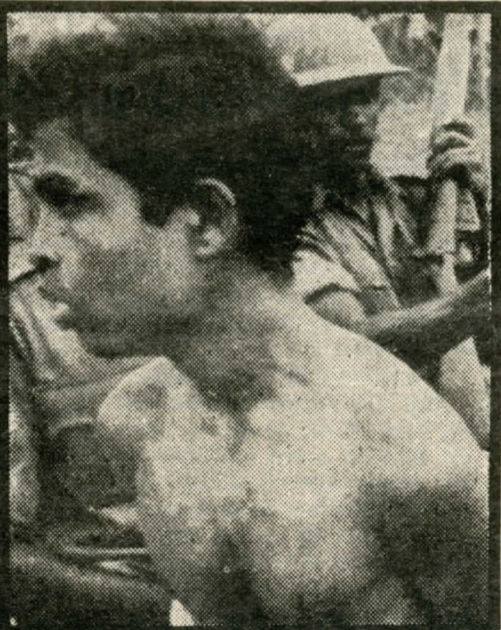
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Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Write From
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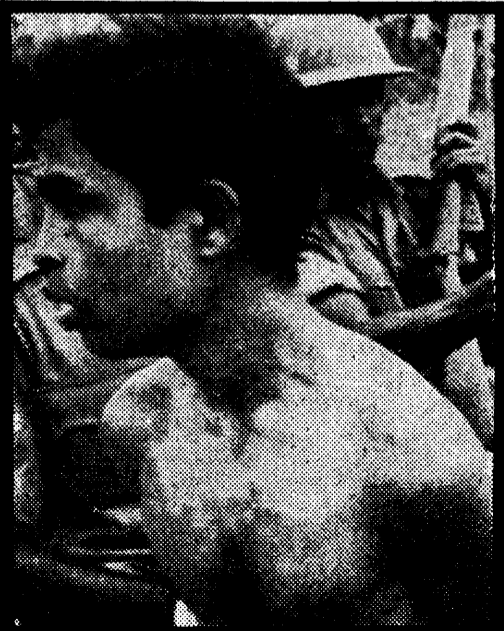
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Amtrak Slashes 26,000 Rail Jobs

BY TOM GORDON

On May 1st, Amtrak, the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, took over the running of all intercity passenger trains except for a few kept by the Southern Railroad.

Three other lines have also not joined Amtrak. 16,000 to 26,000 rail workers are to be laid off as soon as seniority and demotions for those to remain are worked out. Older workers, those depending on tips and better pay on passenger runs, will be bumped back to freight service. Younger men will be pushed out of the industry altogether.

This will work hardship on every worker in the rail business, through disruptions of accustomed runs and jobs, as well as through demotions.

James Robinson, a dining car waiter working out of Omaha, Nebraska, said, "Even if I would get severance pay, I won't be working over the tables. I've got a sick wife. I can't ignore the fact that gratuities have paid a significant part in my income. Tips help make the difference in my life between a substandard wage and an average wage."

Maximum compensation for job loss is six years pay, and a loophole in the rules setting up the corporation evidently will allow

the railroads to skip even this pittance for many workers.

PROFIT

Amtrak is no more than a bill-paying unit for the private railroads, backed by \$340 million in loans and guarantees. It has taken over their passenger rolling stock, compensated the railroads fully including cost for all past bonds and other financing, and is now bound by law to make a profit.

The setting up of Amtrak exposes fully the policy of the rail bureaucrats who have cooperated with it all along. Charles Luna, head of the United Transportation Union, is a member of the board of directors of Amtrak. Besides this betrayal, this encouragement to axe thousands of rail workers, he has utterly refused to mobilize the UTU against any job loss.

His sole protest was to sue in Federal Court to improve the rules for layoff payments. Now that he has lost the suit he plans no further action.

Also serving on the board is

Vance Hartke, darling of the SWP and Stalinists in the peace movement.

As the labor bureaucracy capitulates the rail bosses are moving ahead with their attacks.

William Moore, President of the bankrupt Penn Central, has announced that the unions must be broken, that the dual base of pay (hours and miles) must be done away with, that full-crew laws must be abolished for passenger and freight trains, and that wages must not rise without more massive layoffs.

BETRAYALS

The betrayals being cooked up between the labor bureaucracy and the rail bosses must be replaced with a new strategy and a new rank and file leadership. The ranks must be mobilized to a strike to protect job rules, pay rates, and to prevent layoffs.

Instead of the "nationalizing" under Amtrak which only cuts out jobs and service, all the rails must be nationalized without compensation and placed under workers control to allow the needed expansion of services and jobs. A labor party must be fought for by the rail unions to carry forward this fight.

Dollar Crisis Deepens

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Nixon Administration's claims of an economic upturn cannot conceal the enormous crisis of American and world capitalism.

Most important is the continued wage offensive of the working class, along with the ever-deepening international monetary crisis which continues to haunt the capitalists, even as Nixon urges them to be optimistic on the course of the economy.

The claim of stopping inflation is completely impossible without the crushing of the wage offensive. It is this which is behind Nixon's wage freeze for construction workers and his "inflation alert" to steelworkers, warning of mass unemployment in the event of a big pay boost in this summer's negotiations. At his latest press conference he has once again stated that large increases would reduce the competitiveness of American steel producers.

The confrontation in steel later this year is clearly being viewed as a critical opportunity for dealing a blow at the wage

offensive. The bosses must beat the labor movement back if they are to deal with inflation and the enormous balance of payments crisis which now con-

Kahane's Speech Spurs JDL Attack On Blacks At Brooklyn College

BROOKLYN, May 4—At Brooklyn College today, several hundred students met at the student building to discuss the proposed cutbacks in the City University of New York (CUNY).

During the meeting, over a hundred members of the Jewish Defense League, whipped up by Meir Kahane's right wing demagoguery, marched into the student building and attacked several Black students.

As a result, the meeting was broken up as students poured out to defend those attacked by

fronts them.

Whatever Nixon may be saying publicly, the entire capitalist class cannot fail to observe the gravity of this monetary crisis. As the *New York Times* said several days ago, "Appreciation has apparently grown over how

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the fascists. When the fighting broke out onto campus, the police quickly defended the JDL and attempted to disarm the militants.

It is clear that the role of the JDL is to whip up racist hysteria against Black and Puerto Rican students. They stand with the ruling class and its attacks.

All minority and left organizations and students must answer this with a combined defense squad to keep JDL off the campus.

Democratic 'Hopefuls' Demand Wage Freeze

BY MARTY JONAS

The television special "The Loyal Opposition" on Friday April 30 made clear that all the liberal Democratic hopefuls for the 1972 presidency race are loyal to only one thing: the preservation of the capitalist system through any means necessary.

Participating in the show and answering questions were Hubert Humphrey, George McGovern, Edmund Muskie, Birch Bayh, Harold Hughes, and Henry Jackson.

The program led off with the

hopefuls being asked about the war in Indochina. All agreed that it was time to "set the date." Humphrey added that if the US does not withdraw from Vietnam there are "risks that we won't be able to do the job we have to do at home."

And what is this "job at home?" That was answered in the next segment of the program, when the question asked was what did the gentlemen think about wage-price controls and unemployment.

To a man all agreed that not only was some kind of incomes policy necessary, but that Nixon had not gone far enough.

Muskie said that the US needs

wage-price controls like those in World War II and the Korean war. He accused Nixon of choosing scapegoats among the unions and suggested that the controls be applied equally to all unions.

Hughes said that Nixon had only made a partial step. He suggested wage-price guidelines "across-the-board," then controls.

Humphrey accused Nixon of merely "pontificating and protesting" instead of really acting on inflation. He suggested a national wage-price policy.

Jackson regretted that wage-price controls had not been set a long time ago.



20,000 city workers demonstrated against layoffs, cutbacks. SSEU-371 CNL banner points the way to a fight back against Lindsay.

Stop Lindsay's Layoffs Call A General Strike

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—As Lindsay announced he was "getting ready for another round of bloodletting," involving the layoff of "hundreds" of more city workers, members of the SSEU were already receiving their pink dismissal slips.

Lindsay is now well on his way to implementing his threat to layoff 90,000 city employees with new announcements coming every day. In the meantime the labor bureaucracy is remaining silent.

The ranks of city labor showed their determination to fight the city when over 20,000 marched last week on City Hall and the state capital in Albany. But the union leadership, and in particular Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, has sought to channel this militancy into simple protest designed to pressure and support Lindsay and other capitalist politicians in Albany.

It is clear that the only way these attacks are going to be stopped is by mobilizing the city labor movement to shut down this city in a general strike. At the same time the center of this fight for a general strike must be the demand for the building of a labor party, of a break with every single last one of the capitalist politicians.

The ranks of the SSEU-371 must demand that the Hill leadership take up this fight and demand that Victor Gotbaum of DC 37 call a general strike and raise the call for the construction of a labor party.

Laid Off City Worker Speaks Out

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—Eleanor Schirger is 24. She is single and lives with her parents. She has been working at St. Nicholas Center as a caseworker since she came into the Department of Social Services on March 1st. Last week she was laid off, one of the first victims of Lindsay's cutbacks.

She told us, "I came in this morning and was told I was laid off today. I received no notice yesterday or before today."

"I got out of school in December and finally found this job in March. Now I have no idea what I'll do."

When Eleanor was appointed at St. Nicholas, she was immediately put onto an uncovered caseload, one which had been uncovered for many months. Now the caseload will be uncovered again. "It's obvious," she said, "that the clients don't matter to the City."

We asked her what she thought the SSEU-371 should do about this new wave of layoffs in the Department and in City labor.

She said that "all this talk about strikes and layoffs didn't hit me until today. Everyone in the SSEU should strike but it shouldn't be halfhearted. The only thing that will put a stop to this situation is for all City workers to strike."

Another worker at St. Nicholas, also a provisional caseworker appointed March 1st, told us that he is waiting for the axe to fall on him. "It's sixteen this payday. How many will it be next payday?" He was especially bitter, having been laid off from the Department once before, a year ago, when he was a caseworker at Children's Center.

DETERMINED

At least three of these presidential hopefuls supported the April 24th demonstrations built by the Stalinists and revisionists. The real connection between their calls for withdrawal and their preparation for attacks on the working class were made crystal clear on this television special. These capitalist politicians are as determined as Nixon to get on with the job at home of driving back the working class.



Some of the more than 7,000 demonstrators who were arrested in Washington, D.C. protest were caged in a fenced-in football field and surrounded by the National Guard and police.

Nixon Jails 10,000 Youth In Washington Mass Arrest

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

May 4—In a move masterminded by President Nixon and Attorney General John Mitchell, over 7,000 anti-war demonstrators were arrested en masse yesterday in Washington, D.C.

From the beginning the police acted in a provocative fashion, taking their cue from Nixon who had brought in 10,000 federal troops and 1,500 National Guardsmen to bolster up the 5,000 strong Washington police department.

number of youths approached near a bridge, or major artery or traffic circle, or cross street, they were attacked by cops swinging nightsticks and using mace. Over 150 were injured and treated at local hospitals.

The concentration camp-type detention center set up in the

football field where demonstrators were fenced in and heavily guarded was prepared for by Nixon.

Nixon said on Saturday at his press conference that "in this country policy is not made by protest," and that he would "not be intimidated" by protests. What Nixon is saying is that capitalism will not be deterred from its imperialist policies. "Vietnamization" will take place in

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STOP PRESS: May 5—An additional 2,000 or more youth have been arrested. The arrests followed a peaceful march to the Justice Department. Attorney General Mitchell watched the mass arrests.

Early Sunday morning, the Justice Department suddenly revoked the permit it had granted for camping in West Potomac Park. Helicopters began to swirl overhead as Washington police under the direct supervision of Attorney General Mitchell, swept through the park, routing out between 30,000 and 50,000 sleeping youth and forcing them to disperse through the city.

GAS

Tactical police and mobile units on scooters patrolled the streets, using mace, billy clubs and tear gas, beating up and tear-gassing demonstrators and spectators alike.

The demonstrators had been broken up into groups of from 10 to 100 and at any point where any

FBI Arrest In 'Bomb Conspiracy'

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The arrest of Leslie Bacon, a member of the "May Day Tribe" which planned the present protests in Washington, D.C., has all the earmarks of a political frame-up designed to intimidate and curtail any type of activity against the war.

Bacon was arrested in Washington, D.C. on April 28th by the FBI and almost immediately flown to Seattle, Washington to appear before a Grand Jury investigating the bombing of the Capitol on March 1st.

She was arrested as a "material witness" in the Capitol bombing and placed under \$100,000 bail. No proof was put forward that she was either a material witness or that she was likely to flee and therefore had to be put under such bail.

The only "evidence" offered was the statement by FBI agent Daniel Mahan that a secret agent identified only as "S-1" had spoken twice with Bacon and reported that she "carried messages for federal fugitives" and would flee if subpoenaed. Mahan also alleged that she had access to \$29,000 in the past few months.

When pressed by her lawyers as to where the money was, and who her accuser was, the government objected that the hearing was not a trial, and refused to disclose the identity of "S-1."

When her lawyer asked if Bacon was suspected in the Capitol bombing, Mahan answered,

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Progressive Labor Tries To Stop Bulletin Sale

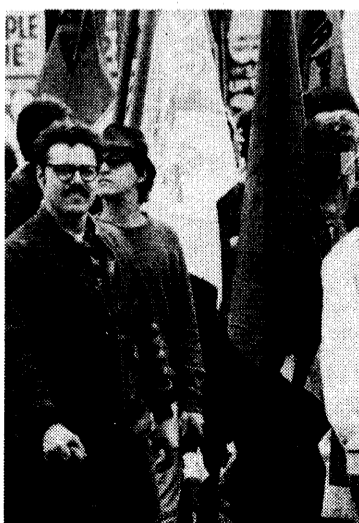
BY JUAN P. FARINAS

NEW YORK—Once again the Progressive Labor Party has shown its true Stalinist colors and bankrupt political nature. At a "dinner-rally" held in commemoration of May Day on May 2nd at a hotel on the west side of Manhattan, sellers of the **Bulletin** were harassed and prevented from selling their newspaper to the people who were attending the event.

First, two of the sellers were told not to sell the paper right in front of the hotel and were threatened with having the **Bulletins** torn up. After that we began to sell down the block at a distance from the hotel. But the success of the sale, which included a subscription to the **Bulletin** and a "Questions Facing PL" pamphlet, made the PLers come back with a group of about five or seven to "warn" us against members or friends of the party who "could react violently" against our selling the **Bulletin**.

This incident like the recent hooligan attacks perpetrated against Workers League mem-

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PL's May Day march.

Bloodbath Continues In Ceylon

BY MELODY FARROW

Madame Bandaranaike, head of the Ceylon coalition government, has declared "four days of surrender" for the guerrilla youth fighting her regime.

If they do not surrender by the deadline May 1st, she has threatened a military offensive that would kill or maim people "on the threshold of their lives."

The appeal has not met with great success. There are still thousands of guerrilla fighters in the central and southern provinces around Kejalle and Matara who are determined to hold out.

After shooting down or executing hundreds of them without trial, Bandaranaike is cynically posing as a forgiving and benign leader. She promises amnesty and "reasonable" treatment to those who give up.

Bandaranaike declared that the offensive had been "launched to erase all decent human values from our society." A government official spokesman said "the government is leaning over backwards to help them. The government will be very unhappy if it has to kill those fellows."

But if they do not surrender, kill them they will!

SLAUGHTER

Another official denied reports that there had been mass slaughter: "This is not Vietnam

or East Pakistan." Yet a week before an army officer was quoted as saying: "When we are convinced they are absolute insurgents, we must destroy them. This is the lesson of Vietnam and Malaysia."

Six hundred of the youth who surrendered will be given a "rehabilitation" course at Vidyodaya University seven miles from the capital, Colombo. They are being politically "restructured" as the government calls it, will even receive lectures from Buddhist and Christian priests.

Two of the members of the Rehabilitation Committee are Colin De Silva, member of the LSSP, and Communist Party leader Pieter Kueneman.

The preaching of religion, is just the other side of the Stalinists' efforts to oppress the struggles of the working class and youth in Ceylon with MIG planes. While the Soviet Union trains Ceylonese pilots to strafe guerrilla areas, all the rotten ideology of capitalism which religion has served for so long, is dug up to preserve bourgeois rule in Ceylon.

At the same time, the Stalinists have organized vigilante committees in their areas to join the hunt against the guerrilla youth. The pro-Moscow Communist Parties continue their slander of the Peoples Liberation Front. A statement in the East German paper, **National Zeitung** said that "it was largely the American secret service, the CIA, which fanned the fire in Ceylon and did the work of the right wing forces."

