

## Dollar Crisis Means New Attacks On Labor

# UNEMPLOYMENT UP OVER FIVE MILLION



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## Take Forward Fight For A Labor Party!

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At New York City Community College in New York this movement was given its conscious expression and lead when the students at a mass rally on May 5th answered the government's cuts in education, welfare, and city jobs by calling on the labor movement to call a general strike against these attacks and to break from the Democratic and Republican Parties and make immediate preparation for the building of a labor party.

This movement of the youth reflects the sharp confrontation that is developing between capitalism and the working class. Every attempt that Nixon and the capi-

talist class have made to solve the economic crisis has only failed as the working class continues its wage offensive.

Now this crisis is about to explode as the dollar is threatened with devaluation and the economy with collapse. Nixon must now prepare for open warfare with the working class, for the destruction of the trade unions and all the rights and gains the working class has won throughout its history.

But this is no easy matter, as Nixon fully realizes. Nixon's attacks on the wages of the construction workers were met by general strike calls from New Jersey to New Mexico. Now the contradictions expressed in the monetary crisis and the wage offensive are coming to a head in the upcoming steel negotiations.

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What  
we  
think

### Hooliganism And Stalinism

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It is significant that the Socialist Workers Party refused to even meet with the Workers League or its members to hear direct from us about the physical attacks on us. They did, however, discuss the question with representatives of the MPI.

Even this sort of investigation led the SWP to the inescapable conclusion that Bulletin supporters had in fact been subject to unprovoked attacks for doing nothing more than selling our paper. On this basis the SWP denounced "the use of violence to settle political disagreements." The investigation also revealed that the Workers League had in fact been unjustly slandered as "CIA agents," "pigs," etc. The SWP stated that such terms "have a logic of their own that leads almost inexorably to the use of violence."

However, the SWP refused to deal with the political issues involved. Not once did the SWP mention Stalinism, but the use of slanders against Trotskyists and physical violence have their roots in Stalinism. It was the slanders of Stalinism that the MPI was using to justify its hooliganism and it was to the Stalinists that the MPI turned for

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# Crisis Deepens In Yugoslavia

BY FRED MUELLER

The tremendous problems facing the Tito regime in Yugoslavia are an expression of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Tito is faced with deeper divisions within the party leadership than at any time since the overthrow of capitalism in Yugoslavia at the end of the Second World War.

Separatist tendencies, especially in Croatia, are growing fast and openly challenge Marxism and the continued existence of the workers state itself.

At the same time economic difficulties are rapidly multiplying. The regime is faced with a spiralling inflation, a growing gap between the incomes and living standards of the lowest and highest paid, and a wave of strikes from the working class which is determined not to be the ones to pay for the inflation.

The Yugoslav League of Communists took power over 25 years ago over the objections of Stalin, who insisted throughout the world on the Communist Parties maintaining coalition governments with the capitalists.

Tito was forced to break from Stalin in 1948 and for a brief period attacked the Soviet bureaucracy from the left. By 1950, however, the Yugoslavs had moved toward collaboration with the imperialists.

They refused to vote against a 1950 United Nations resolution branding China as an aggressor in Korea. They pursued a policy of "non-alignment" internationally which meant a policy of increasing dependence on the imperialists. As part of this move to the right, they received economic and even military aid from the U.S.

The Yugoslav CP was never

able to pose a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism. It developed a line partially independent of Moscow but based upon the interests of the Yugoslav bureaucracy and not the working class. It never broke from the Stalinist conception of building socialism in one country apart from and against the struggles of the working class internationally.

Today's crisis is the fruit of the bankrupt policies of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. Tito, nearing 79 years of age, is now forced to fight his own creation. The degeneration of the bureaucracy after two decades of severe imperialist pressure is enormous.

Investment from the West and increased dependence on the world market have undermined the nationalized property established after the war. Whole sections of the party and state apparatus have moved sharply to the right. Tito is now worried, much as Mao was several years ago, about capitalist restorationist trends nurtured by his own nationalist policies.

On April 4th, Croatia nationalist students took over the Zagreb University Students Union, attacking "centralism" and Marxism. The press in Croatia is calling for direct links with Italy and other capitalist countries, by-passing the central government in Belgrade.

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Mitchell, no doubt dreaming of Brownshirts, watches as police arrest 2,000 youth in Washington.

## Mitchell Lauds Arrests

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The mass arrests of over 12,000 demonstrators in Washington D.C. last week is only the beginning, if the Nixon Administration and the capitalist class have their way.

Attorney General John Mitchell speaking before a meeting of California cops last Monday called for more such arrests:

"I hope that Washington's decisive opposition to mob force will set an example for other communities."

### SENTIMENTS

He then went on to say that his sentiments were "fully shared by the President of the United States," and criticized those who have been "stepping forward to sympathize with the lawbreakers and fault the police."

## Ceylon Moves Closer Towards Dictatorship

BY MELODY FARROW

The four day "amnesty" period announced by the Ceylon coalition government ended May 4th but the crisis facing the Bandaranaike regime is rapidly deepening.

The government reports that some 1700 guerrillas surrendered but the "hard core" are still in the hills. Those who gave themselves up are being sent to the universities to be "rehabilitated."

Bandaranaike had promised that her troops would only fire in self defense during the surrender period but at least 40 were shot. One government spokesman admitted that the troops "were forced to go on the offensive" at one point.

Bandaranaike will now launch a bloody campaign of terror against the remaining forces of the JVP (Peoples Liberation Front) as she promised. It is reported that Soviet MIG's are loading up with 500 pound bombs for the next onslaught. This offensive will drive her regime closer and closer to open dictatorship.

Steps in this direction have already developed. It was announced in the House of Representatives last week that Vasudeva Nanayakkara, a member of the LSSP, one of the partners of the coalition, had been arrested in April. This announcement caused an uproar in the House.

In her frenzied drive to stamp out any opposition to her attacks

on the working class, Bandaranaike is forced to turn on the former Pabloites in the LSSP and the Communist Party.

Despite the LSSP's complete loyalty to Bandaranaike and its invaluable aid in helping wipe out the JVP, they will not be rewarded. Their past links with Pabloism and thus no matter how dimly with Trotskyism, will make them suspect in Bandaranaike's eyes.

The United National Party, the right wing party, is moving to hasten the downfall of the coalition by hypocritically accusing the government of torturing captured guerrillas.

To cover for its methods of torture and summary execution which the government tries to deny, they accuse the rebels of "terrorist attacks on villages and public buildings." This is a complete lie.

The government's isolation is so great that the only people who have joined the vigilante committees (eagerly supported by the Stalinists) are old men.

Step by step, Bandaranaike is preparing for the confrontation with the powerful Ceylonese working class. It is at this point that Bandaranaike will turn full force against all her coalition partners.

### ARRESTS

The "example" which Mitchell wants held up to "other communities" is the mass arrest in Washington last week in which all standard arrest procedures were suspended and thousands of demonstrators were rounded up.

### DRAGNET

No longer responsible for specifying any charge or crime or even of taking responsibility as arresting officer, cops in a dragnet sweep of the streets of Washington, arrested anyone and everyone they could reach.

Over 12,000 were grabbed, put in buses and vans and carried to the city jails and to a makeshift concentration camp, a fenced in field where they were surrounded and maced and tear gassed by police.

No charges were filed, the "norms" of bourgeois democratic rights—"probable cause" and "due process" were completely dropped as Nixon and Mitchell were determined to clear the streets.

The mass arrests and the suspension of all "norms" of bourgeois democracy reveal just a slice of what Nixon and a desperate ruling class will do to preserve capitalism.

While imperialism carries out massacres in Vietnam, they prepare for equally vicious attacks (Continued On Page 12)

## Hill Condemns MPI Attack

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Open Letter and the petition being circulated nationally by the Workers League in response to the attacks by the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) on April 9th have received important support this past week, particularly from the labor movement.

The Open Letter calls 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 petition has now been signed by Stanley Hill, President of SSEU Local 371 in New York City. It has also been signed by ten vice presidents and fifteen delegates of that union as well as many rank and file members from all over the city.

Signers of the letter also include rank and file members of many unions including: NMU, Taxi Local 3036, Local 1199 Hospital Workers, Carpenters Local 2669, and a large number of workers from Brooklyn Union Gas Company, TWU Local 101.

Signers of the letter also include students from high schools including Charles Evans Hughes and Stuyvesant in New York City, and from Minnesota a

Chicano student who states: "It's wrong for MPI to attack the Workers League. I don't believe the Workers League are CIA or FBI agents."

Students from colleges all over New York have signed the petition. Among these schools are Brooklyn College, Hunter, CCNY, Cooper Union, New School, New York University Law School, Manhattan Community College, Mills and Parsons. A Black student at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, active in the Angela Davis defense work, has pledged to help fight for adoption of the resolution, particularly by minority groups.

Members of the Women's Bail Fund and Spartacist have endorsed the Open Letter.

It is extremely important that, although the YSA-SWP refuses to support our resolution or even meet with us to discuss it, 25 people attending the YSA education conference at NYU over the past weekend signed the petition condemning hooligan attacks in the working class movement.

Among other signers of the resolution is Donald Freed, author of the play *Inquest*, and a sponsor of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee.

We urge all readers and supporters of the *Bulletin* to support this resolution. Please contact the New York *Bulletin* office or the people working on the campaign in your area.



Over 100 attend Workers League meeting in New York on Ceylon, Pakistan and the Fourth International. A full report on Tim Wohlforth's speech will appear in next week's Bulletin.



# Dollar Crisis Means Class War

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The new upsurge in the monetary crisis will mean civil war in Europe and a whole new offensive against the working class in the United States. The American capitalists will try to place as much of the brunt of the international crisis on to Europe as possible but they must at the same time take on sharply the American working class.

This will mean:

- A tightening of credit restrictions which have been temporarily loosened and at a time when the economy has failed to significantly pull out of recession. This will mean a growth of unemployment in all industries.

- A more determined attempt to break the trade union movement and push back its wage offensive. Nixon's attacks on construction, and the attacks of city and state administrations on public employees must now be extended to basic industry. This will mean that Nixon must do everything he can to break the steel workers in the upcoming basic steel strike.

By week's end the monetary crisis had forced five European Central banks to halt all dollar transactions in the most severe crisis since World War II.

## PRELUDE

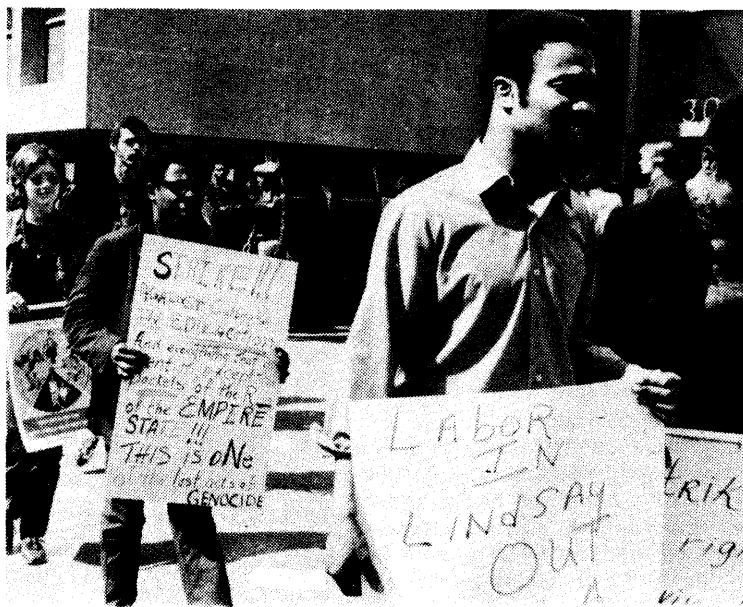
It must be seen as the direct prelude to the total collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements of 1944 and a new catastrophe for world capitalism, even more disastrous than the crash of 1929.

The immediate cause of the crisis, which forced the central

banks of West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Austria to halt support to the dollar on May 5th, was the huge deluge of speculative funds which flowed into their coffers fueled by rumors of an imminent revaluation of the Mark. In the case of the West German Bundesbank, Eurodollars flowed at the rate of one billion dollars on Tuesday and another one billion in the first hour of trading on Wednesday, May 5th.

Confronted with the inevitability of this speculative avalanche swelling to as much as 40 billion, which is the amount estimated to constitute the Eurodollar pool, the banks simply shut their doors.

After a weekend of furious consultation within the Common Market (EEC), the Bundesbank and the West German government have now opted for a floatation of the Mark combined with a widening of the band within which the Mark can fluctuate. While technically this is not a revaluation, it inevitably amounts to the same thing. Two other EEC members, Switzerland and Austria, have followed suit with 7% and 5% revaluations respectively. A wide



Students fight cuts. Dollar crisis will bring new government attacks.

range of controls on the Eurodollar market are now also to be imposed.

## DOLLAR

These measures can, however, resolve nothing. In fact with the opening of money markets Monday the dollar continued to weaken in spite of them.

They can resolve nothing because they in no way touch upon the real source of the present crisis.

This is the continuing and accelerating growth of huge stockpiles of U.S. dollars abroad as a result of huge U.S. balance of

payments deficits. Not only was the deficit the largest ever in 1970, but figures for the first quarter of 1971 show that it is now threatening to grow to 20 billion for the current year.

There are in fact more U.S. dollars in the vaults of the Bundesbank than there is gold to back them in Fort Knox.

Behind this payments problem lies the crisis of capitalism itself which has its central expression here in the United States. The very growth and expansion of capital now threatens the profitability of the capitalist firms. These firms in turn must seek

to drive down wages to restore profit. The inability of American capitalism to do this so far has led to a deeply inflationary situation in the United States combined with the failing of major capitalist firms here and abroad. Rolls Royce is finished and Lockheed is on the rocks.

Not only does the revaluation of European currencies represent no solution whatsoever to the basic problem of an overvalued dollar, it reflects a conscious decision by the Nixon government to shift the main burden of this crisis on to Europe while he prepares the next stage of struggle against the American working class.

## EUROPE

Nixon is up against the hard fact that the problem of the U.S. deficits cannot be resolved domestically short of civil war against American labor. He is saying to Europe that he is going to let them try their hand at  
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# More Than 5 Million Jobless

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Nixon's claim of a rebounding economy must sound very hollow to the 5,085,000 unemployed, based on government figures for April.

The unemployment rate rose slightly, from 6.0 to 6.1 percent. Just as significant, wholesale prices rose by a whopping 0.5 percent, the biggest rise since last fall. The working class continues to face continued heavy unemployment and inflation.

Unemployment among Black workers soared to 10 percent. In many cities this reaches as high as 25 or 30 percent, and even higher among youth.

Nixon's press secretary calls the new figures "a disappointment." It is more than a disappointment to all sections of the working class; it is the bitter experience of workers with the vicious policies of the employers and their government.

The sharpness of the situation is expressed by the events in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn last week. These workers and youth are asked by the capitalist system to accept an even more hopeless situation than the one they have faced for many years. Now they face massive layoffs and city and state budget cuts affecting welfare, education and every other area on top of the continuing unemployment and discrimination.

At any moment the roof can fall in on the international monetary system and all of Nixon's plans for an expansion in time for the 1972 elections.

The fight for jobs is posed more sharply than at any point since the end of the Second World War. A fight for socialist policies in the labor movement is required, a fight for a break from the capitalist parties and the building of a labor party. The unions must fight for a shorter work week and to nationalize industries which are throwing workers on the scrap heap because profit cannot now be made from their labor.

# Castro Launches Attacks On Dissidents

BY ED SMITH

The Castro government in Cuba has opened a new stage in its attacks on the Cuban working class. Premier Fidel Castro chose a May Day national educational conference in Havana to denounce as "bourgeois-liberal intellectuals," "shameless Leftists," and "agents of the Central Intelligence Agency," intellectual dissidents in Cuba and authors K.S. Karol and Rene Dumas, who have written books after visiting Cuba critical of the Castro regime.

"There's no room in Cuba for you, just as there's none for the United Press International and the Associated Press. There will be no half-way measures. We're not going to handle anyone with kid gloves" said Castro in a speech broadcast over Havana radio.

What precipitated Castro's threats was the arrest on March 20th of prize-winning Cuban poet Herberito Padilla as a "counter-revolutionary" who collaborated with "CIA agents" like Karol and Dumas in France and other countries. He was accused of giving a "pessimistic portrait" of life in Cuba when talking with Karol who was gathering material in Cuba for his book. Padilla was released early this month after "confessing" his "crimes" and his "vicious character."

## LAWS

At the same time the sugar harvest is again lagging behind and such vital exports as tobacco and nickel are down. Castro can see no way out of this situation but to demand even greater productivity from the working class. With much fanfare a new "anti-loafing law" has been passed. Over 100,000 able-bodied men have registered for jobs who had managed to avoid work before.

How such a huge proportion of Cuba's labor force could avoid working amid universal popular enthusiasm for Castroism is not explained. Nor is the necessity for penal terms of up to two years

for "loafing" and "consistent absenteeism." Significantly, the Labor Courts that will be handing out these sentences will be dominated not even by the puppet Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions, who will have one representative, but by the Ministry of Labor, which will have two representatives, including the chairman.

