

HOOVER

JUL 29 1976

INSTITUTION

# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

**Khrushchev  
Capitalism's  
Servant**

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VOLUME EIGHT, NUMBER THREE (212)

SEPTEMBER 20, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

Trade Unions Will Be Next

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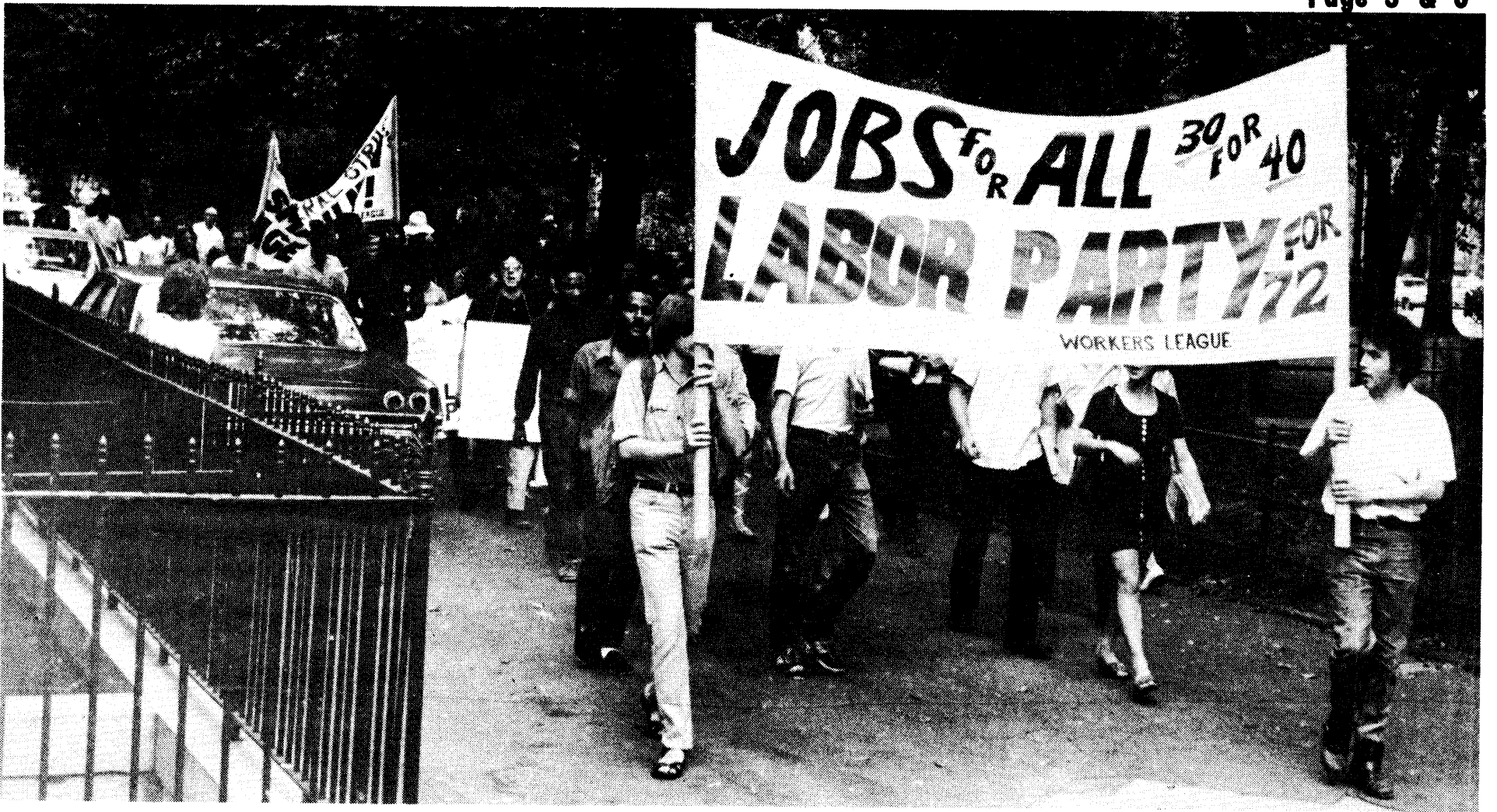
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# Bureaucrats Rush To Rescue Nixon Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Now that Nixon has been forced into a retreat from the wage freeze in the face of the tremendous power of the labor movement, the trade union bureaucracy is determined to rescue him and turn this retreat into a rout for the working class.

The labor officials are united in their capitulation to Nixon. After several weeks of bluster they have settled down to a policy of giving their all to rescue the employers at the expense of the entire working class.

No sooner had the labor bureaucrats offered their services than Nixon turned once again to stabbing his knife into the labor movement. On September 4th, Secretary of Labor Hodgson announced that the contracts settled during the 90 day freeze or those which go into effect during this period would be declared null and void and would have to be revised in line with the policies for holding down wages after the freeze.

This means that all the ranks of the unions who went back to work believing they would get their wage increase after the 90 days will be denied these raises. Nixon has virtually eliminated collective bargaining and is down tearing up the contracts the unions have won. This will effect the Western Union workers as well as many others who recently returned to work. It is a sharp warning to the ranks of the ILWU. They must watch Bridges as he tries to pull them back to work with the promise they will get their raise after 90 days.

**THE UNIONS MUST PUT NIXON ON NOTICE NOW THAT THEY WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS PLAN. THE UNIONS MUST STAND FIRM ON THEIR WAGE DEMANDS AND THE CONTRACTS THEY HAVE WON.**

All the top officials crawled obediently to a conference with Nixon in preparation for so-

called Phase Two of the freeze, scheduled to begin in mid-November. This conference, attended by Meany, Woodcock of the UAW, I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, Beirne of the Communications Workers, and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters among others, took place at the White House on September 10th the day following Nixon's speech to the joint session of Congress.

All of these spineless defenders of capitalism promised their "cooperation" with any "equitable" controls. They spelled this out in their acceptance of a wage-price review board to implement controls. It is absolutely clear that some such board will be set up and that there are no fundamental differences between the bureaucrats and Nixon on this point.

Leonard Woodcock himself has taken the lead in announcing that the auto workers will campaign in Congress for a tripartite board. This is the same Woodcock whom the Communist Party has been boosting as a model

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## SUGARMAN MOVES AGAINST SSEU-371

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—The September 3 issue of the Unionist, the newspaper put out by SSEU Local 371 admits the complete fraud of Sugarman's Instant Reorganization scheme, and at the same time exposes the Hill leadership which is responsible for pushing this rotten scheme upon the SSEU ranks.



Chicago teachers and other trade unionists hold demonstration protesting jailing of Cook County Teachers Union President Norman Swenson by Mayor Daley. Jailing came precisely at the time teachers all over Illinois began walkouts. The fight must now be taken up for AFL-CIO to defend him.

## Hussein Prepares Bloodbath

BY MARTY JONAS

King Hussein has now followed the lead of Sadat and other Arab leaders in setting up an official government party, the Jordanian National Union, in Jordan. This is accompanied by a ban on political activity for the Communist Party and is sure to be followed by the kind of blood purge that took place in the Sudan and is now unfolding in Egypt.

This latest move by Hussein reflects a great crisis in Jordan. Hussein may have temporarily crushed the commando movement two months ago, but he knows he has only bought a little time. His capitulation to Israel and imperialism will only get deeper and will only result in an expansion of the Pales-

tinian guerrilla movement as well as a sharp struggle against him by the Jordanian masses.

That is why Hussein was so eager to meet the leaders of the guerrilla movement last week. It is necessary that he buy off the leadership of what remains of this movement or it will again grow to become the threat

it was a year ago.

However, the ranks of the guerrilla movement have learned many lessons from the reconciliation meetings that have taken place between their leaders and Hussein during the past year. The deals that came out of these meetings led to the sorry state in which the movement now finds itself. Most of the guerrillas are either dead or wasting away in Jordanian and Israeli prisons. Because of the enormous pressure of the ranks, all the guerrilla leaders were forced to absent themselves from the reconciliation meeting.

The same kind of crisis faces the rest of the Arab bourgeoisie as they head for an accommodation with Israel and the United States. The political means for this deal is to be the new Federation of Arab Republics, which now consists of Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Soon to become a member is the Sudanese regime of arch-butcher Numeiry. Helping the formation of the Federation and aiding it in its negotiation of a deal with imperialism is the Soviet bureaucracy, whose parties are now banned in all Arab countries and partially decimated in several.

### TRIAL

The purge trial in Egypt, which has now moved behind closed doors, reflects this crisis. Ninety-one defendants stand accused of high treason. The prosecution is asking the death sentence for former Vice President Sabry and eight other leading defendants, and life at hard labor for three others among the accused. Sadat accuses Sabry and the others of plotting to seize power with the assistance of the army. Those accused of being part of the opposition include many former ministers in the government and high-placed members of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political party.

All are accused of opposing late President Nasser's "peace initiative." All are accused of opposing the formation of the Federation of Arab Republics.

What Sadat really fears is the growing hostility of the Arab masses to these moves to the right by the bourgeoisie. This trial along with the recent smashing of the steel strike in Hlewan, Egypt is meant as a warning to the Arab masses. The butchery in Sudan shows that they have every intention of carrying out that warning.

tionwide."

Additionally it has now been ascertained that the so-called Outreach program, in which caseworkers not placed in Income Maintenance Units will be shuttled into the community in housing projects and storefronts (Project Projects), will mean first of all that untrained caseworkers will be sent into a very hostile community and in fact will replace case aides (workers hired from the community).

This first group of caseworkers will be used as "cannon fodder with stronger forces for later use." The city hopes to divide the staff along racial lines and utilize "community control" sentiments to force caseworkers out of jobs, thereby eliminating the need for any service program in the Department of Social Services.

Coupled with this is of course the vicious compromise worked out between the Hill leadership and the city in which so-called "specialists" are given transfer priority over workers with tenure—a clear violation of the contract. As Hill himself admitted at the September 9 delegate meeting, "it was the best that could be done under the circumstances."

But the city now has its foot in the door. It can now violate any provision of the contract by crying "all in the interest of instant reorganization" and sending each issue to arbitration.

Hill was assailed by delegate after delegate who have complained of understaffing, overwork, lack of direction, violations of transfer provisions etc.

It is now clear that the SSEU ranks are in revolt against this vicious reorganization scheme.

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### THE WORKERS LEAGUE INVITES YOU TO A WEEKEND OF EDUCATION AND RECREATION IN THE CATSKILLS



**Saturday, Sept. 25 and Sunday, Sept. 26**

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# Troops Murder Attica Rebels

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Sept. 15—Hundreds of prisoners in Baltimore prisons today rebelled in defense of their brothers who were murdered at Attica. This action of solidarity must now be taken up by the American labor movement and the youth. The massacre of Attica is what capitalism has in store for the entire working class.

As over one thousand state troopers and National Guardsmen stormed the Attica prison to crush the rebellion, one prisoner cried, "This is war." Rockefeller with the full support of Nixon and the capitalist class brought the war against the working class home with all the brutality and with the weapons they have used against the workers and peasants of Indochina.

## CLASS

The struggles in Attica go way beyond the confines of the prison walls. This is a class war. The fight of the prisons reflects the struggles of the working class as a whole at its sharpest edge as it moves against a system which is hellbent on driving it into poverty and slavery to preserve its profits. The government answered with the one reply it has to its crisis—violence and repression.

Attica exposed the stark reality of class society with the most oppressed section of the working class facing the real nature of the capitalist state—the body of armed men.

But the rebellion also expressed the power of the American working class. It took almost a whole day for the heavily armed troops to crush the heroic resistance of the fighters in Attica.

## Massive Youth March For Independence Of PR

BY LUCIA RIVERA

Last Sunday a massive separatist demonstration took place in Puerto Rico. It was mainly organized by the PIP and MPI in protest of the annual conference of governors from the 50 states of the United States that took place in Puerto Rico this year.

The great majority of those marching were youth who were shouting pro-independence slogans and for the freedom of Angela Davis.

The two main speakers were Reuben Berrios for the PIP and Juan Mari Bras for the MPI. It was crystal clear from the speeches of both that what they are fighting for is for a bourgeois republic.

Berrios made a call to "peasants, workers and petty bourgeoisie to form an alliance of classes to fight together for the freedom of Puerto Rico."

There was no change in perspective when Mari Bras in his speech also made a call to the different groups of independentists to unite.

The U.S. government could only have been pleased with the speeches. There is no program, no perspective to take a serious fight for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico forward, but the most criminal alliance of the workers with

National Guard helicopters dropped bombs of CS gas and tear gas as the troops opened fire against the prisoners armed with only primitive weapons. Twenty-eight prisoners and ten guards are dead. More will die before the government is finished.

The government and the capitalist press spread filthy lies to cover the real meaning of this revolt. They viciously encourage racism and have whipped up an hysteria about the supposed violence used by the prisoners against the guards.

The *Daily News* ran an article quoting a state police sergeant entitled "I Saw Seven Throats Cut" to describe the so-called "slaughter of hostages by Attica prison convicts."

The truth is that Rockefeller's and Nixon's troops murdered the guards as well as the prisoners. The autopsies show that all nine guards were killed by the bullets from the troopers' guns. Dr. Edland, the medical examiner reported that some had been shot "as many as 5, 10, 12 times" with "two types of buckshot and large caliber missiles."

The government from Nixon on down is responsible for the slaughter. As a close relative of one of the guards put it: "We feel Carl was killed not by the

prisoners but by a bullet that had the name of Rockefeller written on it."

This only exposes the class character of the attack. Nothing, absolutely nothing can hide this. What we see at Attica is the real face of the capitalist class.

Now the government and the press are launching a witchhunt to hide this. Rockefeller attacks "revolutionaries." The *Times* and the *Daily News* viciously try to blame Bobby Seale for the events.

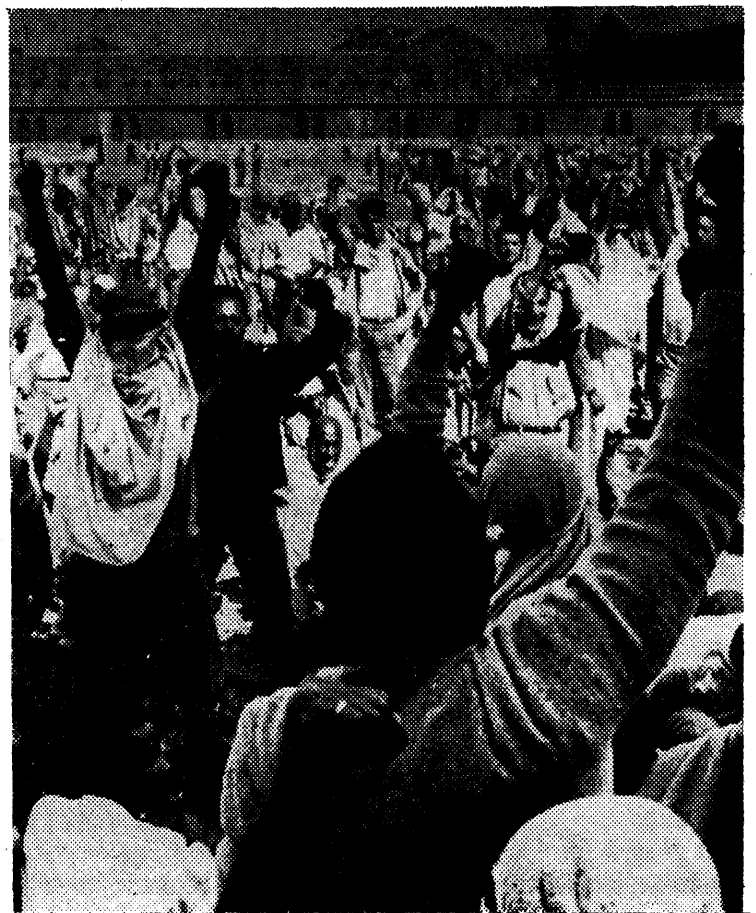
The rebellion began on Thursday as over a thousand prisoners took over the prison holding guards as hostages. In Cellblock D they held a meeting to discuss their demands. The body was disciplined, securing and organizing their occupation as the leadership spoke about the political struggle they had undertaken.