Despite these slanders, the Stalinists cannot explain why the United States is sending supplies to a government that it is supposedly trying to overthrow.

By offering the carrot of rehabilitation courses Bandaranaike exposes the extreme weakness of her regime. Even with the military aid of Stalinist and capitalist friends she will never be able to "flush out" the opposition because the crisis still remains—soaring inflation and unemployment. Bandaranaike has announced that her reform program will have to be postponed and she has taken further steps to prepare dictatorial rule.

DICTATORSHIP

Despite the Stalinists craven support for capitalism, she is prepared to wipe them out as well in order to crush the Ceylonese working class, which remains the real threat to her government. The government has now officially charged the North Korean government with conspiring with the youth to attack her government and has expelled their representatives.

There is no turning back to capitalist democracy. The workers and youth must break with Bandaranaike's bourgeois party and its Stalinist allies and fight for a socialist Ceylon or face a military dictatorship.

Condemn MPI Attacks

The Open Letter issued by the Workers League in response to the physical assault on salesmen of the **Bulletin** by the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) last April 9 is being widely circulated and supported among students and the Spanish-speaking community.

The Open Letter called upon all organizations and individuals to reject and denounce physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement and to reject the charge that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, were agents of the CIA or FBI.

The Open Letter is beginning to receive very wide support. Signers of the Letter now include many students at New York City Community College, among them Robert Tate, President of the Evening Student Government Association, and Pedro De La Luz, Vice President of the Latin Alliance; over thirty students at CCNY; and, thus far, twenty-five students at various New York colleges enrolled in SEEK, the college assistance program for working class and minority youth.

The Steering Committee of the

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Tuition Up, SEEK Slashed As Budget Cuts Hit CUNY

BY A CCNY STUDENT

NEW YORK—The cuts in the New York State budget mean that there is a strong possibility that there will be no freshmen entering the City University of New York and the strong probability of the imposition of tuition on all the units of the City University of New York (CUNY).

At City College (CCNY) the tuition rate would be \$550 a year. This would wipe out the education of thousands of students, especially those who depend on Open Admissions, SEEK and other such programs for Black, Latin and other working class youth.

These cuts, just as layoffs of thousands of city and state workers, are an attempt by the capitalists to force the working class and the youth to pay for the crisis of capitalism. They are a vicious attack on the basic right of the workers to hold jobs and of the youth to have free higher education.

NATURE

It is precisely the nature of the cuts that demands that this threat be fought politically, that this be seen as part of the struggle of the city labor movement and of the working class as a whole.

The struggle against tuition can not win if it is seen merely as a battle against "those rotten conservative legislators up in Albany," thus tying the struggle to the Democratic Party in one form or another. Neither will it be successful if it accepts the cuts and the present reality as unchangeable by proposing that students sign "no-pay slips" (that is, sign a refusal to pay tuition) and that students in the meantime go up to Albany to "disrupt proceedings."

REFORMIST

Those who wish to contain the struggle within reformist limits will guarantee that next term a severely cut CCNY student body will be forced to pay \$550 a year for tuition. This is also the meaning of the CCNY Student Senate with the collaboration of the Stalinists, inviting Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton to speak at a "Convocation against Tuition."

LABOR

Central to a real struggle is

the turn of students toward the city unions to fight for a general strike of city labor and of students against the cuts and layoffs. At the center of this must be the fight for the building of a labor party to break from the Democrats and Republicans.

Detroit Teamsters Strike Defeated

BY A BULLETIN
REPORTER

DETROIT—After four long, cold and bitter months the strike of Teamsters Local 285 linen drivers is over. The length of the strike combined with the fact that it was the first strike that this local has had in 33 years attests to the seriousness of it.

The main issue was the question of payment on a salary basis or commission basis. The commission basis was kept in principle but due to various qualifications it was actually eliminated. These linen drivers make 40 or 50 stops a day and used to get a 14% commission. They now get 7% on stops that are billed more than \$175.00.

In addition the big commission routes have virtually been eliminated. In return for the cuts on the commission basis

BY TIM STIMSON
BALTIMORE—At 4 A.M., April 26th, Taxi Drivers Local 426 of the Teamsters and the Independent Organization of Baltimore Cab Drivers of three major cab companies went out on strike here.

By noon the strike against an increase in cab rental fees had spread to one other company bringing the number of striking cabs to 811 of the city's 1,151 cabs.

Unrest has been building since November 30th of last year when contracts between Yellow and Sun

cab owners and Local 426 expired. The Independent Organization of Baltimore Cab Drivers has not negotiated a contract since it was certified as bargaining agent for Checker Cab drivers in October after winning an NLRB election.

When the Teamsters' contract expired the owners tried to increase the daily rental fee which drivers must pay to use a cab. The ranks warned that a walkout would result if the fee was raised, but stayed on as the old rates remained in effect during negotiations. The owners then applied to the Public Service Commis-

sion for rate increases which would have doubled existing fares.

INCREASE

On April 9th, the PSC authorized a fare increase which amounts to an increase in fare revenues of 30% for the average trip.

The owners informed the drivers that since fares were increased the cab rental fees were going up 75%. The drivers, who have not gotten a real raise in nearly ten years, got a 10% raise in money off the fares; a raise which will be more than made up for through a loss in tips.

As the drivers went out, Teamsters Local 426 proposed that the owners take a 37% increase in rental fees rather than 75%.

The ranks this week overwhelmingly rejected a tentative agreement which, within 3 weeks, would have raised daily cab rental fees by 30%.

The sellout was swamped by a vote of 208 to 68.

The rejection came as a shock to union bureaucrats who were predicting acceptance of this "decent compromise." One bureaucrat was appalled at the "indecent" of the rank and file who, in his own words, had dared to come "prepared to vote no."

This poses even more sharply the necessity for the drivers to construct a leadership with a perspective for victory rather than so-called "decent compromises."

UAW Ranks Fight Fraud

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

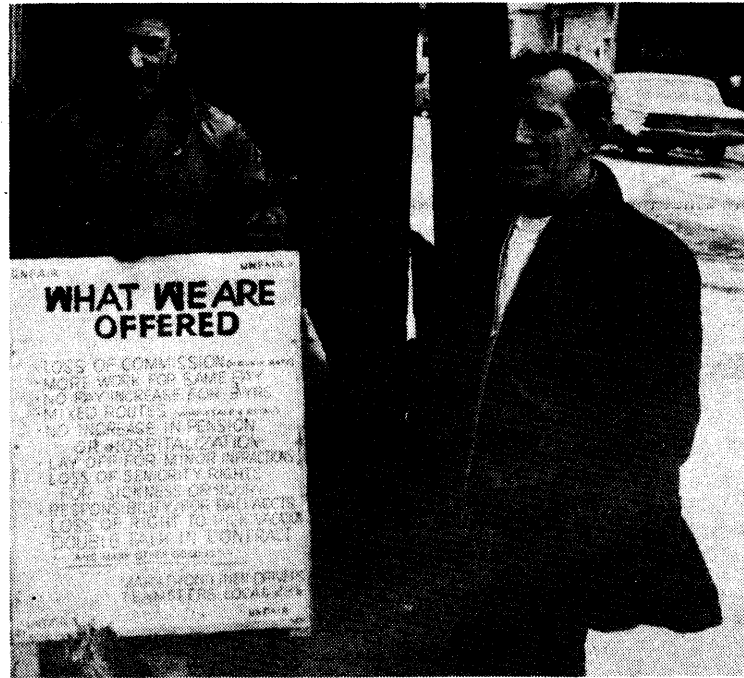
DETROIT—Twenty-five rank and file members of the Ford River Rouge Speciality Foundry Unit of UAW Local 600 have filed suit in Federal Court, charging that the local leadership has prevented democratic nominations for the upcoming election.

The Detroit News titled an article on the suit "UAW Local Sued Over Officer Vote," implying that the ranks are attacking the union itself, while in actuality they are fighting the bureaucratic interests of the president and his ruling clique. The ranks are fighting for union democracy in the face of massive attacks on their job security and living standards by Ford and the government.

The workers charge that on April 17 they were locked out of the nominations meeting at Local 600's hall in Dearborn. The men say that inside the meeting Foundry Unit President Lofton accepted his own nomination for re-election and then closed the nominations.

The Local election is scheduled for May 4 and 5. The ranks' suit asks that the court postpone the election until May 25 and 26 and set May 9 as a new nomination date.

Lofton has not fought the recent layoffs over the last few months of over 150 workers in his own Unit.



Before strike ended, Local 285ers picketed against company offer.

the workers received some fringe benefits such as paid hospitalization and retirement at 60 at \$350 a month.

The big companies are now consolidating their empire and eliminating many of the drivers' jobs. As one driver said: "I have 6 years on the job and I'm shaky."

It will be a few months before the full impact of the strike is felt. The ratification vote was reported to be 199 for and 62 against out of about 500 workers. This alone shows the opinion the workers had of the settlement.

The president of the union said at the ratification meeting that he

did not expect the strike to last four days let alone four months. The ranks are now bitterly learning that this is not the 1950s. The linen companies were organized into an association that was financed nationally in an attempt to smash the union. With the aid of the police and scabs the plants were able to run at almost 50% production. It was not until last week when the coverall drivers went out that real negotiations began.

Yet the linen drivers were isolated from the beginning. The International gave them strike pay but refused to carry the issue of the strike to the rest of the labor movement.

James Johnson Trial Reveals Class Hatred

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—On May 3rd, James Johnson, Jr., a factory worker, will go on trial for three murders. It was on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 15th, 1970, that James Johnson, Jr. was in a dispute with his foreman over working conditions.

The foreman fired Johnson. An hour later Johnson returned with a rifle and shot two foremen and a fellow worker who tried to subdue him. Then he

Goons Attack Striking Gas Drivers

NEW YORK— Mobil Oil Company is taking trucks, manned by scabs, through picket lines escorted by carloads of thugs armed with lead pipes, tire irons and karate sticks.

Even though carrying such arms inside the city is illegal only one carload has been arrested so far. The police have been protecting the scabs and goons from the wrath of the

peacefully surrendered to the police.

Kenneth Cockrel, Johnson's attorney, said: "This trial gives us a chance to question both the auto companies and the union." He also said: "One of the things we plan to do is to take the judge and jury down to the plant and let them see for themselves."

Johnson in many ways typifies many workers. He came from rural Mississippi in his high

school years. He worked at a series of menial jobs such as a cook and janitor. Finally he secured a job on the line at Chrysler's Elden Axel Plant.

Johnson expressed the feeling of many workers when he said: "I just wanted to be left alone to do my job and make an honest living. I wanted to come in, do my job, get paid on Thursday and go home. My job was the only source of survival."

Yet Johnson like many workers found the working conditions oppressive and destructive.

gun in an individual act. It is the whole capitalist class which has created these conditions. The UAW bureaucracy also has had a hand in this bargaining away working conditions in the 1950s for scraps off the table of the capitalists' super profits.

Johnson's act expressed above all the class hatred of the working class towards capitalism which is exploding in the factories. But this struggle can ONLY go forward based on the independent political struggle of the working class and the construction of a Marxist leadership in the unions.

Johnson tried to work through the union but the bureaucracy fought him. He then turned to the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. This group is based on splitting the working class along racial lines. The only fight over working conditions it has waged is for Black foremen. It was then that Johnson sought to pick up the

CREATED

strikers who are unarmed. The workers will have to arm themselves in self defense against such goon squads as they did in the 1930s. This event underlines the position of the Workers League that the current attacks on students in Washington and elsewhere is a preparation for armed attacks on the trade unions in the interests of capital.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas
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Mari Bras Arrested On Frame-up Charges

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Movement for the Independence of Puerto Rico (MPI) was arrested last Thursday in San Juan, capitol of Puerto Rico. Mari Bras was arrested under the notoriously anti-independentist frame-up charge of "pasting up posters."

In Puerto Rico there are municipal regulations which prohibit the pasting up of posters or other materials on public property such as telephone and electric poles. In the past these regulations have been used as a means of harassing and arresting independentist militants only. All other kinds of propaganda posters, including ones for commercial purposes, are allowed to be pasted up.

The arrest and imprisonment of Mari Bras is not an isolated act. Not only have other members and leaders of the MPI and the FUPI (MPI's university students' organization) been

arrested recently under all kinds of frame-ups, but leaders and members of other independentist organizations have been arrested as well.

Ruben Berrios, President of the bourgeois electoralist party PIP, is currently spending a three month prison term for his activities against the U.S. Navy bombardment of Culebra. These actions on the part of the reactionary Ferre government in Puerto Rico and the increasing repression on all levels against the pro-independence forces clearly express the fear that U.S. imperialism has of the growing movement of the working class and youth.

These arrests are a clear warning to the Puerto Rican working class and youth of the intentions of the colonial government to use the slightest pretext to unleash all out repression. For this reason they must be fought with the strength of the working class in action for the immediate release of Mari Bras, Ruben Berrios and all other political prisoners in Puerto Rico.

CP May Day Call: Unity With Liberals

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—A pitiful crowd of only 500 people, half of them over fifty, showed up for the Communist Party's annual May Day rally in Union Square. The chairman, Ed Pinckney, even tried to apologize for the turnout by blaming it on the April 24th demonstration in Washington.

It is little wonder. Militant youth are increasingly repelled by the Communist Party's open reformism, clearly expressed at the rally. Every speaker, Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats, alike, said it was necessary to put more pressure on the government to end the war.

Jose Ristorucci, New York County chairman of the Communist Party, said it most blatantly: "We have to realize that we have to unite along with all progressives, all democrats—unite in a program meaningful to working

people. ...It is not enough to march...we must write to our congressmen."

May Day is the day of international solidarity of the working class but there was not one word, one peep out of the Stalinists about the struggles of the workers, peasants and youth in Ceylon and East Pakistan. The Stalinists celebrate May Day by supporting the class enemy, the butchers of the struggles of the masses in Ceylon and Pakistan and their allies in the US in the Democratic Party.

Joining the CP on May Day were Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Labor Committee who participated in the Stalinists' rally with their banners. Both these organizations are petty bourgeois break-offs from the Trotskyist movement.

Their real role was openly exposed on May Day.

NY Students Demand Labor Call Strike

NEW YORK, May 5—200 students rallied at New York City Community College for strike action against the cuts in education funds and other budget cuts.

Speakers included members of the Puerto Rican Student Union, Workers League, Black Unity and Progressive Labor. Ernie McIntire of the Workers League read the following telegram that was unanimously ratified by all the students present:

"We, students at NYCCC, call upon Harry Van Arsdale, head of the NYC Central Labor Council, and Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 to call a citywide General Strike against:

- 1) The layoff of 2,800 city workers and the threatened layoff of 90,000.
- 2) The 10% cut in welfare.
- 3) The educational cutbacks against the city university of New York, along with the cutting of funds to such programs as SEEK and College Discovery.

We also demand the breaking with the Republican and Democratic Parties responsible for these cuts and immediate preparation for building a Labor

Party.

The students then joined other students from Brooklyn College and Manhattan Community College in a demonstration at the U.N. Manny Rodriguez, head of the NYCCC PRSU read the telegram again and said "workers are the vanguard of the revolution" and that Harry Van Arsdale and Victor Gotbaum "must be forced to call a General Strike."

Striking Yale Workers Must Fight For Meeting

BY KLAUS KNIGHT

NEW HAVEN—The Yale campus workers walked off the job eleven hours ahead of the strike deadline on May 1st.

Vincent Sirabella, the head of the New Haven Central Labor Council, spoke to a packed student audience on April 26 about their role in the strike. Except for requesting respect for the workers' picket lines, this opportunist clearly let it be known that he does not intend to fight for a victory against Yale.

He emphasized the "power of



Salvatore Allende, President of popular front Chilean government, addresses May Day crowd in Santiago. On stage with him are representatives from the unions and the Church.

Stalinists Push Chile Popular Front Betrayal

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

The Soviet Union has called on all underdeveloped countries to follow the "convincing example" of Chile and form "United Fronts" with so-called "anti-capitalist forces."

The statement, written by Rostislav Ulyanovsky, for the Soviet Union's paper, Izvestia,

said such fronts should be preserved at all costs as long as it remained "anti-imperialist."

Referring to Chile, Ulyanovsky said: "There, the national front of progressive forces, formed with the participation of two basic parties—the Socialist and Communist—in effect has become the strong nucleus of the working people entering the path of deep social change."

Making his point even clearer, Ulyanovsky explained that this meant forming alliances with nationalists who were openly hostile to communism. These "national democrats" and "bourgeois elements" were often, he admitted "unreliable partners" but coalitions with them were still "the only guarantee for a rebuff to the aggressive plans and the splitting activity of imperialism and reaction."