## BONAPARTISM

All this activity by Castro against the working class and the intellectuals does not come out of nowhere. Castroite Bonapartism and all "left" nationalism is now in its biggest crisis. The working class is moving forward as never before and now a revolutionary alternative can find big support among the working class, spelling the doom of these trends.

The only way they can fight this development is to borrow the technique of slanders and physical attacks from the cellars of Stalinism. This is why the MPI can only answer the Workers League's arguments with knives and pipes and why Castro cannot abide any criticism from the left. At the same time, petty bourgeois nationalism can only maintain itself now with the aid of Stalinism and revisionism.

While Madame Bandaranaike of Ceylon murders thousands of "Guevarist" youth, her son is given the warmest welcome in Havana. Could it be that Castro is preparing to use the same me-

thods as Bandaranaike to crush all opposition in Cuba?

Castro even suppressed the Pabloite Posadas group in Cuba and jailed its leaders, simply because the vestiges of Trotskyism this group maintained. At the 1966 Tri-continental Congress Castro denounced Trotskyism as "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" and "this discredited thing, this anti-historic thing, this fraudulent thing, which emanates from individuals known to be at the service of Yankee imperialism, the Transitional Program of the Fourth International." Trotskyism is the conscious movement

forward of the working class and its growth spells the doom of Castroism, nationalism, and Stalinism.

## INTENSIFY

Now Castro must intensify his attacks on critics of his regime in preparation for open attacks on the working class.

We join with such prominent literary partisans of the Castro regime as Julio Cortazar of Argentina and Mario Vargas Llosa of Peru in denouncing Castro's frameup of Padilla. Will the Socialist Workers Party do the same?

# Aluminum Workers Take Lead In Wage Offensive

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Leaders of the Aluminum Workers International Union began negotiations last week in New York City with Alcoa and Reynolds.

They raised demands for wage increases of \$1.30 for the bottom grades to \$1.40 for the highest grades. Also demanded was a full cost of living clause and a 54% increase in pensions.

What is significant about this wage demand is that it represents a partial break with the \$0.75 to \$1.10 wage limit that United Steelworkers leader I.W. Abel is trying to hold wage demands to in aluminum, copper and basic steel.

While still far from what is needed in wage increases in the metal industries, the aluminum workers' demand is a move beyond the limits of the auto and can contracts.

It represents the willingness

of the rank and file in those industries to fight for a living wage, despite the limitations imposed upon them by the union bureaucracy.

Neither the bureaucracy in the United Steelworkers nor their uncritical "left" supporters, the Stalinists of the American Communist Party have seen fit to touch on this demand of the aluminum workers in their press.

Abel is now reported to be trying to get himself off the hook on wages by leaving wage demands up to the locals. This is an abdication of any sort of leadership and as one officer of the US Steel Local 28 in Duluth told this writer: "Abel doesn't even answer our letters anymore."

All the more imperative is the need to build a national rank and file movement in the United Steelworkers which can take up this struggle for a wage hike of \$2.25 the first year and for a four day week at five days pay.



# Nationalize Steel To Stop Plant Closings

BY MICHAEL ROSS

In the past six months the leadership of the United Steelworkers has allowed the wiping out of four of its local unions in the Midwest through plant and mine closings.

This comes at a time when the union is facing its most decisive struggles since 1946, and represents complete retreat on the part of the leadership.

The Abel-Burke-Molony leadership of the USWA has no policy to fight the plant closings and accepts the right of the employers to do this.

Most disgraceful of these actions was in Calumet, Michigan. There, after a two and one half year strike, with over a million dollars in strike relief poured in, the International leadership told Local 4312 that they were accepting the Calumet and Hecla Company's closing of its mine and smelter. This throws 1,000 copper workers out of work and virtually destroys the town. Never did the leadership move to shut down the parent company, Universal Oil Products.

Yet down to the last minute District 33 Director Glenn Peterson had said "Let there be no mistake about the Steelworkers' continued support of this struggle."

This retreat by the international and district leadership was a conscious betrayal, not a "mistake." Nor was the Calumet situation an isolated instance. Over 2,000 more jobs in Madison, Wisconsin were thrown out, and the existence of Local 1404 terminated, by the closing of the Gisholt

division of Giddings and Lewis. No action was taken against the parent company.

Back in Michigan, with the probability of a steel strike becoming more and more certain, the union has allowed Jones and Laughlin Steel to close their iron ore mine at Negaunee, throwing 275 members of Local 4793 out of work. This was accepted on the grounds that the basic steel contract provides for transfers, pensions and severance pay.

And in Cincinnati, there is the loss of almost 200 jobs at Baldwin Piano, wiping out Local 5397. The company had built two non-union plants in Arkansas, and closed down its Cincinnati facility.

As part of building a national rank and file movement in the United Steelworkers, a completely different policy on plant closings must be fought for. This can no longer be left up to the present leadership.

To build a new leadership means to fight for the nationalization of basic industry, and for a shorter work week as the only way to gain and maintain full employment.

Those corporations trying to close down their facilities must be nationalized without compensation and placed under control of the workers within those facilities.

## Poland Stops Aid To NLF

BY A REPORTER

All over the world the Stalinists are on the run in the face of the working class offensive.

U.S. News and World Report recently reported that the Gierk regime in Poland has stopped all aid to North Vietnam.

This just carries one step further the policies of Gomulka, who was ousted following the workers' struggles of last winter. It was Gomulka who helped Franco break the strike of the Asturian coal miners last year through the importing of Polish coal. This was followed by the export of cement to Ireland to break another strike.

The Stalinists praise butcher Yahya Khan as Soviet tanks are used to mow down defenseless Bengalis. Soviet equipment and technicians are sent to the Bandaranaik regime to aid its savage attacks on the revolutionary youth.

The Kremlin and its supporters extend the hand of friendship not merely to the major imperialist "democracies," including the United States, but to the most vicious military and fascist dictatorships.

The latest in the series of disgusting diplomatic maneuvers is the agreement by Albania, China's firmest East European ally, to finalize full diplomatic relations with the Greek colonels. The Albanians and Greeks have not had diplomatic rela-

tions for many years, but the Albanians have chosen this moment for renewing them.

The U.S. CP constantly defends the repressions of the Kremlin as necessary to defend socialism. It has defended everything from Hungary to Czechoslovakia to the vicious treatment of the Soviet opposition. Let these so-called Communists explain how Kremlin and East European policy toward Pakistan, Ceylon, Spain and Greece aids the cause of socialism!

## Curran Agrees To NMU Job Cuts

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The shippers are uniting in new attacks on the National Maritime Union.

Mooremack Lines, owners of the Brasil and Argentina, laid up passenger liners, have testified before the Congress that they will take the ships out of layup—in return for a 50% cut in manning!

Spokesmen for this company specifically attacked NMU president Curran's plans for one big passenger ship operating monopoly, a virtual AMTRAK of the sea, as having "high operating costs"—that is, high wages and manning scales.

President Curran, true to form, still insists he was willing to go along with every manning cut.

Far from strengthening the union by "restoring" the 280 jobs that would be available on the passenger liners, accepting this deal could only strengthen the bosses. They are laying up ships

# Brewery Workers Charge Racism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK—On May 3, 1971, Anheuser-Busch, Inc. of Newark, N.J., was brought before a public hearing by the New Jersey Civil Rights Commission to answer allegations of discrimination in the hiring of minority workers.

At the hearing a group of Black workers called the Black Brewery Workers Association (BBWA) accused Anheuser-Busch of discriminatory hiring practices (about 6% of the workers are Black), systematic exclusion of Black workers from gaining permanent status (which means a guaranteed 40 hour work week), and harassment and abuse by supervisors.

The BBWA also claimed that physical attacks by racist workers have gone unpunished and have resulted in a polarization of Black and white workers throughout the plant.

Leroy Alexander, chairman of the BBWA, has stated that following this public hearing, he has been threatened with the loss of his job.

Alexander said that the BBWA has repeatedly informed officials of Teamsters Local 843 concerning these questions, but no steps have been taken by them. Charges lodged with the union local by Black workers have been dismissed by union officials as non-existent.

### PROGRAM

The program of the BBWA is based essentially on a Black nationalist perspective. Its demands for preferential hiring of Black and Puerto Rican workers and the demand for minority supervisors and managers expresses the anti-working class influence that LeRoi Jones has on the Association.

This kind of program will not only pit workers of different races against each other for a dwindling number of jobs, it will also tie the workers politically to their class enemy.

This is what happens when, under the guidance of LeRoi Jones' Committee for a Unified Newark, the BBWA seeks the aid of the capitalist government in the form of the Civil Rights Commission to fight racism.

This kind of class collaboration, which Jones used in allying with Gibson and Prudential against the Newark teachers' strike, will only backfire in the face of the BBWA and help the brewery bosses to squash the militancy of the workers.

The only way racism and discrimination can be fought is by fighting to build a leadership in Local 843 that will defend the workers' living and working conditions around a program that will unite all the workers regardless of race against the common enemy—the bosses.

Such a program must be centered around a fight against unemployment, layoffs and racial discrimination with the demand for a 30 hour work week at 40 hours pay, union control of hiring and firing and promotions.

## Stalinists-Franco Line Up As Strikes Sweep Spain

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Strengthened by Franco's retreat in commuting the death sentences of the Burgos Six, Spanish workers are stepping up their fight against the fascist dictatorship.

Five hundred workers occupied the headquarters of the government controlled "trade unions" on May 4th to protest the firing of a worker at the Standard Electrical Telephone Company. The worker was accused of creating "labor unrest."

3,500 workers are on strike at the company's Madrid plants. The management then fired sixteen others and suspended 1,000 workers for five to ten days.

Twenty doctors in the mining area of Asturias are on strike for higher wages and better working conditions.

This upsurge is forcing the Stalinists out into the open and right into the arms of Franco.

In January 1970 the Polish Stalinist regime had shipped coal to Spain and helped break the Spanish miners strike in the Asturias. During the trial of the Burgos Six the Vice-President

of "socialist" Bulgaria paid his respects to Franco.

Now, the Stalinists do not come in the back door but openly come out against the working class by sending a delegation of Soviet dancers to participate in the so-called "May Day" rally organized by Franco himself!

This fascist rally was boy-



Stalinists dance for Franco.

cotted by the illegal Workers Commissions who called for counter demonstrations in support of the following six points:

- General amnesty for all political prisoners
- The right to form independent political parties and to hold public meetings
- Freedom of the press and religious liberty
- Recognition of the right of Catalonia, Basque and Galicia to self-determination
- Universal suffrage

While Moscow joined hands with Franco, Franco's police were conducting a hunt for the leaders of the Workers Commissions and were preparing to suppress any demonstrations that took place. Many Communist Party members have been arrested.

This is how the Stalinists celebrate May Day.

## Maryland Students Protest

BY STEVE DAMON

BALTIMORE—The brutal attacks on the youth in Washington led by Nixon last week triggered a massive student riot at the nearby University of Maryland campus.

The Spring Coalition, a collection of student power tendencies, and PL-SDS were attempting to cash in on the movement around May Day and direct it into traditional protest politics, aimed at seizing buildings to force the abolition of ROTC.

But a mass rally against ROTC was taken over by leaderless masses of students chanting "Route 1." Thousands of students moved onto Route 1 to block traffic, with the Spring Coalition leaders forced to tail after them, and over the feeble protests of SDS.

The National Guard rapidly cleared the road of the students, and after several hours of street fighting, a curfew was declared. While last May the Guard allowed traffic to be blocked for several hours, now they moved immediately and viciously, making many arrests and freely unleashing their dogs on the students.

The massive movement of the students expresses their frustration with the Stalinist and revisionist leadership of the anti-war movement.

The struggle can only go forward by turning towards the working class through the fight for a general strike of labor and the building of a labor party.

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# Brownsville Rebellion-- Participants Speak Out

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

**BROOKLYN**—On Wednesday May 5th a demonstration against the budget cuts was held here in Brownsville. It was called by the Community Council. Brownsville is the second poorest section of New York after the South Bronx.

The Community Council held the demonstration just as a protest but the anger of youth and young workers exploded. It is reported that a cop provoked the demonstration by sticking his gun in someone's back to make him move aside. Fighting began between the youth and the cops and stores were burned.

## REBELLIONS

What the capitalist press calls "riots" are open rebellions against the rotten conditions that capitalism imposes on youth and workers. Whole sections of Brownsville are devastated, vacant lots and burnt out buildings. The welfare cuts will directly hit most of the people in Brownsville.

The events in Brownsville point up the need for a revolutionary youth movement to take this fight forward.

A *Bulletin* reporting team recently interviewed workers and youth in Brownsville.

The people in Brownsville see the cause of the rebellions in the attacks on their living standards, the cuts in welfare and unemployment. A Puerto Rican youth said:

"A lot of guys will be fighting

because of the 10% cut in welfare. They have no jobs. Poverty is the main problem around here. 90% of the people here are on welfare. We need someone to speak for us and tell us what's going on."

A mother of three children who works in a laundry said in reaction to the events last week:

"It's because they have cut back the budget. People were not getting enough to buy food in the first place. We were demonstrating against these budget cuts, because these cuts mean our children will starve. Old people are starving, are sick and dying. They put people in hotels and these places are only fit for pigs to live in. There are no jobs and they're cutting the ones that do exist. People are barely surviving, not making a living.

## FIGHT BACK

"They talk about having no money and people like Lindsay are burning money up. I think the working people should really fight back. There should be more jobs, no budget cuts. Everyone should be paid a salary to support their families."

In relation to the fight for a



Brownsville resident (center in left photo) speaks to *Bulletin* reporters on burnings (right photo).

general strike to stop the government's attacks, she said: "Everything should stop at one time. This is the only way the working people will get anything. The Democrats and the Republicans are the same. They are

against us."

A youth who participated in the rebellion told the *Bulletin*:

"People have no housing here. Model Cities wants to take over the houses. We need big apartment houses. I've been living

here for 10 years and for 10 years it has been the same thing.

"The politicians, the people who are making the cuts, those are the people I blame. We have to pay them back for what they are doing to us. The only way we are going to show them is by revolution."

Another worker told us: "They're hurting the poor people. If a woman with four children gets a job at \$80 or \$90 a week, she has to spend half of this on child care. Look at Reagan in California, he didn't even pay any taxes this year. They cry about the city workers' pensions but the fare has tripled and look at all the consultants they hire.

## STRIKE

"There should be a general strike against the cutbacks. The workers should go on strike because there was no reason for Rockefeller to do what he did.

"Something has to be done. If the working class bands together and does something, we can elect a person of our choice."

A Vietnam veteran who is now on welfare summed up the feelings of many of the youth in Brownsville:

"Rockefeller and Lindsay are always making money. But there is none for us out here. That is what is causing all the trouble. I was working for the City Housing Authority and I was laid off in 1969. They have cut my check now and I'm supposed to be a veteran. If I were over in Vietnam now I'd tell every top notch there to go fly a kite. The problem is the capitalist system, it is just for the rich.

"We need a revolutionary movement, something to make people think."

# St. Louis Auto Ranks To Meet

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

**ST. LOUIS**—Rank and file auto workers here are continuing their fight against General Motors and the refusal of the UAW leadership to defend them.

Twenty-one workers have been fired and over fifty suspended in recent unrest at the Chevrolet plant. The militants from this plant are in the process of meeting with workers at the Ford, Chrysler and Carter Carburetor plants to form a city-wide UAW Black Caucus.

Their aim is to force the union to fight against speedup on the line, racial discrimination and layoffs. The first mass meeting of the UAW Black Caucus is scheduled for May 16th at Tandy Hall.

Election for top union offices are in progress and rank and file workers are fighting for independent candidates. Nat Mosely, spokesman for the militants at the Chevrolet plant, told a *Bulletin* reporter of the secret election meetings the UAW Local 25 leaders held in order to prevent nomination of militants.

The GM management is losing no time using these events to weaken the UAW. It is attempting to by-pass the union by directly approaching a small number of the workers and

offering to lift the firings and substituting a thirty-day suspension period without pay.

## CORE

CORE has tried to dominate the struggle and restrict it to "community" protest such as a boycott of GM products. It has called a rally against GM for May 12th. The speakers chosen by CORE include Rev. Charles Koen of the Cairo United Front and "Brother" Omar of the Black Patriot Party. The fired workers have only been "invited" to attend.

Rejecting the leadership of the Black middle class, rank and file workers have independently formed their own organization, the UAW Black Caucus. But if they are to break the power of the bureaucracy, they must fight to build a rank and file caucus which represents militant workers, Black and white and based on a program to unite the workers as a whole in a struggle against the bureaucracy. The May 16th meeting must be built on this basis.

# Two Thousand Youth Battle Cops In Madison

BY WILL LONG AND DAN LAZARE

**MADISON**—The University of Wisconsin was ripped by a rebellion on May 4 and 5 of a size and intensity not seen since the huge anti-Cambodia upsurge of exactly a year ago. Over two thousand students took part in these struggles.

The series of student-police battles climaxed five days of activities led by the local May Action Coalition whose motto was, "If the government won't stop the war then we'll stop the government."

The May Action Coalition was an organization built on two principles: support of the so-called People's Peace Treaty and agreement with civil disobedience as the only way to implement the treaty.