They raised demands for coverage by state minimum wage laws, political and religious freedom, and demands relating to living standards inside the prison. As one prisoner put it: "We work under slave conditions here. This is the worst prison I've ever been in. This is the death house. But the fight was far more than a battle for prison reform. It was a fight against the capitalist system itself."

Never in the history of the United States, even in the days of medieval-like prisons, has there been a struggle of such a political character.

The leaders of the struggle were influenced by organizations like the Panthers. They expressed the whole fight of the minority youth. They saw themselves as "political prisoners" like Angela Davis and their fight directed against an imperialist government. They wore the dress of the Arab fedayeen. They raised the demand for asylum in a "non-imperialist country."

Above all they saw their fight as a class battle uniting all races and nationalities. This repudiates all those who have tried to picture the struggle as a race (Continued On Page 12)



Attica prisoners before state unleashed troopers for massacre.

## News Busts Union

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEWARK—After a four month old strike against the *Newark News*, workers will be going back to their jobs on the terms forced by the management. In spite of tremendous sacrifices by the rank and file, the leadership of Newspaper Guild Local 173 was unable to win any gains on the two major questions of the strike—job security and wage increases.

The contract negotiated by the union leadership allows the management to fire an unlimited number of workers "for economic reasons" without severance pay. The only "concession" extracted from *Newark News* President Bruce Mair was that the firings would be conducted on the basis of inverse seniority—that is, the younger workers will get canned first.

As for wages, the union leadership accepted the package offered by the *News* on the eve of the strike. The union had also

sought parity after one year in the wages for experienced reporters and editors. It settled, however, for parity after three years.

## DEFEAT

Faced with this overwhelming defeat, the leadership of Local 173 is attempting to shift the blame on other unions involved in the production of the *News*. But this excuse is used only as a cover for the failure of the Guild leadership to mobilize all sections of Newark labor for a political fight against the union busting policies of the *News*.

## BUSINESSMEN

That such a fight could have been built was shown by the demonstration by 250 trade unionists from over 20 unions in support of the strike. Rather than deepen the struggle against the *News* on this level, the leadership chose to enlist the sympathy of Newark businessmen. Needless to say, this campaign got nowhere.

## NIXON SPELLS OUT WAR ON WORKERS

BY FRED MUELLER

Not surprisingly, President Nixon received a two-minute standing ovation from the Democratic as well as Republican sides of the aisle when he addressed a joint session of Congress of September 9th.

Nixon made his aim quite clear from the outset: "It is customary for a President to ask the Congress for bipartisan support in meeting the challenges of war. Today, I come before you to ask bipartisan support in meeting the challenges of peace."

Although Nixon's claim that he is "bringing to a conclusion" the war in Vietnam is a complete lie, there is a particle of truth in his statement. It is not the challenges of peace he really means, but a war far wider than the war in Vietnam.

He must bring that war home to the American working class at the same time as he steps up

the attack of American capitalism on the workers all over the world. It is in meeting the challenge of the working class as the capitalist economy moves towards trade war and slump that Nixon seeks bipartisan support. And of course he is getting it.

The leading Democrats are freely predicting that Nixon's tax program will sail through Congress with only minor modifications. And the tax measures are the only part of Nixon's program for which he needs Congressional approval.

Congressional Democrats led the way last year in giving Nixon the legal authority to slap his freeze on wages. He needs no approval for his 10% import surcharge and cutting of the links between dollar and gold, which are bound to usher in trade war and tremendous joblessness and suffering for workers all over the world.

The tax proposals are for the removal of the 7% excise tax

on automobiles, the establishment of a 10% investment tax credit for American corporations, and increasing the personal income tax exemption by \$50. The increased tax exemption is so tiny in comparison with Nixon's aid to the employers that it cannot even be called a crumb.

Nixon's speech was a vicious demagogic appeal to sections of the middle class. It was a desperate effort to whip up chauvinism and racism, and at the same time a clear signal to big business that its interests were going to be well looked after, through such a signal from Nixon is of course not very necessary.

## ARROGANT

The real meaning of Nixon's policies and the bipartisan support for them from both major capitalist parties was expressed in the arrogant speech of Ford Motor President Lee Iacocca to the Sales Executive Club of New

York.

Iacocca pulled no punches. He called for all out war on labor. As he expressed it, "The stakes are big and it is our own fate we are talking about. The time has come to rally round the flag I suggest that we had truly better do it."

"Frankly there is no way we at Ford can invent enough processes and techniques to increase productivity enough to offset the increases in labor costs that are baked into our labor contracts, not to mention absenteeism and featherbedding."

There you have it. Important as Nixon's moves are, they are only the beginning. Before they are through, the employers have to smash every basic right won by the working class over decades of struggle.

The present speedup, wage freeze and tax giveaways are the beginning. On top of the present conditions in the auto plants, the

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# ILA Ranks Set For Wildcat

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BALTIMORE, Sept. 11—The ranks of the ILA here were filled with both disbelief and disgust this past week, as ILA National President Gleason announced that he would not only concede to Nixon's wage freeze, but would make things easier for Nixon by not striking—at least not until after the deadline of the freeze on November 13.

When questioned about Gleason's position, rank and file responses ranged from: "Don't you believe it! There's no way to stop us (from striking)," to "That's just what I thought he'd say. He hasn't done anything since he's been up there except to give in." Both attitudes reflect a growing militancy on the waterfront and a growing awareness that the present leadership does not intend to fight for what they need.

Although Baltimore is a leading Eastern port in tonnage handled, the working conditions here are among the worst in the country. The questions of cuts in gang size, blatant racial discrimination, company hiring and a Guaranteed Annual Income that falls almost 300 hours short of New York's, have contributed to a situation on the docks that can only be described as explosive.

## DANGER

The real danger here is that although there is a growing understanding of the sellout role of the leadership, there is a tendency to think Gleason can be forced—spontaneously—to change his mind. Gleason, however, is acting according to rules he understands very well. These are the rules of compromise and defeat. The game Gleason is playing is Nixon's game—trying to convince his own workers that what's good for Nixon is good for the longshoremen.

This bureaucracy will neither change nor be thrown out without a conscious fight on the docks against the class collaborationist tactics of Gleason. This fight must be started now in every local, calling for immediate decisions not to follow Gleason if a strike is not called and to fight to bring all of labor into support.

This can only be done through the construction inside the ILA here and in all locals of caucuses that will base themselves not on the defeats of the trade union movement, but on the victories and the present growing

strength of that movement. This fight must be conducted nationwide.

As one dockworker put it: "This business of having two longshoremen's unions is for the birds. It's just what Nixon wants. If the West Coast is out, he gets the East Coast to work. If the East Coast is out, send the ships out to the West. We'll never win any real gains like that. Now Gleason is talking about putting off the strike—I say to hell with that idea."

As this paper goes to press, the entire ILA in Baltimore will be meeting to decide on a course of action. It is at this meeting that the local leadership will be forced to take a stand on this contract—whether to continue to support Gleason, or to listen to the cries coming out of their membership. One worker offered this prediction: "Judging from their previous record, they'll try not to take a stand. It's up to us now to make them stand with us."

## Curran Uses Pensions To Save Bosses

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—The vicious attacks on rank and file seamen built into the new National Maritime Union pension plan get clearer every day.

The plan would pledge millions of NMU Pension and Welfare Plan dollars to financing two new passenger ship operating companies which would supposedly provide jobs for NMU seamen. The plan is tied to sharp cuts in manning scales and worsened working conditions on the liners. It can provide no permanent jobs for the NMU and will only bankrupt the pension plans.

NMU President and pension plan trustee Joe Curran is preparing even now for the storm of protest that must arise against his failure to defend



Juan Farinas addresses a meeting of youth and trade unionists in St. Paul, Minnesota.

# Farinas Tour Rallies Youth To Fight Back

BY LIZ BJORN

The recent tour to Minnesota by Juan Farinas demonstrated that there is a growing movement of workers and youth who understand that the conviction of Juan Farinas is the same attack as Nixon's wage freeze and George Jackson's murder.

All these attacks are attempts by the capitalist government to drive back the living standards of workers and youth in order to increase the profits of banks and big business. It was also clear that these workers and youth

are seriously searching for the way to fight back.

In Minneapolis on September 8th, Farinas spoke at a meeting of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers Local 59. Norm Moon, president of the local, spoke in support of the defense at a meeting during Farinas' visit to Minnesota last spring. Since then, these workers face new attacks. Last fall's settlement was overturned in court because of the Minnesota law against public employees striking, and this fall, their wages have been frozen.

Understanding the connection between their fight against the

school board and the courts, and the defense of Farinas, half of the members present signed petitions urging the judges to overturn the decision and many contributed to the defense fund.

Thursday evening, a meeting was held on St. Paul's West Side after an intensive campaign in the neighborhood for support of the case. While Farinas was speaking of the need of working people and youth to unite in the fight for their interests against the government's attacks on them, a young Chicano from the area disrupted the meeting taking a nationalist stand in an effort to discredit the defense of Farinas.

## DEFENSE

Farinas pointed out to the audience that this outburst was serving Nixon—that this youth was attempting to destroy a meeting called to mobilize workers and youth in their own defense against Nixon, his government, and his courts. Unable to politically answer this criticism, the youth threatened a physical attack on the meeting. When the audience would give him no support, he left the meeting.

After this a young woman from the neighborhood spoke in support of the defense, followed by a Workers League speaker, who stated that Trotsky wrote many times that the most difficult task is to overcome the divisions between workers that the bosses have created only for their advantage, but that these divisions must be destroyed if the workers are to move forward.

Friday, a meeting was held in the afternoon at St. Olaf College followed by a benefit concert-dance in Northfield. In Northfield, and also in St. Paul, the defense, the Bulletin, and the youth program were received with serious enthusiasm.

Youth are beginning to understand the lessons of George Jackson—that only with a Marxist understanding can the fight be taken forward. Because of this understanding, the planned Minnesota camp attracted these youth as a first step toward a serious study of the fundamentals of dialectical materialism.

# CP BACKS ABEL AND STEEL CONTRACT

BY MICHAEL ROSS

The leaders of the Stalinist American Communist Party have finally broken their disgusting silence on the real meaning of the 1971 steel contract. And they have done so to give I.W. Abel and the United Steelworkers bureaucracy some important escape routes.

Waiting a month since the contract was signed, the CP gives its own opinion of the contract in an article in the September 4 Daily World by Jim West, "The Big Fight in Steel Has Just Begun."

After mildly disagreeing with Abel as to the contract being a smashing victory, the CP gives its own opinion of the contract, and in doing so, attacks all those who dared oppose Abel:

"An assortment of 'left' frauds, from Trotskyites to Progressive Labor, called it a 'sell-out.'"

"In the considered judgment of Communist steelworkers, who discussed the contract in a day-long meeting one week after it

was signed, the reality of the contract and the circumstances surrounding it cannot be reflected in such one-sided simplifications."

## AIM

It is obvious who this is aimed at. The CP's fellow Stalinists of Progressive Labor refer to every union contract, regardless of content, as a "sell-out," and in an ultra-left fashion cover up for the bureaucracy. The revisionists of the Labor Committee staked everything on "strike support coalitions" with full backing from sections of the USWA bureaucracy, and found them-

selves without a strike to support. And the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party have yet to utter a word on the steel contract.

The CP is aiming its wrath at the exposure of Abel's betrayals by the Workers League and the Bulletin.

Despite their "neither victory nor sell out" formation, the CP leaves the implication that Abel hasn't done too badly for the steelworkers at all. For instance, on the crucial issue of wages, West says:

"The rank-and-file did succeed in upping the ante on many of the economic demands, including a substantial catch-up wage increase and the cost-of-living clause. In that sense, the power of the rank-and-file paid off."

Yet less than two months before this statement, the CP had put out a pamphlet—"How to Stop the

Big Steel Steal"—which they still distribute, insisting that steelworkers needed at least \$2 an hour across the board immediately. Now they settle for 75¢ for the bottom grades, and \$1.10 for the top.

## DEMOCRACY

Having let Abel get away on the wage question, West then applauds his contribution towards increased "democracy" in the USWA:

"And the members' demand for (Continued On Page 12)

EDITOR: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas  
THE BULLETIN, Weekly organ of the Workers League, is published by Labor Publications, Incorporated, Sixth Floor, 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y. 10011. Published weekly except the last week of December, the last week of July and the first week of August. Editorial and Business offices: 135 W. 14th St., New York, N.Y., 10011. Phone: 924-0852. Subscription rates: USA—1 year: \$3.00; Foreign—1 year: \$4.00. SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT NEW YORK, N.Y. Printed in U.S.A.



# Board Of Ed Slashes School Fare Passes

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—On the eve of the opening of school the Board of Education in one fell swoop took away the right of school children to reduced transportation fares. Working class families will now have to pay \$12 more a month to get their children to school.

The ruling of the Board denies reduced fare passes to children from kindergarten to 2nd grade who live less than half a mile from school and for children from 3rd to 8th grade who live less than one mile.

In the Board's thinking, children who are only five to seven years old should walk nine blocks to get to school. If they can't, it's just too bad, they will have to pay the 30¢ fare.

The Board of Education is delighted at this scheme because it will save them \$12.5 million. This they claim is necessary in order to make up the extra funds they must pay for the school bus contracts.

The parents of these children will additionally be faced with a rise in the bus and subway fares from 30¢ to 35¢ or even more. It means that working mothers who previously were assured a safe way to get their children to school must now make other arrangements.