"The question of the mutual relations between national democrats and Marxist-Leninist parties has great meaning for the successful advance on the non-capitalist path," the article continues.

What Ulyanovsky calls a "United Front" is in reality the dis-

credited and bankrupt coalition with the bourgeoisie known as the Popular Front which led the entire European working class to defeat at the hands of the fascists in the 1930s.

Faced once again with a new revolutionary upsurge of workers throughout the world the Stalinists are scurrying to preserve capitalism by uniting with the national bourgeoisie.

The Popular Front is not dedicated to the needs of the working class but by the bureaucracy which rules the Soviet Union. Popular Fronts such as in Chile seek to win concessions from imperialism within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" so as to preserve the rule of the clique in the Soviet Union.

Allende's "anti-imperialist policy" has led him to grant generous compensation to the copper holdings of the United States and to hold back land seizures by the peasants.

The example of Allende is the road of defeat. Only the Fourth International, which bases its program on the international struggles of the working class to defeat capitalism, can lead this movement forward.



Jose Ristorucci of the CP.

Ex-GI Charges New Vietnam Massacres

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

New revelations about the massacre of civilians in Vietnam expose more and more openly that the My Lai massacre was not an "exception," but part of the policy of US imperialism.

Former GI Danny S. Notley of St. Paul, Minnesota, speaking on April 28th before an unofficial House of Representatives committee, stated that 30 civilians were murdered by members of the 11th Brigade of the Americal Division in Truong Khanh village near My Lai in April 1969.

After a soldier was killed by a booby trap while on a combat assault mission, a squad fired on the nearest village, Truong Khanh, without apparently killing anyone but destroying the houses. Then a squad was sent into the village by the platoon leader, who said, "I want some kills."

In groups of about 10 persons each, 30 women and children were shot down and murdered.

Notley said that he was not in a position to refuse to fire, that he was "scared to death for his life," but that he deliberately misaimed and did not hit anyone.

The battalion commander has indicated that he was aware of the massacre, but refused to comment on it after Notley's testimony.

As the exposure of these new murders shows, the My Lai massacre and the subsequent trial of Calley only exposed the tip of the iceberg as far as the brutality of imperialism. Any investigation of the massacre at Truong Khanh will only expose even more sharply that behind the Calleys and the generals is the Commander in Chief, Nixon himself, and the class he represents.

boos and hisses. This gave Sirabella the chance to avoid the question of his refusal to fight for victory.

MEETING

The Workers League is demanding an open membership meeting of Local 35 at which there must be an open microphone for students and workers to bring all the political and economic questions into the open. Already, several hundred workers have signed a petition being distributed by the Workers League which demands such an

open meeting. It will be presented at the May Day rally Wednesday to Sirabella who will speak there.

The following demands must be non-negotiable:

- 18 month contract
- \$1.00 per hour minimum increase over 18 months
- FULL cost of living escalator clause
- An end to job freezing and speed-up
- SHUT YALE DOWN! For a student strike against tuition increases and cutbacks in financial aid

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Why SWP Lies About The Workers League

Nixon has given his answer to the antiwar demonstrations of the past two weeks. Imperialism will continue its war in Indochina. Nixon's answer has been to throw thousands of youth into jail and detention camps preparing the way for open war against the working class.

As the capitalist class prepares for civil war the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party disarm the working class and the youth diverting them into protests, into reformism.

The Socialist Workers Party is going to great lengths to try to cover its reactionary role on April 24th. In alliance with the Communist Party and the liberals, the SWP-YSA mobilized workers and youth behind a section of the capitalist class.

In the current issue of the Militant in an article on the Workers League's rally on April 24th, the SWP claims that this rally was attended by only "150 people!"

This is said despite the fact that even the photos in the Bulletin give complete lie to it. The SWP's statement is equal to the report by the Communist Party on the YSA's last national conference which was entitled, "300 Young Socialists Meet, Map Raids on Other Organizations."

It is the SWP's fear of the Workers League and the alternative it posed on April 24th that is at the heart of this distortion. Obviously if the facts of today conflict with the preconceptions drawn from yesterday's impressions then today's facts must be denied. Since the Workers League, according to the SWP is "ultra-leftist" and therefore cannot mobilize forces, then even though it did mobilize 500-1,000 people around Trotskyism on April 24th this must be denied. We suspect they will also maintain that the Workers Press, organ of our co-thinkers in England, does not come out six days a week!

Then we are told: "For an organization that devotes much attention to the daily betrayals of the labor bureaucracy, the Workers League found itself in the strange company of Woodcock, Meany and others of this ilk who refused to back the April 24th action."

Once again we witness the snideness which reveals a deep class separation from the working class! Is the Militant suggesting that the labor bureaucracy does not betray "daily" or that one should not devote "much attention" to this? But let us be generous. Let us assume that the Militant editors read the Bulletin and have become convinced that the labor bureaucracy does betray daily and are now laying plans to see to it that this is given much attention in future issues of the Militant even if it squeezes out an article on gay liberation.

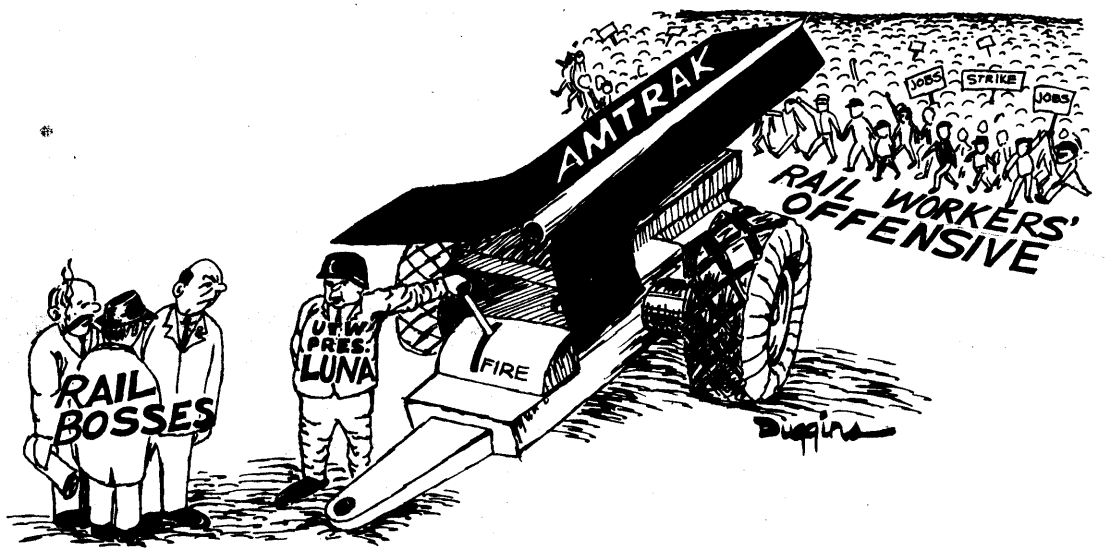
But this assumption will not hold up. The truth is that the SWP has lined up uncritically with Livingston, Davis, Schrade—that section of the labor bureaucracy which endorsed April 24th—precisely because April 24th was politically dominated by the capitalist parties.

It was the Workers League, not the SWP, which took on Woodcock in St. Louis fighting for the not so abstract general strike demanding that he move against the war. It is the Workers League which has fought Livingston, Schrade, and Davis over their support to the two capitalist war parties as well as their conduct in trade union struggles against the interests of the rank and file.

It is precisely the SWP's movement close to a section of the labor bureaucracy—the same section the Communist Party looks toward—which it seeks to cover by accusing us of blocking with Meany and Company because we insist that the fight against the war requires a break with the liberals, industrial action, and the construction of a labor party.

Perhaps the Militant will explain how "the largest political demonstration in history against the policies of the U.S. ruling class" was led by leading spokesmen of the ruling class like Abzug and Badillo and on the West Coast Republican McCloskey? Such a movement in power would be no different than the coalition government which is murdering youth in Ceylon. Ah, but when such a movement does come to power, if it so acts, no doubt the leadership of the SWP will disassociate itself from it.

Thanks a lot, Mssrs. editors of the Militant. But then it may be too late even for you.



"This should take care of about 26,000 of them."

What we think

(Continued From Page 1)
brought us into sharp collision with the leadership of the NTU, the labor bureaucracy in general and every other political tendency. It was only the Workers League that campaigned for such action. In fact it was the Workers League members which initiated the chant for a general strike forcing Marcianite of the AFL-CIO to declare for one.

During this whole period the SWP had nothing to say about a general strike. Its first mention was in an article by Morrison, datelined March 9th, which reported Marcianite's call. Not once, prior to this, did the SWP fight for such a call. After Marcianite called off the general strike not once did Morrison or any other writer in the Militant or individual representative of the SWP in Newark take him to task for calling it off and urge that the NTU fight to bring about such a strike. Now, after the strike is all over, we are told such a general strike would have been a good thing. Is it only Marcianite who lacks "spine"?

But there is more to this general strike question. When we first raised this question in relation to the struggle against the war we were greeted with opposition and derision from the SWP. When again we raised it in relation to New York City labor we were greeted by the SWP with the charge that such talk is engaging in "vague generalities" (Intercontinental Press, March 1). Allen Myers in particular greeted with ridicule and derision the idea that general strikes can occur in this period and that such strikes could lead to civil war conditions with troops facing strikers.

The SWP not only did not fight for a general strike to save the NTU but it has not taken up a fight for a general strike to answer the attacks of Lindsay who threatens 90,000 layoffs of New York City workers. It further has not taken up a fight for a general strike in construction though this has been raised by large sections of construction workers. It has actively fought against general strike action against the war and openly attacked those who took up this fight.

But the worst is yet to come. Morrison actually attributes to racial polarization the positive role of saving the NTU from being busted! It seems that this polarization came to a head when LeRoi Jones held a press conference on April 8th and demanded the resignation of the white police chief over police

brutality which took place against Blacks at the critical April 7th school board meeting. "This threatened confrontation between the Black and Puerto Rican communities and the government forced Gibson and the board to shelve their plans for busting the union."

It is here that the insanity comes in. Morrison admits in several articles that LeRoi Jones is an open supporter of Mayor Gibson and the Board of Education and that he above all has worked to bust the union. At the April 7th board meeting mentioned by Morrison, it was Jones who turned it into an anti-white hysterical session. This hysteria was then used by members of the Board as an excuse to renege on an agreement with the NTU which itself would have meant a decisive defeat for the union. Jones' news conference the next day was just part of the whole operation.

But the proof is in the final settlement which actually meant a further retreat by the union from the contract earlier agreed to by the Board.

Morrison first correctly states that a general strike would have meant "a more favorable" settlement but then tries to soften the real meaning of this by picturing the very racial polarization used to prevent a general strike and break the union as somehow forcing from Gibson concessions. He does this because he cannot confront the fact that Black nationalism and community control can only mean defeat for the working class as a whole.

The truth is that the settlement not only is a serious blow to the union but will lead to greater unemployment among Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the city as teachers are forced to take over the work of predominantly minority teacher aides.

The concept of "community control" and its related concept of an "independent Black political party," which can only mean a capitalist party tied to the ruling class, leads Morrison to take an ambiguous position on Gibson himself. He writes (Militant, March 5th):

"The Gibson campaign, unlike that of Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana, was organized and partially financed by the Black community, independent of the Democratic Party. The independent nominating convention also adopted a program attempting to speak to the needs for Black and Puerto Rican community control.

"However, since Gibson took

office he has done nothing to implement Black control of the Black community or change the horrible conditions that Blacks suffer in Newark."

Surprise! Surprise!

If the Gibson campaign was "unlike" the Stokes and Hatcher ones why is it that Gibson upon coming to power acted like Hatcher and Stokes? Could it be that the Gibson campaign was identical to the Stokes and Hatcher ones because it did not represent a class break from the capitalist parties?

The SWP's position on Gibson is extremely revealing and in method is the same as the general strike question. Not once did they stand up against Gibson in his election campaign. The Militant remained silent and what it did finally write after the fact suggested that the Gibson victory was a victory for the Black masses. Now that Gibson has revealed his capitalist and anti-union character the SWP criticizes him.

Is this a political program based on principle or is it an adaptation to surface movements and a complete abdication of leadership?

Myers, in his article about our "abstract strikers" and general strikes states, revealing his party's deep hostility to dialectical materialism: "I expect Wohlforth will tell us that this is getting away from 'impressionism' and engaging in 'dialectical leaps.'" (Intercontinental Press, March 1).

You won't be disappointed, Mr. Myers.

The fundamental thing that must be understood is that the Socialist Workers Party proceeds on the basis of the pragmatic and not the dialectical method. It has only impressions of what is happening at the moment on the surface. It does not proceed from a penetration into the basic conflict developing beneath the surface. It sees no leaps. It cannot prepare today for tomorrow. It is barely capable of noting what has happened. And, as the class struggle deepens, this method goes mad. Positions developed from impressions of what has happened come into such sharp conflict with the rapid changes taking place that a totally incomprehensible article like Morrison's is produced.

It is not simply that Morrison lines up with Black nationalism against the trade union movement. He adapts simultaneously to Black nationalism and the labor bureaucracy. This in turn leads him inexorably into the camp of bourgeois politics.



Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

6 The Theory of Structural Reform

MANDEL'S PROGRAM OF "anti-capitalist structural reform" flows from his whole neo-capitalist perspective. This program has absolutely nothing to do with the Transitional Program of the Fourth International whatsoever. On the contrary the program of structural reform and the Transitional Program are based upon two completely opposed strategies.

This gives to demands like nationalization and workers control as they are advanced by Mandel completely opposite meaning from that which they have within the context of the Transitional Program and from that intended by Trotsky.

All the demands raised by Trotsky in the Transitional Program including nationalization, the sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control, workers militia and soviets flow from Trotsky's understanding of the deep crisis of the capitalist system in the imperialist epoch. They are seen as part of a strategy whose whole object is the revolutionary overthrow of this system. Outside of the perspective of the mobilization of the working class for the revolution, i.e., insurrection, armed seizure of power, all the specific demands of the Transitional Program become meaningless. They are turned into formulas for the reform of capitalism and into weapons against the socialist revolution.

This, in fact, is precisely what they become in the revisionist clutches of Mandel. Behind Mandel's program of anti-capitalist structural reform, apart from any and all specific demands that it happens to incorporate, lies the no-crisis theory of neo-capitalism. Thus Mandel's whole program rests on the fallacy that the overall wealth produced under capitalism will continue growing in an ever upward direction. The material conditions of the working class are basically assured. The only problems that really remain are the threats of periodic recession, of one national capitalism falling behind in relation to other national capitalisms, of the working class, in spite of the growth of prosperity, getting a relatively smaller proportion of the national income.

In other words there is a danger of periodic or geographical disproportions and inequities along with the ever present problem of the proletariat's supposed alienation. But there is no fundamental threat; there is no longer a question the working class being thrown back to the conditions of the thirties. He does not proceed from the kind of fundamental crisis which is the bedrock of the perspective upon which the Transitional Program is based.

Mandel's strategy and program flow directly from this. Anti-capitalist structural reform is fundamentally a program for the progressive elimination of these deficiencies, inequities or disproportions in the otherwise stable and prosperous neo-capitalist economy.

Mandel seeks to bring the working class into a struggle for demands that will facilitate the maximum growth and prosperity of the national and international neo-capitalist economy. He combines this approach with a struggle to see that within the framework of this growing prosperity the working class increases its relative share.

What anti-capitalist structural reform abandons, evades and totally leaves out is the perspective of Marxism which is not to refurbish, dress up and render the capitalist system more equitable, but to overthrow and destroy it through socialist revolution. This is entirely forgotten.

ENTANGLE

What Mandel's program of anti-capitalist structural reform reduces itself to is not only the abandonment of the Transitional Program for the minimum program of Stalinism and Social Democracy. In so much as it completely entangles the working class in the participation with capital in seeking to bring about as prosperous a capitalist economy as possible, it becomes something even worse.