The Workers League was the only group which offered an alternative to the antics of the May Action Coalition. In contrast to the Coalition's plan to bring the state government to a halt by blocking office building elevators, the Workers League called for a student strike to begin on May 5 with the purpose of fighting for a general strike of labor.

When the May Action Coalition called for a rites of spring pot smoking party for May 1, Workers League issued a call for a rally for that same date which would be a commemoration of the true meaning of May Day as a day of solidarity with the struggle of the working class the world over.

## TREATY

The Workers League conducted a battle against the latest Stalinist betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle, this time in the guise of the People's Peace Treaty. The Young Socialist Alliance, on the other hand, put

up only a token opposition to the treaty—and then on the grounds that it violated the rights of self-determination for Vietnam.

A member of the Socialist Workers Party, before several hundred members of the May Action Coalition, could only squeak out, "Well, some of us have serious questions about the Peace Treaty."

The students have been driven into struggle by Nixon's widening of the Vietnam war, the growing unemployment rate, and increased budget cuts.

The struggle must now be taken into the working class on the basis of a Marxist program.

# Sirabella Put To The Test In Yale Strike

BY KLAUS KNIGHT AND LISA SYDNEY

**NEW HAVEN**—Vincent Sirabella, president of striking Local 35 of Yale University employees, has been living up to his recent declaration that the strikers will probably lose.

Since the April 30th walkout, the most dynamic thing he has proposed has been to take busloads of workers to New York City to picket the Yale Club.

Throughout the strike Yale has continued to operate and the students have continued attending classes. In the midst of this dangerous situation,

Sirabella spoke here on May 5th at an anti-war demonstration sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Peace Treaty attended by over 1100 students, workers, and youth. The militancy of the crowd was a sharp contrast to the perspective which the liberals and the trade union bureaucracy with the help of the Stalinists and revisionists put forward on the platform.

In speaking to the rally Sirabella cautioned the students to abide by the union leadership and not to mass picket with the workers. His speech was interrupted by calls from the Workers League for a general strike. Sirabella said: "That's

exactly what I warn you not to listen to. They're a bunch of kooky students who go off in a half-cocked way under the guise of helping workers, only to put forward a political ideology."

This statement really gets to the heart of the matter, because Sirabella, like the rest of the trade union bureaucracy, has an ideology, and that is to tie the ranks to capitalist politics.

At the same time that his union is engaged in a strike against Yale, Sirabella is running for mayor on the Democratic Party ticket—a party which is backed and controlled by Yale!

Sirabella is president of the New Haven Central Labor Coun-

cil, yet he has not once tried to get an ounce of support for the Yale workers from other sections of New Haven labor.

Now that Yale has come out with a miserly 30-40¢ wage increase offer, Sirabella will be put to the test in front of his ranks in the fight he wages against this insult. Now more urgent than ever is that Local 35 is organized around a fighting program: \$1.00 an hour minimum wage increase over 18 months; full cost of living escalator clause; an end to layoffs with a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; for a student strike at Yale against tuition increases and cutbacks; and in solidarity with Local 35, Shut Yale Down!



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

(Continued From Page 1)

The struggles of the youth and the students against the war, against the repression, unemployment and cutbacks joins with the powerful offensive of the American working class. It is only through the independent political struggle of the working class that this movement can go forward.

This is the question that was raised a week before April 24th at the St. Louis student-labor conference co-sponsored by unions and university groups. The Communist Party is correct when it says that this was an "historic" meeting. It was historic in the sense that the basic strategy and future of the working class was sharply fought out.

Right after this conference the CP launched a vicious attack on the Workers League, calling those who raised the question of the general strike and the labor party at this conference "nuts." Now the CP in an article on this conference in the May 6th issue of the Daily World is forced to admit:

"In the question and answer period, a young, black worker (who not coincidentally was a steel worker—editor) asked, 'Why doesn't the labor movement organize a labor party? How long do we have to continue to vote for candidates who are not for us or against us? When are we going to elect candidates who are totally on our side?'"

And how does the CP answer this? It proposes "to build political strength out of the coalition (of labor, university and community groups), to run candidates for local offices, similar to the pattern developed at Berkeley."

In other words the Stalinists are preparing to meet Nixon's and Mitchell's preparations for concentration camps with precisely the perspective that led the working class into fascism and concentration camps in the 1930s—the popular front.

We say that Mitchell's talk about "Brown Shirts" is not idle, that camps set up in Washington are not temporary fixtures. The ruling class is preparing for civil war against the working class. In the actions of the youth last week the capitalist class saw the powerful American working class coming into battle against it.

The students of Community College last week showed the way forward. The fight for the general strike and the labor party must now be taken into every campus, among the minority youth and deep into the trade unions.

## Protest Politics Bankrupt

The bankrupt and dangerous character of middle class protest politics was sharply revealed in Washington and on many campuses throughout the country. The Communist Party and its friends in the "May Day Tribe" must take major responsibility for creating a situation which could very well have led to a Kent State massacre on a massive scale.

The Stalinists in particular approached the movement of the youth with complete cynicism, playing on their frustration with reformism to lead them into futile protests and adventures. In this way the Stalinists seek to divert the movement away from the working class, and an independent struggle against capitalism.

While the Socialist Workers Party retreats from the what they term "deliberate violations of the law" by the May Day Tribe, the actions organized by this group and the Stalinists are merely the logic of protest politics, of the conception that the middle class whether continuously marching or lying down in front of a car can put enough "pressure" on the capitalists to make them give up their vital interests.

The Stalinists and revisionists brought youth and workers down to April 24th to hear the very capitalist politicians who are not only responsible for the war but who are the loudest in the battle cry for attacks on the working class. What followed April 24th was the outcome of their betrayal, as thousands of youth sought to vent their frustration in militant adventures, such as in Baltimore and Madison.

Nixon's arrests showed that the government, war, inflation and unemployment will not be stopped by protest. It will be stopped only by destroying it through the struggle of the working class for power. This is what places number one on the agenda of the struggles today the fight for the labor party.



## What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

support. It was not simply to a "public meeting" that the MPI went the night of the fight to call us "pigs" but to a very specific meeting. This was a meeting held by the Young Workers Liberation League on the question of Trotskyism. We were not simply called "pigs" but it was explained that because we were Trotskyists we were pigs and CIA agents.

The Workers League specifically requested that the SWP and other groups: "reject the charges that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, are agents of the CIA or FBI. These slanderous charges are rooted in the infamous Moscow Trials, and were refuted not only by the Dewey Commission in 1937, but by history itself, in particular by the famous speech of Krushchev to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956." Why will the SWP not take this elementary stand in defense of Trotskyism against Stalinist slanders?

The reason becomes clearer when Mary-Alice Waters refers to "the growing political animosity" between the Workers League and MPI, stating that MPI had not "previously been aware of the Workers League's opposition to Puerto Rican nationalism and its condemnation of the leadership of the Cuban revolution. Beginning in early March, the Workers League has been stepping up propaganda attacks on the MPI because of its support for Puerto Rican nationalism and because of its amicable relations with the Puerto Rican and American Communist Parties."

The implication is that the SWP "understands" the animosity of MPI members caused by such views. In any event Waters refuses to take any stand on these political questions. In truth the attacks came because MPI supporters, far from being made antagonistic by such views, were sympathetic to our criticisms and sales of the Bulletin were rising creating political problems for the MPI leadership. It was these leaders who actually led the physical attacks on the Workers League.

The Workers League supports the self-determination of the Puerto Rican nation but main-

tains that independence can only be achieved through a socialist revolution. Where does the SWP stand? The Workers League maintains that the leadership of the Cuban revolution openly sides with counterrevolution as Hugo Blanco exposed in Peru. Where does the SWP stand? The Workers League holds that MPI's bloc with the Stalinists, based on the reactionary two-stage theory, will lead to bloody defeat in Puerto Rico as it has in Bengal and Ceylon unless exposed and defeated. Where does the SWP stand?

The attacks on the Workers League did not come out of thin air but flowed directly from the

only refused to move but struck a blow at a steward who returned the blow and the fight started. Gerry Healy rushed out from inside the hall and stopped the fight. That was all there was to it.

A whole international campaign of slander was launched around this matter in order to picture the SLL as "hooligans" and to poison the atmosphere between the rank and file of the United Secretariat organizations and the International Committee. The Bulletin refused to support these slanders and we continue to refuse to.

Why does the SWP dig up this old matter now? If, we and the



Stalinism is behind attack on John Holmes (left) and Ernie McIntyre.

reactionary politics of nationalism combined with Stalinism. These politics have a class base—that of the defense of capitalism. These same politics led to hooligan attacks on striking teachers in Newark. The act cannot be separated from the political cause and material base.

Then comes the most vicious part of the whole article. Waters digs up five year old slanders against the Socialist Labour League and Workers League in order to turn a supposed article of defense against Stalinist slanders into an article of slander against those who fight Stalinism. And so Ernest Tate is dusted off and brought out again.

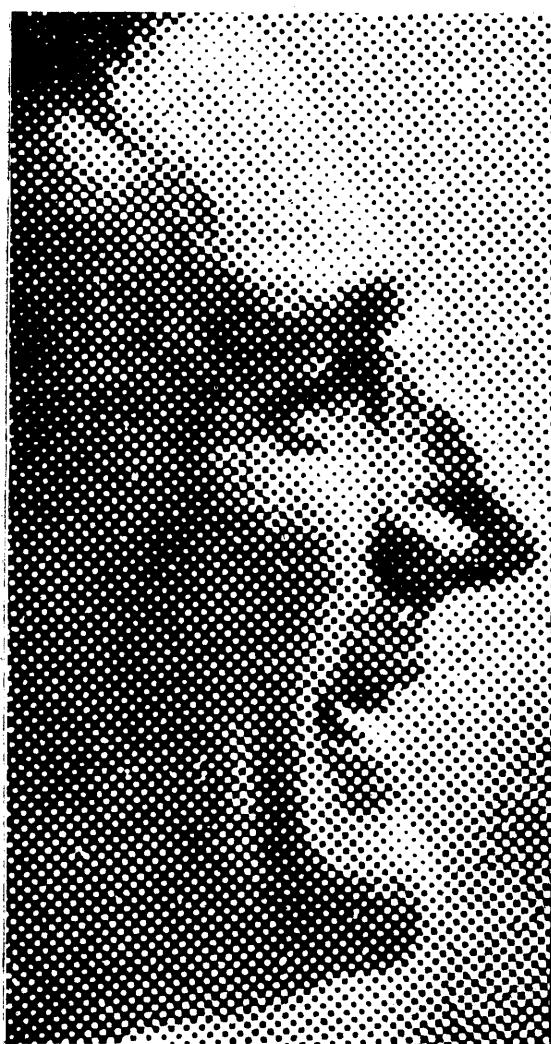
The facts are that Tate was selling a pamphlet Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International, made up of Spartacist slanders of the International Committee. He was asked to not block the entrance to the hall where the SLL was holding a meeting on the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. He not

SLL are indeed "hooligans" why must they reach back five years to dig up a supposed example of it?

Let us note that this slander campaign followed shortly after Liege when the forces of the International Committee first emerged on an international scale. At Liege the Pabloites tried to prevent the International Committee forces from raising a banner in defense of the Hungarian Revolution out of deference to the Stalinists.

We say that bringing up the Tate Affair again is a sign that the SWP is planning a further move to the right and more cover-ups of the Stalinists. We warn SWP and YSA members that more slanders are to come. What is required at this point is precisely a serious discussion of principled political questions. What is required is a common stand against Stalinism at a time when Ceylon shows graphically the price paid for coalition governments and a refusal to confront this issue of nationalism and Stalinism.





# Ernest Mandel

## The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

### 7 Liquidationism & The Party

THE HALLMARK OF all Mandel's theories like all Pabloite revisionism is liquidationism. These theories have been responsible for the liquidation of Trotskyist cadres and parties all over the world into Stalinist, Social Democratic and bourgeois nationalist movements.

To see how Mandel's neo-capitalist theories result in liquidationism it is necessary to put Mandel's particular theories within the framework of Pabloite revisionism as a whole.

Reacting in an empirical and impressionistic manner to world developments after 1945, Mandel and Pablo developed, or more accurately took over from the Stalinists, the theory that a "new world reality" had opened up.

According to the Pabloites, what fundamentally characterized this "new world reality," was the supposed change that had taken place since 1943, and particularly since the Chinese revolution, in the relationship of forces internationally between socialism and imperialism. Pablo claimed that the forces of socialism, which included both the workers states and the bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonies and their leaderships, had emerged after the war in a stronger position than imperialism. This was seen as part of an irreversible process.

#### EPICENTERS

In elaborating this theory Pablo then divided the world in the manner of the Stalinists into three epicenters—the advanced countries, the colonial countries and the workers states. This division obliterated the real conflict between capital and labor internationally. It laid the basis for a completely false world perspective based upon impressionistic and empirical conclusions drawn from developments in each sector. In every case the analysis led to liquidationism.

In the advanced countries, the prosperity of neo-capitalism and the "permanent" quiescence of the working class in this sector supposedly ruled out the possibility of the development of revolutionary parties.

At first sight it might seem contradictory that Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism should be part of a theory of a "new world reality" in which the forces of socialism are seen as irreversibly over-

taking the forces of capitalism. But this only reflected for the Pabloites that the victory of socialism was not to come through the fight of the working class against the onslaught of capitalist crisis. On the contrary it would develop out of the very forces which rested upon the capitalist prosperity and the reformist illusions it opened up—the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies and the bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonies.

#### WORKERS STATES

In the second sector, the workers states and, by extension, the Stalinist parties in the advanced countries, Pabloism's reaction to the expansion of the property relations in the USSR into Eastern Europe was to assert that Stalinism could now play a revolutionary role.

In fact the perspective was held out at one point of centuries of deformed workers states. The question before the Soviet Union and the workers states created after the war was no longer political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution but one of a protracted period of "destalinization." This would involve a struggle between two wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy, between a "liberal" and a "Stalinist" wing, culminating in the bureaucracy's self-reform.

Given the possibility for spontaneous development of this sort, the task before the Trotskyists was to liquidate into the Stalinist and Social Democratic movements and to pressure for this kind of leftward development.

The purely temporary and superficial character of these developments were grasped by neither Mandel nor Pablo. Without the dialectic it was impossible for them to grasp what had actually taken place in Eastern Europe. What developed was part of a fundamentally counterrevolutionary process of restabilization of world capitalism and Stalinism's peaceful co-existence with it against the world proletariat.

Furthermore, unable to grasp the connection between the development of the crisis in the Stalinist bureaucracy with the development of the crisis of world imperialism, they were even less able to anticipate the return to open counterrevolution that broke out in 1956 in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and more recently in Poland, Ceylon and Pakistan.

#### COLONIAL

With the outbreak in the late 1950s and the 1960s of a tremendous upsurge in the colonial world led by the bourgeois nationalist movement, a similar adaptation to surface reality took place. The Pabloites

now asserted that the epicenter of world revolution had switched to the colonial sector. Here again the "new world reality," and specifically the alleged weakness of the enemy, was cited as the reason why it was now possible to make the revolution in the colonial countries with a "blunted instrument," i.e. under the leadership of bourgeois nationalists like Castro and Ben Bella.

Obviously if "blunted instruments" could do the job, the conclusion here just as in the advanced countries and the workers states was to liquidate the Trotskyist movement.

This conclusion was reinforced by the idealist theory of "unconscious Marxism." According to this theory supposedly unconscious Marxists like Castro could under the pressure of the masses and in the course of the struggle itself become conscious Marxists and create Marxist (albeit blunted) parties.

#### STUDENTS

With the upsurge in France in May-June 1968 the Pabloites were forced once again to shift the main epicenter to the advanced countries. However, in so doing Pabloism by no means concluded that it was now possible to build mass revolutionary parties based on the struggle of the working class. On the contrary, proceeding still from a neo-capitalist thesis and from the impressions of superficial phenomena, the Pabloites and Mandel in particular, saw the essence of this upsurge in the spontaneous explosion of the student movement.

Just as in the colonial world, the Pabloites' orientation to this youth radicalization is one of liquidation into it under its current leadership. The Rudi Dutschkes and Cohn-Bendits were seen as developing toward Marxism under the pressure of objective events and on the basis of their experiences on the barricades.

The method of empiricism that Pabloism employed limited it at any particular time to a mere noting of what sector of the world the main struggle was taking place. It likewise was forced to accept its current leadership which in every case meant liquidation into that leadership.

This is all empiricism can do. It cannot get to the fundamental underlying processes, at the level of abstraction or essence, which not only determine but lay the basis for changes in what appears on the surface at any given time. The Pabloites were therefore unable to prepare in the 1950s and 1960s for the development of the movement of the working class which has now broken out in Europe and America as well as the colonial countries.

Everything was reduced to the worship of the accomplished fact.