Rockefeller has announced that a rise in the transit fare is "inevitable." Moreover he has declared that if New York residents do not approve a transportation bond issue in November the fare may go even higher and said:

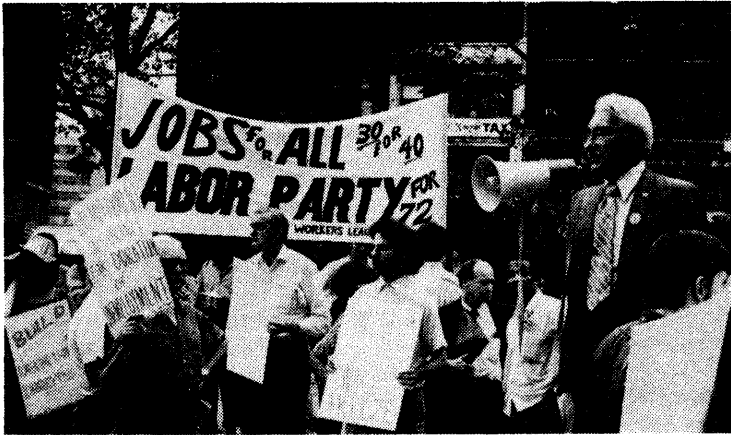
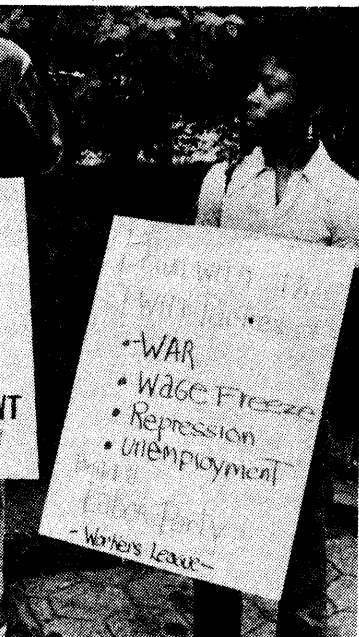
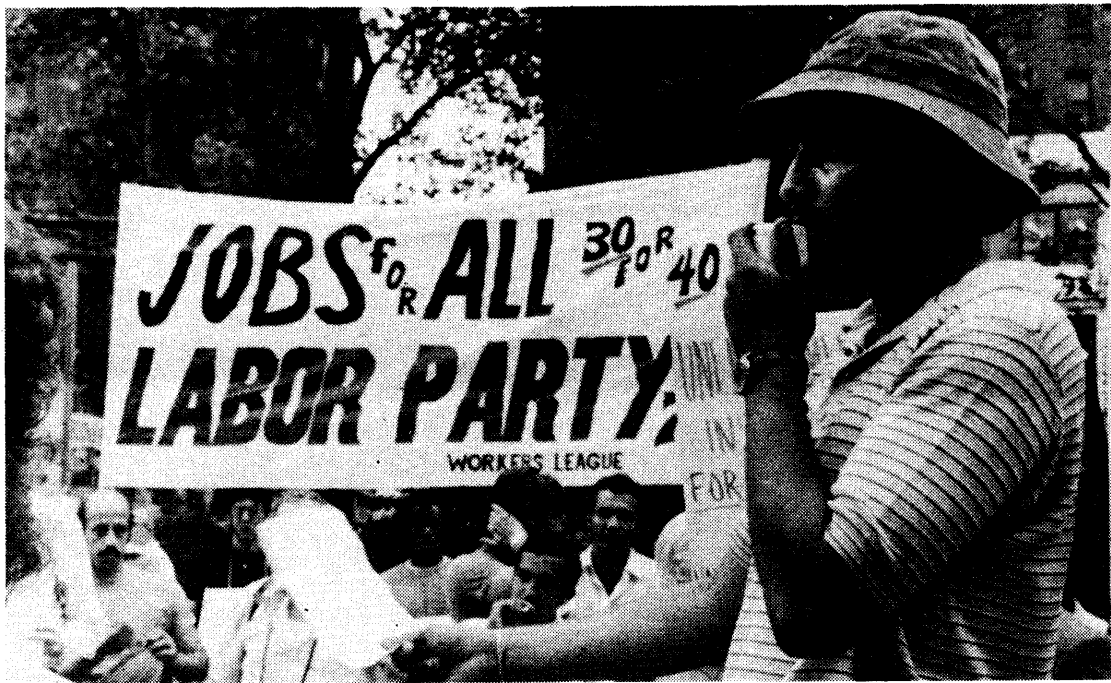
"It's dishonest to say the 30¢ fare can be saved with mirrors. The sad reality is that both the city and the state face major fiscal difficulties."

Rockefeller with his billions, is obviously not sad in the least. What he is saying is that workers must accept the continued erosion of their living conditions. Rockefeller and the Board of Education have complete contempt for the workers.

Their position is intransigent. The rich billionaires represented by Rockefeller are determined to make the workers pay for the crisis of the system. The Board of Education is only agreeing to this by cutting bus passes.

The working class is beginning to wonder why everything continues to get worse while the politicians assure them that higher taxes and every kind of increase is necessary to overcome "the fiscal crisis."

Every penny squeezed out of the workers goes into the pockets of the rich. The attack on school children shows how ruthless and cold blooded they are. The united strength of the working class must be mobilized to throw these parasites out.



## 600 Youth Attend Jackson Memorial

BY DAVID EPPS

PHILADELPHIA—The Black Panther Party and the Young Workers Liberation League sponsored a memorial meeting of 600 youth here in response to the murder of George Jackson.

Jackson's death was commemorated by the same reformist leadership that has left the working class and youth defenseless

against the vicious attacks now being unleashed by the ruling class. It is this same leadership who have failed to mobilize the working class in its own defense, that has left the door open for the attacks on Jackson and the class.

A spokesman for the YWLL (youth organization of the Communist Party) spoke on the Panther platform and attacked the working class saying, "When were they going to speak out." A Panther had stated previous-

"...that you were the cause for Jackson's death" (those who were in attendance.).

As usual the Stalinists put forward no program for youth to fight back and presented Jackson's murder as an attack on an individual's civil rights, showing clearly that they had no intention to mobilize youth, obliterating the real reasons Jackson was killed. Jackson was objectively a revolutionary leadership being born in youth in struggle against capitalism.

The Workers League mobilized over 100 youth from East NY, the Lower East Side and other areas for September 9 unemployment demonstration at City Hall. At top, Workers League spokesman addresses rally; center left, WL supporters put forward program for break with capitalist parties; center right; Tim Wohlforth speaks at independent rally held by WL, urging study of Marxism. Al Evanoft, bottom, represented Dis. 65. He and other "progressive" bureaucrats attended, but mobilized no one from ranks.

## YWLL Peddles 'Peaceful Transition To Socialism'

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

What Stalinism has to offer the youth was clearly shown in two recent articles in the Daily World by Donna Ristorucci of the Young Workers Liberation League.

These articles, entitled "Youth at the Election Crossroads" and "Elections and the Socialist Goal," attempt to present a perspective which is completely hostile to the revolutionary aspirations of the youth.

"Youth today wants change," writes Ristorucci. But what does she offer? Nothing but a policy of criminal betrayal, of the most complete capitulation to liberalism and parliamentarism. Socialist and Marxist phraseology is used by these traitors to cover up the most shameless reformism.

Ristorucci laments the youth thinking "they can't change anything by working in the Democratic Party or in electoral activity in general."

The youth "must be welded into a strong united front, with young workers in the leadership. Only through such unity can the youth

movement along with older people in an anti-monopoly coalition, force the monopolies to make improvements in the conditions of youth and effectively attack the monopolies on all sides."

The Stalinists seek not to destroy the monopolies but to prevail upon them to be more responsible and humane in their policies. This is their perspective at the very time these rulers and their government are coming down most viciously on every section of the working class.

Who are these "older people in an anti-monopoly coalition"? It is not a matter of older people but of the unity and power of the working class. Ristorucci's call is for the old popular front, the unity of the workers behind the liberal capitalists.

### PEACEFUL

This policy of class collaboration, in the form of peaceful coexistence, the popular front, and support to the national bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, has led to one bloody defeat after another.

At a time when the government murders militants and opens a massacre in Attica to smash the

movement of the oppressed, the CP talks about a "peaceful transition to socialism." As George Jackson put it we cannot wait for the CP to "peacefully coexist our enemies out of existence."

"Both the Black Caucus in Congress, consisting of Black Democratic Party members," writes Ristorucci, "and Bella Abzug...are helping to force the Nixon Administration and Congress to deal with the war, racism, budget priorities, women's equality, etc..."

So eager is Ristorucci to defend the bankrupt Black Democrats and the liberals that she boasts that they are influencing Nixon! We cannot help but wonder how impressed the youth are with the latest results of this policy of forcing Nixon to take action!

The whole point is that the capitalists cannot be pressured. We must fight united behind a revolutionary program to defeat Nixon, not to convince him. The role of the liberals is precisely to deliver the youth and workers to reaction and the fascists through their efforts to prop up a decaying system. And the Stalinists have helped them to do

this for 40 years.

This is the Stalinist policy which strangled the Spanish Revolution, which paved the way for World War II, which enabled the capitalists to restabilize their rule in Europe on the ashes of the war.

This is why the Stalinists in Ceylon sat in the government which crushed the rebellious youth just a few months ago. Everywhere the Stalinists paved the way for the repression of the revolutionary youth or actually join in the repression, or lead it, as in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Just before his murder George Jackson undertook a sharp struggle against the Communist Party. Arguing with the Stalinists, he wrote: "The objective of all our activity is in the end the creation of the people's army—not an acquittal here and there. Strangely you have missed the whole point—the revolution has begun...You cannot save me with the reformist, reactionary steps backward to the techniques of the 1930s."

The Stalinists try to say that the opposition of the youth to their policies is ultra-leftism

and adventurism. This is slander.

### THEORY

The youth are groping for revolutionary theory, but the Stalinists do everything they can to divert them away from this, to demoralize them and to lead them either to reformism or despair.

But the youth will not be diverted so easily. They must fight their way to an understanding of the deadly role of Stalinism. They must fight for theory against the disgusting Stalinist perversion of Marxism. They must take up a political struggle through a fight for a Marxist leadership in the working class, the fight for a labor party and workers power, against the Stalinists support for the Democrats, the liberals, the union bureaucrats.

The Trotskyist movement is taking up the fight to build a revolutionary youth movement. We will not rest until the Stalinists, reformists and union bureaucrats have been exposed and politically defeated. That is an absolutely necessary job in the building of a revolutionary party and the overthrow of capitalism.



# Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

## Youth Must Learn Lessons Of Attica

The revolution has begun. It cannot be avoided. This is the lesson of Attica.

Last week George Meany warned that the government enforced wage board would be the "road to fascism." This week the real meaning of his words became clear. The capitalist class moved down this road as it smashed the rebellion in Attica with all the power and mass terror of the state. This is civil war. This is the future for the working class throughout the world unless capitalism is overthrown.

But it is with the sure knowledge that the working class will fight that we face the future. This determination was expressed eloquently by a leader of the Attica rebellion as he described their preparations for battle. This is, he said, "the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed; when you are the anvil you bend, but when you are the hammer you strike."

The militants in Attica fought out their struggle in the great traditions of the American working class fighters who fought for union rights and decent living conditions. In the early struggles to form the unions and in the great battles of the 1930s the troops surrounded the towns and the factories occupied by the workers and they were met with the same resistance.

Above all the capitalist class fears the powerful movement of the working class and this movement guided by a conscious leadership and Marxist theory. This is why Rockefeller lashes out after the massacre against the "outside forces" and the "revolutionary tactics of militants." This is why George Jackson was murdered.

The capitalist class can only be overthrown by a scientific understanding of the laws of dialectism, with a revolutionary party which grasps dialectical materialism and is based on the working class.

It was with the understanding of the need for theory, for Marxism that George Jackson took up the study of the history of the working class movement in the U.S. and the works of Marx and Engels.

The rebellion at Attica was smashed. We must draw the lessons of this defeat. The new generation of fighters, the young workers and minority youth who have been in the forefront of these battles must take forward the fight through the building of a revolutionary youth movement and a Marxist leadership that is capable of fighting for victory.

This movement must root itself in the history of the Marxist movement and its continuity in the International Committee of the Fourth International.

If we take up this fight now, our brothers in Attica will not have died in vain.

## Editor's Notebook

### A Disgusting Affair

The "Kennedy Clan" showed up in Washington last week flaunting the millions that keep the parasites well fed. Obviously there has not been any "belt tightening" among this crew.

The occasion was the opening of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Jackie was off fishing in the Mediterranean, finding the opening too "emotionally harrowing." So Rose led the Clan, bejeweled with some booty from her late husband's fortune, accumulated from bootlegging as well as off of the backs of many workers.

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### The Slick Operation

Last July the 18 city hospitals in New York City were taken over by the Health and Hospitals Corporation. Lindsay and the hospital bosses praised the new dawn of health care with this supposedly "non-profit" "no red tape" agency.

While no new monies were put into the crisis-ridden hospital system, "priorities were reordered." A well paid bureaucracy was appointed to run the corporation as clinics were threatened

with closings and workers with the loss of their jobs.

One of the big priorities, of course, was the comfort of the hospital bosses. When \$22,000 was paid to the hospitals by motion picture companies for use of the hospitals for films, Dr. Joseph English head of the Hospital Corporation, put it into the so-called "president's fund."

Only ten days after the Corporation had taken over its big executives took off for a "weekend retreat" at Bear Mountain,

With the fall Bulletin Expansion Fund Drive just beginning, we are happy to announce that the goal for the drive has been raised to \$25,000. Originally set at \$20,000, so many Workers League branches have accepted quotas over those proposed that this new goal is now possible. In fact with the help of our readers and supporters there is every indication that it may be possible to even go beyond this figure.

The Bulletin is running a combined Fund and Circulation Drive from September 15th to December 15th. This Fund Drive figure is more than double the \$12,000 raised last fall reflecting the growth of the League and the determination of its membership to meet the responsibilities of this new period.

The bulk of the funds will be used to develop what will be the most advanced and versatile photocomposition department of any paper on the left, and many bourgeois papers and printing facilities. This will be reflected in further improvements in the appearance of the Bulletin and in

up, just bailed out again for drug charges. All part of the "radical chic," or to put it straight—all part of the opulence and decay of the richest capitalist class in the world.

They were joined, of course, by others of their class like John D. Rockefeller, Paul Mellon, Robert McNamara, Henry Kissinger and Nixon who went the next night.

For years now the well oiled paid out of the "president's fund." These men of course had been working very hard figuring out ways to cut costs, eliminate jobs and speed up the hospital workers. They needed a rest—to the tune of \$1,800.

Dr. English got a little carried away by his title and the presence of film makers at the hospitals and had 177 photographs taken of himself, paid for out of the same fund.

While these funds may be small in comparison to the billions that

its efficiency of production.

The purpose of the drive is to complete all technical steps up to the actual installation of a web press. Fund efforts in 1972 will be aimed at the installation of such a press by the end of that year. The press will make possible the further development of the weekly Bulletin. At the same time a technical base will be laid for the production of the Bulletin as a daily paper. What, however, will be critical to such a project will be a theoretical struggle to deeply penetrate into the American labor movement.

### CIRCULATION

There has also been an enthusiastic response to the Circulation Drive. The goal is to achieve 10,000 paid circulation by October 1st and 12,000 by December 15th. Many branches have increased their sub quotas and at the same time pledged to meet their increased street sale goals by October 1st instead of December 15th. While it is still too early to set any new goals in circulation, it appears that we will definitely go over the 12,000 figure by a large margin making it possible to reach 15,000 much sooner than originally planned.

Kennedy machine has created the myth that JFK is something of a god. The architectural monstrosity of the Center is equalled only by some of those monuments Albert Speer designed for Hitler.

It cost \$70 million to construct, built not out of the Kennedy's fat treasury, but out of "public funds." You may have paid for it, but you'll never even get inside the door. Tickets at the cost of \$15 a piece are reserved for the rich.

must be poured into the hospitals to provide decent care for hospital workers, it exposes the cesspools capitalism creates to preserve itself. The living standards of the working class are driven down, while the bosses live high off the hog.

Dr. English, though, had one consolation for the workers. When the Corporation eliminated their jobs, they could leave for the unemployment lines with a glossy photograph of him under their arms.