In a section of a 1963 article which was appropriately sub-headed "The Ambiguity of Structural Reform" Mandel points out that by 1960 everyone from himself and the Belgian Socialist Party to the right wing Christian Socialist Party and the reactionary Eyskens government was pushing one or another brand of structural reform. Mandel desperately tries to make a distinction between a socialist program of anti-capitalist structural reform and a purely capitalist or "neo-capitalist" structural reform policy. He begins:

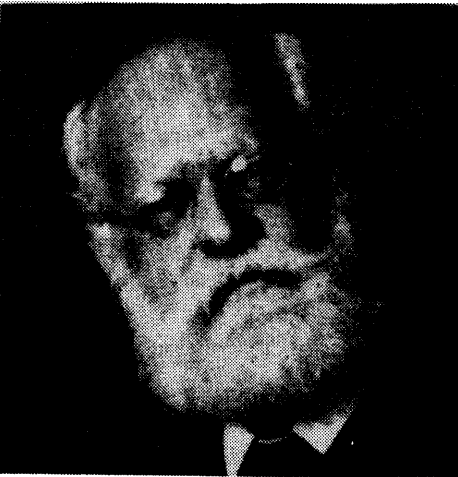
"No social class could afford to close its eyes to the fundamental weaknesses of the Belgian economy."(1)

In other words there cannot be two

different class standpoints on this. Both social classes must begin from the standpoint of strengthening Belgian capitalism. It is here to stay; the workers must live with it and make the best of it. Mandel continues:

"...The remedies for these weaknesses could not be simply technical solutions; they also inevitably had to have a precise social significance. And clearly the meaning of the solution adopted by one party was likely to be diametrically opposed to that adopted by another."(2)

In other words then, the question is not the overthrow of Belgian capitalism, but that all must join in fighting for its development. There is a fight



Karl Kautsky and Mandel agree on state.

to be made over whether its development is carried out entirely on the terms of the monopolists or on the basis of a fairer shake for the working class.

"The technical precondition of fundamental industrial modernization is an increase in investment. The logic of capitalism is to secure this increase by increasing the rate of profit; the logic of socialist (i.e. anti-capitalist) structural reform is to secure it by making radical inroads on private property; nationalizations, discriminatory fiscal policy, imperative planning...

"In short, behind technical formulae which are apparently identical or analogous may lie either neo-capitalist reforms, whose aim is to improve the workings of the capitalist economy and to make the public defray the cost of modernization, or anti-capitalist structural reforms, whose aim is to break the control of the holding companies over the country's economy and to make them underwrite the costs of economic and social

reconstruction."(3)

In other words structural reform becomes anti-capitalist as opposed to simply neo-capitalist when there is combined with or added to purely neo-capitalist structural reform (i.e. to the program of the big bourgeoisie in its drive to make its national capitalism more competitive), the reformist illusions of the middle class and the trade union bureaucracy. The whole strategy of anti-capitalist structural reform is to force the big bourgeoisie to foot the bill of capitalist modernization as opposed to the whole cost being extracted from the "public," i.e. the workers and the petty bourgeoisie. Such is what Mandel calls "breaking the control of the holding companies over the economy" or elsewhere using Marx's phrase "tyrannical interventions against private property."(4)

When, however, Mandel proposes that the monopolies be forced to foot their own bill rather than the public, he is also saying that his perspective is for their continued existence and not their expropriation. Thus Mandel's program is not as radical as it might sometimes sound.

Mandel is in fact very precise about what he envisions when he talks about neo-capitalism being structurally reformed. He says that:

"...The fundamental goal of these reforms would be to take away the levers of command in the economy from the financial groups, trusts and monopolies and place them into the hands of the nation, to create a public sector of decisive weight in credit, industry and transportation, and to base all this on workers' control."(5)

Mandel is talking about nothing more than the development of a large nationalized sector of the economy which he sees peacefully coexisting alongside the private monopolies. Structural reform is thus revealed as nothing more than the illusions of the petty bourgeoisie that the big monopolies can somehow be curbed, limited, and forced to meet the working class "halfway" as Kautsky advocated in his time.

UNDERCONSUMPTIONISM

Just how deep these illusions of possible class compromise run in Mandel's thinking is expressed extremely sharply in his descent into the crude underconsumptionist theories of the Stalinists. These theories which provide the justification for all the Stalinist reformist class-collaborationist policies center on the assertion that for the capitalists a policy of concessions to the working class is

really in their own best interests. Mandel's adoption of these theories makes it possible for him to think that he can urge upon or pressure them into accepting anti-capitalist structural reform.

Thus Mandel says the following in answer to the capitalists' contention that increases in the wages of the working class in periods of full employment are inflationary:

"...We can turn the capitalist technique against its own authors by telling them that it is not such a bad thing to reduce investments (i.e. as a result of the workers wage increases reducing his rate of profit) when there is a period of full employment and a boom at its 'boiling point;' that on the contrary, this reduction in investments is already on the way at the very moment, and from the standpoint of anticyclical policy, it is more intelligent to reduce profits and increase wages. This would permit the demand from wage workers and consumers, to come to the relief of investment in the interest of maintaining the conjuncture at the high level."(6)

What Mandel does with this theory is to completely negate the meaning of Marxism by dissolving the class struggle into nothing. The fight of the working class rather than conflicting with the capitalist system, rather than tearing it apart becomes entirely consistent with and even aids the most efficient functioning of the capitalist economy.

Mandel's program of anti-capitalist structural reform is thoroughly exposed as having nothing to do with the mobilization of the working class to overthrow capitalism and everything to do with bolstering reformism and ends up like all reformism in defending the capitalist system to the hilt.

WORKERS CONTROL

Mandel's call for workers control which he often refers to as the "anti-capitalist structural reform par excellence" is part and parcel of this reformist perspective.

Because Mandel's opposition to the fight on the factory floor and in the unions for wages and jobs, his shifting of the whole fight to the level of questions of national economic policy (i.e. parliamentary struggle) reveals him, amongst other things, to be a first rate parliamentary cretin, he tries to cover this over with militant talk about workers control.

But his whole workers control program is really only an extension or appendage of his program of curbing the avariciousness of the big capitalists in parliament and bringing about a more equitable neo-capitalism. Though Mandel, on occasion even talks about seizing plants, and other forms of militant action, it is within the framework of a reformist collaboration with the capitalists not as part of a program to overthrow them.

We can take, for example, Mandel's use of the demand which is likewise found in the Transitional Program, of "open the books." Within the framework of the Transitional Program the demand that committees of workers inspect the books of the capitalists is inextricably bound up with the fight for the expropriation of the whole bourgeoisie through a revolutionary struggle. In Mandel's anti-capitalist structural reform framework the demand becomes a centerpiece of a perspective of out and out collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

In a 1968 New Left Review article Mandel makes absolutely clear that this slogan is nothing more than a formula for drawing the working class into participation with the management of capitalist enterprises and the government itself in making and executing their economic policies. Mandel says that workers control:

"...is a refusal to enter discussions with the management or the government as a whole on the division of national income, so long as the workers have not acquired the ability to reveal the way the capitalists cook the books when they talk of prices and profits. In other words it is the opening of the books, and the calculation of the real production costs and the real profit margins by the workers."(7)

The conclusion clearly to be drawn is that when the capitalists open their books then it is entirely permissible to enter into such discussions.

Just what a rotten fraud this formulation really is was sharply driven home in Great Britain, where Mandel's supporters have made much of the "workers control" issue and all manner of trade union and Labour Party lefts have also taken it up. Here the Wilson Government's January, 1969 white paper "In Place of Strife" which sought to shackle the trade unions by subjecting them to penal laws actually contained an "open the books" clause



precisely to draw in these bureaucrats and give their betrayal the necessary left cover.

Mandel's sophisticated theoretical explanations of "workers control" thus have an extremely important role to play in betraying the working class movement.

In every possible respect Mandel's "workers control" demands all become the starting point for acceptance of productivity schemes and workers participation in the exploitation of labor by the capitalist class. Thus in justifying the demand for opening the books and an end to business secrets Mandel states the following:

"Every effort is made to impose an 'incomes policy' tying wages to productivity, but at the same time denying workers the means of accurately determining productivity."(8)

Mandel is willing to accept an incomes policy and the principle that wages should be pegged to productivity so long as the capitalists open their books so productivity can be accurately determined. He is, in short, prepared to base what he demands for the working class, and therefore its whole standard of living upon the exigencies of the capitalist system. All Mandel demands is that workers committees should throw open the books of the employers so that the working class gets a fair shake. Lest there be any confusion on this let us quote Mandel further. He says:

"Any agreement which makes wage increases dependent on increases in production...can only be a fraud. Obviously, the only admissible comparison is between wages on the one hand profits and productivity on the other, and the aim of the comparison should not be to freeze the distribution of the national income at a pre-determined level (by increasing wages only in proportion to productivity), but to achieve a socially just distribution."(9)(my emphasis—D.O.)

In other words, the purpose of workers committees throwing open the books of the capitalists, exposing banking secrets and exercising control over the consumer price index, is to force the capitalists, within the framework of productivity increases and the position of capitalists' profits to meet the working class half way, to force a "socially just distribution."

EXPROPRIATION

If Mandel were a Marxist he would have immediately realized that even under the conditions of extreme prosperity he imagines to exist the only socially just distribution of wealth requires the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, he would have realized that in a period of capitalist crisis like the present, in so much as the working class agrees to tie its demands to the profitability of the capitalists when their profitability falls it condemns itself to crushing poverty and unemployment. Moreover, in so much as it ties its right to increased wages to productivity, it agrees to abandon the fight with the capitalists over the surplus value that labor alone has created. It agrees to pay for its increases in wages through unemployment of its fellow workers and vicious speed-up and rationalization schemes that result in reduction in the actual lifespan of workers.

Mandel's talk about workers control is thus revealed as no different from the participation schemes of the European bourgeoisie, for all Mandel's insistence to the contrary. Thus when Mandel

talks about buttressing his reformist schemes for nationalization from above with "workers control" from below, he is only buttressing a reformist parliamentary program with reformism on the factory floor.

ALIENATION

There is still another aspect to the workers control scheme which is even more rotten than the rest and which is very directly bound up with Mandel's theories of alienation and the new working class. In addition to the workers control slogan already outlined, workers control is seen as a demand directed against the alienating hierarchical relations within the factory.

As an example of this aspect of the fight for workers control, Mandel cites the following:

"Recently these trends found striking expression, not only during the May revolution in France, but also at the Fiat plant in Italy where workers succeeded in preventing an increasing number of different types of high-priced cars from being manufactured." (10)

What emerges here is that while, on the one hand, workers control becomes the basis for the entanglement of the working class in incomes policies and productivity deals, this is combined, on the other hand, with militant consumer oriented struggles.

If we translate workers control into the everyday language of, for example, the experiences of the American labor movement and the role of the American trade union bureaucracy, we can see what all of this really means. Workers control as put forward by Mandel becomes on the one hand, George Meany pressing Nixon for a more equitable wage freeze policy within the framework of accepting wage and price controls and wage-price boards like those now being set up in construction. On the other hand workers control becomes Leonard Woodcock protesting in front of the General Motors headquarters in a gas mask against air pollution while he was selling the UAW ranks down the river in last fall's GM strike. If Mandel were in a U.S. auto plant today we can picture him explaining to the workers that wages are no longer really an issue and fighting to lead militant action to stop production of high pollutant cars in line with the struggle which he holds up as an example at Fiat. Clearly Mandel's concept of workers control is nothing more than the crudest reformist rubbish calculated for nothing other than giving a cover to the betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy.

DUAL POWER

Mandel is determined, however, to cover this up. The way he seeks to do this, and to try to give a revolutionary cover to the whole anti-capitalist structural reform, workers control program can be seen in the following passage, part of which we have already quoted:

"The fundamental goal of these reforms (anti-capitalist structural reforms) would be to take away the levers of command in the economy from the financial groups, trusts, and monopolies and place them in the hands of the nation, to create a public sector of decisive weight in credit, industry and transportation, and to base all of this on workers control. This would mark the appearance of dual power at the



Vers le Socialisme par l'Action

LES OCCASIONS MANQUEES
Le mouvement social a été en lutte pour les réformes de structure, au-delà de ce que le régime bourgeois a pu offrir...
CONTRE L'INTÉGRATION
Nous croyons que le moment est venu de reprendre une attitude radicalement opposée, une attitude dépourvue de toute ambiguïté...
L'histoire de la France au cours de quinze dernières années est en fait la démonstration la plus claire de la nécessité de renverser la société capitaliste. Cette action doit être menée de façon à ce que chaque fois que l'occasion s'en présente, nous ouvriers nous battons dans la rue. Nous devons être politiquement prêts en attendant l'opportunité du capitalisme, au moment où celui-ci le dynamisme de nos propres solutions. Nous représentons ainsi une attitude radicalement opposée.

During the general strike Mandel adapted completely to trade union leader Daniel Renard. Above is article which appeared to Mandel's La Gauche when Daniel Renard died.

company level and in the whole economy and would rapidly culminate in a duality of political power between the working class and the capitalist rulers. "This stage in turn could usher in the conquest of power by the workers and the establishment of a working-class government which could proceed to the construction of a socialist democracy free of exploitation and all its evils." (11) (my emphasis D.O.) However such talk about dual power and the working class coming to power when grasped within the framework of the reformist strategy we have just discussed is revealed as nothing but a gigantic sham. Clearly when Mandel is talking about dual power he is talking about the very opposite of what Marxists have in mind by a dual power situation. Dual power does not arise under conditions of capitalist prosperity, on the basis of the capitalists making huge concessions to the working class as a result of the strength of its (capitalism's) economic position, but under the very opposite circumstances. Dual power is in reality a momentary, fleeting, transitory stage in the class struggle, arising out of conditions of the deepest crisis for the bourgeoisie and its system, and resulting quickly either in the victorious socialist revolution or in bloody counter-revolution imposed by the bourgeoisie. Mandel's whole perspective both in relation to dual power and the appearance of socialism and the proletarian dictatorship stands in complete opposition to Marxism. For Mandel, dual power

Left, center and bottom: Scenes from the Belgian general strike which Mandel saw as only a structural dislocation but which the International Committee saw as first wave of coming European revolution.



Above is meeting of Walloon Popular Movement, a nationalist separatist move- to which Mandel adapted himself.

exposition in the first part becomes however a lament upon the fact that in the modern bourgeois state the monopolies have vastly curtailed the power of parliament as compared to the classical days of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. His conclusion to this whole section of the pamphlet ends up accordingly with the main emphasis not on the need to overthrow the bourgeois state whatever its form, but on the importance of the defense of parliamentary democracy.

"If the bourgeois state remains fundamentally an instrument in the service of the ruling classes, does that mean that the workers should be indifferent to the particular form that this state takes—parliamentary democracy, military dictatorship, fascist dictatorship? Not at all! The more freedom the workers have to organize themselves and defend their ideas, the more will the seeds of the future socialist democracy grow within capitalist society, and the more will the advent of socialism be historically facilitated." (13)

Mandel then in his final chapter "The Proletarian in Power" proceeds directly into a polemic against anarchist conceptions insisting vehemently upon the truism that once in power the proletariat cannot simply abolish the state. The whole question of the proletariat smashing the old state and erecting a new one based on soviets or workers councils is never broached. Mandel, like all the opportunists before him, hides behind the abstraction of the necessity to retain the "state in general" to evade the issue of smashing of the concrete bourgeois state which would of course sharply divide him from his Social Democratic centrist friends. Everything is wrong with Mandel's perspective.

DEMOCRACY

In the first place the whole purpose for the fight of the proletariat in the course of the fight for socialism is to fight likewise for the preservation of democratic rights. Its preference for bourgeois democracy, over Bonapartism or fascism is so as to facilitate the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its state whatever the form.

Mandel's talk about the purpose of the defense of democratic rights under capitalism being such that the "seeds of the future socialist democracy (can) grow up within capitalist society" is a complete fraud.

It is in fact nothing less than a bald-face assertion that the new regime, the workers state and socialism itself can grow up within the framework of capitalism without the smashing of the state and without a violent revolution.

Marx's prescriptions upon the nature of a proletarian as opposed to a bourgeois state, concerning the elimination of the cleavage between executive and legislative power, the reduction of salaries of officials to the level of average workers, etc., are then dragged in to give this counterrevolutionary perspective its finishing touch of orthodoxy.

The point is that outside of the smashing of the capitalist state and the creation of an entirely new state apparatus based upon the workers council all the prescriptions of Marx against bureaucratism are turned into their opposite. They are turned into (and this is what Mandel's theory is all about) prescriptions for the gradual democratization of the bourgeois state.

What we have here is nothing more than a dressed up version of the crude theories of the peaceful, gradual and parliamentary road to socialism of Bernstein, Kautsky and the Stalinists. Just how this works out in practice

and what a conscious weapon against proletarian revolution Mandel's theory of the state and strategy of anti-capitalist structural reform really is can be clearly shown in relation to the Belgian General Strike of 1961 and the French May-June events.

In 1960-61 the development of the real beginnings of the breakup of the post war boom produced what were in fact the first shots fired in the European Socialist Revolution, the Belgian General Strike.

The program advanced by Mandel in this strike condemns him as one of the Belgian working class' most pernicious betrayers.