Thus Joseph Hansen wrote the following in his document Cuba, The Acid Test: "But no revolutionary socialists 'choose' what shall be regarded as the touchstone of revolutionary politics. This is done by much bigger forces; namely classes in conflict. Cuba and Algeria happen to be two areas in the world where this conflict has reached revolutionary proportions at the moment...Nor did we choose the current leaderships of the colonial revolution. They are the result of objective conditions of vast sweep. What we did was to study the facts and in these facts seek openings for effective application of our program." (1)

Here is the essence of Pabloism's whole empirical and pragmatic approach.

Neither the fact that the apparent epicenter of revolution has shifted to the colonial sector, nor the fact that a Castro or a Ben Bella or a Cohn-Bendit is currently in the leadership of the movement is seen dialectically. In the latter case these leaderships are not seen as the expression of a temporary unity of opposites between a leadership that reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie in the working class and a working class seeking to fight that bourgeoisie.

Consequently the task of Marxists is not grasped. Marxists must give a conscious expression to the struggle of the working class, to break up the unity of these opposites to clear out the existing leadership and thereby clear the way for the defeat of the bourgeoisie.

Instead the "fact" of the existing leadership is taken as an unchangeable fixture. The Trotskyist program rather than a weapon to change this fact is seen as something to be advanced within its framework, i.e. the framework of the existing leadership.

Not only is the party thus reduced to the narrowest of pragmatic tasks, but inevitably is forced on the road of liquidationism. After all it is the Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the Castros, the Malcolm Xs or the Cohn-Bendits who are to lead the struggle against capitalism: the only task before Marxists is to pressure them to the left.

#### FRUIT

The liquidationist theories of Pablo and Mandel did not take long to bear their rotten fruit.

In 1953 the Cochran-Clarke group in the Socialist Workers Party seized hold of these theories to turn their back on the fight for the party and simply retired into private life. In the summer of 1954 after the split between the International



Committee and Pablo, the Lawrence group in England and the Mestre group in France left Pablo for the Stalinists.

Pablo himself was subsequently to carry out the logic of his position by liquidating entirely into the Algerian National Liberation Front. Though Mandel to this day remains connected to the United Secretariat, his own role was little better.

Following out the line of deep entry (entry *sui generis*) which Pablo had elevated to a question of principle, Mandel liquidated himself into the left wing of the Belgian Socialist Party. There for a number of years he confined himself to a meager centrist existence publishing together with his coterie of left supporters a centrist journal called *La Gauche*. The hallmark of *La Gauche* was its refusal to fight the right wing or in any way to prepare in the course of work in the Socialist Party a Trotskyist cadre against the day when expulsions would inevitably come.

## SLL

Thus Mandel's expulsion from the Belgian Socialist Party which came in 1964 and the way in which he reacted to it contrasts sharply with the struggle of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International confronted with a similar situation.

The SLL had played an extremely active role within the British Labour Party Young Socialists movement from 1961 to 1964. In the course of this struggle against the policies of the right wing of the Labour Party and all the centrist elements that bolstered this right wing the SLL won the leadership of the Young Socialists and maintained this leadership through two successive conferences.

At no point did the SLL harbor any illusions about the Labour Party leadership. It saw its struggle within the Labour Party, and particularly its youth, as a central part of the process of constructing a revolutionary party as the alternative leadership of the working class. Understanding that the crisis of capitalism necessitated that the Labour Party leadership proceed on an even deeper right wing course and that it would thus expel revolutionary elements from its midst, the SLL was fully prepared for the expulsions that came. The SLL went on to the next stage in the struggle to build a mass revolutionary party in England.

Mandel understood none of this. In no way had he prepared for the expulsions that came nor did he have any perspective of what to do following the expulsions.

Thus he found himself outside the Socialist Party with a small group of centrists. From 1964 to this day Mandel has functioned as a centrist in a small centrist party which he formed after his expulsion instead of a centrist in a larger Social Democratic party. The arena of operation changed but the politics were constant. While expulsion represented a serious blow to Mandel, for the SLL it was a step forward in the development of the party.

## CEYLON

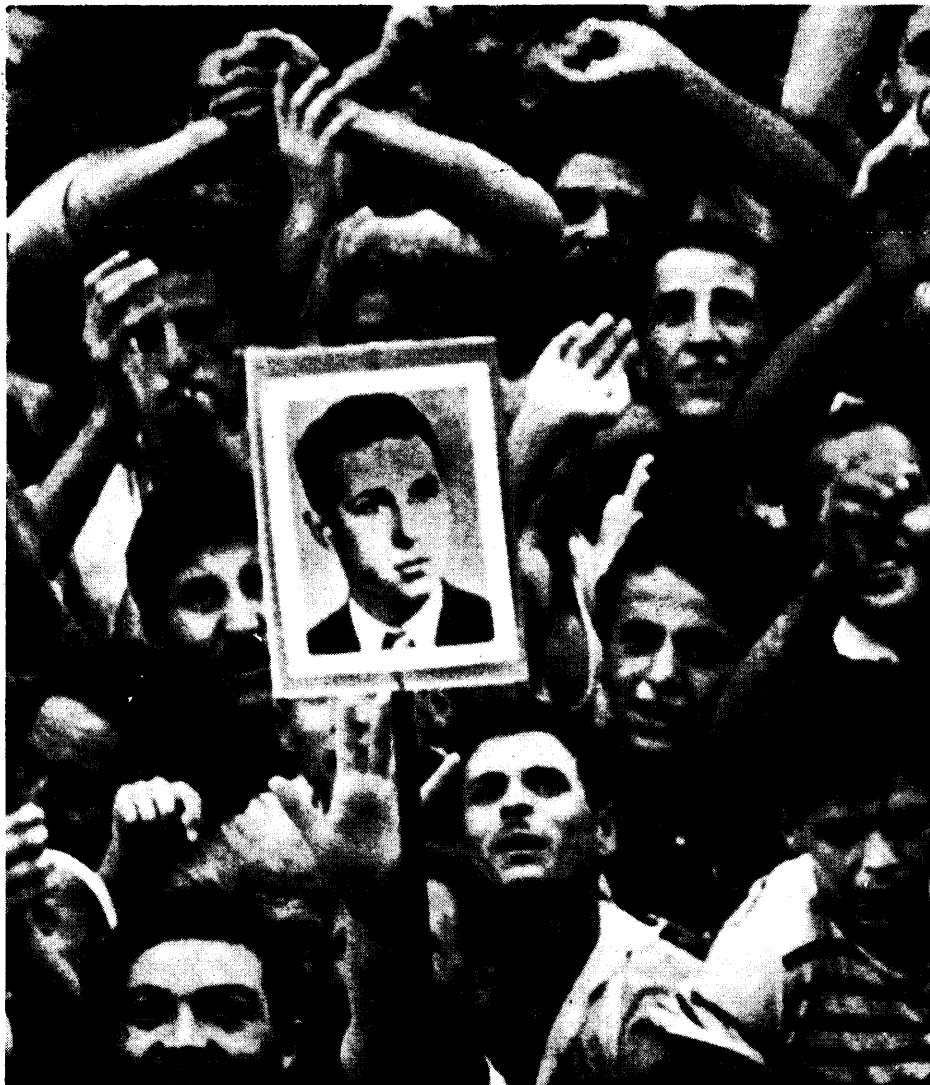
In Ceylon the theory that in the new situation opened up since the war the existing trade union, Social Democratic, Stalinist, and bourgeois nationalist leaderships could be transformed in a revolutionary direction through left pressure from below found its most criminal results.

In Belgium Mandel's liquidationist policies resulted only in the defeat of the Belgian general strike. In Ceylon the theories of Mandel and Pablo have now resulted in a bloody massacre of thousands of Ceylonese workers and youth whose bodies are floating down rivers all over the country.

Mandel stands entirely responsible for the bloody slaughter. It was he who not only advanced the political line that led to the LSSP's entry into the Bandaranaike government but who indirectly advocated the liquidation of the Ceylonese Trotskyist movement into this coalition in 1964. However much Mandel might repudiate responsibility in this, it is he who in attacking the Socialist Labour League's accusations that he and the United Secretariat were responsible for the Ceylonese betrayal quotes a letter from the United Secretariat to the LSSP dated April 23, 1964.

This letter states the United Secretariat's opinion that the Bandaranaike SLFP party was a bourgeois party and that it would seek a coalition only to head off the independent movement of the working class. Then it makes the following statement:

"Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the domi-



Ernest Mandel and the SWP supported Michel Pablo completely when he uncritically supported Ben Bella (Above: masses hold Ben Bella's photo) in Algeria.

nant majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the left in advance and becoming itself a target for the growing resentment of the masses." (2) (my emphasis, D.O.)

This formulation not only fails to entirely exclude coalitions with bourgeois parties but actually asserts that under certain circumstances such a coalition could be entirely acceptable. This was all that the LSSP needed to bring it to where it is today.

## PRELUDE

The developments in Ceylon are only a prelude to the far more gigantic betrayals which Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism is preparing.

It is well known that the bulk of the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat, supported by Mandel, have advanced the perspective of liquidating their organizations into Castro's OLAS.

But what is Castroism and what is OLAS? They are both nothing more than bourgeois nationalism in alliance with Stalinism. In so much as the United Secretariat liquidates its forces into OLAS it will be repeating on a much broader



Pabloism saw in the development of Krushchev (shown above right behind Stalin) a "destalinization process" rather than necessity to carry through political revolution.

scale the betrayal of the LSSP in 1964 and at the same time will be preparing its participation in bloodbaths like Ceylon all over Latin America.

Every bourgeois nationalist today, particularly Castro, is a potential Madame Bandaranaike. Every Pabloite is a potential N.M. Perera or Colvin DeSilva.

Those who liquidate the party of the working class today inevitably become involved with the physical liquidation, i.e., extermination of the working class itself.

## SWP

The same liquidationist pressure mounting within the Latin American sections is likewise building up enormous pressure within the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. This party has already established a close alliance with the big American bourgeoisie in the anti-war movement. It is clearly preparing to go over to the Democratic Party through the back door. Already its refusal to oppose Democratic Mayor Gibson during his election campaign makes clear it is preparing to carry out in the next period a betrayal which could result in bodies of workers and youth floating down the Hudson River.

Today there are differences internationally between the SWP and Mandel over the particular milieu into which the parties of the United Secretariat are to be liquidated. But all sections are more and more in agreement on the necessity to liquidate the movement. The chief ideologist and theoretician of this liquidationist drive internationally remains as ever Ernest Mandel.

## LENINISM

Last December there appeared in the *International Socialist Review* a major article by Mandel entitled "The Leninist Theory of Organization." This article is worthy of detailed analysis and refutation because of the sophistication of its theoretical justification of liquidationism and its wholesale revision of Lenin. This article must be seen, in fact, as a step on the road to Mandel's open renunciation of all party and organizational ties.

From beginning to end, under the guise of defending Lenin's theory of organization, it prostrates itself before the spontaneity of the masses and denigrates the conscious element.

Mandel, in an earlier article, had already begun his attack on Lenin by stating that trade union consciousness was socially neutral.

He had said: "Trade union consciousness is not only negative. Or, to formulate this more dialectically, trade union consciousness is in and by itself socially neutral. It is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. It becomes reactionary when the system is capable of satisfying trade union demands. It creates a major revolutionary potential once the system is no longer capable of satisfying basic trade union demands." (3)

This is completely wrong. Trade union consciousness, as Lenin repeated over and over again in *What Is To Be Done* is not neutral but bourgeois consciousness.

Because it restricts itself to seeking improvements in the terms and conditions of its sale of labor power within the framework of the wages system, that is, the capitalist system, it is never revolutionary. On the contrary while in a period of capitalist boom it plays not so much a reactionary role as a reformist one, in a period of crisis it plays not a revolutionary role, as Mandel asserts, but an openly reactionary role. In such a period those who restrict themselves to negotiating wages and conditions are restricted to the role of negotiating the terms of their own destruction.

## IDEALIZATION

Mandel, however, understands none of this. In his *ISR* article he begins with the most crass idealization imaginable of trade union consciousness. He accomplishes this by presenting trade union consciousness and trade unionism as being a more advanced stage of proletarian consciousness than that existing prior to the proletariat's recognition of the need for ongoing, collective organization. Mandel then distinguishes between a so-called "workers vanguard"—elsewhere Mandel calls them "natural leaders of the working class"—and the mass of workers.

"What distinguishes the workers vanguard from this mass is the fact that even during a lull in the struggle it does not abandon the front lines of the class struggle but continues the war, so to speak, 'by other means.' It attempts to solidify the resistance funds generated in the struggle in ongoing resistance funds—i.e. into unions. By publishing workers newspapers and organizing educational groups for workers, it attempts to crystallize and heighten the elementary class consciousness generated in the struggle. It thus helps give form to a factor of continuity, as opposed to the necessarily discontinuous action of the mass, and to a factor of consciousness, as opposed to the spontaneity of the mass movement in and of itself." (4)

Mandel's abstract ahistorical presentation of the question permits him to evade the fact that his so-called advanced workers or natural leaders, who form trade unions become trade union bureaucrats, that is the agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement. This counterposition between the spontaneous explosion of masses not yet brought to the level of trade union organization to the action of the organized working class is used to cover over the main point. This is that trade union struggle, in its organized as well as spontaneous stage, is based on bourgeois consciousness and nothing more. Mandel never once mentions the existence of a trade union bureaucracy nor that trade union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

Mandel is careful enough to avoid explicitly discarding the conception that revolutionary consciousness, theory, must be brought into the working class from without. At the same time if we examine the way in which Mandel conceives of this process and if we examine his whole conception of the relationship between trade union consciousness and revolutionary consciousness, we can see that he considers its injection from without in large part superfluous.

On the question of this relation, Mandel says the following:

"Consciousness arising directly out of the practical experience of struggle is empirical and pragmatic consciousness which can enrich action to a certain extent, but which is far inferior to the effectiveness of a scientifically global consciousness, i.e. of theoretical understanding." (5)

But this is all wrong. Again Mandel obfuscates the issues by his ahistorical or abstract rather than concrete presentation of the question.

In the Nineteenth Century one could say that empiricism and pragmatism "enriched action" to the extent that it led the proletariat to combine in trade unions in order to strengthen its bargaining power with the employers. But today, and this has been true of the whole period of capitalist decline, the method of the bourgeoisie, pragmatism and empiricism does not in any sense enrich action but can only lead to defeat.

In the Nineteenth Century when it was possible, in general, for the working class to advance within the reality given it by capitalism, the method of thinking of the capitalists was sufficient for the proletariat to defend and even advance itself. But in the period of capitalist decline when there is no room for the advance within the framework of this reality, matters are different. Then the method of





Mandel and SWP saw in Castro, shown here with Khrushchev, a new road to socialism not requiring construction of Leninist party.

the bourgeoisie is completely inadequate. It is suited only to making superficial changes in what exists, improving things a little here, fixing things up there. In fact, this method ties the proletariat to capitalism and far from enriching actions transforms all action of the proletariat into a retreat before the drive of the bourgeoisie to smash it.



Pablo saw the formation of workers states in East Europe (land reform in Hungary above) as the beginning of centuries of deformed workers states under Stalinists.

Therefore, in no sense can trade union or the pragmatic consciousness of the working class be looked upon as consciousness which is merely "inferior" to theoretical understanding, capable nevertheless of "enriching action." Mandel's view leads to one and only one conclusion—that even without theory the working class on the basis of its own spontaneous movement can still get along pretty well.

While Mandel admits that the introduction of theory from without makes for much more effective action, he does not see it as indispensable. Above all, Marxist theory is not seen as something in conflict with trade union consciousness.

Thus immediately following the passage quoted above, Mandel says:

"Based on its general theoretical understanding the revolutionary vanguard organization can consolidate and enrich this higher consciousness (i.e. trade union consciousness) provided it is able to establish ties to the class struggle." (6)

Theory is seen as "consolidating" and "enriching" trade union consciousness rather than smashing it. From this flows Mandel's whole position in relation to the revolutionary party, or more exactly, the "revolutionary nuclei" or "organization" which he advocates.

Let us recall that Mandel holds that nowhere in the world do revolutionary parties exist. In answer to the question whether or not Leninist parties exist, Mandel said in 1968:

"Here we must introduce another distinction. If you advance a theoretically pure definition of a party, which is not only a body of people holding a certain

number of ideas with a program, structure, statutes and so on, but which also has a certain concrete impact on its own class and on the whole society, I would answer that in no place today have revolutionary Marxists already achieved such an influence. That is to say, they cannot yet mobilize under their own banner a significant section of their own class. "What we do have today are nuclei of such parties..." (7)

**NUCLEI**

Mandel claims that the nuclei of these parties, among which he includes the Socialist Workers Party, are trying to build such parties outright. But, under the nuclei theory lies a complete revision of Leninism in relation to the fight for the revolutionary party and a completely liquidationist conception.

The corollary of Mandel's theory that the role of Marxist theory is to enrich and consolidate trade union consciousness is that the task of the revolutionary Marxist "nuclei" is to enrich or infuse the trade union bureaucracy with revolutionary consciousness. The trade union leaders are Mandel's "natural leaders" who through this process will be propelled onto a revolutionary course. It is through this process that Mandel envisions the revolutionary party being built.

Thus he said that: "The building of the revolutionary class party is the merging of the consciousness of the revolutionary nuclei with that of the advanced workers." (8)

In other words the revolutionary party is not built by the struggle against the bureaucracy to win workers to the revolutionary party which in turn is seen as the alternative to the existing leadership in the labor movement.