At the same time the Workers League will be holding a series of regional weekend educational camps and conferences. The first, already announced, will be the East Coast Camp to be held in the Catskills, September 25-26. A Midwest Conference is tentatively set for the weekend of October 16-17 in Madison, Wisconsin. A Western Regional Camp is tentatively set for the weekend of November 6-7 in the Santa Clara mountains.

The theme of these camps will be "Towards a History of the Fourth International." It is the conviction of the Workers League that the only way to prepare for this new period of sharp class struggle and international civil war opened up by Nixon's new economic policies is a sharp turn towards an understanding of Marxist theory as it has developed in the Fourth International. It is these past lessons and experiences which must be brought forcefully into the present struggles of the American working class. It will be out of a clash of these opposites—the past with the present—that a theoretical development can take place allowing the revolutionary party to advance in every sphere of work.

Leonard Bernstein, who last year was giving cocktail parties for the Panthers, a pastime he quickly dropped, composed a piece for the opening called "The Mass." The more intelligent critics have termed it "vulgar."

The theme, dedicated to JFK, is the "communion of brotherly love." But even the bourgeoisie couldn't swallow this thin gruel of liberalism. When the scene called for everyone to join hands no one bothered. When the audience was asked to stand and pray, no one bothered.

While they push this rubbish on the working people, "brotherly love" is the last thing on their minds as they face a defiant working class. No more was it on Kennedy's mind when he ordered the bombing of North Vietnam and the Bay of Pigs invasion.

A more appropriate theme for the evening would have been the decadence of the capitalist class.



## Bulletin Expansion Drive



# 1. An Answer To Roberts And Mandel

IN THE TWO issues of the *Militant* since Nixon's August 15th economic announcements, the Socialist Workers Party has had a number of articles dealing with the theoretical issues raised by Nixon's so-called "new economic policy." In particular we refer to Dick Roberts' September 3rd article, "Nixon's Offensive in World Trade," Ernest Mandel's article, "The Downfall of the Dollar," and also the editorial in the September 10th issue, "The War—Not Wages—Causes Inflation."

What all three of these articles reveal is that the SWP and its international co-thinker Mandel are completely incapable and in fact, refuse to face up to the fundamental character of what is the worst economic crisis in the history of capitalism.

Both Mandel and the SWP have staked their entire political reputations upon the theory that since the Second World War capitalism has entered a new third, neo-capitalist stage, characterized by relative stability.

While the devaluation of the dollar and the collapse of world capitalism into a new international trade war stands as the starkest refutation of this theory, Mandel and the SWP both continue to develop their analysis of the present crisis within the neo-capitalist framework.

## ROBERTS

Roberts' article is a glaring case in point. Roberts makes a completely superficial analysis of the crisis, pragmatically abstracting the immediate features of this crisis; particularly the sharpening intercapitalist rivalry, from the whole history of the development of the post war boom. As a result he transforms what is the fundamental crisis of capitalism into the small change of a mere conjunctural imbalance of international trade.

For Roberts the essence of the present crisis is the supposed deteriorating competitive position of the United States in world trade. This decline itself is seen as a reflection of the waning of the relative world position of United States capitalism. The first source of this problem is, according to Roberts, the closing of the so-called productivity gap between U.S. and foreign industry. The advances in productivity achieved in the recent period by Europe and Japan when combined with the far lower wages paid to workers in these countries is posited as the key factor undermining the U.S. competitive position.

The second factor that Roberts posits is inflation. Inflation, in turn, is seen as fundamentally nothing more than the results of Vietnam war spending.

## SUPERFICIAL

What is wrong with Roberts' whole analysis is not simply that it is dead wrong about the supposed change of the relative position of Europe vis a vis America. What is even more fundamentally wrong is the superficiality of an approach to the crisis which seeks to explain the outbreak of trade war merely from the standpoint of the relative strength of the various capitalist contenders. What is completely evaded is the actual character of the crisis that underlies and now calls forth this competitive struggle.

Towards the end of his article, Roberts states that the present crisis is one of overproduction of goods within an ever-restricted market. But the whole point that must be analyzed and is not is why it is that now in 1971 the world market which has rapidly expanded for 25 years suddenly becomes restricted. In other words, what Roberts refuses to confront is the real source of the break up of the post war economic boom.

## MONETARY

Completely absent from Roberts' article is anything but the most distorted account of the monetary crisis. The monetary

crisis and the devaluation of the dollar are seen as nothing more than reflections of the weakening world position of the United States. The real significance of inflation and the relation of Bretton Woods to the present crisis is simply ignored. As we already noted, inflation far from being seen as something central to the crisis, is seen as merely one source of its further aggravation.

The point, however, is that inflation is at the center of the crisis and has been since the beginning. The decision taken at Bretton Woods in 1944 to rebuild world capitalism on the basis of the inflation of paper money, which allowed the bourgeoisie to postpone a head-on collision with the proletariat for 25 years meant that inflation was the foundation

the question of inflation itself. Expanding on Roberts' article, the headline of the September 10th *Militant* screams that the cause of the inflation of the dollar is the war in Vietnam.

In saying this however the SWP is lying to the working class. It is denying that the problem of inflation is endemic to the post war capitalist boom, and that the problem requires the smashing of capitalism itself.

Instead inflation is seen as an excrescence on capitalism which would disappear overnight as all the liberals, Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats maintain, if only the war was ended.

## DEVALUATION

The devaluation of the dollar and the

# NIXON & NEO-CAPITALISM



By  
Dennis  
O'Casey

upon which the whole boom was based.

Through the inflation of the dollar the United States was on the one hand able to provide the basis for the reconstruction of Europe. At the same time, by creating a huge expansion of the world market it made it possible for capitalism to offset the fundamental tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

The significance of the devaluation of the dollar, which comes as the climax of a whole series of monetary crises over the past four years is that it marks the end of capitalism's ability to overcome the falling rate of profit in the old inflationary way. The showdown with the working class postponed at Bretton Woods must now take place.

It is the emergence of the falling rate of profit no longer masked over by inflation that now calls forth trade war between the capitalist states, not, as Roberts has it, the other way around. It is this also that determines the drive by the capitalist class as a whole to restore the rate of profit by driving labor back to the 30s.

## REFORMISM

Roberts however confronts none of this. The reason Roberts refuses to confront it, the reason he evades facing up to the fundamental character of this crisis, is because he will not and can not admit that capitalism can no longer be patched up or reformed, but must be overthrown.

The crisis must at all events be portrayed in the reformist terms of Pabloism's whole world outlook, and the analysis must lead at every point to reformist conclusions.

The reformist character of Roberts' analysis is the most glaring in relation to

trade war it opens up is seen in the same reformist terms.

The significance of devaluation for Roberts goes no further than the platitudinous statements of Nixon, that it will correct imbalances of international trade.

It is accepted at face value that all devaluation really means is that while there will be fewer jobs in the Japanese economy there will be more in the United States.

There is no understanding that capitalism is now engulfed in a world crisis in which all capitalist nations are to be dragged into a new 1930s depression.

There is no understanding that what is involved in Nixon's measures to protect American capitalism, is not just some readjustment but a drive towards reducing Europe to one vast colony of the United States, which threatens the crushing of the European proletariat, fascism and a third world war.

## NATIONALISM

It is at this point in fact that Roberts' reformism carries him directly, as it must, over into nationalism. As we saw at the outset, Roberts tries to present the source of the present crisis as a matter of the United States resisting the supposed waning of its international position vis a vis Europe and Japan.

This perspective is of course completely false. The gap between the United States and its competitors has grown right through the boom, Roberts' productivity statistics notwithstanding.

Productivity statistics cannot in any case express more than a single aspect of the relationship existing between the United States and its competitors. This relationship has above all been charact-

erized throughout the boom by a massive penetration of U.S. capital into Europe, Japan and the colonial world, placing American capitalism in a position to be in many cases the chief benefactor of productivity increases in these areas.

There is no way the absolute hegemony of United States capitalism over its imperialist rivals can be explained away. This is a historical relationship determined by the whole development of imperialism in this epoch, and although the sharpest intercapitalist rivalry will now break out within its framework, the United States is, as the present crisis exhibits, in a position to force Europe to take the burden of cushioning its own collapse.

The main thing, however, is not just that the perspective is false. Roberts' whole analysis posing as it does a declining United States capitalism being run into the ground by a resurgent Europe and Japan, coming at the very moment when Nixon moves to put Europe on rations, stands as nothing more than an open justification of the nationalist course being pursued by the American bourgeoisie.

Nor is it any accident that the SWP finds itself caught in such a nationalist trap at the very same time it is breaking, via its break with the United Secretariat, with all its own international connections.

## MANDEL

The overall implications the present crisis holds for Pabloite revisionism and the theory of neo-capitalism is expressed most explicitly in the article "The Collapse of the Dollar," by Ernest Mandel.

After having given a superficial analysis of the present crisis after the fashion of the Roberts article (itself inspired by Mandel) Mandel proceeds to draw some general conclusions that reveal exactly where he stands.

Mandel says the following:

"Under these conditions, it is excluded that the inflation will stop. A recession that threatens to become general, increasing unemployment, excess capacity hitting a half dozen key industries cannot be combined with a halt to inflation except at the price of a new 1929, a price that no imperialist power is ready to pay. But persistent inflation joined to exacerbated international competition signifies an erosion of the international monetary system that can no longer be averted....And that makes certain the threat that the growth of international trade will be slowed down. The conclusion is an accentuation of the reversal of the 1945-65 expansionist tendency.

"...The international capitalist system as a whole has emerged from a long cycle of expansion to begin a long cycle of slower growth and many more crises.

"In reality, since the German recession of 1966-67, the international capitalist economy has had not a single year of general prosperity....The long cycles last on an average twenty to twenty five years."

What comes through here is that the present crisis has not shaken Mandel's faith in neo-capitalism one bit.

What Mandel is saying when he says that no imperialist power is prepared to pay the price of another 1929 is as he has always said that a new 1929 can be evaded.

## PHASE

What is Mandel's prognosis? What we see Mandel now doing is partially redefining his neo-capitalist theory so to include within it the possibility of a protracted twenty five year recessionary phase. Previously Mandel had for the most part identified neo-capitalism with the boom although always keeping the door open so as to include the possibility of a long period of recession.

The key thing, however, is that his conception of this phase is that it will consist in no more than a recession and therefore it is still neo-capitalist through and through. That is why Mandel talks

(Continued On Page 10)



NIXON'S NEW ECONOMIC policies reflect the deep and fundamental crisis of the world capitalist system. In throwing out Bretton Woods and the world monetary arrangements, he is throwing out 25 years of conciliation between classes and preparing for civil war and fascism. We have predicted and prepared for this period for some time. We are now in it. As George Jackson put it: "The Revolution has begun."

**Nixon's policies must and will mean a deepening struggle of the American working class against the wage freeze and the various stabilization measures taken following the freeze. The working class and its struggles will now be at the center of all political developments in the United States.**

Nixon, understanding this, formulates his policies on a nationalist basis. He seeks to encourage nationalism in the hopes of breaking working class resistance to his proposals through fear of foreign competition and the like.

As the struggle of the working class forces itself to the center of American political life, the various radical groups, rooted in the American petty bourgeoisie, are forced to address their attention to this development. Even the Socialist Workers Party, which had just concluded a convention which reaffirmed an orientation to the petty bourgeoisie, had to make a two week effort to confront the questions raised by the wage freeze and Nixon's other policies.

#### PRAGMATIC

However, it is not enough to address this development, to dig up this or that proposal to present to American workers. To proceed in this fashion is to proceed with the pragmatic method of the American ruling class and to necessarily stand on the same nationalist ground with that class. We cannot proceed on the basis of surface assessments, superficial agreements, and develop combinations of one sort or another on the basis of such assessments and agreements.

The working class will, in this period, struggle. This is already happening. The need, however, is to develop the revolutionary leadership of this class. This can only take place by bringing into the present the continuity of struggle from the past. This is Marxist theory as it has developed within the Trotskyist movement through the conscious struggle against revisionism. Such theory and such a movement can only be developed on an international scale. Out of this comes not only a program which must be brought in a fighting way into the present actual movement of the class, but a conscious understanding which can only live in the cadres developed through this conscious dialectical philosophical struggle.

This is what we posed in our assessment of the recent SWP Conference. In 1963 the SWP fused politically with the Mandel-Maitan-Frank group internationally on the basis of a surface agreement on Cuba. No assessment was made of the history of revisionism in the Fourth International which had led to the split in 1953 and a ten year period of the independent existence of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Today the SWP finds itself in a new factional situation with the same Mandel-Maitan-Frank group and prepares a new split from them. It refuses to make any assessment of the 1953 split or the 1963 reunification. It splits in the same surface way it unites.

We have pointed out that this pragmatic position, which begins and ends with what works at the moment, actually means a deepening of the SWP's evolution away from internationalism. This is summed up in Tom Kerry's position that there is nothing in the world higher than the Political Committee of the SWP.

Breaking from an international and historical approach the SWP is bowing to Nixon's nationalism. It actually does recognize something higher than the SWP's Political Committee and that is the power of its own bourgeoisie. It cannot really

see beyond this bourgeoisie as long as it shares the bourgeoisie's philosophical method. This is the underlying reason why it agrees with Nixon that America's troubles stem from the pressure of foreign competition and the low productivity of American workers.

#### SPARTACIST

Spartacist proceeds with the same method as the SWP. It broke with the SWP only empirically and while its differences appear to be sharp they are only superficial. On essentials Spartacist agrees with the SWP. It agrees on the question of the capitalist crisis. It agrees on internationalism and its approach to the historical development of Trotskyism. It agrees in proceeding on the basis of pragmatic agreement rather than historically developed principles.

Its factional bitterness and even physical battles with the SWP in no sense signify a deep political break with the SWP. This can be seen clearly from the September, 1971 issue of *Workers Action*. While the bulk of the issue deals with bitter denunciations of the SWP, the lead editorial on Nixon's economic policies echoes the SWP's revisionist neo-capitalist line. It states:

"The program is a statement of recognition by the U.S. ruling class that the long post-war period of U.S. imperialist dominance of the world—the 'American Century'—has come to an end. With it has gone the era of relative class peace domestically which began with the McCarthyite witch hunt and lining up the labor movement in lockstep behind the banner of the cold war anti-communist crusade. America is no longer world banker and sole world policeman; instead it is one imperialist rival among many, and, as always in such rivalries, the fight is to the death."

And later:

"Nixon's program follows a period of several years of progressive weakening of U.S. capitalism's world position. Central to this decline has been the debacle of the Indochina war, which distorted the delicate balance of the permanent military economics which served for more than two decades to keep the economy relatively stable and crisis-free...."

This position parallels that of the SWP adding a touch borrowed from the state capitalist school (permanent military economics). Like Mandel and the SWP, it sees Nixon's policies not flowing from the fundamental contradictions of American capitalism under conditions of the decline and decay of the capitalist system but actually from out of the development and growth of capitalism in Europe. With Spartacist this leads to the absurd and reactionary assertion that American world dominance has come to an end precisely at the moment when the internal crisis of American capitalism is forcing the United States to assert this dominance all the more viciously over Europe and Japan.