The strike was provoked by the "Loi Unique" which sought to pass onto the Belgian working class the crisis of Belgian and world capitalism in the form of mass unemployment and heavy taxation. What was required of Marxists in this situation was the fight for an alternative program of transitional demands which would pose to the working class the transformation of the strike into an open struggle for power. This would have meant raising demands for full employment, a general wage hike, a shorter work week to be achieved through nationalization not of a single industry but, as was posed by the International Committee, of "all the main industrial enterprises of the country, the banks, finance houses, and land under a workers government." (14) The call for a workers government in particular, i.e., a government of the Belgian Socialist Party and the trade unions pledged to carry out this program would have meant a sharp break with all the centrists and trade union lefts of the likes of Andre Renard and the fight to advance the Trotskyist movement to the leadership of such a government.

Mandel's program and role in this strike was the very opposite of this.

MANDEL'S PROGRAM

To begin with, Mandel saw the Belgian General Strike not as an expression of the opening of the collapse of the post war boom, i.e., of the deepening crisis of world capitalism, but as an expression of certain structural weaknesses of Belgian capitalism.

Furthermore, rather than seeing the Belgian General Strike as in any way raising the questions of power, Mandel fought against the overthrow of, and for the preservation of the Belgian bourgeoisie. He sought to use the strike solely and exclusively to pressure the Belgian bourgeoisie to accept his anti-capitalist structural reforms.

Thus on a programmatic level he restricted his demands to those which sought to combine a program for the modernization of Belgian capitalism with a few crumbs for the Belgian proletariat. Specifically, Mandel raised, in addition to the call to end the "Loi Unique," the demands for the nationalization of the power industry, full employment and economic planning, control over the trusts, tightening up against tax evasions, halving of the military budget, and the establishment of a Public Investment Board. So modest a program was this that bourgeois commentators at the time noted that in large part this program had already been carried out by most of Belgium's competitors.

ALTERNATIVE

More modest yet, and more rotten, was the political alternative put forward by Mandel in response to the call raised by millions of workers at mass meetings throughout Belgium of "Down with the Eyskens Government!"

As against the perspective of a workers government pledged to socialist policies, Mandel raised the call for a popular front coalition government of the Belgian Socialist Party and the Christian Democratic Party, the party of the Eyskens and the Belgian bourgeoisie.

Mandel's conception was that under mass pressure such a government would carry out the program advocated by him of anti-capitalist structural reform.

Exactly how Mandel put forward this perspective while at the same time covering himself with a thin veil of Trotskyist terminology is carefully analyzed by Cliff Slaughter in the Newsletter (Feb. 11, 1969). Slaughter shows that behind the "workers government" slogan raised by Mandel in the strike lay precisely the call for the coalition we have just described.

Thus Slaughter notes: "In 1953, (at the time of the 1953 General Strike) when the French Trotskyists raised the slogan: 'A government representing the workers, built

tural reform formulations is the theory that the working class need no longer smash the capitalist state but that along with the capitalist economy it can, so to speak, be "structurally reformed" into a proletarian state.

This is the inevitable conclusion that any reader would have to draw from Mandel's recent pamphlet, *The Marxist Theory of the State*.

STATE

This pamphlet, for what it leaves out as well as what it includes, must be viewed as a fundamental attack by Mandel on the Marxist theory of the state as laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Everything that Mandel puts forward in this pamphlet has been assailed over and over again by all Marxists, particularly by Lenin in *State and Revolution*.

Lenin asserts in *State and Revolution* the following:

"... all previous revolutions perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed.

"This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxist theory of the state. (my emphasis D.O.) And it is precisely this fundamental point which has been completely ignored by the dominant official Social Democratic parties and, indeed, distorted (as we shall see later) by the foremost theoreticians of the Second International Karl Kautsky." (12)

Today Mandel has stepped into Kautsky's shoes.

Search as one may through Mandel's pamphlet and nowhere will one find so much as a mention, so much as a single word, even a hint, of the need to smash the bourgeois state apparatus. Like Kautsky, this "trivial" point of Marxist theory of the state (which Lenin states is the chief and fundamental point) is simply forgotten.

PEACEFUL

The whole thrust of Mandel's pamphlet is aimed, on the contrary, at implying a peaceful and gradual transition from the bourgeois to the proletarian state. The first part of Mandel's pamphlet rehashes in doctrinaire fashion a number of truisms in regard to the development of the bourgeois state.

The main thrust of Mandel's whole



represents a kind of plateau that the working class achieves in its progressive reform of the neo-capitalist system.

Dictatorship

Within this framework it is clear how Mandel conceives the actual passage over to socialism itself. It is only necessary that the working class continue pressing for reforms that brought it to the first plateau for it to eventually structurally transform neo-capitalism into socialism itself.

The dictatorship of the working class, which is never seen as the necessary condition for bringing the economic transformation from capitalism to socialism about, is seen on the contrary, as the inevitable product arising out of the ongoing process of structural reform.

In fact completely bound up with and clearly implied in all Mandel's struc-

from the national strike committee of workers parties and trade unions!”, Mandel and Pablo had condemned them as ‘sectarian’ and ‘adventurist.’

“In 1960-61, Mandel showed exactly what he had meant by this and what a betrayal his revisionism led to.

“Writing in *La Gauche* (December 24, 1960), Mandel says:

“The strike is directed against the government as collective representative of the capitalist class rather than this or that group of bosses. Inescapably the movement leads to the defeat of the government. But what to replace it with? That is the question. In *La Gauche* we have proposed a clear formula: a government of the workers supported by the trade unions!”

“Had Mandel come over to the correct position of the French Trotskyists in 1953? On the contrary, he soon showed that he meant the exact opposite!

“The workers fear,” he continues, “that if the government falls in the present social crisis, the Belgium Socialist Party (PSB) will enter a new coalition in order to prevent a situation in which the country would be without a

well, Mandel placed the responsibility for the defeat on the supposed backwardness of the Flemish workers. He used this to justify support of the division of the Belgian working class along linguistic lines and support to Walloon nationalism and chauvinism against Flemish workers, which arose as a direct expression of the demoralization that gripped the working class after the defeat of the strike.

Mandel’s taking up of Walloon nationalism coincided with his expulsion and that of *La Gauche* from the Belgian Socialist Party by the right wing, and took the form of Mandel’s liquidation into the petty bourgeois Walloon Popular Movement.

What Mandel says of the strategy for structural reform as he saw it being advanced within the framework of Walloon nationalism makes crystal clear the fact that anti-capitalist structural reform has nothing to do with proletarian revolution.

First Mandel writes off entirely the possibility of the unity of the entire Belgian working class. He says of the leaders of the Belgian working class:

of anti-capitalist structural reform finds extremely sharp expression in the counterrevolutionary role of Mandel in the great strike movement of May-June 1968.

It is well known how Mandel and his followers were completely unprepared for this movement, asserting that such struggles were out of the question in the advanced countries right up until the actual outbreak of the strike. It is also well known how Mandel who previously, proceeding with his three sector, or epicenter, theory saw the main epicenter of revolutionary struggle lying with the national bourgeoisie in the colonial world, interpreted the May-June events to mean that the epicenter had now shifted to the student struggle in the metropolitan countries.

This meant that whereas in 1960-61 Mandel had looked to mass pressure through the centrist and bureaucratic elements in the traditional workers parties and unions, as well as elements in parties of the bourgeoisie to become the vehicles for the adoption of this program of structural reform, by 1968 Mandel looked primarily to mass pressure outside these parties, specifically

first class fraud and real betrayer of the French General Strike.

Precisely because of the counterrevolutionary stranglehold of the French CP in this situation the central task before all Marxists was to advance a strategy precisely to break its reformist stranglehold so as to lead the working class over to the seizure of power. This meant raising in particular what is the expression of the call for a workers government in France, that the French CP take the power and establish a socialist regime in France.

HEGEMONY

Mandel on the other hand draws from the fact of the hegemony of the CP the conclusion that the working class could not take the power. Rather than fighting to break through this situation, Mandel accepts it and substitutes a program of structural reform. This program is clearly posed completely outside of, and on the basis of the defeat of, the French Revolution. What Mandel presents is a series of measures aimed not at the mobilization of the working class to break the hold of the CP and turn May-June into a struggle for power. Rather his program is seen as a series of concessions that will supposedly remain after the strike wave has receded.

Not only did this reformist nonsense amount to a ridiculous pipe dream in the sense that it is absurd to think that the bourgeoisie could be forced to relinquish any of its positions for one moment longer than the breaking of the General Strike but above all it served as the basis for misleadership of masses of workers and youth. It served to divert the energies of the French masses away from the struggle for power, and to break the existing leaderships of the CP and the trade unions and served thereby to give a free hand to the Stalinists as they moved to betray the General Strike.

ILLUSION

Worst of all, and this is the central indictment to be made against Mandel’s whole program of anti-capitalist structural reform, it fostered the illusion that the working class could move forward outside the overthrow of the French bourgeoisie. This illusion under conditions where the working class can not only move forward but faces bloody defeat unless it takes the road of revolution is absolutely deadly. The choice before the working class is either new October 1917s or new Germany 1933s. There can be no anti-capitalist structural reform because there can be no in-between.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mandel, Ernest, “The Dialectic of Class and Region in Belgium,” *New Left Review*, No. 20, p. 23
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Mandel, Ernest, Introduction to *Marxist Economic Theory*, p. 76
5. *Ibid.*, p. 78
6. *Ibid.*, p. 76
7. Mandel, Ernest, *New Left Review*, No. 52, pp. 30-31
8. Mandel, Ernest, “The Debate on Workers Control,” *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 4
9. Mandel, Ernest, “The Dialectic of Class and Region in Belgium,” *New Left Review*, No. 20, p. 28
10. Mandel, Ernest, “Workers Under Neoliberalism,” *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 29, No. 6, p. 12
11. Mandel, Ernest, Introduction to *Marxist Economic Theory*, p. 78
12. Lenin, V.I., *State and Revolution* (Selected Works), p. 238
13. Mandel, Ernest, *The Marxist Theory of the State*, p. 20
14. Kemp, Tom, “Class Struggle in Belgium,” (A Newsletter Pamphlet), p. 11
15. Slaughter, Cliff, “Trotskyism Versus Revisionism,” *The Newsletter*, Feb. 11, 1969
16. Mandel, Ernest, “The Dialectic of Class and Region in Belgium,” *New Left Review*, No. 20, p. 26
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Mandel, Ernest, “The Bankruptcy of Capitalism,” *The Militant*, June 14, 1968
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*



Students and workers march during May-June events in France. Mandel hoped to skirt around power of Communist Party and thus turned away from struggle for power.

government.”

Says Mandel, this would only be acceptable if:

“First, the new government abandoned the ‘loi unique;’ second that the essential points in the structural reforms be kept as Cabinet policy.”

And further:

“... it will be enough for the Christian Democrat MPs to heed the voice of their own electors, that under the pressure of the strike they take a position in line with the aspirations of those they represent, for a new parliamentary majority to take shape on at least these two questions.” (15)

In other words rather than fighting for the overthrow of the Belgian bourgeoisie, Mandel was advocating, upon condition that it withdraw the “Loi Unique” and carry forward structural reform, a workers government which was nothing of the sort, but a “new parliamentary majority,” i.e., a coalition government of the party of the Belgian working class and the party of the Belgian bourgeoisie.

In so doing, Mandel not only gave a left cover to the bourgeoisie and thereby directly participated in the smashing of the General Strike, but also helped bring into existence precisely the coalition government he had advocated which was shortly to carry out brutal anti-working class measures, arming the police with light tanks in 1961 and passing sweeping anti strike legislation in 1963.

The bankruptcy of Mandel’s role in the General Strike was shortly to be compounded in the period after the strike when he was to combine his program of anti-capitalist structural reforms with the struggle against the Belgian “unitary state” or in other words with petty bourgeois Walloon nationalism.

Rather than placing the responsibility for the defeat of the Belgian General Strike squarely on the Socialist Party, trade union and centrist leaderships where it belonged and on himself as

“There remained (after the strike in which the Flemish workers were restrained from coming forward by their reactionary Catholic trade union leaderships, who, we might add, were never fought by the Belgian Socialist Party—D.O.) only two possibilities for them.

“They could either respect this constitutional unity—in which case they would be condemned to wait until the majority of Flemish workers could have broken away from Catholic trade unionism, or they could work within the framework of Wallonia alone, where mass action by the working class—would have an immediate prospect of achieving structural reform.” (15)

How, in Mandel’s opinion, would federalism facilitate the institution of structural reform in Wallonia? Here is the nub of Mandel’s whole reformist perspective:

“... The leaders of the Walloon Popular Movement realized that it was impossible to achieve a socialist transformation of Belgium through purely electoral channels.” (16)

That is so long as they were outnumbered in the parliament by the Flemish majority.

“... they were not prepared to embark on a classical revolutionary action...” (17)

In other words they were completely opposed to Marxism and proletarian revolution, which was of course precisely what could have united the entire Belgian working class against the whole Belgian bourgeoisie and smashed the pernicious Walloon separatist trend.

“... Federalism was thus the only legal solution which could make possible the task of the structural transformation of Wallonia.” (18)

In other words, federalism makes it possible to talk about winning a majority in parliament and legislating, perhaps with a little pressure from without, the program of anti-capitalist structural reforms without having to resort to the illegal, i.e., revolutionary solution that Mandel and all right thinking Social Democrats, Stalinists and centrists abhor.

The sharp counterposition between Marxism, the program of socialist revolution, and Mandel’s reformist illusion

from the student movement.

On the central question, however, of reform or revolution Mandel’s position remained absolutely the same. Mandel not only fought against revolution in 1960-61 but also in 1968.

When even more openly than in 1961 the question of the proletarian socialist revolution in France was directly posed here is what Mandel said right in the heat of that struggle:

Explaining that, although “objectively possible” the reason that the working class does not take power is because “there is not yet a sufficiently influential, organized, unified vanguard, to the left of the CP, that could lead the masses to victory immediately,” (19) Mandel goes on to accept this state of affairs and to propose that the working class struggle for structural reform instead. He says:

“Under these circumstances (i.e. the hegemony of the CP) the aim today must be to seize the greatest number of guarantees and key positions—as insurance that this magnificent struggle isn’t sold short for a paltry change of bourgeois governments...”

“It is here that the strategy of ‘anti-capitalist structural reforms,’ ‘transitional demands,’ assumes all its validity. The masses cannot seize power in the factories, in the neighborhoods; that calls for a new and centralized revolutionary leadership that does not yet exist. But the fact that the masses are not yet in a position to seize power does not at all imply the impossibility of winning, right now, demands over and above wage increases.” (20)

Mandel then goes on to call specifically for the setting up of workers committees to “establish a de facto power that the bosses and the state cannot cancel out once ‘calm’ has been restored.” (21)

“This de facto power consists in democratically elected committees which establish workers control over all production; which regulate hiring and firing; which forbid all factory shutdowns; which open the company books; which eliminate secrecy in banking; which bare all the mechanisms of capitalist exploitation...” (22)

These paragraphs reveal Mandel as a

BOOKS

STEVE DAMON

The Greening Of America



Charles Reich (fourth from left) sits with some of his admiring students at Yale.

THE GREENING OF AMERICA. By Charles A. Reich. New York. Random House. 1970.

The ideas prevalent within the most backward sections of the radical movement several years ago are today taken up by assorted sociologists and university professors who pedantically write them up as formal systems and "theories." The impressions which yesterday hypnotized frenzied middle class radicals, but have since been disproven even on the level of immediate experience, now catch the fancy of the formalists of the university who are more free to disregard completely the exigencies of objective reality.

In 1968 for example, a faction of SDS, one of the "new working class" tendencies, developed the position that capitalism would be destroyed because workers in the "affluent society" would refuse to consume as they became aware of the meaninglessness of life under capitalism. The tendency as such was short-lived because the further development of the crisis exploded the notion of an affluent society as an illusion of the boom. Several years later, Charles A. Reich pulls this old SDS notion out of the historical garbage pail and presents it as a prophetic vision.

The *Greening of America* is essentially an academic defense of "youth culture." According to Reich the American revolution will be made not politically, definitely not through class struggle, but through the proliferation throughout society of a certain life-style which disdains materialist values. This new life-style is a reaction against the inadequacies of the old life-styles, which emphasized false values. As it spreads to the entire population, the life style of the youth will undermine the state without a fight.

The book begins with a cataloging of the evils of American society. What is most striking about this list and what will characterize the entire book is the absence of any of the "evils" particularly associated with the end of the capitalist boom.

It is a timeless list, one gleaned from the works of liberal and bourgeois radical critics of American society in the '50s and early '60s. There is powerlessness, absence of community, loss of self, but no mention of the attack on wages or unemployment. This latter omission is quite a feat for a work which purports to center on youth.