On the contrary, it is a question of the merging of the consciousness of the revolutionary nuclei with the existing leaders, and by implication influencing the existing organizations of the class.

Herein lies the rationale for the liquidation of the nuclei into the Stalinist, Social Democratic or bourgeois nationalist movements.

Mandel's advice on how to win over the trade union bureaucracy is the epitome of slavishness. He says:

"...the advanced workers' (i.e. trade union bureaucrats—D.O.) experience of life, work and struggle leads them to the threshold of understanding the inadequacy of activity which seeks merely to reform the existing society rather than abolish it.

"The activity of the revolutionary vanguard can make it possible for the class consciousness of the advanced workers to cross over the threshold. It can fulfill this role of catalyst neither automatically nor without regard for objective conditions. It can only fulfill it when it itself is equal to the task, i.e. if the content of its theoretical, propagandistic and literary activity corresponds to the needs of the advanced workers and if the form of this activity does not trample underfoot the laws of pedagogy (avoiding ultimistic formulations)." (9) (My emphasis—D.O.)

In other words the party is reduced to the role of a catalyst which if it adapts itself to the needs of the bureaucracy—actually gives it a left cover and refuses to fight it and avoids ultimistic formulations like raising the need for workers to join the Trotskyist movement—may even get a few of them to raise a transitional slogan or two.

Here is how Mandel envisions it:



Young Socialists, shown above in 1964 unemployment rally, prepared for expulsions.

"The patient, persistent preparation carried out, with constant attention to detail, by the revolutionary vanguard organization, sometimes over a period of years, pays off in rich dividends the day the 'natural leaders of the class,' still hesitating and not yet completely free from hostile influence, suddenly, during a big strike or demonstration, take up the demand for workers control and thrust it to the forefront of the struggle." (10)

In order to defend this completely liquidationist theory of organization, of the revolutionary nuclei pressuring mass reformist or centrist parties in a left direction, Mandel undertakes a wholesale revision of Lenin on the question of the Leninist party.

What Mandel tries to do is separate out Lenin's insistence on bringing revolutionary theory into the class struggle from the outside from Lenin's insistence upon a party organization of the Bolshevik type. He says:

"When we turn to the Leninist theory of organization as developed by Lenin himself, however, we see that the emphasis is by no means upon the formal, organizational side of centralization but upon its political and social function. At the heart of What Is To Be Done? is the conception of the transformation of the proletariat class consciousness into political class consciousness by means of a comprehensive political activity..." (11)

Further on he also says:

"The central strategic plan advanced by Lenin in What Is To Be Done? is therefore one of party agitation that unites all elementary, spontaneous elements dispersed and 'merely' local or sectional protests, revolts and movements of resistance. The emphasis of centralization clearly lies in the political and not in the formal, organizational sphere. The aim of formal organizational centralization is only to make possible the realization of this strategic plan." (12)

What Mandel is really getting at is expressed in a footnote appended to the paragraph just quoted where he goes so far as to pass off the struggle for the revolutionary party taken up in What Is To Be Done?, as a purely Russian question arising only out of the exigencies of illegality. Mandel says:

"It is true that there are also organizational rules for centralization in What Is To Be Done? but they are determined exclusively by the conditions imposed by illegality." (13)

**MENSHEVISM**

Thus Lenin's whole fight for an all Russian organization of professional revolutionaries, his fight to establish a revolutionary party against the circle functioning that prevailed up to this point is thrown out the window as a purely Russian question. But the fact is that Lenin saw the fight against economism and Menshevism as a fight having international implications. It was a fight against an international opportunist trend. Economism was seen as "Russian Bernsteinism" and therefore the conclusions of this fight were and have been conclusions that apply to the international movement. But this Mandel rejects.

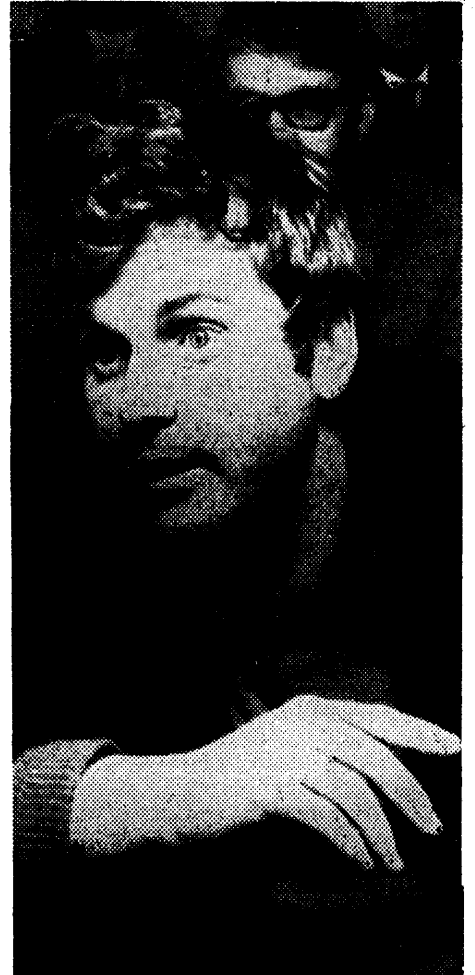
Mandel also rejects the whole fight recorded in One Step Forward Two Steps Back. Contrary to Mandel's cavalier dismissal of the party as a "mere" vehicle to make possible the realization of the Leninist strategy, with the implication that it can be carried forward by other

means, the Leninist party is inseparably bound to and part of the key part of that strategy.

Furthermore, at the 1903 conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party at which the split with Menshevism took place, and in the whole fight with it thereafter it was shown conclusively that looseness on the question of organization was precisely a matter of capitulation to the bourgeoisie, that it was an expression of opportunism, of bourgeois pressure within the proletarian movement.

But Mandel wants none of this. He will take Lenin's strategy without the Leninist party, the content without form, as if there could be a political and theoretical development, or a unity of theory and practice outside of the construction of a Leninist party.

Mandel does not stop at turning his back on Bolshevism. In his hostility to it he now goes to the length of adapting to the filthy slanders against Bolshevism, namely, that its organizational methods are the source of Stalinism long hurled



In course of French May-June Days Mandel adapted to spontaneity of Cohn-Bendit.

at it by petty bourgeois philistines. In fact Mandel very much places the blame for the rise of Stalinism on Lenin and his organizational methods.

Mandel having just repeated the analogy between the piston and steam in explaining the need for a revolutionary "organization" to channel the spontaneous movement of the working class says the following:

"There is a difficulty in this connection, however, which Lenin, during the years of the most heated disputes with the Mensheviks, recognized either not at all (1903-1905) or only to an insufficient degree (1908-1914). And it is here that the full value of the historic work of Trotsky (i.e. his Menshevik work) and Rosa Luxemburg become clear in facilitating an understanding of the dialectical formula "working class-advanced workers-workers party." (14)

**STALINISM**

Mandel then goes on to explain what this supposed difficulty is in a completely abstract and one-sided and therefore wrong way. He maintains that although a certain separation between the party and the mass is necessitated by the backwardness of the latter that:

"The building of a party apparatus separated from the working masses involves the danger of this apparatus becoming autonomous. When this danger develops beyond an embryonic stage, the tendency arises for self-preservation of the apparatus to become an end in itself, rather than a means to an end..."

"This is the root of the degeneration of both the Second and the Third International..." (15)

Everything is laid at the doorstep of organizational forms. The struggle of living class forces is completely left out. One might just as well explain the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals on the basis of the general



imperfection of the human species or as Mandel correctly raises elsewhere in the article, one might as well throw out medical science on the grounds that doctors have killed not cured in many instances.

"Lenin," says Mandel, "in his first debate with the Mensheviks very much underestimated the danger of the apparatus becoming autonomous and of the bureaucratization of the workers parties." (16)

Against Lenin both the weaknesses of Luxemburg and the Menshevik writings of Trotsky are marshalled:

"Trotsky and Luxemburg recognized this danger (i.e., of bureaucratization) more accurately and earlier than Lenin. As early as 1904 Luxemburg expressed the thought that a "difference between the eager attack of the mass and the (overly) prudent position of the Social Democracy" was possible." (17)

Mandel then quotes a passage from Trotsky emphasizing the same danger.

The point is that these quotes are presented in such a way as to completely discredit Lenin in his fight with the Mensheviks in 1903 and to justify those who fought against Bolshevism then and those who fight it today.

In fact Mandel maintains that Lenin was completely wrong in his whole assessment of where the real danger lay and who the real opportunists were. Mandel asserts in fact that it was not the economists and the petty bourgeois elements who wanted to preserve the circle spirit and to call themselves party members without subordinating themselves to party organizations who were the real threat. Mandel says:

"He (Lenin) proceeded from the assumption that the danger of opportunism in the modern labor movement was a threat coming mainly from petty bourgeois academicians and petty bourgeois 'pure trade unionists.' He made fun of the struggle of many of his comrades against the danger of 'bureaucratism.' Actually, history showed that the greatest source of opportunism in the Social Democracy before the First World War came from neither the academicians nor the 'pure trade unionists' but from the Social Democratic bureaucracy itself..." (18)

It is quite clear from this passage that if Mandel had been at the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party that he would have lined up with the Mensheviks and not with Lenin.

What is totally false in all this however is the counterposition Mandel makes between the economists and petty bourgeois liquidationists whom Lenin fought at that conference and the bureaucrats running the social democratic parties of Europe. In fact, they both represented and both represent today the exact same trend.

### CONNECTED

Much as Mandel tries to make out a case for it, liquidationism is neither in opposition to nor an antidote for bureaucratization. They are both simply two aspects of the same sickness. That sickness is opportunism.

It was, in fact, precisely the Mensheviks who once gaining control of Iskra after the 1903 split revealed themselves to be the most bureaucratic of all.

Lenin in fact points out time and time again that what liquidationism is, is nothing more than opportunism taken to the extreme of renouncing the party. He says:

"Liquidationism is ideologically connected with renegacy, with the renunciation of the program and tactics, with opportunism."

"But liquidationism is not only opportunism....Liquidationism is that brand of opportunism which goes to the length of renouncing the party." (19)

This means the Russian Economists, the Mensheviks and the Bernsteins and the leaders of the Social Democracy who later betrayed the working class all over Europe must all be seen as Lenin pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?* as part of the same international trend. It also means that Mandel's liquidationism only brings him closer to the Stalinist and Social Democratic bureaucracies not further away as he would like to pretend.

### SUPER CENTRALISM

But Mandel will have none of this. What he finally says and what he has been building up to all along is that Lenin when confronted with the betrayals of the Social Democracies in 1914 suddenly recognized that he had been not only directing his fire in the wrong direction, but by his "supercentralism" (as Mandel often calls it) had actually contributed to the emergence of a bureaucratic monster.

Lenin, therefore, according to Mandel, not only took up the struggle against the



Mother of rebel waits outside police station in Ceylon. Mandel played critical role in process which led LSSP into bourgeois coalition government now murdering youth.

Social Democratic bureaucracy but shocked by the horrendous results of his methods recanted his earlier views on organization and came to advocate a more flexible, a looser organizational policy. Thus Mandel says:

"After the traumatic shock suffered by Lenin on August 4, 1914, however, he, too, (like Trotsky and Luxemburg) made a decisive step forward on this question. From then on, the question of organization became one not only of function but also of content. It is no longer simply a question of contrasting 'the organization' in general to 'spontaneity' in general as Lenin frequently does in *What Is To Be Done?* and in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. Now it is a question of carefully distinguishing between an objectively conservative organization and an objectively revolutionary one...the spontaneous combativity of the masses is consciously preferred to the actions or even the existence of conservative reformist mass organizations." (20)

This is utter rubbish. It was Lenin who said in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* that truth is always concrete and Lenin would have been the last person to ever advocate an organization in general over spontaneity to the point of supporting Social Democratic hacks against the masses as Mandel implies. But more important yet is the fact that in no sense, nor has it ever previously been held by the Marxist movement, did Lenin revise or "correct" his theories on organization worked out in the period 1901 to 1904 after 1914.

Yet Mandel maintains the contrary. He says:

"...The correction, or better yet completion, of this theory of organization, which Lenin undertook after 1914, was not a step backward to the worship of 'pure' spontaneity, but rather a step forward toward distinguishing between the revolutionary party and the organization in general. Now instead of saying that the purpose of the party is to develop the political class consciousness of the working class, the formula becomes much more precise: the function of the revolutionary vanguard consists in developing revolutionary consciousness in the vanguard of the working class. The building of the revolutionary class party is the process whereby the program of the socialist revolution is fused with the experience of the majority of the advanced workers." (21) (My emphasis—D.O.)

### LEFT-WING COMMUNISM

It would have been desirable if Mandel himself had been precise in this instance and quoted from Lenin's writings to show exactly where and how this correction was made. Of course he could not. It is clear, however, that what Mandel is suggesting is that after 1914 Lenin took up looser more flexible, i.e., more liquidationist formulations on the question of the party. At the same time Mandel has been precise enough. At the conclusion of this

the name of its defense in this article are deliberately aimed at fostering a further syphillitic rot in the already degenerated theoretical life of a section of the United Secretariat. They can only drive these sections all the more rapidly in a liquidationist direction and towards open betrayal.

At the same time this sets the stage for the break up and dispersal of Pabloism as it is ground between the millstones of the International Committee and Stalinism.

The article just analyzed while expressing on the one hand a real further rightward movement on the part of Mandel expresses likewise in the fact that Mandel must now clash head on with Lenin, the real break up of centrism that is now being forced by the sharpening class struggle throughout the world.

### SWP

The Socialist Workers Party today stands on the basis of Mandel's method and theories. They deny that capitalism is in crisis and that flowing from this crisis the central struggle is at the point of production between capital and labor. They see the "radicalization" of the 1970s as involving the surface movements of the middle classes around issues like women's liberation and gay liberation. The Transitional Program is neatly filed away precisely because this program is rooted in an understanding of the decay of capitalism and the centrality of class struggle and civil war. Instead new "transitional programs" are developed which are reformist structural reforms.

The SWP sees the movement of the students and middle class as primary and this movement as a movement around democratic and reform issues. The working class will be brought into this movement and add its "social weight" to the middle class protests.

Now the SWP like Mandel must take on Lenin himself and come to the conclusion that the party also is unnecessary in this new period of "radicalization." This, too, will be found to be a "form" designed for that unique period, that exceptional time known as the 1930s, and unnecessary in this new period of the Third Industrial Revolution. How can a party be maintained when its iron necessity which flows precisely from the decay of capitalism is no longer seen? How can a party be maintained when the class it is to lead now plays no more role than lending its weight to the movement of other classes around other programs?

No doubt we will see an open break between Mandel and the SWP in the next period. Mandel may very well be concluding that the "apparatus" of the SWP has made it conservative and Stalinist. But such a break can only be an episode in the further degeneration of the SWP which has rooted itself in the methodology of Mandel just as Mandel's break with Pablo was nothing more than an episode in his own degeneration because he carried forward Pablo's methodology.

### FOOTNOTES

1. Hansen, Joe, "Cuba the Acid Test," quoted in "Revisionism in Crisis" by Tim Wohlforth, p. 22.
2. Germain, Ernest, "Marxism versus Ultraleftism," p. 3.
3. Mandel, Ernest, "Where is America Going," *New Left Review*, No. 54, p. 15.
4. Mandel, Ernest, "The Leninist Theory of Organization: Its Relevance for Today," *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 31, No. 9, p. 31.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Mandel, Ernest, "The Revolutionary Student Movement: Theory and Practice," p. 22.
8. Mandel, Ernest, "The Leninist Theory of Organization: Its Relevance for Today," *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 31, No. 9, p. 31.
9. Ibid., p. 43
10. Ibid., p. 44
11. Ibid., p. 32
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 47
14. Ibid., p. 35
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 36
18. Ibid., p. 35
19. Lenin, V.I., *Against Revisionism*, (Progress Publishers) p. 142
20. Mandel, Ernest, "The Leninist Theory of Organization: Its Relevance for Today," *International Socialist Review*, Vol. 31, No. 9, p. 36
21. Lenin, V.I., *Op. cit.*, p. 98

### REVISIONISTS

"The basic mistake made by those who now criticize *What Is To Be Done?* is to treat the pamphlet apart from its connection with the concrete historical situation of a definite and now long past period in the development of our party." (22)

With Mandel however it is more than a question of a mistake. Mandel is a shrewd and studied revisionist. Mandel with this article throws to the winds all respect even for the orthodox positions of Trotskyism that even the liquidators have been able to live with for the past 17 years.

The revisions of Leninism advanced in



# FILMS

LOU BELKIN

## The Conformist

**THE CONFORMIST.** Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. Adapted from a novel by Alberto Moravia. Photographed by Vittorio Storaro.

Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Conformist* which has been playing to capacity houses is a pseudo-intellectual, chicly-decorated, meticulously photographed fraud. What purports to be a "penetrating insight" into the fascistic mentality never goes beyond the sexual-psychological implications of extremist politics, so beloved by the liberals, the radicals and the Stalinists.