As with the SWP, Spartacist sees the Vietnam war as the central factor in bringing about American capitalism's troubles. It sees this as having "distorted" the "delicate balance" of post-war "permanent military economics." No doubt a conclusion of the war will restore this delicate balance in true Keynesian fashion, the economic crisis weathered through, and the joys of the postwar boom restored!

Such a perspective is completely disarming to the working class and anti-Marxist, denying the fundamental character of the capitalist crisis. No wonder that in 1969—after the 1968 French revolutionary events—Spartacist stated "The SLL, in particular, has been screeching about the 'imminent crisis' for years now, denouncing those who were skeptical of his 'analysis' as empiricists."

While we prepare for this new period of crisis, the SWP and Spartacist denied it up to the moment it burst forth so powerfully in appearance. Now they seek to minimize its depth, to deny the revolutionary tasks it poses before the working class.

When we turn to Spartacist's treatment of the recent NPAC conference and its assessment of our role at the conference the methodological link between Spartacist and the SWP becomes even clearer. The Workers League approached this

conference on the basis of a perspective developed over a very long period of struggle and deepened on the basis of an assessment of the sharp changes taking place and being prepared in the class struggle here and internationally. We approached it independently and we fought through to the end in this manner. We saw the sharpening class movement of the American working class and understood that a collision between the working class and the capitalist government could not be postponed for long. This is why we made the fight for the labor party in preparation for 1972 as central to our intervention at the conference.

At the same time we saw Stalinism as a growing danger precisely because a political break of the working class and the Democratic Party was becoming more and more possible. Only the Stalinists together with the labor bureaucracy could divert such a movement into "radical" bourgeois channels. Under these circumstances the role of the SWP could be critical precisely because of its political paralysis before Stalinism rooted in its abandonment of Trotskyism.

Starting from this perspective, and not surface appearance, we had absolutely no

than happy to reaffirm here what we said on the floor of the NPAC convention, reported in the *Bulletin*, and which was reprinted in *Workers Action*:

"Wohlforth reaffirmed the Workers League position to defend the SWP anywhere at any time against Stalinist hooligan attacks."

We stated then and repeat now that in our opinion Fred Halstead and the rest of the marshalls did a very efficient job of a necessary task.

As the record will also show we proceeded through the next two days of the conference in a political struggle particularly against the developing alliance between the SWP and that other wing of Stalinism, the Communist Party. When through some maneuvers we were denied the right to have our motion, which was clearly a major one, voted on in the final round, we had no compunction about walking out of the conference in an orderly way while still making clear our commitment to the conference's defense.

Since the NPAC conference we have proceeded, as we have in the past, in our principled implacable struggle against the revisionism of the SWP particularly in the light of the sharp rightward turn

# Spartacist and political principles

By Tim Wohlforth



Spartacist lines up with PL in disrupting NPAC conference (top, right) and refers to PL as close to Leninist, as PL now goes into attacks on Marxism itself. Now Spartacist unites on same surface basis with Treiger Commune, which tried to its convention took on the international question.

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difficulty in knowing where we stood at each moment of the conference and doing what had to be done. We saw PL's role at the conference as one wing of Stalinism utilizing the reformism of the SWP as a way to disrupt the conference and pit misguided youth against Trotskyism. We saw absolutely nothing progressive in PL's tactics or role. We saw it as another expression of their many physical attacks on Trotskyists and on SWP members inspired openly by the Moscow Trials which they have never repudiated.

We were more than happy to assist in their expulsion from the conference for disruption. Unlike the International Socialists and Labor Committee, we do not stand aside on such matters but carry out our political convictions in action. Despite our fundamental political differences with the SWP we are more

In order to justify this conduct and to condemn the Workers League they have come up with a "theory." It goes as follows:

"Stalinism, like all varieties of revisionism, is at bottom class collaboration. Despite the Trotskyist label, the SWP today stands much further from the class program of Leninism than ex-



**Maoist Progressive Labor."**

Here we have a textbook example of formal method and surface pragmatic thinking. First part of the syllogism is: Stalinism equals class collaboration. Next we look at what PL and the SWP are doing at the moment. The SWP is doing more class collaborationist activity than PL. Conclusion: SWP is more Stalinist than PL! And so practitioners of this method of thought end up joining together with an organization which has led assaults on the SWP with the cheer: "If we only had a pick axe!"

If we approach the question historically, if we understand the present in terms of dialectical development from the past, we come to a very different conclusion. We see the SWP as a party which has degenerated from Trotskyism in the direction of Stalinism and social democracy. Progressive Labor began in the Stalinist movement, has never broken from Stalinism, and today has evolved even further away from Leninism than it was at its origins. It is these fundamental historical questions which today lie at the heart of preparing a leadership capable of fighting completely free of any class collaboration.

of the degeneration of Russia and China! So, to the extent that PL has broken with Maoism, it has gone over to open anti-Communism, anti-Marxism! This does not matter for Spartacist. The historical, theoretical capital of the movement means nothing. All that counts today is one's ability to shout and curse at Vance Hartke!

We maintain that those who curse Hartke today but fail to come to grips with the theoretical lessons involved in the history of Communism and Trotskyism, will join with Hartke tomorrow in cursing the working class. Circus "Leftism" does not impress us. Theoretical questions are at the heart of developing a class line and perspective for the working class today.

Spartacist by posing it the other way around is expressing its methodological agreement with the revisionists of the SWP whose very degeneration is rooted in treating such questions as secondary to developing the "class line" here in America!

**TREIGER**

It is, of course, this common methodological approach which lies behind the "Leninist Fusion" of Spartacist with the

to replace Maoism which was now in such an extreme crisis, while he persisted to build the very same kind of circle that he had had in the Maoist movement.

Was the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism understood as a life and death matter for the working class today and was this group determined to construct a party on this basis? Or was it a matter of exchanging ideas in the head like a computer exchanges programs?

**LETTERS**

Then we received the following letter:

April 21, 1971

Dear Comrade Wohlforth,

I have enclosed two copies of a letter to a Maoist on the crisis in Maoist strategy and an elaboration of some of Trotsky's basic ideas. We have made the letter available to the L.A. branch of the Workers League. We would be interested in your comments and reactions to the letter as well as any ideas you might have for making use of it.

Our group (Communist Working Collective) has definitely consolidated around Trotskyism and, following the 24th, we intend to begin an investigation into the 4th International in a more developed way.

I am also enclosing some copies of a proposal for joint action which we drew up and submitted to a number of local groups. The Liberation Union, a semi-Trotskyist group with no fundamental disagreements with the SWP, begged off a joint meeting for "lack of time." The Maoist October League and the Maoist Long March agreed to a joint meeting but declined joint action in favor of marching in an "anti-imperialist contingent."

We have also participated in a number of interventions with the Workers League and we are presently preparing a leaflet of our own for the 24th. We believe the combination of joint theoretical discussions as well as joint practical activities is the best way to determine where we have unity.

Looking forward to an early reply. With communist greetings, Marvin Treiger

We answered this letter as follows: Dear Comrade Treiger,

We have received your letter together with your statement on Trotskyism and Stalinism and your leaflet on April 24th. The statement is a good summary of some of the differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism historically.

However there is no discussion of the Fourth International. Your cover letter states: "Our group (Communist Working Collective) has definitely consolidated around Trotskyism and, following the 24th, we intend to begin an investigation into the 4th International in a more developed way."

We are completely opposed to the methodological and theoretical position which such a stand reflects. It is not possible to separate out "Stalinism" and "Trotskyism" from the actual development of the Third International and Fourth International. To do so is to go over to the idealist outlook of Deutscher who abstracts Trotsky the "hero" and his "ideas" out of and opposed to Trotsky's actual struggle to construct the Fourth International.

In this respect I urge that you and your group look over Trotsky's "Writings" recently republished by the SWP.

Next, both the statement on "Trotskyism" and the leaflet reflect a removal from the strategic expression of Trotskyism, that is Marxism, in this period of international crisis. If, as you state in your leaflet, the ruling class is preparing for civil war, then we, too, must prepare through a battle to construct the Fourth International in the United States around a strategic approach. This is why it is completely wrong of you to call for a demonstration on April 24th which does not mention either the labor party or the fight for the general strike.

Finally we understand that in addition to holding joint discussions with the Workers League you are holding at least discussions with the Spartacist. This organization is completely hostile to the Fourth International and bears no relationship whatsoever to Trotskyism.

You cannot have joint discussions or joint actions with us while you at the

same time maintain relations of any sort with the Spartacist. We are sure that a study of the historical development of Trotskyism will make this quite clear to you.

Finally we wish to make clear in any event we are not interested in any kind of "regroupment" or joint actions on the basis of some minimal agreement on so-called "class" issues. You say the Maoist October League and the Maoist Long March declined having joint action with you and we assume also us on April 24th.

In any event we will not have joint actions with Maoists. Maoism today means bodies of revolutionaries lining the streets of Dacca and floating down the rivers of Ceylon. We do not understand how you can say you have "consolidated around Trotskyism" while at the same time you seek joint actions with the supporters of the butchers of the Bengalis and even with the Liberation Union which you characterize as "semi-Trotskyist" and then say it has "no fundamental disagreements with the SWP." Could it be in your confusion you hold that the SWP is "semi-Trotskyist"?

We urge you to take up a serious study of Trotskyism and the development of the Fourth International and make a break with such riff raff as the above mentioned groups. Then we will be more than happy to hold discussions with you and organize common actions based on the firm principled party grounds of Trotskyism as the continuator of the Leninist Bolshevik heritage.

Make up your mind. You cannot have it both ways.

Yours fraternally,  
Tim Wohlforth,  
For the Political Committee

**REJECTING**

Needless to say we soon heard from them rejecting our approach and thus the announcement of their fusion with Spartacist does not come to us quite as a shock. The fusion is based on a common hostility to principled politics.

Treiger could see nothing wrong with standing together on a "class line" with Maoists who support the butchery of the Bengali people. Thus his "class line" did not extend beyond the borders of the United States. No wonder he could not understand our insistence on seeing Trotskyism as inseparable from its development in struggle against revisionism in the Fourth International.

Spartacist is willing to stand together with "ex-Maoists" who hold that Marxism is dead and Lenin was the original revisionist. After all one could not expect the "class line" to be extended back enough in history to include Marx and Lenin!

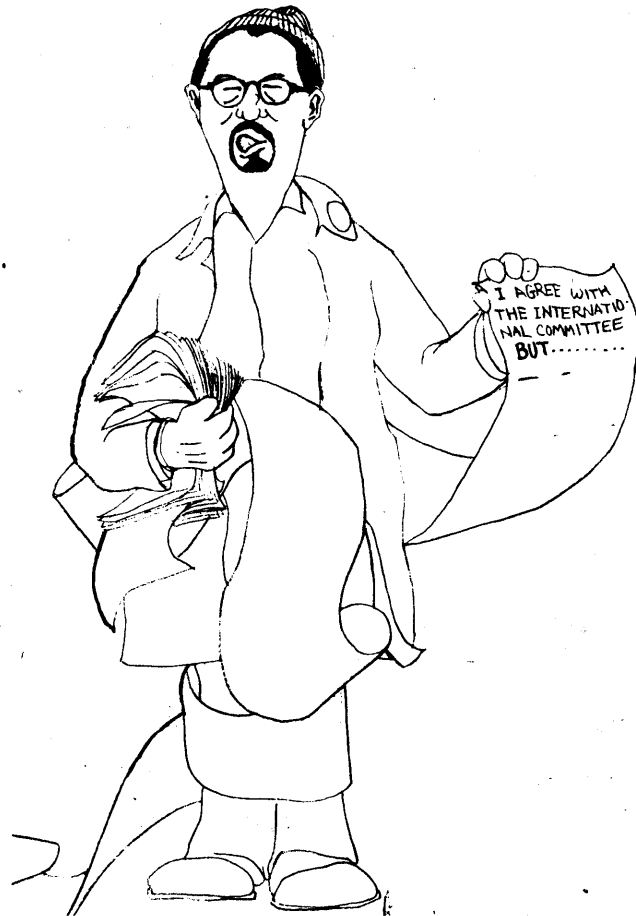
All in all Treiger and Robertson seem perfectly matched. There do, however, remain two little problems. Will surface agreement today be shattered tomorrow by events developing underneath the surface? Is it Treiger who is to be fused into Spartacist or is it Spartacist which is to be fused into the Communist Working Collective? As the experience of the SWP—which carried through their "Leninist Fusion" in 1963—bears witness, such matters can in time take on great importance.

**WORKERS**

It is our deep conviction that the revolutionary movement must be built by rooting itself in the working class—particularly its youth. It will be built essentially by new forces, forces just coming into politics today. These are forces far freer from the conservative influence of the boom period, forces born as the boom was nearing its end, nurtured under conditions of the Vietnam war, of the ghetto rebellions and maturing under the impact of Nixon's new economic policies.

Our concern with the Treigers, the Robertsons and even the SWP is not so much a matter of fusions and forces as it is the question of clarifying this new generation through a theoretical struggle against all this old radicalism, circleism and conservatism with its stench of the complacency of the American middle class nurtured precisely by the world dominance of American imperialism.

# cist nciple



turn Trotskyist April 24 demonstration (above, left) into unity with Maoists who support butchery of Bangla Desh. Robertson (above, right) carries out this 'fusion' and lines up with Stalinists from position of complete hostility to Fourth International.

**LENIN**

It is precisely the SWP's hostility to understanding the development of the Trotskyist movement, its refusal to confront the lessons to be learned from the growth of revisionism within it, that today brings it so close to the Stalinists on political questions. It is precisely PL's hostility to Trotskyism historically rooted in its defense of Stalin and Stalinism, which leads it today, to the extent that it breaks with Mao, to deepen its break with Lenin himself. Today Progressive Labor writes:

"The old communist movement, led by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, is dead as a revolutionary force." It then proceeds to attack Marx and Marxism for "determinism" and to denounce "the Bolshevik Strategy" as the cause

Communist Working Collective. The latter is a small group led by Marvin Treiger. Treiger started out as a member of the Communist Party. He then joined the extreme Maoist Revolutionary Union which openly lauds Stalin and has engaged in a number of physical attacks on Trotskyists and groups accused of being Trotskyist.

Last winter and spring we began a series of discussions with this group in the hopes of breaking them both from Maoism and their circle "collective" existence. The difficulty was, however, that the group would approach the question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism in an academic manner abstracted from the real struggles of the working class from which it maintained as great a distance as possible. We could not help but wonder if Treiger was seeking in "Trotskyism" an ideology



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Starting from this perspective, and not  
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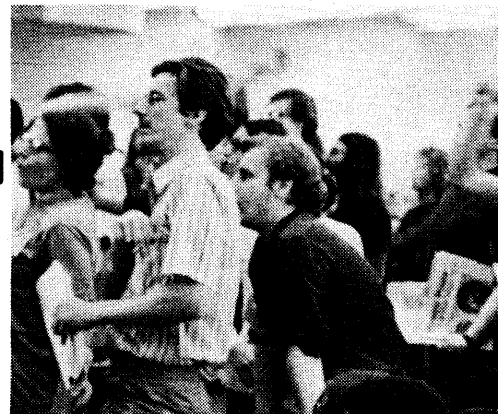
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# Spartacist and political principle

By Tim Wohlforth



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## and political principle

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 for disruption. Unlike the International  
 Socialists and Labor Committee, we do  
 not stand aside on such matters but  
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 action. Despite our fundamental politi-  
 cal differences with the SWP we are more



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# NIXON & NEO-CAPITALISM

## ... Roberts, Mandel

(Continued From Page 7)

in terms of "a long cycle of much slower growth and many more crises" and then proceeds to give as an example of what he means the state of the world economy from 1966-67 to the present.