IDEALIST

Reich is able simply to ignore all the recent developments in the class struggle and in the economy, while he brings his book up to date into 1970 when he treats so-called cultural developments among middle class youth because of the method which permeates *The Greening of America* from cover to cover. This is the idealist method of treating consciousness in abstraction from its material roots.

Reich posits three historical levels of consciousness. Consciousness I is the con-

sciousness of competitive individualism, dominant in the U.S. from its earliest days to the New Deal. Consciousness II, which became the major rival of Consciousness I during the New Deal is the system of values of the organizational man. Consciousness III, now sweeping the country, is non-competitive, libertarian, and starts from the self. Reich says society is shaped by consciousness, but at a certain point the inadequacies of a given consciousness is felt, consciousness changes, and with it society.

According to Reich American society today is dominated by the Corporate State. The Corporate State has only one value which is technology. This value choice is a conscious one which can be changed consciously. This is the framework from which Reich develops his conclusions.

Reich admits "The three categories are, of course, highly impressionistic and arbitrary; they make no pretense to be scientific." This is, of course, an under-

statement. Reich's approach can be described as impressionistic to the point of madness. But what is clear is that Reich does not believe there is anything wrong with an impressionistic approach because he sees no alternative to it.

Impressionism can only be negated by seeing consciousness as a reflection of the material world. That is the only non-arbitrary, scientific approach. By abstracting consciousness from the material world, from the class struggle, Reich has to take contradiction out of the material world and forego a scientific approach to the development of consciousness.

Instead we have a pseudo-dialectical approach in which consciousness is seen as something non-material coming into contradiction with itself and with matter. Thus consciousness is seen as changing because it is inadequate or contradictory. Only the wildest speculation is possible with such a method, a method which imputes an independent aim and dynamic to consciousness.

And wild speculation is indeed what Reich serves up. Reich locates as the central contradiction in American society the consumer-worker contradiction. That is "Consciousness III" is developing because the Corporate State disseminates, primarily through advertising, two contradictory ideas—that one ought to consume and that one ought to work. This contradiction turns youth into hippies, while it currently inflames anti-communism among workers.

By focusing on abstract ideas, Reich is unable to see what is important. He consequently completely ignores the class struggle but emphasizes the most superficial but more immediately obvious changes in consciousness among a section of middle class youth at the end of the boom. He then huffs and puffs to interpret these changes as a positive reaction to American society. Thus: "Grass (marijuana) is a subtle and delicate experience,

an educated experience (one that has to be learned) and it is not too different from the heightened awareness that an unusually sensitive or artistic person has."

Reich follows the logic of his position to its most reactionary conclusions. A scientific approach to revolutionary consciousness would see its development out of the contradiction between the needs of the working class and the stagnation of the productive forces under capitalism. But not recognizing contradiction in the material world, but only in consciousness, Reich accepts as a starting point the limitations of the productive forces and develops as an absolute social contradiction the relative contradiction between consumer needs and public needs. Reich asserts that public needs must be met through sacrifices by the "affluent" private consumers. The political logic of all this is to line up with Nixon in his attack on the living standards of the working class and particularly the severe attacks on the state and municipal workers.

REACTIONARY

That Reich's book, which is a shallow rehash of concepts long since abandoned by large sections of youth, should receive such attention and popularity is actually a very reactionary development. It reflects the vain efforts of a section of the middle class to avoid the impending storm of class struggle through explaining its first reflection among the youth in a mystical way.

Developments have already gone beyond this first reflection and students are deeply split in their class allegiance. Some are finding their way to Marxism. Others, to the extent that they cling to the reactionary idealism pushed by Reich, will end up with fascism. None will remain with Reich's "Consciousness III."

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Get Carter

GET CARTER. Ian Hendry, Michael Caine and John Osborne. Directed by Mike Hodges. Photographed by Wolfgang Suchitsky.

Get Carter is a mystery thriller from Britain. There have been several foreign forgeries of the American gangster movies of the twenties, thirties and forties. We believe *Get Carter*, although garbed in the mod seventies, to be among the best of these.

It also retains some of its own merits; specifically, the toned-down color, the complete authenticity of locale and character, the absolute believability of its players and really superb low-keyed performances by Ian Hendry, Michael Caine and John Osborne, the great British playwright.

Carter is in fact Jack Carter, and he is a strong-arm man for a London British-mafia. His brother is murdered, and the murder is made to look like suicide. So Carter goes to the north, to Newcastle, where his brother lived and worked, in order to resolve the murder. His brother is simply not the suicide type.

In the course of the film Carter ascertains that the Newcastle mob is out not only to extort money from and usurp the slot machines of rival businessmen in Newcastle, but out to usurp Carter's gang in London as well. In between we have the narcotic and vice empires, the mod pretty working class molls, run-of-the-mill chase scenes and the like. Yet for all that, Carter himself, after uncovering the plot, avenges his brother's murder and is himself killed in the film's climax, which is dazzlingly shot and lit by Wolfgang Suchitsky.



What makes the film interesting is the approach of scenarist and director Mike Hodges. Absolutely incapable of escaping the influence of the thirties and forties American prototype, he nevertheless reveals an aspect of the sordid crime syndicates within Britain, which mulcts the working class through vice, bingo-gambling, slot machines and the lot. Also, there is a complete absence of psychological innuendo or froth which make up the current balderdash being dished up as murder melodrama.

Actions speak for themselves and we identify characters solely through innuen-

do, as in the case of Oxford-accented John Osborne, who plays the leader of one crime syndicate, of the cockneyed voice of Michael Caine, who remains expressionless throughout and of the Northern working-class accent of slot machine boss Ian Hendry.

There are no extraneous movements here. All are geared toward the finale which is the fastest-paced finish this reviewer has seen in some time. *Get Carter* is escapist all right, but is rooted in the hideous working class slum of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.

Ceylon Emergency-- The

This is the first of two articles on the new developments in Ceylon. Death without trial and bloody repressions of the workers and peasants movement reveal the true face of the Ceylon Coalition and its move toward dictatorship. The articles are reprinted from the Workers Press.

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT THE GUERRILLA FORCES in Ceylon, mainly composed of unemployed youth, are led by a group called the People's Liberation Front which has no stable ideological basis.

According to reports, thousands are being killed. Air, naval and military forces strengthened by arms, ammunition and transport from imperialist countries are being mobilized to "wipe out terrorism" according to Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Two basic questions are posed by these incidents.

First the role of the bourgeois coalition which came to power in 1970 amid a great historical crisis throughout the imperialist system.

Secondly the weakness and thereby the suicidal results of petty-bourgeois politics isolated from the revolutionary working class.

For revolutionaries this is not a moment just to "draw the attention of the world against the government of Mrs. Bandaranaike" or "sympathize with the people" who suffer under such a government.

Only a pacifist who deliberately attempts to run away from the class struggle would be satisfied with such a measure.

WEAKNESS

But these were the sole humanitarian purposes behind a meeting held on April 2 organized by a "Revolutionary Action Committee in Defense of Political Prisoners of Ceylon," presided over by Tariq Ali.

Upali Cooray, a Pabloite revisionist, who was the main speaker at this meeting, on the one hand showed the real lack of understanding about the crisis in Ceylon and on the other tried to cover up the weaknesses of the People's Liberation Front politics.

It is no accident that this Pabloite-dominated meeting did not discuss anything about building a revolutionary party in Ceylon.

They have given up the struggle to build revolutionary parties to solve the crisis of leadership within the working class throughout the world.

They have no faith at all in the decisive role of the working class in this unprecedented crisis of capitalism.

Instead they fear the strength and the

organizations of the working class and have started to run away from the working class and towards petty-bourgeois radicals who consciously isolate themselves from the workers.

Today merely by saying that the coalition government is a capitalist government, we cannot prepare the overthrow of that government.

Marxists must realize that the strategy of the capitalist classes has also developed in accordance with the developments in the imperialist economic crisis.

Therefore the present coalition government in Ceylon is different from the previous coalition governments in power. It is different even from the coalition government which was formed in 1964 with the same leaders at its head.

Today the present coalition government, composed of the local bourgeoisie, ex-Pabloite revisionists and pro-Moscow Stalinists, is in power amid a very grave economic crisis which threatens not only the basis of Ceylonese capitalism but also the very foundation of its masters, the imperialists throughout the world.

Last time the calculations of the imperialists and capitalists proved wrong when they brought down the coalition government after four months in power, through a parliamentary coup, to be replaced by an extreme rightist government of the United National Party (UNP).

The present coalition was formed in 1964 to confuse, divide and disintegrate the working class movement which was gathering strength under the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organizations (JCTUO) which was formed to fight for 21 basic demands.

These include demands for wage increases, 45 hour workweek limit, provisions for housing and rent allowances, medical and vacation benefits, job security, jobs, unemployment benefits, workers' voice in promotions and transfers, trade union rights, rights for public employees, removal of penalties for union activities and reinstatement of militants fired for union work, equal pay for equal work and against discrimination in hiring and wages on the basis of language.

At this moment Mrs. Bandaranaike as the head of the capitalist state realized the catastrophe she was faced with.

She very clearly stated that to defend the capitalist property system in Ceylon there were only two ways possible. One, a military dictatorship, two, a coalition with the working class leaders.

Because the first step could not be taken she had resort to the second, to form a coalition.

The Stalinist leaders at once agreed. They were joined by the Pabloite Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), whose leaders were expelled by the United Secretariat after they had accepted ministries

in the government.

After joining the government these treacherous leaders pushed aside the struggle for the 21 demands to take up responsibilities for "nation building."

Instead of fighting for workers' demands the leaders who joined the government started to preach about the necessity of more sacrifices and the tightening of belts by the workers.

These so-called Marxist leaders were tamed to accept even the racist measures advocated by the capitalists, deliberately to divide the working class.

But the working class as a whole did not accept the treachery of the leaders unquestioned. Some key sections of workers firmly resisted.

This resistance brought out splits in the LSSP as well as in the Stalinist Communist Party.

The biggest and most militant union under the LSSP, the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) broke away from it.

The CP lost its best-organized trade union federation, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF).

Because this disintegration in the JCTUO weakened the strength of the working class, which was moving forward to settle accounts with the capitalist system, the imperialists and the capitalists thought they could once again have direct rule.

These reactionary forces thought that the purpose of the coalition was served because there was an enormous amount of confusion within the working class which saw its leaders as betrayers.

That is why they made up their minds to defeat the 1964 coalition government, which was in office only four months, and to bring into power an extreme rightist UNP government, so that they could squeeze the working class to defend their profits.

But this was a miscalculation because the working class had not suffered any major defeats or lost their organization—the trade unions.

Although they were divided, the trade unions had the strength to resist any attack on the living conditions of its members. This was experienced throughout the UNP regime from 1965-1970.

The leaders of the working class now joined with Mrs. Bandaranaike and tried to contain the class struggle, sometimes openly betraying workers. But the working class, using its own independent class weapons, the trade unions, was engaged in a continuous struggle.

The government planned to bring forward a bill to destroy the strength of the trade unions but was forced to back down.

Even government leaders openly declared the necessity of a Bonapartist dictatorship and a more powerful executive, but their road was blocked by the workers who used class action to prevent such measures.

Through the coalition, although the imperialists and capitalists could make the working class leaders drop the fight for 21 demands, make them agree to the Sirima-Shastri pact by which the deportation of immigrant workers back to India was planned and make them agree not to organize any class resistance to the withdrawal of the rice subsidy in 1967, they realized they could still not direct decisive attacks against the working class because of its organizational strength.

This is the objective situation which forced the reactionary forces to call another general election in May 1970.

They decided to have a coalition government in power once again to use it to prepare the ground more urgently and ruthlessly for dictatorship.

The imperialist monopolists and bankers have very deliberately put enormous pressure on the new coalition government to guide it along the lines of counterrevolution.

At Copenhagen, Finance Minister, ex-Pabloite revisionist, N. M. Perera was forced to admit that the economic policy of the previous regime was to implement drastic cuts in social services and working class living conditions.

The government was pressured not to revise the agreement the World Bank signed with the previous government providing funds for the Walawe project, though the revision of the agreement was one of the main election promises of the coalition.

The World Bank refused to give any aid until the government proved very concretely that it was ready to follow the lines of the imperialist bankers. N. M. Perera's budget was planned to give this guarantee.

The credit and wage freezes were the main policies which governed the budget proposals. Import restrictions, even on staple food articles, speeded up the rapid rise in the cost of living.

CLOSED

This budget was a blow to all sections of the masses. Due to the credit squeeze more factories had to be closed down giving way to the monopolists and pushing up the unemployment figures.

It is no accident that after the budget proposals were passed the International Monetary Fund agreed to give a loan of \$24.5 million to the government. The government has clearly shown its main strategy is:

- To relieve inflationary pressures on the economy by control of credit.
- To enhance the country's export earnings by improving productivity and offering incentives.

The simple meaning of these measures is to push the masses into pauperization and starvation.

The government knows that these steps will be resisted by the working class in

Open Letter: Stalinists Plot

Panayotis Dumas and Sofronis Papadopoulos were both arrested in February 1968 in Athens along with other members of the Workers Democracy group, an organization supporting the Trotskyist Fourth International. They were tortured and later charged with sedition and subversive activity under a law for the suppression of communism. Dumas was a member of the Executive of the Athens branch of the Plumbers Trade Union and the leader of the Workers Democracy group.

We address this denunciation to the workers' organizations in Europe and throughout the world to all militants, to the international communists and to the world Trotskyist press.

We internationalist communists, who live in the Aegina and Korydallos prisons under heavy sentences imposed by the courts martial of the capitalist military dictatorship of Greece, appeal for your solidarity in the disgust and indignation we feel for the attitude of the Stalinists towards us.

Our imprisonment by the rotten regime of capitalist reaction is only the price we are paying for our struggles under

the flag of proletarian revolution. Side by side with this stands the Stalinist bureaucracy which seeks to cover up for its rottenness by using every means of blatant provocation and every method of cowardly attack in its attempt to destroy the revolutionary ideas and their living bearers.

Thus these two-sided attacks we face are one more result of the defeat suffered by the workers' movement in Greece in 1967, which itself was prepared mainly by the role of Stalinism.

From the start of our imprisonment the Stalinist leaders tried desperately to slander us in order to isolate us from the imprisoned militants who are misguidedly trapped in the various Stalinist factions.

The most despicable slanders against the internationalists are accompanied by the crudest distortion of Marxist ideas, by constant cultivation of Christian and petty-bourgeois sub-culture and servility, by contempt and even ridicule—of traditional labour days.

The systematic cultivation of every dark taboo to prevent discussion with Trotskyists is accompanied by all sorts of dirty conspiracies and threats to any of their militants who dares to try and pull himself out of the Stalinist swamp.

Their bankrupt ideas, alternating from extreme pessimism to extreme optimism, their total lack of policies and inability to present any political perspectives for the future make the Stalinists fear their exposure by the Marxist critique of the internationalists.

They must use all the ruthless and dirty methods available against us in order to prevent this exposure and hold back the development of revolutionary consciousness among their rank and file.

Thus, when our comrade Panayotis

Dumas was transferred in November 1970 to isolation in the Eftapyrgion jail of Salonika, he was accompanied by a constant slander campaign that he was a "police agent" and that the police had supplied him with a saw in order to stage his escape.

The "escape" would then be used according to the Stalinists, to take disciplinary measures against the other prisoners and deprive them of their "good behavior" privileges.

In fact the role of the Stalinists themselves in his transfer is suspect.

Their lies must be nailed! Comrade Dumas is under twin sentence of life imprisonment plus eight years.

When he arrived at the prison his foot was broken and completely disfigured by the constant tortures in the hands of the security police.

CRIMINALS

It must be noted that the Eftapyrgion prison is notorious for its unsuitable and unhealthy conditions and its staff is made

Coalition Must Be Smashed

the same way they did during the period of the UNP government.

It also knows the alliance of the working class leaders have formed at the top through the coalition with the bourgeois party of Mrs. Bandaranaike is not powerful enough to contain the workers' resistance.

That is why workers' committees and advisory councils were formed within the trade unions to collaborate with the capitalist management in running the capitalist economy.

This meant the complete destruction of the strength of the trade unions as an independent weapon of the working class to defend its rights.

This is why we say the coalition government of today is not merely a capitalist coalition but also a counterrevolutionary regime pressured by the imperialists, who are themselves in crisis.

This government has moved firmly towards the right since it assumed power in May 1970.

The resolution which came before the extreme rightist party, the UNP, to extend its support to the government in its "might-be-unpopular-policies" was nothing but counterrevolutionary preparation going on under the coalition set-up.

Under this government the grip of the imperialists on the country has tightened.

The "United Left Front" government has done for the imperialists during its short period in power what the UNP could not do during its whole five-year reign.