For Bertolucci himself, like Petri, Visconti, Antonioni and Pasolini, is a member of the Italian Communist Party. For him fascism is decadent and horrendous indeed, but he completely avoids the economic, political and social forces behind it. In that sense his film is a mini-version of Visconti's "The Damned" which despite the flaws at least presents the viewer with aspects of the German bourgeoisie's evolving interest in the politics of Hitler.

"The Conformist" is the story of Marcello, son of decadent, fallen bourgeois. The mother shoots morphine and is intimate with her chauffeur. The father is a

syphilitic pervert who participated in the German fascist movement in its early days. Marcello is a status seeker, former serious student of Italian literature, who climbs aboard the Mussolini bandwagon only to desert it with the triumph of the partisan forces and the razing of Il Duce's statues and monuments to the ground.

It seems that Marcello, a member of the Italian secret police is ordered to commit murder against a former professor, an anti-fascist who fled to Paris. Professor Quadri is married to a former girl friend of Marcello's. Thus the drama unfolds as Marcello and co-agent Manganiello pursue the professor. We learn rather floridly that Marcello was seduced by a chauffeur when he was thirteen. As they embrace in the chauffeur's room Marcello accidentally shoots him with a revolver he has been permitted to play with. We learn further on that Marcello has grave doubts about shooting the professor, for you see, although fascism is invariably accompanied by sexual decadence, poor Marcello is not so much sympathetic as opportunistic.

As he is told by a blind friend who reads literary tracts over the fascist radio stations, "You and I are not like the others. We loathe crowds, we loathe violence, we loathe spectacle." But both will be part of the event, in their own interest. So Marcello takes a petty-bour-



geois wife, convincingly played by Stephanie Sandrelli, with expensive tastes, a shallow mind and preoccupied with "bed and kitchen." Marcello is a conformist-non-conformist rolled into one.

It is this sort of literary pretense that runs through the film. Although the film is adapted from the novel by Alberto Moravia, himself a Stalinist sympathizer, Bertolucci takes enormous liberties. He himself told an interviewer for one of the numerous "Film Mags", "First I like to contradict myself. I am very complex, like all decadent personalities." And this

from a CPer! No wonder he is in the Party. For you must realize that like other Western Stalinist artists, liberties can be taken in any direction. Bertolucci thinks of himself as one of the New Left: Revolution for oneself is central.

It is this kind of thinking that dominates this film, that renders it not simply trite and overlong, but downright reactionary. Marcello is depicted as a fascist by occupation, and though he regrets having to take the life of the professor and his wife, he has no other choice.

Unlike Petri's "Investigation of a Citizen," camera-work is intrusive and simply over-exaggerated. Shots are taken without any meaning to previous ones, and color photography, though competently carried out by Vittorio Storaro, is a matter of filters and interplay of light upon glamorous surfaces. The editing is cumbersome and tortoise-paced.

## Pearl

KLAUS KNIGHT

# MUSIC



**PEARL.** Featuring Janis Joplin. Columbia Records.

How Janis Joplin could sing! This inimitable rock and blues artist reached the peak of creativity with her last, posthumous album, *Pearl*. The Columbia release has topped the best-seller list for about three months as millions have responded to the final offering of a great singer.

Janis is not around to enjoy this. She died like thousands of idealistic, confused youth, a victim of the very society she did not know how to fight. Janis personified those layers of young people seeking some kind of escape from this decadent system through the sounds of music and the visions of drugs.

The purpose of discussing *Pearl*, the late Janis Joplin and what she reflected is in the spirit not only of the appreciation of an excellent singer, but of the lesson for youth that must be drawn from her death from heroin.

### MONTEREY

Janis first made big waves publicly in 1967 at the Monterey pop festival with her sensational blues classic *Ball and Chain*, the song that led her to almost instant fame. After her involvement with the group *Big Brother and the Holding Company* (*Cheap Thrills*) she became the major female rock superstar in the country, drawing massive numbers of youth to her concerts. She sang with a fury

of energy, carrying a quart of Southern Comfort onstage, belting out the blues like a human volcano.

She could make people FEEL her songs down deep because she was honest and forthright in her presentation. Janis was no plastic "songstress" who glittered for audiences; she was expressing all the audience's passions on the stage. Her frenzied style often gave way to a tender cooing like that of a dove.

Her 1969 million selling release, *I Got Dem Ol' Kozmic Blues Again, Mama* contains so much unbridled soul, beat and rhythm that a single disc barely contained it. Even though the strength of her voice is somewhat diminished in *Pearl* the feeling comes across all the same.

This album is a classic. Janis' voice just rolls along perfectly with the instrumentals provided by Full Tilt Boogie. The tune, *A Women Left Lonely* is a real testament to her talents, a soft, and at the same time, powerfully emotional blues offering: She can sing country-style as well with *Me and Bobby McGee* as evidence. When she sings *Half Moon* she tells how

great is her love for a man in the most decisive terms, then rolls off into a sweet whisper; "your love brings life to me..."

But her voice has not lost all of its power. We see this in *Cry, Baby* and the last song of *Pearl*, *Get It While You Can*.

### OUTLOOK

This final song is quite apt, for it expresses much of Janis' outlook on life. She said in an interview about two years ago that life probably has little but misery in store, so you might as well get stoned today. Many thanks to capitalism for spreading attitudes like this. This is what led Janis to shoot an entire syringe of heroin into her arm, to die the lowliest and most disgusting type of death at the peak of her creative powers.

So Columbia can capitalize on her greatness for a while, but the Woodstock era is coming to an end. Middle class drug culture cannot stand up to capitalism, but today deep revolutionary shock waves are emanating from the masses of rebellious working class youth.

## Blows Against The Empire

LEO RUSSELL

# MUSIC

**BLOWS AGAINST THE EMPIRE.** Featuring Paul Kantner, David Crosby, Jerry Garcia and the Jefferson Airplane. RCA LSP-4448.

This is a new album by Paul Kantner of the Jefferson Airplane. He is assisted by the Airplane and others including David Crosby and Jerry Garcia.

The music is unexciting, the words are reactionary and the songs and melodies are embarrassingly bad. The one bright spot is the music and melody of *Let's Go Together*—that is if you can block the words out. This record fits in well with the retreat on the campus of some students. Its central message is get out of the way, escape in this case to outer-space. If we were to believe the record,

capitalism will exist till we leave, in the year 1990; but meanwhile, "it's getting better", "so drop you fuckin' bombs Burn your demon babies."

This record is made for the people who picked or ended up on the wrong side of the class struggle—Nixon's side. It will make them feel better to know if they do nothing but get stoned, or pray to God, they can still help the "people."

Unfortunately, this record is not unique. Most of the rock music that is supposed to be progressive deals with Jesus or other escapes. It sees the problems in the world as making people nice and caring about other people, not in a struggle between two classes we have to take sides in.

The capitalist press has been playing up this idealist music. It is no wonder

that there is nothing said about people like the Kinks and Rod Stewart. Stewart is no egomaniac; he has a fantastic voice which can express any feeling he wants it to; he plays with excellent musicians; he writes and plays songs that fit the exact mood he wants to create.

The bourgeois press ignore him because he wants to reflect reality—he sings songs about the 1926 general strike in England, and about automation taking away jobs.

The Kinks have a new record out—although confused and contradictory, they play songs they wrote about being cheated by record companies and about workers standing on the unemployment lines. This music is much more revolutionary than singing about "getting together" like the Airplane so often do.



# Ulbricht Resigns; Protege Takes Over

BY V. BARAT

The resignation on May 3rd of Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED), a man most closely associated with the crimes of Stalinism, is officially attributed to "failing health and age."

It is a certainty that the Polish human work orders in June, 1953. events of the past few months with their direct repercussions on the workers of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), did not improve his physical or mental state.

Now that the East German workers are once again on the move, the bureaucracy must have at its head as hard a man as Ulbricht in dealing with the crisis. Ulbricht has been a most faithful servant of Stalinism ruthlessly purging any elements that showed the least signs of opposition to his hard-line policies.

Ulbricht was the man responsible for calling in Soviet tanks to shoot down unarmed workers demonstrating against the in-

human work orders in June, 1953.

## HENCHMAN

Nor was this the first time that Ulbricht shed workers' blood in the interests of defending his and the Kremlin's privileges. A founding member of the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1919, he became a trusted henchman of Stalin in the twenties, both as a party leader and as a Reichstag deputy. From 1928 to 1933 he helped promote the criminal policy of Stalinism that assured the victory of fascism. Thus he bears a major responsibility for the destruction of the working class movement in Germany.

From 1933 until the fall of France in 1940, Ulbricht who



Honecker (seated to Ulbricht's left) will carry forward Stalinism.

became head of the immigrant KPD remained in Paris. From here he concerned himself not only with the general business of the party, but with another matter close to his heart: the elimination of the German Trotskyists, not already in Hitler's concentration camps.

The carrying out of this task he assigned to Hans Kippenberger, who headed a special security unit of the KPD. Kippenberger refused the grisly order of denouncing the Trotskyists to Himmler's secret police. But it cost him his life. Sent to Moscow on a special

"mission" for the German KPD, Kippenberger was arrested and then executed by a bullet in the back of his head.

## ANNIHILATED

In the meantime Ulbricht found other agents to carry out his butchery. Circular letters which contained the names and addresses of all known Trotskyists in Germany were smuggled into the country and distributed in several cities. These letters then "fell" into the hands of the Gestapo. Thus were the followers of Trotsky annihilated in Germany.

Ulbricht's 58 year old successor, Erich Honecker, has for years been a hard line Stalinist. The son of KPD workers in the industrial south, now in West Germany, his entire youth before Hitler's rise to power, was within the various party organizations. He became a central committee member of the KPD youth federation at 21.

From 1933 on he engaged in underground work until captured by the Gestapo in 1936. He spent ten years in solitary confinement before his release by the Russian forces in 1945.

## PROTEGE

He chose to live in East Germany, where as a stalwart protege of Ulbricht he climbed up through the hierarchy. Since 1958 a full member of the ruling Political Bureau, Honecker in 1963 became personally responsible for all security services of the DDR, police, army and party personnel. What better credential for a Stalinist head of state which is preparing to beat back the working class.

## Mitchell Arrests

(Continued From Page 3) against the working class here.

## "BROWN SHIRTS"

Mitchell tried to compare the demonstrators to: "another group of civilians who roamed the streets of Germany in the 1920s, bullying people, and shouting down those who disagreed with them and denying other people their civil rights. They were called Hitler's Brown Shirts."

But it is Mitchell himself and the capitalist class who are preparing the way for the Brown Shirts, for fascism, in order to preserve their rotten, decaying system, against the massive upsurge of the working class in the US and internationally.

The arrest of 12,000 protesters must serve as a warning to the working class and youth. The government, and the capitalist class it represents, will not be stopped by protest.

They will only be stopped and destroyed with a strategy for mobilizing the masses of the working class in defense of its basic rights and conditions, in a struggle to bring the working class to power.

# Monetary Collapse Means Class War

(Continued From Page 2)

sharpest recessionary conditions, forcing the German bourgeoisie into the sharpest conflict with the working class.

It is precisely because the French bourgeoisie sees in the present Renault sit-down threat the potential for a new May-June that it resists revaluation. It resists in spite of the fact that the monetary disequilibrium this sets off in Europe destroys, among other things, the delicate EEC agricultural policies.

The effect of the general European revaluations that have now taken place can only be to throw all these economies into sharp reverse gear and transform the small steps that had been taken toward monetary and general economic union into a stage of intercapitalist siege as the sharpest kind of inter-European trade war develops.

All German industrialists have sharply opposed revaluation, knowing full well that revaluation will price German exports out of the market. This can only lead in Germany, and in other countries that have revalued, to the

sharpest recessionary conditions, forcing the German bourgeoisie into the sharpest conflict with the working class.

It is precisely because the French bourgeoisie sees in the present Renault sit-down threat the potential for a new May-June that it resists revaluation. It resists in spite of the fact that the monetary disequilibrium this sets off in Europe destroys, among other things, the delicate EEC agricultural policies.

## SEVERITY

The severity of the crisis in the United States, an imminent defeat in Vietnam, together with the huge offensive of the American working class and the threat of major bankruptcies leaves Nixon no choice other than to try to push as much of the crisis as possible onto the back of Europe.

The real position of Nixon was summed up in a statement by U.S. financial advisor George Shultz who stated last week that

the Nixon administration did not intend "to see our domestic economy sacrificed to international monetary objectives."

Faced with bankruptcies at home, which have been the only real fruit of two years of economic restraint, Nixon has pursued a course since last summer of relative monetary relaxation. This in turn freed the billions of Eurodollars that now glut Europe.

But in spite of nine months of low interest rates, Nixon's position remains desperate. This was sharply revealed by the fact that he was forced during the heat of last week's crisis to run a major rescue operation, involving government backed loans of \$250,000,000 to prevent the fall of Lockheed.

While Nixon tries at this stage to shift the major burden to Europe, this does not mean that he will proceed with no change here in the United States. He cannot even if he wishes. The failure of the Mark to stabilize on Monday is a sign of continued

no confidence in the dollar, not just by European investors, but by American business interests who control the bulk of the Eurodollars.

The central characteristic of the relationship of Europe to America in the post World War II period as contrasted to the post World War I period is that the economies are too intertwined to allow the United States to shift the burden to Europe for long without bringing down the American economy.

## DICTATORSHIP

So Nixon must, if not immediately tighten credit, resist the temptation to loosen it further as the economy continues to lag. The most optimistic forecast for Nixon would be a continued slow growth of unemployment until the next monetary crisis forces the dollar down directly (revaluation of major foreign currencies is actually a partial form of devaluation of the dollar) and a drastic credit restriction in the United States.

At the same time Nixon must continue his policy of pressure on the trade union movement, seeking any opening to break it completely. He proposes wage controls in construction while the New York State legislature probes a tightening of the Taylor Law only to temporarily pull back. Nixon keeps the pressure on and prepares to crush any section of labor he can to set the stage for a general showdown.

## MITCHELL

In the interim Mitchell openly calls for a complete throwing out of the Constitution in favor of virtual martial law to deal with "unrest" while Agnew tackles the press. The trend toward a dictatorship grows not only in Europe and colonial countries, but in the United States as well.

The Democrats collaborate all the way. It was a panel of Democratic Presidential aspirants who all united in the demand for wage controls on the unions!

Under these sharpening international and national conditions what is most important is an offensive struggle within the labor movement for a general strike against the anti-union and anti-working class measures, combined with a fight to build a labor party.

# Crisis Of Stalinism Deepens In Yugoslavia

(Continued From Page 2)

Renewed chauvinism and nationalism among the many peoples making up Yugoslavia is encouraged by the economic difficulties, the disparities between different regions and increasing competition for aid and attention from the central government.

This encourages the anti-communists who have bided their time and who now begin to link up with the most backward sections of the bureaucracy.

Tito's answer to this has been a call for increased vigilance. He has also called for the working class to come forward. He said in a recent speech that workers should "manifest themselves much more in our big towns—Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, and others...The voice of the working class should be heard in the process of formation of the socialist spirit in order to check the harmful influence of the class enemy and of various other opponents of our self-managing socialist system."

In another recent speech he lashed out at "retired generals... they all have cars and pensions of 3500 dinars a month, but they are the ones who complain..."

Those who have a right to complain are the workers who cannot make ends meet."

This poses the other side of the danger facing Tito. He seeks to balance between left and right, between the working class and capitalist influence. But the crisis undermines this precarious balance on all sides.

In mid-April a railway workers strike broke out in Ljubljana, the main city of Slovenia. All over the country the workers are on the move.

In late April Ljubljana students protested the visit of French Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas to Yugoslavia, expressing their solidarity with the French workers and students, and chanting, "Chaban, you don't represent France." The police took away the identity cards of fifteen of these students, which led to a protest by the Executive Committee of the Students' Union.

The Daily World's reaction to the recent events in Yugoslavia is also revealing. The American CP sees the crisis not as a crisis of Stalinism but exactly the opposite. It compares Yugoslavia to Czechoslovakia in 1968. It is Tito's "liberal" policies

which have opened the floodgates to all kinds of political trouble.

The Daily World wants to see the rehabilitation of Stalin and his methods to deal with the crisis. What worries them is not nearly so much the pressure from the right, but the tremendous militancy of the workers, expressed in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland and Yugoslavia most sharply today. The American Stalinists are warning Tito that repression is the only solution.

The Stalinists consciously lump all opposition to the bureaucracy into the anti-communist camp so that they can justify the most brutal suppression of the workers and youth. Tito for the time being is seeking to lean upon sections of the workers to fight the right wing and also to forestall increasing criticism of the regime from the left. But he cannot meet the just demands of the workers and students.

The only way forward is the building of a revolutionary leadership on the program of the Fourth International. Opportunities for the building of such a leadership are greater and more urgent than ever before.

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# NDP Convention: Road To Betrayal

BY SIMON NELSON

The Canadian capitalist class today has created massive unemployment, inflation and has introduced wage guidelines in preparation for wage controls. It has tried to break the workers movement in Quebec with the War Measures Act, and its successor the Public Order Act.