In other words there is not a glimmer in Mandel of any transformation of the present stage of the crisis into a return to the 1930s, and to a world depression.

In the opening of Mandel's article he pompously declares that the present crisis means that the perspective of Marxism (i.e. of Pabloism) has been richly confirmed.

### CONFIRMED

The fact of the matter is that the very opposite is true. The perspective of Pabloism, and neo-capitalism has been completely refuted. It is the perspec-

tive of the International Committee that has been confirmed.

The SWP and Mandel think that they can jump on the bandwagon today now that the crisis has broken onto the surface and suddenly give attention to the economic crisis that they ignored for twenty years. They will find, however, like all other revisionists who now suddenly come alive with bits and pieces from the rag bag of their Trotskyist past, that

history cannot be evaded. The actual instrument that makes possible a correct orientation in the present crisis is the experience built up in twenty years of struggle against Pabloite revisionism, in particular the theories of Ernest Mandel.

It is only on the basis of that experience that the leadership can be assembled that will now lead the working class to power.

## 2. Mandel On Europe And America

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE of the Fourth International during the whole period of its struggle against Pabloite revisionism has insisted that the postwar economic boom was a temporary phenomena. We said that it was based, once the postwar betrayals of Stalinism had been carried through, above all upon the decisions taken at Bretton Woods in 1944 to inflate paper currency.

We said, furthermore, that the inflation of paper currency must at a certain point come into head on collision with the law of value. In other words the law of value, which ultimately evaluates all commodities from the standpoint of the socially necessary labor time consumed in their production, would explode the artificially depressed \$35 per ounce gold price and force a huge devaluation of the dollar.

Roberts and Mandel are forced to cast about for the most superficial of explanations for the monetary crisis because they cannot and will not confront the significance of the break between the dollar and gold.

In his new book, *Europe Versus America*, it is clear that Mandel agrees with the majority of bourgeois economists that there is very little importance to gold

in the present monetary set up.

In the section of this book dealing with the monetary crisis, Mandel makes an extensive attack upon the French economist Jacques Reuff who has advocated a general return to the gold standard. Mandel's own attitude becomes clear when he attacks Reuff for wanting to "turn history back to the era before Keynes." He dismisses all talk of a return to gold as "pure fantasy," and deprecates Reuff's warning of a new 1929. He comes down very decisively on the side of that section of the bourgeoisie who advocate "paper gold" as a solution to monetary problems.

In fact he says:

"The most far sighted European capitalists recognize that their interests are similar to those of American Capital in this respect and that these interests demand an extension of the means of international payment including the development of a world currency ('paper gold'). This would improve the state of the international liquidity quite independently of sterling or the dollar."

### ILLUSIONS

Mandel is merely expressing his own illusions when he says this without critical comment of the American bourgeoisie: "The Americans believe that the stability of the dollar is not based on their gold reserves but on the colossal productive capacity of the American economy, and the huge volume of commodities thrown annually on the market at home and abroad."

We say that this is Mandel's position as well. There is no difference at all between asserting that the stability of the dollar is based upon America's productive capacity and the position put forward elsewhere by Roberts and Mandel that the present instability of the dollar is caused by a relative weakening of American productive capacity vis a vis Japan and Europe.

Productive capacity and productivity become the measure of the value of currency and the law of value is thrown out the window.

This does not prevent Mandel from paying lip service to this law. He says at one point in his analysis:

"It is worth recollecting that gold is a commodity whose value is also determined in the last analysis by the amount of socially necessary labor which produced it....A general return to the gold standard could not itself determine any fixed price for gold. The value of gold would determine the price of commodities. It is quite possible that if it were worked out in terms of hours of labor, the value of gold would be much higher by comparison with the average value of goods today than, say, 1913, 1929 or 1938. Probably the productivity of gold mining has not risen as fast as the productivity of other branches of industry; but all that means is that the gold-equivalent values of certain goods have fallen considerably. (What a disaster for capitalism!)"

What is clear is that while Mandel can assert an orthodox Marxist statement, he cannot develop this or grasp its significance in relation to practical conclusions.

The fall of the gold equivalent value of certain goods in particular paper money is not just a possibility but a definite fact. Nor is it a negligible fact as Mandel flippantly implies. It is the heart of the very real disaster that capitalism is now confronting.

### CRISIS

In the January 25, 1971 *Bulletin* we reprinted an article entitled "Philosophy and Political Economy" by Peter Jefferies. This drew the main outlines of the monetary crisis in the following terms:

"In 1934 the Americans fixed the price of gold at one fine ounce per 35 dollars, a price confined at the 1944 Bretton Woods talks..."

"Over the intervening 36 years since the dollar price of gold was established, prices in America have on the average risen three fold; yet the price of gold, the money commodity, has remained constant.

"On the other hand thanks to the relatively stable techniques of gold production, the value of gold has probably remained virtually constant.

"So the price of gold is grossly below its value; which is only the same as saying that the dollar is considerably overvalued in terms of the current American price level. Only a huge dollar devaluation or an equivalent increase in the gold price can restore the 'correct' relationship demanded by the law of value. In this situation 30 billion or so dollars circulating in Europe two thirds of which are unbacked by American gold, become an increasingly volatile factor in the situation.

"Only through the forcible destruction of the great majority of this paper money, along with a similar proportion of the increased paper share values built

up during the boom, can the value of gold in the world monetary system be forced into line with the value of commodities."

### DENY

This is what Mandel will not accept. Thus in his article "The Downfall of the Dollar" published in the September 10th issue of the *Militant*, Mandel continues to deny the connection between the dollar collapse and Bretton Woods. While Mandel recognizes that Bretton Woods has in fact collapsed, it is not the Bretton Woods decisions themselves, i.e., the decision to inflate paper currency which is seen as the cause of the collapse. Nor is the cause even inflation itself. Rather it is the fact that inflation took place faster in the United States than in Europe (presumably a reflection of changes in their relative competitive power).

Thus Mandel says:

"Things began to turn sour not because of inflation of the dollar—that had been going on uninterruptedly for thirty years. Things began to turn sour when the decline in buying power of the dollar became greater than that of other currencies."

In the same way the whole significance of the break between gold and the dollar is undercut on the grounds that this relation was by and large severed anyway with the two tier system in 1968. Again the real issue is seen as a question of the relative position of the respective imperialist powers. Mandel says:

"The real change announced August 15th was thus not the inconvertibility of the dollar, already in force for three years. The real change was the factual devaluation of the dollar, not in relation to gold but in relation to other currencies in the imperialist world."

It is clear that Mandel and the Pabloites will stop at no sophistry or subterfuge to evade along with the bourgeoisie the fact that gold, i.e., hard cash, must now forcibly assert itself against paper money and all the forms of credit that have mushroomed during the boom. To confront this issue would after all be to confront the correctness of the perspectives of the International Committee.

Against Mandel's whole thesis, however, it is possible to marshal not only the authority of the International Committee but Marx himself. On the issue in question Marx once wrote:

"Such a crisis (a monetary crisis) occurs only when the ever lengthening chain of payments and artificial means of settling them has been fully developed. Whenever there is a general and extensive disturbance of this mechanism, no matter what its cause, money (here Marx means gold) becomes suddenly transformed from its merely ideal shape of money of account, into hard cash. Profane commodities can no longer replace it....On the eve of the crisis the bourgeoisie, with the self sufficiency which springs from intoxicating prosperity, declares money to be a vain imagination.

"Commodities alone are money, but now the cry is everywhere money alone is a commodity! As the heart pants after fresh water so pants his soul after money the only wealth."

Today it is not just the bourgeoisie, as it scurries about seeking some way to replace Bretton Woods and to do away with gold that declares money a vain imagination, but Ernest Mandel as well.

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# BOOKS

ALEX STEINER

## History and Class Consciousness

**History and Class Consciousness, Studies in Marxist Dialectics.** By Georg Lukacs, translated by Rodney Livingstone, MIT Press, 1971, Cambridge, Mass.

**History and Class Consciousness** is today the most influential work of the Stalinist philosopher Georg Lukacs. Originally published in 1923 it has been a subject of controversy ever since. One of its first reviewers was Zinoviev, who attacked it as a revisionist work in 1924 at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International.

It was viewed by many at that time and today as presenting a Hegelianized Marxism. Its preoccupation with the topic of alienation and the "reified consciousness" found a sympathetic hearing among many petty bourgeois intellectuals who were concerned with the "humanistic" side of Marx. It became very influential among academic "Marxists" such as Marcuse, Horkheimer and Adorno of the Frankfurt school and in addition played a role in the existentialist rebellion against alienation. In recent years it has become a sort of Bible of the New Left, particularly with groups like the German SDS.

The author reassesses the book and the role it has played in a Preface written for a new edition in 1967. He believes that one of the positive aspects of the book was his attempt to demonstrate the continuity between the thought of Marx and Hegel, and its concentration on Marxism as a method and not a dogma. Among its negative features he admits to a certain idealism in the exposition of some of the major concepts in the work which was to some extent a reflection of what he calls a "messianic optimism" of the period towards the possibility of world revolution.

This "messianic optimism" was a current within the Communist International in the early 1920s and included such sectarians as Pannekoek and Bordiga. Lukacs became involved with this current, which Lenin called "infantile ultra-leftism" when he lived in Vienna in the early 1920s, having been forced into exile as a result of the fall of the Hungarian Soviet, in which he held a government office.

The theme of the book, particularly of its central philosophical essays, "What Is Orthodox Marxism?" "Class Consciousness," and "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat" is that Marxism finds the solution to the problem posed by classical philosophy. This problem can be expressed in the search for a unified, rational understanding of the world and all its contents. Classical philosophy from Descartes on tended to see knowledge as the product of a creative activity of the human mind. The presupposition of the thinkers from Descartes to Kant was that man can only know that which he himself has constructed.

### QUANTIFICATION

Because classical philosophy expressed the world outlook of a social class, the rising bourgeoisie, its development could not go beyond a certain limit. Lukacs locates the development of classical philosophy (as well as the development of political economy and jurisprudence) in the necessity of the bourgeoisie to rationalize and formalize all aspects of reality so that everything would be amenable to quantification and calculation.

This springs from the transformation of the productive process from a qualitative relationship between men into a quantitative relationship between things, i.e., what Marx called the "fetishism of commodities." All aspects of reality, if they are to be understood, must be related quantitatively and all qualitative distinctions are to be abolished. Science develops by mathematizing nature, law by formalizing equality among citizens, economics by abstracting and generalizing

labor in order to be able to quantify it, and philosophy becomes concerned with developing the thesis that only that which can be formalized and quantified is real.

The consequences of this development of thought is that when the limits of formalization are reached, reality becomes fractured under the province of so many special sciences, each with their particular techniques and presupposed methods. Furthermore, the substance of content of these particular sciences falls out of the range of the sciences itself. Ultimately we can have no substantial knowledge but only formal rules which serve our purpose of manipulation.

### KANT

The sharpest and clearest expression of this is found in Kant's critical philosophy wherein the province of the understanding can only deal with the necessary forms of knowledge which must work on a given content in order to be real knowledge. Furthermore, this given content is only a kind of reflection of a thing-in-itself, about which we can have no perception.

This is further elaborated in Kant's ethics, wherein an act can only be judged ethical if it conforms to certain universal laws to which all ethical acts by their nature must conform. But nothing can be said in any substantive way about what kind of life human beings should lead. This is out of the proper province of ethics.

### HEGEL

This was the limit to which the formal contemplative method could lead. Kant was the first person to explicitly demarcate this limit. German idealism, particularly Hegel, tried to go beyond this limit. Hegel correctly saw the limit reached as a necessary limit that grew out of the formal-contemplative method. He therefore discovered the dialectical method which could be realized through human practice, not through contemplation.

The subject and object of knowledge are dialectically related. In order to know the object, the subject must penetrate it, must change it and in the process change itself.

Hegel found such a process in history. He saw that the history of thought was the history of man's struggle against nature. However, Hegel could not ground this history in the real history of men, but saw it as the history of man's concepts and their development. The knowledge of totality that this history strives for could not be located in history, but in the Absolute Spirit which stands outside of history.

### PROLETARIAT

Now according to Lukacs, Marx was able to find within history what Hegel could not, i.e., the proletariat, a class that had the potential for achieving knowledge of the totality, i.e., a knowledge of its genesis and evolution out of the historical process and the historical role granted it through its relation to the means of production. This self understanding of the class involves constituting itself as a class for itself which can transform society and bring to fruition all of man's previous history.

Thus, the proletariat, for Lukacs, is the identical-subject-object within history that had eluded Hegel. It is the one class that has the potential for understanding its own genesis in history and its real role in the productive process (not the role which the alienated bourgeois consciousness ascribes to it) and through this understanding it can transform itself and society in such a way as to begin to undertake man's cooperative development of the productive forces. Man can finally, therefore, be the master of his own history and not be subject to the tyranny of the laws of history and nature. Man's practice can thus become fully conscious, when the object of history

constitutes itself as its subject. Man's practical critical activity overcomes the limitations of contemplative thought—attaining knowledge of the concrete totality.

### IDEALIST

In this Lukacs tries to demonstrate how Marx solved the problem of classical philosophy. What is completely left out of this account however is the concrete economic and historical investigations Marx had to undertake in order to understand the situation of the working class in society. Furthermore, Marx just did not merely posit the proletariat as the solution to the problem of classical philosophy. At each point in the development of his thought he was intimately involved with the actual struggles of the working class of his day. His own development as a dialectical materialist could not be understood separately from that.



Georg Lukacs

Lukacs presents what is really an idealist notion of the dialectic and the development of class consciousness. His book is famous for, among other things, its attack on Engels and the dialectics of nature. According to Lukacs, dialectical development takes place only in history because only in history is man an active participant. He rejects the dialectics of nature, and he considers Engels' investigations in this to be mistaken. This position completely denies the material basis of dialectics. If dialectics is conceived as necessarily involving a conscious subject, then its whole basis must be purely subjective.

The unity of the world is thereby fragmented. Nature and the social world are split apart and different processes apply to each. Furthermore, what method other than dialectics can explain motion and change in the natural world—if it exists what is this method? The laws of dialectical development are abstracted out of the material world. They are not invested into the world by subject.

### CONSEQUENCES

This has consequences for Lukacs' understanding of the social world as well. First of all, we cannot regard the subject-object relationship as the paradigm of all dialectical relationships. Let us consider how the working class achieves class consciousness. As Lukacs would have it, it is the very nature of the proletariat to live a reified existence, i.e., to be made into a commodity.

Since the proletariat experiences this relationship of wage labor not merely as a quantitative one but as a qualitative one as well (i.e., they cannot experience the lengthening of the work day for example, as merely a quantitative modification as does the capitalist), they have the potentiality to break through the veil of reified consciousness.

Thus, class consciousness is merely a question of the proletariat becoming aware of its real situation by contemplating the contradictory status that class society imposes upon it. It is merely a relationship between the proletariat and

its historical role, i.e., it is simply the relation of a subject to a social object.