This was possible because Mrs. Bandaranaike has got the working class leaders in the cabinet as watch dogs.

These LSSP and CP leaders have their bureaucrats in the trade unions to look after the militants.

If any one of these trade union bureaucrats tries to vacillate because of the class pressure building up among the rank-and-file members, the Party leaders intervene and remove him from office immediately.

This they did in the Government Clerical Service Union by removing its leader, Wickrama, who criticized the government's budget proposals.

It is through this relationship that the working class leaders in the coalition try to maintain that the government derives the strength to serve capitalism and its imperialist masters.

Therefore to halt these counterrevolutionary measures the basic necessity today is to break the reactionary alliance between working class leaders and the capitalist class.

Anybody who does not involve himself in a struggle to do this is capitulating to the capitalist system in one way or the other.

This is precisely what the People's Liberation Front politics means. By mobilizing, mainly, the unemployed youth they

fight the government without intervening within the working class movement to help workers solve their crisis of leadership.

The PLF has made thousands of militant youth prey to the brutality of the capitalist system and has helped the government to strengthen its reactionary grip over the workers and peasants.

It is no accident that the fighting of the past few weeks was confined to the rural areas, and isolated from the working class.

No decisive support is coming from the workers in the urban cities or in the plantation estates for those fighting.



Mrs. Bandaranaike, butcher of Ceylon, meets with Madame Binh, whose "peace treaty" would sell out struggle of Vietnamese fighters.

Although the fighting occurred in the areas where a large majority of peasants live, an overall involvement of the peasantry is also not visible. It was mainly the unemployed youth who fought in these battles.

A vast majority of the youth in Ceylon faced a very bleak future under the capitalist economic set up. The unemployment figures were rising very rapidly throughout the period since the Second World War.

Now the number of unemployed has gone up to about two and a half million out of a total population of twelve million. Among these unemployed about 20,000 are grad-

uates.

The educated unemployed were the first to be radicalized after the coalition government came into power.

But because of their petty-bourgeois ideologies these sections did not attempt to study Marxism or to accept the revolutionary role of the working class.

They did not even grasp the real nature of their problem. They wanted to have a "non-class" organization for themselves to fight for some concessions.

This was not a new experience in Ceylon. This type of movement of the radicalized middle class is in action throughout the world wherever the crisis

Mao's thoughts, which have now make the guerrilla military tactics the main strategy of revolution and which preach about a revolution from village to town, have helped the PLF leaders to divert the unemployed youth away from the working class.

PLF accepted the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country and thereby adapted to nationalism. The Stalinist theory about the progressive role of the local bourgeoisie helped them to recruit some petty Ceylonese capitalists to their ranks.

Once they began to receive the support of this section of the capitalist class, which faced bankruptcies due to the development of imperialist monopoly capitalism, the PLF started to move very fast towards Sinhala Buddhist racism.

More, they denounced the immigrant workers in the plantations as agents of imperialism because of the sole fact that they sold their labor to the imperialist plantation owners and they received support from the racists and Buddhist priests.

They attacked the trade unions as unnecessary and reactionary organizations because of the fact they were led by reformist leaders.

They received support from the petty businessmen who feared the strength of the workers' organizations.

BRANDING

But the PLF was not a pro-American CIA organization, as the coalition leaders tried to brand it. The slanderous nature of this branding is exposed today by the fact that the coalition government is supported by the imperialists in killing the PLF forces.

The PLF was an organization of the radicalized youth supported by the petty bourgeoisie. These youth would be decisive in the struggle against capitalism if they were made to rally round the working class.

But the struggle to make the youth join the working class must be waged along with the struggle for the independence of the working class from the capitalist class and its coalition government.

Without this independence the working class cannot fight the revolutionary struggle.

This revolutionary task, the task of fighting for the independence of the working class, was given up not only by the PLF but also by the so-called revolutionary parties—the Pablotte LSSP (Revolutionary) and the pro-Peking Communist Party as well.

The only organization which waged a principled fight against all those petty-bourgeois tendencies who tried to divert the youth forces away from the working class, along with the fight to build the independent working class party, was the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League.

To Liquidate Greek Militants

up from common criminals and the most degenerate elements of the penal system. No news of our comrade's fate has been received since his transfer.

A few days later, a new Stalinist conspiracy came to the surface against another comrade, Sofronis Papadopoulos, held in the Korydallos prison.

On December 10, 1970, a group of Stalinists of the "interior" (Partsalides) faction (this is the faction supported by Theodorakis, ideologically akin to the Italian brand of Stalinism, the so-called "liberal," anti-Moscow wing) requested from the prison authorities (always in the framework of their mutual "co-operation" and "understanding") that they remove our comrade from this prison in order to isolate him from the other political prisoners.

"NEGOTIATIONS"

This second case has particular significance as the Stalinist delegation which carried out the "negotiations" for our comrade's removal was caught red-handed, while explaining to the guards

that "...if he remains in this prison he will be harmful both to you and to us..."

At the same time they had spread their usual slander that the comrade is a "police agent."

The uproar and general protests by the other prisoners held up for a time his transfer which in the end took place on December 29, 1970.

Thus, comrade S. Papadopoulos, under twin sentence of life imprisonment plus four years is now in the damp, medieval prison of Corfu, isolated and unable to denounce the inhuman conditions of his imprisonment, cut off from all contact from the outside world.

We denounce the bureaucratic clique of these supporters of the so-called "Bureau of the Interior" of the CP of Greece.

We denounce in particular their delegation which played the key role in the despicable haggling that secured our comrade's transfer.

Their names are: Thanassis Grevias, Thanassis Panoutsopoulos, Yiannis Stratis.

of capitalism threatened so-called economic stability.

"Black Power" and "Student Power" organizations and the peace movements were and are active along these petty-bourgeois lines.

The People's Liberation Front adapted itself to this trend and started to lead it. It was no accident that the PLF could do it.

Almost all the leaders of this organization were trained in the Stalinist communist parties for a long time. The contempt that the Stalinists have towards the working class could go very well with this new movement.

RIVAL

It must be pointed out here that the rival Stalinist faction, the Koliyiannis faction (named after Koliyiannis, General Secretary of the party in Moscow—this is the "pro-Moscow" wing controlling the party apparatus in the East European countries but enjoying support of only a minority of the membership inside Greece itself), have apparently not taken a direct part in the campaign against the Trotskyists.

However, their "neutral" attitude, their refusal to take a position on these events, does not absolve them of any guilt, particularly when such attacks are taking place under conditions of imprisonment and when everyone knows that their own methods have nothing to distinguish them from the faction of the "Interior."

But we most also stress the fact that many imprisoned rank-and-file militants and even some cadres of the various CP factions daily manifest—directly or indirectly—their opposition to the filthy campaigns against us.

These frenzied acts of the degenerate

and corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy are in direct relation to its avowed anti-communism which it seeks to pass on to the rank and file.

"Internationalism, Trotskyism—that is the enemy. Strike it, slander it, conspire against it." These are the demands of the process of "de-toxication" of the rank and file from communist ideas...

Workers of the world, militants of the vanguard, we submit the facts to your conscience, your fighting spirit and your judgement.

(You are) the only forces able to assist in defending us against ideological and physical destruction.

We denounce the cowardly and counter-revolutionary acts of the Stalinist bureaucracy against us and call on the revolutionary anti-capitalist vanguard to condemn these acts by a bureaucracy only capable of crimes and betrayals against the world labor movement.

The group of imprisoned militants of the Fourth International, January 1971—Aegina and Korydallos Prisons.

The Daily World, Pakistan And Ceylon

BY FRED MUELLER

The struggles in East Bengal and Ceylon have deepened the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy and thrown it further into the arms of imperialism. The *Daily World*, organ of the American Communist Party, has faithfully sought to cover up and support the role of the bureaucracy.

The *Daily World* since March 26 in its reports on Pakistan and Ceylon is a study in opportunism and duplicity. None of its lies and evasions can be ignored.

From the beginning the Stalinists have sought to deny the character of the struggle in East Bengal. For them it was not a struggle for independence, but at most one for autonomy, for democratic rights. As the armed struggle broke out, the March 26 *Daily World* headlined, "Anti-Monopoly Fight is Key to Pakistan Crisis."

According to this article, written by the *Daily World* Foreign Department, "The U.S. media are pushing the idea that the Bengalis of East Pakistan...are fighting for independence from West Pakistan. In reality this is a distorted approach which neatly sidesteps important political issues which the spokesmen for American capitalism would probably prefer not to get into."

PL Attacks The Bulletin

(Continued From Page 3)

bers by the nationalist MPI, is significant in that it points out clearly the source of all these attacks within the left movement: Stalinism and its methods of terror against Trotskyism.

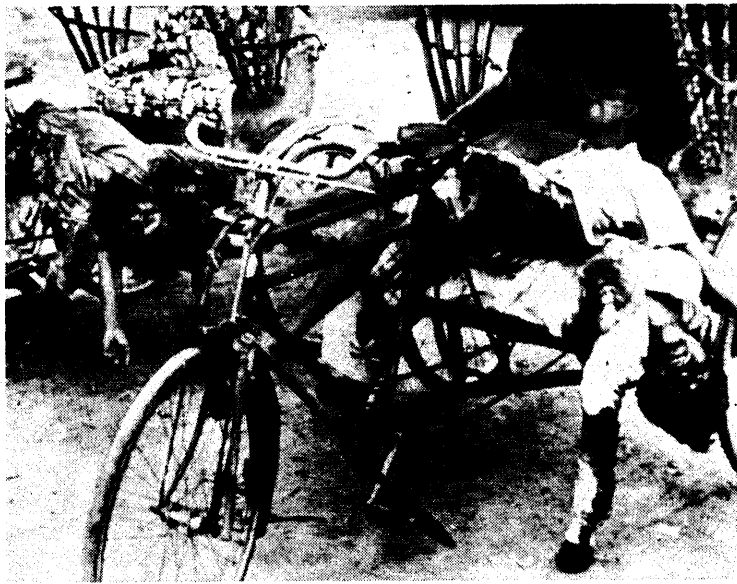
STALINIST

PL prides itself on being Stalinist and bases itself four square on the infamous Moscow Trials through which Stalin murdered a whole generation of Bolshevik revolutionaries. That is why even though they themselves were subjected to threats of physical violence by an amalgam of nationalist and Stalinist forces the very day before this incident occurred, they themselves engage in the same kind of rotten actions.

They are incapable of answering politically the questions raised in the *Bulletin* and by the Workers League in relation to their own history and their present perspectives. They fear the Workers League because as Stalinists they fear the movement of the working class and its conscious expression, Trotskyism. At the same time as they attack Trotskyism, they are preparing a broadside attack on Lenin in order to maintain Stalin against Trotsky.

HOOLIGANISM

PL not only refuses to take a stand against the MPI's hooligan attacks on the Workers League, of which they have been informed, but now joins them in threatening sellers of the *Bulletin*. This incident points out sharply the need to repudiate the use of hooligan attacks as a means of solving political contradictions within the working class movement.



Bengali victims of Pakistan's Stalinist-supported terror.

The Stalinists seek to avoid the question of the revolutionary unity of the Bengali workers and peasants as well as the masses of the entire subcontinent. They seek to maintain the present territorial boundaries. That is why they intervened in the Tashkent talks in 1965 to help the imperialists by maintaining the precarious balance between India and Pakistan.

"ANTI-MONOPOLY"

By posing the "anti-monopoly" fight of workers in both East and West Pakistan, the Stalinists subordinate the workers to the bour-

geois regimes and the struggle for reforms rather than posing the need for a break with the bourgeoisie in the fight for independence and socialism.

SILENCE

After March 26, the *Daily World* maintained a policy of near silence on this struggle for weeks. As the masses came forward and exposed the counterrevolutionary nature of the Stalinist line, the Stalinists retreated into silence in order to cover themselves and search desperately for a means of defending their policies.

While the masses of East Ben-

Monetary Crisis Deepens

(Continued From Page 2)

close to an economic disaster the capitalist nations have moved."

The official payments deficit of \$10 billion for 1970 was the highest ever. At that time the Nixon Administration stated that the deficit for 1971 would shrink to perhaps \$5 billion. But, lo and behold, the first quarter deficit alone has been announced as \$5 billion. In other words it is running at an annual rate of \$20 billion, astronomical even by the standards of the late 1960s.

The balance of payments crisis is a symptom of the death agony of American and world capitalism. All the measures designed to soften the pressure on the rate of profit have led to an enormous inflationary crisis.

The capitalists have tried to ignore the law of value and must now pay the price. Former Gaul-

list economic advisor Jacques Rueff, one of the prime advocates of a devaluation of the dollar several years ago, now says that such a devaluation is out of the question. The dollar is already overvalued four times, considering the enormous overflow of Eurodollars over the past two years. Over \$50 billion, and perhaps \$60 billion, are now owed by the U.S. to European banks, while U.S. gold reserves total only \$15 billion.

This kind of huge devaluation thus required to even wipe out dollar debts to European central and private banks would destroy the monetary system and all stability for the capitalist world. Trade relations would be completely disrupted and a massive trade war and world trade recession would inevitably follow.

U.S. policy already represents a turn towards war with Europe.

FBI Arrests In Bombing

(Continued From Page 3)

"yes."

But since the government has no evidence whatsoever to substantiate such a charge, they have arrested Bacon and placed her under \$100,000 bail.

As the Grand Jury was convened, a special assistant to Attorney General John Mitchell, Guy Goodwin, appeared in court. Goodwin has been behind the federal prosecution of at least six radical groups. He has in the past produced FBI agents who had infiltrated the groups against which prosecution was sought.

GOODWIN

Goodwin was involved in the prosecution of the Flint, Michigan Weathermen, in December 1969; the 13 Weathermen indicted in Chicago; the Seattle Liberation Front; and the Berrigan case.

Bacon's arrest as a witness and suspect in the Capitol bombings came right on the eve of the May Day protests in Washington, D.C. It is clearly an attempt by the government, along with the mobilization of troops, and the harassment and dispersing of camping protesters to intimidate not only those who are protesting against the war, but all those who will take up the fight against the policies of the government, and of capitalism itself.

Hundreds of arrests have taken place in Washington in the last two days, as the government sets the stage for another Kent State and prepares new "conspiracy" cases.

PROTEST

While the Workers League gives absolutely no quarter to politically bankrupt protest poli-

gal were being slaughtered in the streets, the *Daily World* confined itself to printing occasional statements attributed to the various governments or new agencies.

Finally, after five weeks, the *Daily World* of April 30 contains a dispatch from London, on "Bangla Dosh and the fight for Pakistani democracy." Finally, the readers of the *Daily World* are told that Bangla Dosh even exists. The Stalinists admit that "The military suppression launched in East Pakistan by the regime of Yahya Khan, aimed at annihilating the movement for an independent or autonomous Bangla Dosh, is meeting with organized resistance."

Even now, while trying to feign support for the aspirations of the East Bengalis, the Stalinists continue to attempt to present the struggle as one for autonomy (or independence). And they make no attempt to explain what became of their earlier claim that the struggle was not fundamentally one of the East Bengalis for self-determination at all. The *World* says nothing about the arms the Soviet bureaucracy is supplying to Khan to crush this struggle.

On Ceylon, Stalinists all over the world face a slightly different "problem."

The *Daily World* must openly defend the repression of the Ceylonese bourgeois coalition government of which the Ceylonese Communist Party is a part. It

only tries to do it as quietly as possible. After nearly a month of fighting, the *Daily World* has yet to say anything on its own about these events.

SLANDERS

The *Daily World* has restricted itself to transmitting the official slanders against the youth in Ceylon. It reprints the slanders spread by the Bandaranaike government without comment.

Thus on April 9, the *Daily World* reported that "Ceylon army battles terrorists." "The Ceylon authorities say the 'Che Guevarists' are nearly all from the ranks of the country's unemployed and penniless young men, and were organized by 'reactionary forces' to try to overthrow the United Left Front government of Premier Bandaranaike."

On April 13, the *Daily World* reported from Colombo, "Government says big money backing Ceylon rebels." For the last two weeks the Stalinists have been completely silent on the struggle in Ceylon.

Youth and the entire working class all over the world must take these events as a very sharp warning.

The American Communist Party covers for the Stalinist betrayals in East Bengal and Ceylon precisely because they are preparing the same in the U.S. The only way forward is through the building of the international Trotskyist movement.

Nixon Arrests

(Continued From Page 3)

Washington, D.C. itself, complete with detention centers, unless capitalism itself is smashed.

These mass arrests, unparalleled in the recent period of American history, can only be compared with the mass arrests carried out by DeGaulle in France of those who opposed the Algerian war.