Now Canadian capitalism has gone further, openly declaring war on the trade unions. First in British Columbia, then in Saskatchewan, two provincial governments have broken strikes through compulsory arbitration. British Columbia's Bill 33 gives the provincial government the right to smash any strike it wishes, as the government did during the Teamsters strike.

This is the situation that faced the New Democratic Party when it called its national convention in Ottawa on April 21st to 24th. What was required from the NDP was a program to take up the attacks of the capitalists and to defeat them.

In Saskatchewan the NDP caucus in the legislature supported the Liberals call for compulsory arbitration in the railway engineers strike. In British Columbia, the NDP caucus carried on no fight whatsoever to oppose Bill 33 and the consequent smashing of the Teamsters strike.

At the April 21-24 convention, the NDP leadership chose to completely ignore the attacks and to further its capitulation. The basic premise of its perspective is that capitalism can be reformed through pressure politics and can thus satisfy the workers' needs.

## "IMPORTED"

The NDP Federal Council's resolution on unemployment and inflation stated: "No government which has looked at the full cost of unemployment would deliberately choose increased unemployment as an answer to inflation. But that is what the Trudeau government has done. It has demonstrated its total bankruptcy in economic policy by following outdated fiscal and monetary policies to meet an inflation which is largely imported."

For the NDP leadership the capitalist crisis does not have an objective basis. It is simply, according to the NDP, that Trudeau has "outdated fiscal and monetary policies" which the NDP would quickly remedy.

The solution they offer is to "expand the economy" at a time when capitalism

can only continue to exist by forcing the working class back to the slave labor conditions of the thirties.

The labor bureaucrats are tied to capitalism and fight to keep it alive. To do this the leadership of the NDP uses Canadian nationalism. The resolution on unemployment and inflation refers to inflation as being "largely imported."

## BRANCH

The resolution on Natural Resources passed by the convention states:

"Canada will continue to face a serious unemployment crisis as long as our economy is a branch plant economy based almost exclusively on exploitation and export of raw materials."

The reason for this talk of a branch plant economy is an attempt by the labor bureaucrats to picture the source of the crisis as not being the capitalist class, whether American, English Canadian or French Canadian, but rather the United States. The logic of this perspective is to move toward the formation of an alliance with the Canadian capitalists in an anti-American front. This is something that T.C. Douglas, outgoing NDP leader, pointed to very clearly in his convention speech:

"I believe that a partnership of French and English-speaking Canadians can preserve this country from foreign domination and exploitation."

Raising of the spectre of the enemy from without is an attempt to unite the two classes in the country. This policy leaves the workers completely defenseless in the face of the attacks by the Canadian bourgeoisie.

Within the NDP there has developed a distinct group known as the Waffle Caucus. At the convention it posed itself as a radical alternative to the present leadership. For all its radical talk, the Waffle represents one of the most reactionary tendencies in the workers movement today.

The Waffle Caucus presented 10 resolutions, 3 of them on women's liberation. This reflects their position very well. They propose middle class protest poli-



Waffle Caucus embraces Canadian nationalism rather than class struggle. Demonstration above is against selling energy to U.S.

tics at a time when the working class needs mass independent class action to beat back the capitalist system.

Waffle's main plank at the convention centered around the issues of Canadian nationalism. In this respect it tried to outdo the NDP leadership in its call for nationalization of American owned industry. In relation to Quebec nationalism, it supported the Quebec NDP's attempt to ally with the Parti Quebecois through a resolution on the "Self Determination of Quebec."

On every issue the Waffle Caucus seeks to divide the working class and precisely when it most needs unity. Instead of exposing the bankruptcy of the NDP leadership, the Waffle group brings into the NDP all forms of middle class protest and therefore helps the bureaucracy in covering over its betrayals.

The Young Socialists, the Canadian Pabloites' youth movement (co-thinkers of the US Socialist Workers Party) came out in complete support of Waffle at the convention, pushing it as the "left" alternative. The significance of the role of the Pabloites is that they now give a "revolutionary socialist" cover to the middle class radicalism of Waffle which is preparing great defeats and betrayals for the working class.

By posing as an alternative the Waffle draws towards it workers and youth who seek to break from the bureaucracy's policies of class collaboration, who seek to fight against the attacks of capitalism. But it attempts to channel this fight

into such safe middle class issues as women's liberation, Quebec nationalism and Canadian nationalism. It leads them in this way back to the bureaucracy.

The Workers League fought at the NDP convention for a program to mobilize the working class in a general strike to beat back the attacks on the trade unions, to bring down the Liberal government and bring in an NDP government pledged to a program of:

- 1) Full employment through the shorter work week;
- 2) End all wage guidelines and controls; a cost of living escalator without ceiling on every contract;
- 3) Nationalization of all basic industry under workers control, especially those companies which are forcing wage freezes on their workers by threatening to otherwise close down.

The Workers League fought at the NDP convention for workers and youth to adopt this program. The NDP leadership exposing itself more and more as the crisis sharpens, tried to throw the Workers League out when we set up a literature table at the convention. While they succeeded in taking down our table, the leadership could not prevent us from selling the Bulletin and handing out leaflets, both of which got an excellent response from the NDP rank and file.

The real lesson of the NDP convention is that a new leadership, a revolutionary leadership, must be built in the NDP and throughout the working class.

# Ceylon Emergency--JVP Avoids Working Class

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
THE TROTSKYISTS IN Ceylon launched a theoretical struggle against all reformist and revisionist tendencies within the working class devoting themselves to build the revolutionary leadership. However much the sacrifices of the youth may be they cannot by themselves overthrow the capitalist system if they are not disciplined and led by the revolutionary Marxist Party.

The Trotskyists always admitted the very decisive role the youth are going to play in the coming revolution. In Ceylon the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY) campaigned determinedly to build a mass youth organization, to be led by the revolutionary party, to combat and overthrow capitalism, but at the same time they always stress the necessity of studying the Marxist method as the guiding force of the social revolution.

The People's Liberation Front (JVP) was moving along a path which was very much contrary to this. They never accepted the working class as the vanguard of the socialist revolution.

## CONDEMN

It is true that sometimes they talked about the workers' struggles. But their

main strategy was to condemn the working class and its organizations as capitalist instruments.

What they said after the coalition government came to power was that there was an astonishing silence and demoralization within the working class because of the desperate situation they faced.

The JVP further claimed that the working class was in a crippled position. This was a deliberate distortion of the objective developments taking place within the working class.

As soon as the government came into office, the working class was not complacent. Thousands of workers in industries in the private sector moved forward immediately to form their own trade union branches of which they had been deprived for many years.

Although in some places the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and Communist Party (CP) leaders could sell out these struggles, in some other places workers did not give up their struggle even when they were openly betrayed by the leaders.

In one of the pro-coalition daily papers called Davasa workers continued their struggle to defend their right to organize amid open treachery on the part of the leaders.

In the estate area at Keena Kele, a strike which started during the period

of the previous government still continues, even after two workers had been shot dead by the police after the coalition came to power.

The Ceylon Transport Board workers spontaneously came out on strike against the government's decision not to give their annual bonus in the guise of promoting "national austerity."

These workers won their demand through the strength of their trade unions by making the government reverse a cabinet decision within 24 hours.

## FORWARD

These are not the signs of demoralization or a retreat. The working class in spite of their leaders' treacherous attempts to sell out and contain the struggles was moving forward with unprecedented determination to defend their rights threatened by the counter-revolutionary alliance of the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders.

The JVP deliberately attempted to turn their backs on these most decisive developments of revolutionaries. They had to ignore these objective factors in order to defend their petty-bourgeois politics.

They wanted to evade these struggles of the workers, and find out a way to secure some stability within the capitalist order, as every other middle-class radical wants to.

They were talking about a peasant revolution. In this they sought the help of the so-called theories of Mao which speak about a revolution from village to town.

According to these theories the very base of the socialist revolution, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, must be the villages.

Therefore every revolutionary was to withdraw into the villages to work within the peasantry.

## ALLIANCE

Workers must give up their trade unions and work places and must join hands with the peasants. This is the way they were going to "build the revolutionary alliance" between the workers and the peasants.

Within the specific situation faced by the working class in Ceylon, this was the utmost counter-revolutionary policy.

Today the capitalist class wants to get rid of part of the labor force to cut down labor costs and increase productivity.

This is a policy deliberately aimed at the liquidation of the program of the working class. When the militants are removed from the unions the capitalists face no obstacle in making the unions a state apparatus.

To Be Continued



# Postal Workers Must Fight Ban On Strikes

BY A UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL CLERKS MEMBER LOCAL 3276

Contract negotiations between the US Post Office and seven postal unions—the first test of collective bargaining with the Federal government by government employees—have already bogged down.

The 90 day collective bargaining period called for by the 1970 Postal Reform Act came to an end at midnight, April 19th. A 45 day "fact-finding" period has begun, to be followed by another 45 days of negotiations leading to binding arbitration on July 20th.

Under this act the Post Office Department will be transformed into a semi-autonomous US Postal Service. This is expected to occur on July 1st. About 640,000 postal workers whose pay rates have been set by Congress have the right to bargain with the new postal service for wages and working conditions. But the postal workers have been denied the right to strike and this

has been upheld by the federal courts.

The postal clerks leadership is asking for a \$1,000 a year increase retroactive to January 20th and \$1,000 increase for 1972. Salaries presently range from \$7,000 to \$9,657.

The government negotiators have not replied to the wage demand but have insisted that the 40 hour week must be the basis for any future negotiations. The union bureaucracy has not challenged this despite the importance of the demand for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

This demand together with the demands for wages and a cost of living escalator clause becomes of central importance as the government seeks to cut the work force with unemployment.

The postal workers must prepare for a strike this summer. The ranks of the postal unions gave a tremendous lead to the rest of the working class with their strike last year. The present struggle now challenges all the plans the employers and the government have not only for the postal unions but all unions—the banning of the right to strike and compulsory arbitration.

## Local Bans Overtime

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Local 26 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, the garbage pickup men in Detroit, have barred overtime since April 21st in a fight for more sanitation workers.

The local is also currently negotiating a 1971-1972 contract with the city.

The Gribbs administration, citing the fact that some areas have not had a garbage pickup for 17 days, moved on May 6th to force the men to end the overtime ban. The city labor relations director sent a telegram to AFSCME asking that the national leadership force the local ranks to work overtime picking up garbage.

The city warned that if national AFSCME officials do not intervene by May 7th, city attorneys will take legal action. The city claims that the work action is in violation of the contract.

A city spokesman said that "We've tried all reasonable channels. I'm out of alternatives at this point." The city has the obvious alternative of hiring more men but clearly this is not considered "reasonable." Rather than hiring more men to alleviate the problem, the city is letting garbage pile up to amounts that are a very serious hazard to health. And it is obvious that working class sections of town are feeling the brunt of the city's attacks, not the area that Gribbs lives in.

## 200 Laid Off In Ex-Cell-O Closing

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT—Ex-Cell-O Corporation has decided to shut down its Detroit Micromatic Industries, Inc. plant at the end of May. This will destroy the jobs of 200 members of UAW Local 155.

A spokesman for the company said that during the past 45 years the company has been "heavily oriented" toward the aircraft industry but that business in that industry is "at a very low level and is still declining."

Ex-Cell-O was engaged in the manufacture of prototype components for the SST, and with the death of the plane the company lost \$2 million in orders. Ex-Cell-O has cut its Detroit area employment by 38% in the last three years.

The spectre of the Micromatic shutdown was raised five weeks ago at the company's annual meeting, just in time to be used as a club against the 1,100 members of UAW Local 49 who work at Ex-Cell-O's Highland Park plant. The men at Highland Park



One of few gas station without gas as scab trucks break picket lines.

# NYC Gas Strike Faces Danger

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—1600 oil tank truck drivers in the New York area continue their strike which began May 1st.

Since the beginning of the strike Mobil and other big oil companies have been using armed scabs to herd trucks through picket lines. Police have arrested strikers for defending themselves.

In the face of this attack,

Alfred Riddich, President of the Petroleum Trade Employees Union (an affiliate of the National Maritime Union) has agreed to guarantee deliveries to New York City police, fire, prison and hospital vehicles.

### DANGER

Riddich has also reduced the original contract demand of \$120 raise over two years to \$60. The companies are offering \$40. This tactic, trying to cooperate with the City which is herding scabs through the lines, can only endanger the strike.

Rank and filers in the PTEU and among the 400 strikers in the Independent Employees Association must organize defense squads and mass picketing against the goons' attacks. The ranks of both unions must demand that the original demands for raises and pensions be reinstated. Many terminal workers earn only \$130 per week and the top for drivers is \$180.

Hess, Shell, Citgo, and Sunoco are still not on strike. The PTEU and IEP must demand that all oil drivers and terminal employees in the area go out to strengthen the strike.

## Brutal Plant Conditions To Blame In Johnson Case

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—James Johnson Jr. is on trial before Detroit Recorder's Court for the shooting of two foremen and a worker after being fired for refusing to unload two conveyor lines at once.

Johnson has said that he returned to the plant with a gun after being fired, "looking for men in white shirts." The incident occurred at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant here.

The Detroit News carried an article May 5th constructed around an interview with a plant foreman who said that he did "not think that unloading two lines at once (from the brake shoe ovens) was a hard job."

Defense attorneys Kenneth Cockrel and Justin Ravitz contend that the conditions in the plant drove Johnson temporarily insane. As a result, union representation, working conditions,

# Minn. AFSCME Rallies For Wage Hike

BY A

BULLETIN REPORTER

MINNEAPOLIS — Faced with a so-called wage hike of 4% which is actually a vicious wage cut, close to a thousand state and municipal workers massed on the state capital steps on May 8th with signs and banners demanding a 12% increase this year followed by 8% the next.

Called by the State Council of AFSCME and the craft unions organizing the skilled trades in state and local government, the demonstration was clear evidence of both the potential power of the labor movement and the bankruptcy of its present bureaucratic leadership.

Part of this attack on the state workers has been big slashes in the budget of the University of Minnesota. The hostility of the state workers to this broke through when they booed the majority leader of the state House of Representatives who tried to justify the cuts.

### PERSPECTIVE

The union bureaucracy intervened to put a stop to this. The actual perspective served up by the bureaucracy was shown by the fact that none of their numbers spoke.

Instead their program of pressuring capitalist politicians came through by having these politicians as their speakers, beginning with Governor Wendell Anderson himself.

By tying the unions to the liberals, the bureaucracy is leading the ranks of the unions from one disaster to another. But the fact that the state workers were willing to shout down their most blatant opponents indicates how fragile a basis the bureaucracy rests on in today's crisis.

To fight the liberals and the union bureaucracy means the building of a new leadership in the state and municipal unions, a leadership that will fight for the creation of a labor party that can move the workers toward power.

and treatment of workers by foremen have become the main issues of the trial.

John Moffet, a chief steward who led a wildcat strike last spring to protest working conditions, told of greasy floors, unprotected conveyors, and crowded aisles in testimony May 5th.

Don Thomas, a quality control auditor who was a friend of the three dead men, said that "unloading those ovens is the worst job" in the plant. He told the courtroom audience that "you ought to go out to that plant and watch those men unload those ovens and see what it is like."

Thomas said he has frequently witnessed foremen picking on workers who were doing the best they could. He said that workers in Johnson's department were suspended often for refusing to work on the ovens.

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers' movement

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# San Francisco SWP Conference Abandons Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Educational Conference called by the SWP at S.F. State College was indeed educational but, had very little to do with socialism.

This conference marked a further development in the SWP's rapid abandonment of its Trotskyist history towards total liquidation into the middle class.

Paul Boutelle, the SWP spokesman for Black nationalism, provided the sharpest indication of the degeneration of his party by openly attacking the revolutionary party itself.

Boutelle literally proclaimed himself a nationalist before all else. He denounced fetishism about organizations and pledged his loyalty to "the revolution" first. He indicated that if the SWP were to abandon its support for Black nationalism he would abandon the SWP.

Such an approach is many light years away from that of Trotsky who fought for years to regenerate the Bolshevik Party which under Stalin had committed crimes at least equal to the rejection of Black nationalism.

That Boutelle can openly speak in this way is really an indication of the fact that as the SWP moves closer and closer to the middle class the party itself is seen as an impediment to unity with mass forces.

Boutelle is only carrying the logic of April 24th, women's liberation and Black nationalism to its ultimate conclusion.

## LIQUIDATION

The entire "Educational Conference" was a preparation for the liquidation of the party designed to provide a platform for the most rotten anti-Marxist elements. Thus, people like Rick Brown of the Berkeley Coalition were allowed to spew forth their Stalinist filth and members of gay women's liberation stood on the platform to openly attack the SWP, socialism and the class struggle.

The only conclusions the SWP leadership was able to draw from all this was that despite their "differences" with these swine they were able to work together on those questions on which they agreed such as community control of the police and abortion reform.

## PANIC

All of their spleen was reserved for the Workers League and the working class. Indeed the SWP leadership was thrown into considerable panic by the circulation of a petition calling on participants at the conference to denounce hooliganism on the left and to reject the charges of the MPI that the Workers League and Trotskyists were the creatures of the CIA as slanders dredged up from the Moscow Trials.