This is to completely miss the element of struggle in the situation. The proletariat is not simply moved to become aware of its historical role through contemplating the contradiction involved in its general situation. It is the struggle over its share of surplus value, the reflection in capitalist society of man's material struggle against nature, which animates it and makes it possible (and only possible) to search for a theoretical understanding of its situation.

This struggle takes on a concrete, day to day form. A revolutionary theory for the working class must face up to the reality of the day to day struggle in order to develop the proper set of tactics and strategy with which the working class can advance.

Lukacs however, can only see general situations and general trends—precisely because his methods lead him to unify theory and practice in his concepts. One need not therefore face up to the real problems of the class struggle—of learning to bring our theory into our practice and learning from our practice in order to develop theory.

It is this kind of idealism that explains why he was involved, at the time of the writing of *History and Class Consciousness* in an ultra-left faction of the Communist International. This failure to confront the actual day to day problems posed in the revolutionary movement led easily enough to taking refuge in ultra-left formulas. Lukacs himself describes the period in which the book was written as one of "messianic optimism." This faction was characterized by Zinoviev and Bukharin's conception in the early 1920s of the revolutionary offensive.

### RESIGNATION

However, by 1924, what had been described as "messianic optimism" becomes a passive resignation to the "theory" of "socialism in one country" and the of the bureaucracy. Just as he was swept up by an "optimistic" general line so he becomes swept up by a pessimistic one after 1924. The change in perspective in the Comintern was fed by the defeats suffered by the working class internationally.

Instead of trying to make an objective assessment of the class struggle as it then stood and the necessary preparatory work that must be undertaken before it will revive once again, Stalin's faction completely adapted to the prevailing mood of defeat and retreated into the reactionary utopian conception of building socialism in one country.

Lukacs went along with the bureaucracy completely and he had been at their side ever since until his recent death.

We need not go into a recapitulation of Lukacs' political history which is notable for the many twists and turns that Lukacs underwent in order to remain in favor with the bureaucracy. What has been constant throughout his political life has been a method that divorces theory from practice.

The roots of Lukacs' idealism is the denial of any material basis to dialectics. Theory therefore remains contemplative because it cannot really penetrate the material world and change it. Ideology therefore is not seen as a material force in history. History takes on an life of its own to which we must adapt.

Thus Lukacs' political history is marked by a willingness to repudiate his ideas (even when he persisted in thinking them correct) in order to maintain his ties with the Stalinist bureaucracy. On a host of questions he remained silent to his death.

The essence of his thought has always been to conceptualize the unity of theory and practice—not to live it. It is this characteristic that makes him so attractive today to the New Left. He provides a "Marxist" style without any obligation to build a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power.



## CP AND STEEL . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

the right to vote on the contract compelled the union leaders to submit the contract to a meeting of 600 local union presidents, completely by-passing the much smaller Wage Policy Committee."

Every word of this is a complete lie. The Wage Policy Committee is chosen by majority vote of delegates to the union's district conferences, usually held biennially. Committee members are apportioned among the districts on the basis of membership. International officers and district directors are also committee members.

But the "600 local union presidents," the USWA Basic Steel Industry Conference, is chosen even more undemocratically. To begin with, there are 400, not 600 local union presidents. To this are added 200 staff representatives assigned to those locals, all appointed by Abel.

Abel walks into this conference with one third of the votes dependent upon him for their jobs. The other 400 all have one vote, whether they represent big mills with over 10,000 workers, or steel warehouses with less than one hundred.

After this, West makes some formal criticisms of the productivity clause, the clauses relating to racism, and barely touches on the mass layoffs and the relation of Nixon's wage freeze to all of this. Implied is the idea that Abel could do a better job if only he had a more democratic union structure to work within. Despite all the talk about rank and file movements, the CP never intends, or proposes, that such movements be based on the need to build a leadership to replace Abel.

It is no accident, then, that the CP-supported caucuses in the USWA—the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee and the Rank and File Team—have been silent about the new contract.

The CP's Steel and Metal Workers Commission in West's article has its own ideas on how to fight the productivity clause: "Stressing that the fight has just begun, with the action now shifted to the local unions and the mills, the Steel and Metal Commission calls for 'a great, concerted movement of the membership to nullify in fact

## NIXON . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

bosses want to do much more, and they also want to eliminate the absenteeism which is only a result of the inhuman conditions the workers presently have to endure.

This attack is part of a worldwide war on the working class. To obscure this Nixon attempts to use nationalism. It is the economic crisis which forces him to come forward with statements reminiscent of the 1930s:

"In this quarter century America has given generously of itself and of its resources—and we have done this because we are America, and America is a good and generous nation. In the years ahead, we will remain a good and generous nation—but the time has come to give new attention to America's own interests here at home."

Translated into the language of the class struggle, it is clear that Nixon warns that American capitalism can no longer afford even the pittance it has

and eventually to knock out the productivity clause altogether."

By shifting the fight to "local unions and the mills" no fight against Abel is put forward. But the CP leaders know quite well that where local union officers refuse to serve on the productivity committees, Abel will impose a trusteeship and appoint staff representatives or other hacks to these same committees.

Where the productivity clause leads to is becoming clearer every day. U.S. Steel now proposes indefinite layoffs for its Duluth mill affecting some 40% of its labor force and Republic will shut its ore mine in Port Henry, N.Y., throwing 400 miners on the streets. The CP is silent on this.

Instead, they argue that the productivity clause must be gotten rid of "eventually." With this same type of perspective, the leaders of the United Mine Workers in the 1950s not only never got rid of productivity clauses, but lost 80% of their coal mine members in the process. This is where the CP's covering for Abel will lead if a revolutionary leadership is not developed inside the USWA.

### NATIONALIZATION

Recognizing the severe economic crisis the steel industry finds itself in, the CP proposes to solve it through what they call "democratic nationalization."

What they mean by this is very clearly spelled out:

"Instead of using workers' tax money to bail out Big Business whose only interest is making maximum profits, let the government take over and run them at controlled-minimum profit in the interest of the people." But this is to be a reform within the capitalist system, to be carried out by a coalition government.

Unfortunately for all the Jim Wests and Gus Halls of the Stalinist movement, we are no longer in the period of the 1930s, where a working class, demoralized by depression could be harnessed through the "anti-monopoly" popular fronts to the world war. Today a movement can and will be built in the USWA which fights to dump the 1971 contract, and for a policy of nationalization of the industry, without compensation to its present owners and under workers control.

been spending on foreign aid, that it must savagely attack European and Japanese capitalism, that it must pay more attention to the class struggle at home.

And finally Nixon concludes with the most demagogic appeal to racism and a blatant attempt to split the working class:

"No work is demeaning or beneath a person's dignity if it provides food for his table and clothes and shelter for his children. The thing that is demeaning is for a man to refuse work and then to ask someone else who works to pay taxes to keep him on welfare."

What cynicism and contempt this statement expresses! Where are all the jobs these lazy welfare recipients refuse to accept? There are not even jobs at poverty wages, much less jobs which "provide food for his table and clothes and shelter for his children." Nixon is a liar and he knows it.

Nixon has spelled out his program. These are the words of a

## ATTICA . . .

(Continued From Page 3)

cial one.

Tom Wicker, the observer for the New York Times reports how one prisoner had shouted "To oppressed people all over the world. We got the solution. The solution is unity." He describes the movement with "its strikingly effective organization, its fierce political radicalism, its submergence of racial animosity in class solidarity."

He goes on in his report of September 16:

"That kind of organization not to mention the unity displayed by the prisoners, would have been impossible if there had been racial discord in Block D....The human security chains were interracial; the leadership committee features at least three white men although the rebelling inmates must have been at least 84% Black and Puerto Rican."

On Sunday the prison authorities announced they would meet demands for social reform but denied the demand for minimum wage coverage and above all the demand for amnesty from criminal prosecution and reprisals. According to Rockefeller these demands were beyond his "constitutional authority."

But the prisoners clearly understood the nature of the state's agreement to the 28 demands. They were merely the sop to get them to surrender so the troops could move in and physically liquidate the leaders and suppress the whole movement, making the conditions much worse than any they have faced in the past. As one of the leaders of the rebellion put it: "If we cannot live as people, we will at least try to die like men."

The government never had any intention of meeting these demands but all the while they were preparing for the massacre. There was no room for compromise, no more than there is with the demands of the working class as a whole for wages, jobs and conditions in this period of capitalist crisis.

This is what reveals the absolute bankruptcy of the negotiators who sought a compromise between the prisoners and the government. This committee included Herman Badillo, the man who sold out the prisoners who rebelled in New York last fall and who together with Shirley Chisholm opened the door to the brutal reprisals that followed.

man and a class which is bent on the most ruthless attacks against all workers. And these are the words and the policies which are supported in all fundamentals by the Democrats as well as the Republicans.

The capitalists will say they cannot meet the demands for jobs and decent living standards. Meanwhile the employers get fatter on profits. This is the meaning of all of Nixon's crisis measures.

This can only be answered by a fight for socialist policies, a fight against capitalism. We must fight to nationalize industry without compensation under workers control. We must fight for a planned economy to provide jobs, eradicate poverty, slums and welfare, and destroy the seeds of racism, inflation and war.

The first step in the political fight which Nixon has finally and openly thrust before the working class is the construction of a labor party to fight for this program.

These scoundrels then washed their hands of the affair. Badillo was running around pleading for Rockefeller to come to Attica.

These are the forces that the Communist Party seeks to trust with the fate not only of the inmates but the working class as a whole. The committee also included William Kunstler, the "radical" lawyer, Arthur Eve, an assemblyman and "prison reformer," Clarence Jones, the editor of the Amsterdam News, representatives of the Young Lords Party and the Black Muslims, newspaper reporters, and a representative of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee.

When Jones read the demands that the head of the prison had agreed to, some of the prisoners laughed and the rest expressed their hostility with silence. Kunstler played a particularly reactionary role, taking his words out of the script of the labor bureaucracy on the eve of a sellout, saying that the agreement was the best they could arrange.

Bobby Seale refused to take part in this deal and was denied entrance into the cellblock. As he later said:

"This morning the Commissioner and his aides did not let me in, saying that if I was not going inside to encourage the prisoners to accept the so-called demands made by the committee, they did not want me. I'm not going to do that."

The prisoners refused to compromise. As the committee was

## SSEU . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

On September 27, 11 centers will undergo reorganization training. The CNL has opened up a campaign firstly for a petition campaign for a membership meeting on September 22, inasmuch as Hill refuses to call such a meeting. Basing our understanding on the very strength of the situation, we will demand that the 11 centers refuse to go into training for Reorganization unless the following demands are met.

- 1) No contractual violations.
- 2) Absolute guidelines on man-

## WAGE FREEZE . . .

(Continued From Page 2)

progressive trade union leader.

Meany now keeps his mouth shut after warning only a week ago that controls enforced by the courts are "the road to fascism." This same gentleman only days after making that warning sits down to collaborate with the leading spokesman of the bosses, who is now embarked on this road to destroy the unions and the power of the working class.

A vicious deal is being hatched behind the backs of the rank and file workers. Nixon will announce his dedication to "free collective bargaining" and "voluntary cooperation" and the labor leaders will commence to help him cut living standards and destroy the unions.

This is what lies behind the call for a wage-price board and Treasury Secretary Connally's statement that no new legislation would be needed and that voluntary cooperation would be key. At the same time, as Connally has also explained, Nixon has all the power he needs to deal with any who exercise their right not to comply. Thus the union leadership from Meany on

urging that they give up and trying to disarm them, the troops were loading their guns.

The war that was opened up in the Attica prison is a war against the entire working class. When the prison rebellions broke out in New York last year, we said:

"What underlies this series of prison riots and those only a month ago in New York and other parts of the country is the growing frustration with the repression and oppression of the capitalist system. It is above all the class struggle which lies behind the rebellions."

The attacks on the Attica prisoners are all the more brutal because of the sharpening of the class struggle.

The very survival of the working people as Attica shows, now requires the fight for power. There is no room for compromise. Those who seek to compromise now open the door to bloody defeat. Attica expresses the future of the struggles of the working class. It is the unions that will next face the guns of the troopers. We must prepare now by building a political party, a labor party, based on the power of the organized working class which fights the vicious racism of the bosses and the government by uniting the workers, youth and minorities to launch the fight to bring down this death house that is capitalism.

ning ratios for service units and income maintenance units.

3) Full guarantees that case-workers and case aides placed in income maintenance units are transferred back to service units within the centers.

4) Absolute job description and specifications for all community-based work, with complete and equitable staffing quotas before Outreach begins.

5) Schedules of civil service examinations for investigators and human resources specialists. No cooperation with reorganization unless such guidelines are met.

down is perpetrating a gigantic lie, helping to create the facade of voluntary compliance behind which is the naked force of the capitalist government,

A five or six percent guideline for wage increases, enforced with the aid of Meany and Co., would be a tremendous blow against the working class.

The prospect is thus for tremendous strike struggles and political confrontations with the capitalist government itself in the immediate period ahead. In the course of these struggles workers will find that nothing short of general strike action will stop Nixon in his attempts to drag us back to the 1930s. Nothing short of a political fight with the building of a labor party to defeat Nixon and smash capitalism will be required.

The ranks of the labor movement must take up the fight now for:

**DEFY THE WAGE FREEZE!  
NO UNION REPRESENTATIVES  
ON NIXON'S BOARDS AIMED  
AGAINST THE UNIONS AND THE  
ENTIRE WORKING CLASS! NO  
COOPERATION WITH THE  
WAGE FREEZE OR CONTROLS  
IN ANY FORM!**

## Khrushchev's Death

# Imperialists Mourn Stalin's Heir



BY DAVE GREEN

Nikita S. Khrushchev, who in 1956 assumed control of the Soviet bureaucracy after struggling for thirty years to serve its interests and survive its intrigues, died last Saturday in his bed at the age of 77.

The capitalist press, recalling Khrushchev's suppression of the Hungarian Revolution and other rearguard actions in defense of imperialism, has decorated his passing with extravagant eulogies. Khrushchev's successors, who ousted the late premier from power in 1964, have found it necessary to ignore the details of his political life. As usual, they live in dread of history. The heirs of Stalin desire above all to avoid mentioning the "secret speech" that Khrushchev delivered before the Twentieth Party Congress.

Although the "secret speech" strongly condemned Stalin only in order to defend the bureaucracy to which Khrushchev owed his political existence, any public airing of the ruling clique's dirty linen would run against the current needs of the Soviet leadership. Brezhnev is committed to a total rehabilitation of Stalin so that the methods of Trotsky's murderer may be unleashed against the increasingly militant Russian workers.

There is another reason for the near silence that has marked the official Soviet acknowledgement of Khrushchev's death. At the time of his purge in 1964, Khrushchev was held responsible for the severe problems afflicting the Soviet economy and the deterioration of relations with China. In the seven years that have passed since Khrushchev was purged, conditions in both areas have grown more dangerous. For the bureaucracy to open a frank discussion of the causes of Khrushchev's demotion would risk an admission of not only its own political failures but also of the reactionary character of its rule.

### AGENT

The task of writing Khrushchev's obituary cannot be entrusted to either the capitalist press or the hack historians of *Pravda*. Neither cynical praise nor deliberate silence tell us anything about Khrushchev. He must be studied as an agent of particular class forces in the period following the October Revolution. In his political rise, ascendancy and fall, Nikita Khrushchev reflected the struggles of the bureaucracy that emerged from the peculiar conditions that attended the overthrow of capitalism in Russia.