Imperialism, in a war which it is losing, goes into a frenzy of repression. Nixon is preparing for civil war.

MPI Attacks

(Continued From Page 3)

Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam passed the following motion at its last meeting:

"We reject the use of physical attacks on other tendencies and affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature without fear of intimidation or physical attacks.

"We reject thus the use of slander against other political tendencies and reject the charges that Trotskyists and the Workers League in particular, are CIA or FBI agents."

Fourteen Stony Brook students, many active in the Black and Puerto Rican organizations on campus, have signed the statement. In addition Hector Ortiz and Jose Fernandez at Stony Brook have issued the following statement:

"The fight for independence of Puerto Rico means the fight against the MPI's alliances with the bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. The fight for Puerto Rico's independence means the fight for socialism. I politically condemn MPI's attacks."

Others who have expressed their agreement with the Open Letter include the National Caucus of Labor Committees and the Vanguard Newsletter.

CRUSH

Through terror, massive spy networks, mass arrests and murder, they are out to crush all opposition to their war against the workers and peasants in Vietnam and the working class and youth at home.

While Calley is released from the stockade by direct order of Nixon after being convicted of mass murder, the government arrests Leslie Bacon on charges backed up only by secret agent "S-1."

West Coast News

Roofers Fight Wage Freeze

BY JAMES DUNN

SAN DIEGO—Roofing workers of Local 45 in San Diego, have rejected contractors' offers, and voted to strike the job sites. As one worker put it, after the evening voting session, "We're on strike now!"

The strike, coming after ex-

piration of a 7-year contract, backs up union demands for a four dollar wage and benefit package over three years, with \$1.75 the first year. In addition, the union demands an increase in long distance compensation (travel greater than a 25-mile radius) from \$9.00 per day to \$20.00.

The construction contractors have made their position quite clear. Coming on the heels of the recent Associated General Contractors Convention, at which they and Secretary Romney joined Nixon and many Democratic and Republican Congressmen in a call for the Federal Government to smash the construction unions, it is no surprise that their offer to the roofers is for a three-year decrease in wages. Their first-

year "offer" is a miserable 35-cents with almost no increase in fringe benefits, and a stipulation that the long-distance radius be increased from 25 to 45 miles with no increase in amount of compensation.

A seven year contract, seven years of ferocious inflation, has left the roofers one of the lowest paid sections of the construction trades. With a base pay of \$5.50 in highly seasonal and dangerous work with no hazardous duty pay for day after day of boiling tar and noxious disease-producing fumes, roofers are really getting screwed, and they know it.

STRIKE

A strike for a 65% wage increase puts this section of the

construction trades on a collision course with Nixon and the labor bureaucrats, and their wage-review board. Some of the San Diego contractors, anxious to get their houses completed and sold, have agreed to the union demands.

This situation, with the roofers' demands as a lead to the other construction negotiations coming up in the near future, poses the possibility of blowing the lid off of Nixon's wage board. That raises the threat of direct Federal intervention in the construction industry to roll back the wage increases, and break the unions. Thus, the general strike call issued by the Santa Clara Building Trades Council has great significance for the roofers' strike. That is the way forward.



Firemen at Stanford University.

CWA Leaders Ready Deal

BY A CWA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The events of the last few days show what a monumental fight is faced by the Communication Workers of America. The union leadership, hand in hand with the bosses of the A.T.&T. and Western Electric, is going to incredible lengths to keep the membership ignorant of the continuing negotiations.

They have good reason to worry about the rank and file. In the last strike three years ago the leaders were able to demoralize their union to the point that the final wage settlement was actually less than the company's original wage offer! Since that time there has been wave after wave of wildcat strikes in various locals across the country.

Last night (April 30) the contract expired. In response to questions and demands from the membership here in Local 9410 the union leaders and many stewards replied that yes, the negotiations are proceeding and no, there are no membership meetings scheduled. The possibility is raised that the contract vote will be conducted by mail ballot and no meetings at all!

CWA workers must not let themselves be beaten by these mind-control tactics. We must demand immediate open membership meetings and full discussion of contract proposals by the entire membership before any "votes" are taken! We must force the union leaders to fight against the attacks on our standard of living.

STOP PRESS

April 3—Today the CWA negotiators stated in a written communication that the company's offer of only a 14% raise over three years in return for concessions is "grossly inadequate." The report states that so many concessions are demanded that the contract is "retrogressive," actually worse than the present contract. The report correctly comments that the company's proposal is like "something out of the thirties." The union's response is only to call an executive committee meeting and "keep the members informed."

Orange County Union Busters

(Continued From Page 16) crisis.

Thus, the action of the Garden Grove City Council must be understood as exemplary; i.e., it is aimed at showing wavering politicians in their sister cities that they must be prepared to confront the city workers' trade unions head-on and smash them—even the previously docile company unions, such as the CSEA and the NEA!

STANFORD—A wave of bombings and fires swept over Stanford University last week as the administration made clear its intention to meet none of the basic demands raised by workers and students in the struggle at Stanford Medical Center.

Scattered acts of arson and vandalism, including the fire-bombing of a Stanford police car preceded an explosion in the attic

of President Lyman's office on April 23. The explosion caused an estimated \$25,000 worth of damage.

The response from the right was not long in coming. The car of a Black law student involved in the defense of the twenty two demonstrators arrested at the Medical Center on April 9th was destroyed by arson. In the early morning of April 27th the lounge at Junipero Dormitory was set ablaze, causing \$50,000 to \$75,000

damage.

The administration in a news release all but accused Venceremos of setting the fire. Venceremos denied this, pointing out that the dormitory is 25% Black and houses members of Venceremos. Junipero Lounge is the meeting place of the BSU.

THUGS

Clearly Lyman is joining hands with the fascist thugs and/or police responsible for the fire in an attempt to smash all political opposition at Stanford.

This is the logic of the administration's intransigent stance with regard to all demands of workers and students for an end to educational cutbacks and layoffs. The administration of the Medical Center broke off negotiations with the representatives of the Stanford Medical Center Employees Coalition, consisting mainly of Black and Chicano workers, refusing to recognize the Coalition's negotiating team.

In response to this Black workers staged a one-day walk-out that was about 70% effective. What the walkout demonstrated, however, was the extreme and dangerous isolation of the Black workers, who make up only 15% of the total work force at the Medical Center. A verbal threat from the administration was sufficient to force the workers to back on the job.

SOPS

The strategy of the administration is to beat back any at-

tempts of the workers to unionize while throwing sops in the direction of the nationalists. Thus the administration categorically rejects two key demands.

The arrogance of the university is growing. Yet, the leadership of the Coalition makes no real attempt to build a united class fight of hospital workers for unionization, which is the only way to challenge the power of the administration. To do so would mean to abandon the nationalist perspective of the Coalition and its supporters, Mecha, the BSU, and Venceremos and fight to shut down the university. It is this nationalism which hampers and contains the fight at the hospital at every point.

S.F. State Workers Organize

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Hundreds of campus workers at San Francisco State College are engaged in a massive fight to unionize the entire campus and gain recognition of their union, Local 411 Union of State Employees, from the administration.

State workers who are at the center of attack from the Reagan administration face budget cuts of 10 and 20% along with the lay-off of thousands.

The bookstore workers have led the fight to organize and have signed up over 70% of the store's workers. They have petitioned the management of the bookstore for recognition as sole bargaining agent but their petition has been rejected.

Instead the bosses have brought in the California State Employees Association (CSEA) which is not a union and claimed that the bookstore workers wanted to join it. This lie allowed for a period of delay because under the law an election is required when two organizations are competing for recognition.

This delay has been used to lay off permanent and part-time employees. In addition the managers now refuse to call an election and the CSEA says it is in no hurry.

What is required now is the entire shutdown of the college and the full unionization of the 1200 campus employees.

Answer Terror-- Close Down Stanford

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Killer Cop Set Free

BY ALEX CRAIG

SAN JOSE—Officer Paul Tomlinson of the San Jose Police Department, triggerman and defendant in the controversial murder of a black youth here in January, has been cleared of all charges by the Santa Clara County Grand Jury.

The proceedings stemmed from an incident last January 21 which left 19-year-old James Edward Jackson dead and his mother, Annie, slightly wounded by police bullets. Jackson had been serving out a nine-month auto theft conviction on a "work furlough" program, which allows prisoners to work days and return to jail nights and weekends. He had failed to return the night of the shooting.

Police statements at the time of the slaying contended that two sheriff's deputies were dispatched to Jackson's home when he failed to return to the prison, and that the youth was resisting arrest when Tomlinson arrived. Tomlinson claimed he fired twice after Jackson had felled him with a blow from a garden rake. The controversy arose when it was learned from Jackson's mother, who witnessed the one-sided gunplay and was grazed by a round herself, that the youth was running away from the police when he was

gunned down, and that the first bullet entered his body from the back. The SJPD and the Grand Jury have yet to issue any public statement explaining how an attacking suspect can receive a bullet in the back, why the suspect was shot twice (the second shot struck Jackson in the abdomen), and why Tomlinson obviously shot to kill rather than to disable as is supposedly "customary."

The acquittal of Tomlinson by the same court system that originally put Jackson behind bars clearly exposes the capitalist judicial system in all its contemptible bankruptcy. As the crisis of capitalism becomes more chaotic, the frequency of incidents such as this can only grow with the welfare lines, unemployment rate, and price index. All these are directly related attacks aimed at working people with the intention of destroying the gains of decades of working class battles.

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DALECTICS DALECTICS DALECTICS

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

BULLETIN INTERNATIONAL SERIES 1

Just Out!

This pamphlet records Lenin's study of Hegel in philosophical and theoretical preparation for the October Revolution. It is essential for an understanding of the inseparability of Marxist philosophy from the working class struggle.

50¢

West Coast News

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

Only WL Can Answer New Stalinist Attacks

When militant Chicano youth stormed the speakers' platform at the NPAC rally on April 24 they delivered a kick in the teeth to the rotten policies of the SWP.

This explosion was the inevitable result of the SWP's strategy of adapting to the Stalinists, dividing the working class along racial and sexual lines and prostituting themselves to the liberals.

The real logic of Pablosm now emerges clearly for all to see. Precisely at a time when both Mao and the Kremlin are completely unmasked by the bloody butchery in Ceylon and Pakistan the SWP comes to their assistance by covering up for Stalinism and allowing it to appear left.

This is very sharply revealed in the editorial in the May 1 People's World which attacks the SWP for its right wing opportunism. Using the Chicano attack for all it is worth, which is considerable, the CP is able to accuse the SWP of white nationalism, of opposition to "the new coalitions that have developed between welfare rights groups, peace organizations, civil rights movements and labor unions."

The SWP is attacked for betraying the Vietnamese by refusing to support the People's Peace Treaty and thereby failing in its international responsibilities.

The Stalinists conclude by holding out their hands to every frenzied middle class element, frustrated by the betrayals of the SWP. They call for a dual policy. "Militant trashing is not the only alternative." This is to be combined with a fight to rally the new coalitions "out into the streets, into the legislative halls and wherever else we have to go to defeat Nixon and company."

Thus the call goes out for a "People's Peace" on May 5 through disrupting garages in the financial district, disruption of war corporations, circulation of Peace Treaty petitions to executives and workers, guerrilla theater and leafleting.

The People's World endorses all these actions knowing full well that none of them pose the remotest threat to capitalism. At the same time it fights in an article titled "One, Two Many Tactics Are Needed" for the new youth voters to unite for new Berkeleys and to join Bella Abzug to "pressure and tie up the House until it votes to end the war."

There is something here for everyone just as long as it is all contained within the perspective of a new popular front to prop up the liberals.

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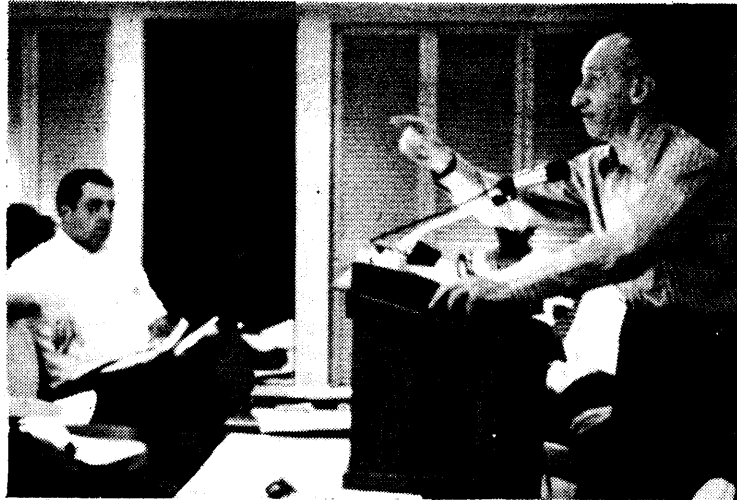
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There must be no doubt. The Stalinists' "left" posture against the SWP will now be used to prepare new MPI incidents and the next time the SWP may very well be the victim. The CP is able to hold a joint rally with the Black Panthers and all the major defense organizations precisely because the criminal policies of the SWP have strengthened them.

Because the SWP has abandoned Trotskyism it is unable to explain the extreme sharpness of these developments as its April 24 coalition with the Stalinists bursts into flames. It is absolutely incapable of comprehending the extreme dangers of these Stalinist attacks for their own organization. It is precisely for this reason that the Militant has gone for weeks without being able to so much as report on the MPI attacks against the Workers League.

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Harry Bridges at ILWU convention, proposes no fight on attrition.

Seek To Bust Unions In Orange County

BY BILL WINGFIELD

SANTA ANA, April 28—With the passage of a four-page resolution on "employee relations," the City Council of Garden Grove took the lead today in the campaign by Orange County municipal governments to solve their budget crisis by driving down the wages of city workers.

The resolution lays down "guidelines" for negotiations between the city and employee organizations, as well as "procedures for the recognition of employee organizations." On the surface, the resolution merely affirms the city government's traditional claim to the "exclusive right" to determine the "function of all departments" and to legislate "restrictions on members of associations."

What is important in the resolution are the provisions it deems necessary for the protection of those "rights." These include a provision for the mandatory withdrawal of recognition from employee organizations which "fail to comply with requirements." The principal "requirement" asserted in the resolution is that an employee association may not authorize its members to strike!

Garden Grove officials were quite candid about the motive for the City Council's resolution: "We anticipate," said one, "intense negotiations with employee groups over salaries and fringe benefits!"

CRISIS

The seriousness of the budget crisis facing the political agents of Capital responsible for the governing of Garden Grove was indicated last week when the Garden Grove Unified School District board authorized a cut of \$1.4 million in the current operation budget, and announced an additional \$1 million cut from next year's budget. The cuts reflect "an estimated \$2.3 million gap between income and revenue in the 1971-72 spending plan," according to a report by Dr. Alton Morse, Associate Superintendent of Business Services. Morse made several "cost-cutting proposals" which the board approved; these include a freeze on the hiring of "custodial pool workers" and gardeners "through June 30."

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(Continued On Page 15)

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SAN FRANCISCO—The 19th Biennial Convention of the ILWU solved nothing for longshoremen.

While the keynote speaker was Thomas Gleason of the ILA, no real struggle took place to achieve a fighting unity between longshoremen on both coasts.

The question of the jurisdictional dispute with the Teamsters was ignored and this in the face of continued declarations from the IBT that container stuffing work is the property of the Teamsters.

An extremely ominous note is the continued acceptance of the leadership of attrition schemes. Thus, Bridges continues to call for allowing shrinkage through attrition and stepping up early retirement as a sop to the PMA for increased pensions.

The convention left open the possibility of a big betrayal. It simply calls for the right to negotiate the closing down of ports, the timing and the right to consultation on the question of layoffs.

This is the convention that the People's World now greets as a shining example of union democracy in action. They cheer on the failure to obtain any united action with the ILA and seek to portray the convention as a great success on the basis of some vague resolutions calling for a fair trial for Angela Davis and for an action program against the war.

The truth of the matter is that such resolutions are little more than a left cover for a refusal to take up the docker's fight. The Stalinists now use these resolutions to crawl back into Bridges' good graces.

Longshoremen still face all the fundamental questions and the time is extremely short. Any acceptance of attrition schemes will set the union up for eventual mass layoffs.

A rank and file leadership must now be built pledged to scrap all questions of attrition or closing of ports, to break completely with the M&M and the CFS agreements. Such a leadership can only be built in an all out fight to obtain a fighting unity with the Teamsters for joint strike action to see to it that not a single cargo handling job is eliminated anywhere on the coast.

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California teachers and the California Labor Federation are calling a "March for Education" to Sacramento on May 15.

The march is demanding tenure, improved financing, restoration of cuts, collective bargaining, academic freedom and the right to strike.

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