These "Marxists" were forced to drag up slanders against the Socialist Labour League and the "Tate affair" as well as allegations that the Workers League supported the police because of our support to the N.Y. police strike to explain their refusal to sign.

## DISGUISE

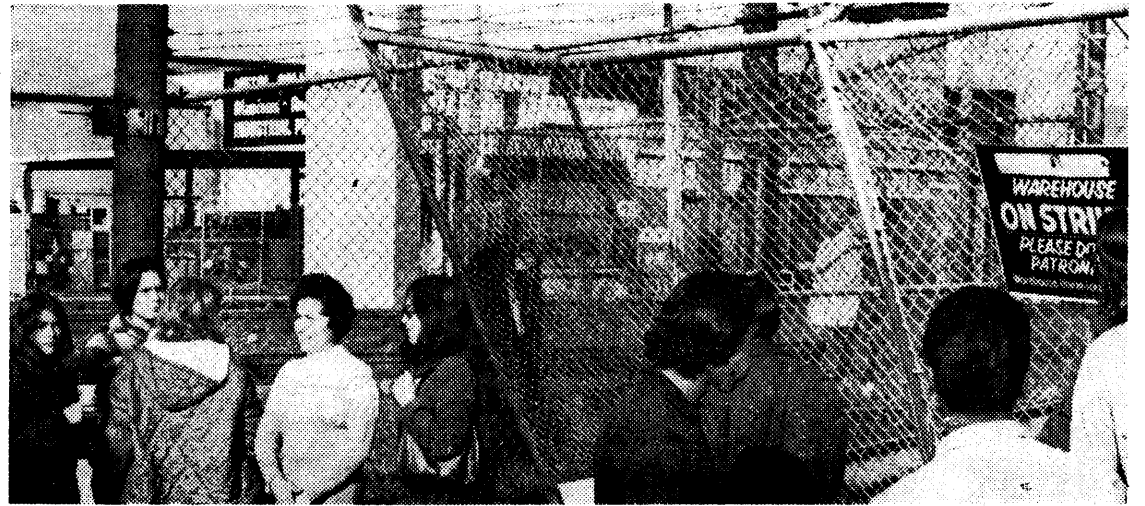
Despite these attacks a number of YSA members signed our petition. This is a firm indication that maneuvers and slanders will not prevent discussion from going forward on all the principled questions facing the revolutionary movement. The SWP-YSA is less and less able to disguise its distance from Marxism before its own membership.

## Stalinists 'Make Fun' Of ROTC Drill

BY ALEX CRAIG

SAN JOSE—In conjunction with the national "May Day" adventures sponsored by the country's major Stalinist and revisionist parties, the local Stalinists here held an escapade of their own last week at the State College.

The San Jose Liberation Front and the Peace Treaty Coordinating Committee, supported by members of the Revolutionary Union and the Arabian and Iranian Student Unions, held a noon rally last Tuesday which culminated in a march to the nearby ROTC drill field where the Army ROTC



Pickets from Teamsters and ILWU jointly strike United Foam of Oakland — unity much needed.

## IBT Ranks Want Unity

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO—A very important lead is provided to longshoremen in the May issue of *The Fifth Wheel*, a rank and file publication of Local 70, IBT in Oakland.

The Teamsters warn that "it looks like a bitter jurisdictional war may begin soon, pitting Teamsters against longshoremen, while only the bosses profit."

This publication points out quite sharply that the present crisis on the waterfront must be traced to the original M&M agreement of 1961, that opened the way for unrestricted automation of the docks.

It correctly states that the major perspective of the ILWU leadership is to "insure our jurisdiction by returning our jobs to the waterfront." This means "A fight to transfer work

from inland freight forwarders which is now done by Teamsters to longshoremen on the waterfront is no solution to the problems longshoremen and teamsters face."

*The Fifth Wheel* concludes by calling on dockers to make the fight for a shorter work week central and for a united ILWU-IBT struggle against the PMA around this perspective.

## URGENCY

The urgency of this fight cannot be stressed too strongly. Bridges has made it quite clear in his latest column that the demand for a shorter work week has already been abandoned and that he intends to center a fight around the reactionary Container Freight Station agreement.

In addition, he serves notice on the teamsters that he is hell bent on civil war. "The Western Conference of Teamsters

has sent a letter to the PMA regarding container work on the docks. It would have been better if this had been raised between the two unions. Our program for June 30 on containers will go ahead regardless."

We warn longshoremen, Bridges is preparing the greatest betrayal in his rotten history.

Absolutely nothing remains of the original demands for the contract but a hollow shell. A A strike vote originally called for May 7 has been cancelled in the hopes that a deal can be worked out with the PMA.

Let there be no mistake, with the international trade war heating up and faced with the perspective of recession and crisis the employers are hell bent on freeing their hands to get on with the job of containerization, shutting down unproductive ports, speed-up and the layoff of thousands of dockers. The government will back them all the way.

The ILWU leadership has little to propose against this but to demand the right to discuss the terms of a capitulation, that is whether dockers should take poison or shoot themselves.

The rank and file must reject this "strategy" entirely. The teamsters of Local 70 have posed the way forward. A new leadership must now be constructed that can lead a mass movement to fight for a united struggle with the teamsters to shut down the entire West Coast until the demand for forty hours pay and the maintenance of every cargo handling job is guaranteed by the PMA.

## Peoples' World Backs Khan, Mrs. B.

(Continued From Page 16)

cialism." Indeed while tortures and purge trials "are a logical, essential part of a collapsing capitalist society, they are the regrettable exceptions to the creation of a socialist society."

Thus the hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants being butchered by Khan's troops and Mao's tanks while the Soviet Union stands by, the youth shot down in Ceylon with arms provided by the Soviet Union and all the past, present and future victims of the Stalinist purges are to be consoled with the knowledge that they are simply casualties in one of the more regrettable aspects of the evolution of socialism.

This is the logic of "Socialism in One Country." The *People's World* must follow every twist and turn of this counterrevolutionary logic as the Stalinist bu-

reaucracies are thrown into mortal crisis. They must solidarize with Stalinist butchery throughout the world and defend the worst slanders of the Moscow Trials in order to prepare for new Pakistans and Ceylons here in the United States.

It is this crisis that forces the Stalinists into a desperate struggle with Trotskyism. Their very survival is at stake. It is for this reason that this same issue of the *People's World* again takes up the attack on the Socialist Workers Party. The *People's World* is intent on lining up all sorts of middle class tendencies for the attack on Trotskyism.

The editor returns to April 24th to denounce the SWP for its "pseudo-patriotic Bring the Boys Home slogan." This article was written in reply to the *Sun Re-*

porter, a paper widely circulated among Bay Area blacks, which concluded that the peace movement had been co-opted by the establishment.

No such thing says the *People's World*. We must take up the fight against the SWP "through mass demonstrations, civil disobedience and the ballot box." The essence of the article is to push for new black coalitions and popular fronts as the answer to the single issue bankruptcy of the SWP.

## IMPACT

That the Stalinists are having an impact is revealed in several letters and articles reprinted from other sources. One is an article from *Third World News* of the University of California at Davis. This article attacks the SWP for refusing to recognize

that the war is essentially racist and confining the struggle to a single issue.

## SWP

The other contribution is an article from the *Berkeley Tribe* on the Vancouver meeting of U.S. women with a group of Indochinese Stalinist women. This meeting was called around the "People's Peace Treaty" proposal.

The targets for attack are the SWP and the Lesbians. It seems that the Lesbians were only interested in discussing their sexual problems and the SWP sought to keep the discussion to child care and abortions. It is all too clear that the SWP made absolutely no fight against Stalinism and the popular front.

What follows is a long muddled attack on Trotskyism with extremely ominous conclusions.

The delegates have decided to work for a summer conference that will exclude the SWP-YSA.

The writer concludes "the only way to deal with people who go to conferences to disrupt them is not to let them in. With unity of goal there can be united action."

## WARN

All of this is printed without comment by the *People's World*. We have warned the SWP and we warn them again that their refusal to take up a principled fight against Stalinism is preparing new MPI type incidents in which the SWP will be the victim.

The SWP continues to ride the wave of middle class protest absolutely blind to events under its very nose that strengthen the political grip of the Stalinists and prepare its own destruction.



# West Coast News

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

## County Labor Plans Strike

BY CATHY HUNT

SAN DIEGO—San Diego currently faces the first strike of county employees in its history.

The largest section of the County Employees Association, representing maintenance men, construction workers, clerical workers, and others, will receive a final offer from the Board of Supervisors, and the result of the vote could be immediate strike action.

There is tremendous militancy among the construction and maintenance men, who are convinced that the supervisors will offer nothing. Acutely aware of what inflation has done to their wages in the past years, they are particularly adamant in their demand for an escalator clause in the contract and are ready to fight for it. As many of the workers put it, not even waiting to hear any more "offers" from the county, "There will be a strike of county employees."

Association members have come into open conflict with their leadership who are trying hard to keep the ranks in the dark about negotiations with the Board of Supervisors. But at this stage it is becoming clear that they are engineering a sellout. Not only are they maintaining a press blackout, so as not to compromise any "deals," but they also refuse to disclose the content of negotiations to the ranks.

However, under close ques-

tioning in the latest meeting several things did emerge. The leadership is in the process of giving away original demands for an across-the-board pay hike for all employees and lowering the percentage-increase demand to a figure more acceptable to the county bosses. Further, they are dumping the escalator clause by refusing even to discuss it in negotiating sessions.

In an amazing outburst during a membership meeting, the leadership made its feeling quite clear, and said, "The cost-of-living clause is a dirty word." Binding arbitration with no right to strike puts the capon what the leadership wants.

Faced with ranks that are ready to strike for that "dirty word" alone, not to mention the other demands that are being sold out, these "leaders" are telling clerical workers not to strike. "If policemen and firemen are not allowed to strike, then I don't think we should be allowed to strike either." With demagogic appeals of "loyalty to the county" and "the duties of a civil servant," they are trying to divide the ranks, and destroy the strike movement.

The financial crisis hitting urban areas from coast to coast has thrown these civil service employees into a struggle for survival. Without a strike now, county workers will be totally disarmed when the bosses try to force 20% pay cuts, as proposed in Los Angeles, or massive layoffs, as in New York.

## More Of The Same Attacks From April Coalition

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—The plans of Berkeley's popular front city council members, Mayor Warren Widener and the council members elected by the April Coalition, become clearer by the day.

In last month's fervent campaign, which culminated in the election of Widener and friends, every effort was made to avoid mentioning the vital issues which face the working class today. Instead a grab bag of old reforms and the reactionary community control of police measure, liberally coated with the sugar of "serve the people" rhetoric, was foisted on the people of Berkeley.

As the dust settles the odor of this garbage is beginning to find

its way to people's noses. The reek was particularly strong in an article in last week's *People's World* entitled "What to Expect from the New Berkeley Council."

The article devotes a column and a half in pushing Widener's brand of police reform, and then in passing notes that the city is going to have a little trouble with its budget and is "not going to be able to do a lot" about "false arrests." Somehow the cat got out of the bag. Police reforms are not going to stop false (read political) arrests.

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## FBI Investigates Printers Union

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SAN RAFAEL—A federal task force from the Organized Crime Committee of Congress is conducting an investigation of the San Rafael printers' strike.

These federal snoopers are aided by the FBI, the federal income tax service, the Labor Department and the local police. The task force has the

right to impanel grand juries with unlimited subpoena and investigative authority.

The investigation around the *Independent-Journal* strike involves violations of the "Hobbs Act" concerning obstruction or delay of interstate commerce.

### SOLIDARITY

All of this stems from the support given the *IJ* strikers from Bay Area unions in demonstrations and solidarity actions.

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### PANTHERS

Now more than ever before it is necessary for the Panthers to understand the implications of these words and to take up the fight against Stalinism, class collaboration, and for Marxist theory.

This is another ominous warning to the labor movement. There is no longer such a thing as a local strike. The federal government is preparing through such investigations to apply the methods it is perfecting with the Panthers and the anti-war movement against the trade unions.

Thus far the response of the unions to the court injunctions, NLRB interventions and government snooping has been to abandon the heroic *IJ* strikers leaving them totally isolated.

It is all too clear that the *IJ* strike has been used as the opening wedge for Bay Area strike breaking. Only mass action of the labor movement can reverse this situation.



FBI investigates labor solidarity.

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Thus an article on Pakistan seeks to portray the struggle as basically involving autonomy rather than the right of self-determination for Bangla Desh. It is claimed that the Communist Party of East Pakistan is well to the fore in committees formed to fight Yahya Khan without so much as a mention of the refusal of the Soviet Union to give any recognition to Bangla Desh. Also,

not a mention of Chinese support to Khan.

On Ceylon the *People's World* chooses to repeat the slanders of the Bandaranaike government that the youth rebellion is financed and supported by the CIA and the United National Party. They stand in absolute solidarity with the Ceylonese Stalinists who participate in this bloodstained government, armed and financed by the Soviet Union and the im-

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If the reader is upset by this counterrevolutionary filth and perhaps notices a similarity between the charges against the Ceylonese youth and those of the all too familiar Stalinist purges, he need only turn to a review of the film "The Confession."

### MOVED

Here the reviewer goes to great pains to assure us that she "was

deeply moved by the plight of the Deputy Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia caught up in the 1952 purge trials." What disturbed the writer however, is that although the facts in the film are all true, the viewer might get the idea that purge trials and torture are an inevitable outgrowth of Stalinism. Perish the thought. They are "a regrettable part of the evolution of so-

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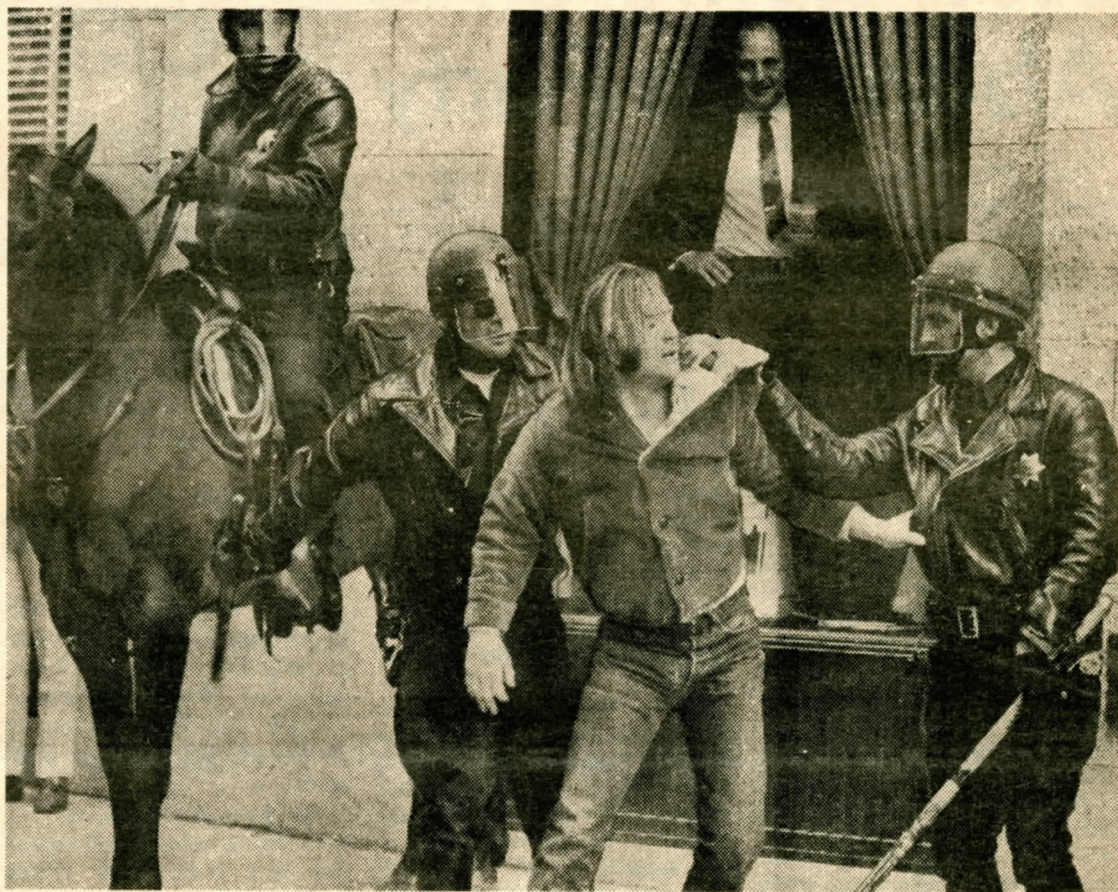
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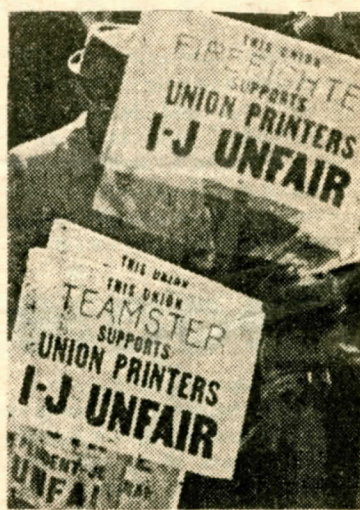
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