Born during the reign of Tsar Alexander III, Khrushchev eeked out of life as miserable an existence as his peasant ancestors until the liberating gusts of the Revolution drove before him new and undreamt of possibilities. The victory of 1917 owed nothing to the efforts of Khrushchev. It gave everything to him—including, apparently, political ambition. He soon found a place for himself in the growing bureaucracy enveloping the Bolshevik Party.

In the period following the civil war, Lenin often voiced his concern over the entrance of thousands of untrained Marxists and careerists into the party. Drastic reductions in the membership of the party—totally non-violent and strictly principled—were made under the supervision of the Bolshevik Central Committee. However, after the death of Lenin, the bureaucratic clique used mass recruitment as a means of lowering the theoretical level of the party. Stalin based his

drive for power upon those elements that found books useful only as objects to be thrown during political meetings at members of the Left Opposition.

### STALIN

From the beginning of his political career, Khrushchev identified Stalin's leadership as the source of his own advancement. The privileges conferred by membership in the party were defended against the demands in behalf of the workers made by the Left Opposition. As Trotsky once noted, the slogan of the bureaucracy was "Not everything for the Revolution; something for me too." Although later in his career Khrushchev admitted the doubts he had about Stalin's character, he never displayed the slightest hesitation in carrying out the will of the dictator. He faithfully conducted the murders of suspected Trotskyists in the Ukraine, and when necessary composed poems to the glory of Stalin. What is most important to understand is that Khrushchev was a dedicated Stalinist from the moment that political trend was first identified by Trotsky.

After the death of Stalin, the bureaucracy was thrown into bitter factional

to the American presidency. And Khrushchev considered the Nuclear Disarmament Treaty to be the crowning glory of his career.

As for the trigger happy adventurism of which his successors disapproved, even most "radical" action taken by Khrushchev—the placing of missiles in Cuba—was made not in defiance of American imperialism but in the hope of wringing concessions from it. Khrushchev's betrayals of the working class were limited not by his intentions but by the period in which he lived. In the one great opportunity he had to crush revolution—in Hungary in 1956—Khrushchev rolled up his sleeves and went to work.

### CRISIS

The decline of Khrushchev coincided with the period that marked the end of the postwar boom and the entrance of the capitalist nations into deep and obvious crisis. It is such a period—the one in which we are living today—that exposes the political bankruptcy of Stalinism. The pressure applied by imperialism against the workers states pushes the bureaucrats to their knees.

The bureaucracy grew restless under

Khrushchev as industrial riots erupted in the summer of 1962 in Rostov-on-Don. The anxiety of the bureaucracy increased as the economy faltered—a development that is the necessary outcome of the attempt to build "Socialism in One Country" when the international division of labor is still determined by the demands of capitalism. The mounting tension on the Chinese border disturbed the Russian bureaucracy although the difficulties stemmed not from the mistakes of Khrushchev but from the clash of petty-nationalist cliques for the crumbs left by imperialism.

### RESCUE

The Soviet bureaucracy, thrown into confusion by the on-rushing crisis of capitalism, sought to rescue itself by dumping Khrushchev. Acting as pragmatists, the group surrounding Brezhnev and Kosygin thought it could evade the central questions posed by the new difficulties simply by denouncing Khrushchev in the manner in which Khrushchev had denounced Stalin. So epithets were hurled at Khrushchev—"hare-brained," "subjective"—and the case was closed. But as Peter Arnold wrote in the *Newsletter* shortly after Khrushchev's deposition: "The 'hare-brained' schemes... were Khrushchev's attempts to avert the real alternatives that confront the Soviet Union: restoration of capitalism or a working class revolution."

### TERROR

The crisis of the bureaucracy could not be resolved by the removal of Khrushchev. In fact, there exists no solution to its problems outside of its abolishment by the working class through political revolution. The bureaucracy comprehends this fact, and therefore it seeks to prevent such a solution by the use of naked terror.

It would be completely incorrect to think that a shift took place in Soviet domestic and foreign policy as a result of Khrushchev's downfall. Throughout his life he betrayed and butchered as the bureaucracy demanded. It was only the interests of the bureaucracy that led him to denounce Stalin; and had his political fortune been more generous, Khrushchev could have led the rehabilitation of his teacher. We have learned that such zigs and zags are common to Stalinists.



Khrushchev, here with British Prime Minister McMillan was loyal follower of Stalin.

disputes that reflected the forward movement of the international working class. The bureaucracy, in order to subdue the thrust against its privileges, turned against the memory of the man through whom it had exercised power so long. Khrushchev, when he strode before the Twentieth Party Congress to deliver his 20,000 word denunciation of the dead tyrant, intended only to declare "Stalin is dead. Long live Stalinism." For as his own tenure in power revealed, Khrushchev shared his mentor's ruthless determination to maintain the interests of the bureaucracy by undermining the interests of the working class and seeking an accommodation with imperialism. "Peaceful Coexistence" was nothing more than Khrushchev's rephrasing of "Socialism in One Country."

### HOT AIR

In the conduct of foreign policy, Khrushchev did not stray one inch from the guidelines established by Stalin. With the denunciation of Stalin still ringing in the ears of the Russian bureaucrats, Khrushchev let it be known that the interests of capitalism and communism are not irreconcilable. The fabled Khrushchev temper was nothing but a lot of hot air.

He may have made a scene at the United Nations by banging his shoe but he still remained in the "thieves kitchen". He may have thundered about his plans to bury capitalism but he often boasted about how he helped to elect John Kennedy

## Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA

by Fred Mueller

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## England

# Factory Occupation Movement Spreads

**BY A CORRESPONDENT**  
FOLLOWING ON THE heels of the occupation of the Upper Clyde shipyards in Scotland, workers at the Plessey engineering firm occupied the Dunbartonshire plant September 3rd. This plant is only 20 miles from the Clyde shipyards in Glasgow.

The occupation is the answer of the Plessey workers to the companies' plan to close the plant down and ship all the machinery to its other installations. Local union official Ian McKee and chief shop steward Eddie McLafferty addressed a rally at the plant gates to build support among townspeople and fellow trade unionists for the occupation.

Ian McKee said: "We have decided to take over this factory without apologies to anyone and we will stay in this establishment as long as we can. We have been driven to this action to prevent our jobs being taken away from us."

Speaking of the company's intention to increase their profits at the workers' expense, Eddie McLafferty said: "We intend to stop them. We have taken the factory over and we are not allowing any management in or trucks or wagons to take machinery out. If these gates close on us unemployment in the Vale of Leven will rise to 14 or 15%."

Shop stewards at a British Plessey plant have launched a solidarity campaign to support of the occupation and funds have poured in from local trade union branches.

### DEPRESSION

The real meaning of the occupation was demonstrated by the signs the Plessey workers held up: "Right to Work," and "Heath Out."

At the same time as this was taking place, 8,000 Coventry tool workers went on strike and the employers struck back by laying off 10,000 Chrysler and Jaguar workers. Austin Motors car company plans to lay off thousands of workers. The Lucas engineering plants have laid off 13,000 men and a total of 80,000 engineers in other areas face the same fate.

The British workers are faced with massive depression and unemployment on

the scale of the 1930s as a result of the desperate crisis of the capitalist system. The throwing of millions out of work, the passage of the Industrial Relations Bill which ties the unions completely to the state and the proposed entry into the Common Market are direct attacks on the livelihood of the working class.

These attacks will now be sharply stepped up as Nixon's trade war against the Western industrial nations leads to more shutdowns.

The Plessey and UCS shutdowns which testify to the growing determination of the workers to fight it out with the government is in sharp contrast to the policies of the labor bureaucracy who have held endless and fruitless negotiations with the Tory government on the layoffs. Instead of mobilizing the whole strength of the labor government in a general strike to force the government out they have uttered feeble protests while actually collaborating with the government in their attacks.

This is why the Communist Party of Britain consciously covered up any news of the Plessey occupation. Terrified of a spreading occupation movement politically directed against the government they have sought to keep these workers isolated while behind the scenes deals are worked out to accept the layoffs.

The Plessey action threatens the whole sellout being set up at Upper Clyde shipyards where leading Communist Party shop stewards have pledged support for speed up in return for a promise to keep a small section of the labor force at the yards.

No matter what concessions and cooperation are offered by the labor bureaucracy the Tory government is going full speed ahead with its plans to wipe out every right to a job and a decent wage that British workers have won.

From the beginning they refused to mobilize anything more than token actions against passage of the Industrial Relations Bill and allowed workers who were in major strike battles against the government to be defeated. All the while they maintained that the government could be persuaded to change its policies. In doing this they opened the rank and file workers to even greater attacks.



Over 1000 youth mobilized by British YS lobby TUC demanding it fight for unemployed.

At the annual Trades Union Congress conference in Blackpool which began September 5th these bureaucrats made it clear they intend to continue on this road of defeat.

A motion introduced by the engineers union leadership to not cooperate with the Industrial Relations Bill and to "de-register" unions from it was passed but another motion to actually expel any union which does register was defeated.

The defeat of the second motion exposes just how far the labor bureaucrats are willing to go to fight the Bill. Even the first motion was qualified by Vic Feather, head of the TUC, who said it would only work if all unions stood together. Thus the policy of the right wing union leaders to actually register with the Bill will be used as an excuse to wage no fight at all. There was not one word at the conference about a fight to bring down the government and to elect a Labour government.

### YOUTH

The Young Socialists, the youth movement in solidarity with the Socialist Labour League, organized a powerful 1,000 strong demonstration outside the conference of unemployed youth and school leavers to demand that the TUC organize and fight for trade union rights for the unemployed.

A section of the leaflet they distributed read: "There is no answer to unemployment within the crisis-ridden system of capitalism which the Tories represent. We call upon the TUC to give a lead to the working class and to young people everywhere by initiating a campaign to mobilize the whole strength of the trade union movement to make the Tories resign."

The experiences of British workers are essential for American workers who now face the same struggle. Unemployment is rising and is consciously used by Nixon to weaken the unions and drive down wages. The American labor leaders are preparing the same betrayals as their British counterparts. Meany's and Woodcock's open support for a government-labor board to hold down wages is the most abject capitulation to the government. It must be defeated.

All the protests have not stopped the attacks on labor in Britain and have forced British workers to confront the political questions, that is that only a general strike will defeat the government and that a Labour Party pledged to nationalization and withdrawal of all anti-union laws is the only alternative to a government bent on destruction of the working class.

## Israel

# Meir Regime Shaken By Growing Strike Wave

**BY MELODY FARROW**

THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT of Golda Meir has been thrown into a panic by the mass strike wave that is sweeping Israel. The devaluation of the Israeli currency August 22nd, has led to a sharp upsurge in the class struggle.

This month postal workers, customs officials at Tel Aviv airport and dock workers at Ashdod went on strike. On September 8th the customs workers widened their strike by refusing to handle agricultural goods. Foreign trade has been paralyzed. Foreign newspapers have continued to pile up at the airport.

Eight hundred workers at the Tel Aviv airport were back out after their strike was temporarily halted by the labor bureaucracy of Histadrut.

A series of strikes among civil servants of the military administration in the occupied areas has been snowballing as strikers are arrested and tried by the government.

The civil functionaries who work in the occupied areas of Gaza, Sinai and Jordan have threatened to strike unless the government annuls the prison sentences against 26 custom officials from the bridges of the Jordan river.

These 26 workers had themselves gone on strike to express their solidarity with the demands of their fellow workers. The civil servants are also protesting the intervention of the military courts to try the strikers.

The government has been whipping up a vicious tirade of slander and threats against the workers. A special meeting was held September 7th of the governing Labor Party and the "socialist" Mapam in order to prepare emergency regulations to end the strikes. The decisions of this meeting will be presented September 12th at the Council of Ministers.

### "PERIL"

At this meeting Golda Meir denounced the strikers as "hooligans" and warned of "the danger that the strikes pose for the whole state."

The president of the Council of Ministers declared that "The peril that threatens Israel comes from within, not from without." Minister of Housing Sheref proposed a ban on all strikes for six months.

Moshe Dayan called for the immediate jailing of all the strikers. He has said that the wage controls being planned by the government will not work and only brutal repression of the workers can stop the strikes.

This policy has been echoed by the pro-government paper Haaretz which stated that wage controls could not

work without high unemployment and called for a slowing up of production to create unemployment.

The daily paper Maariv accused the workers in civil aviation of "collaboration, even if innocent, with the Arab terrorists who want to sabotage civil aviation."

Other measures proposed are compulsory arbitration and bans on all wildcat strikes, cuts in public spending and more private enterprise at the expense of public sectors.

All of these statements express the tremendous fear of the Israeli bourgeoisie that Israeli workers will see through the myth of a united Israeli state in which all are equal. They fear above all that the Israeli workers will link up with the Arab workers in a common struggle against capitalism. The Israeli bourgeoisie is fully determined to deal ruthlessly with the working class and make no concessions.

At the root of this strike wave is the economic crisis which has been deepened by the devaluation of the Israeli pound on August 22nd. Inflation has been eating up all the gains the workers made. The direct result of the 20% devaluation was a sharp increase in the prices of food and heating. Bus fares went up from 25 to 30%.

The government workers were especially hard hit by a wage freeze two years ago called the "package deal" be-

cause it was supposed to freeze prices and taxes as well.

The role of Histadrut, the government controlled labor "union" has been to support the Zionists to the hilt. They form a key pillar of Meir's government. It was no accident that American Teamsters union president Fitzsimmons spoke at the Minnesota Histadrut Trade Union Council and called for labor cooperation in wage controls. Fitzsimmons is following the path of Histadrut which is not a labor union but a labor front for the government, to join the government in policing the working class.

### YOUTH

The offensive of Israeli workers is now combined with the movement of Sephardic youth called the Black Panthers who demonstrated August 22nd against discrimination in housing and jobs for Sephardic Jews. These youth are primarily of Iranian, Algerian or Moroccan origin.

The civil war which exploded in Jordan and has forced the nationalist Arab rules to turn sharply to the right is on the agenda in Israel.

What is posed now in Israel by these struggles is the unity of Israeli youth and workers in a political struggle against Zionism and imperialism which is linked to a fight for a United socialist Middle East of Jewish and Arab workers.

## West Coast News

# Oregon AFL-CIO Tops Applaud Strikebreakers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

PORTLAND—Labor bureaucrats in the state of Oregon have revealed their plans to head off any movement of the rank and file to wage a counterattack against Nixon's new economic policy.

At the annual, week-long convention of the state AFL-CIO, the bureaucrats passed resolutions which expressed utter contempt for the rank and file while at the same time gave standing ovations to the speeches of the most reactionary politicians of both capitalist parties.

One of the key resolutions passed by these agents of the capitalists states that "...the working population should not be penalized by wage controls." It goes on by saying that "Rising consumer prices have caused rising wage demands" and

### PRISON. . .

(Continued From Page 16)

to look. They tell us to come down this hall, we say, what about that hall! Dellums will see what he wants to see. He won't see the underground tunnels where they hold men in cells for two or three years.

Q. We say that the only defense for revolutionaries and political prisoners is the independent struggle of the working class for political power. We believe the youth can play a decisive role in this.

A. We have to force young people to see what's happening to them. In L.A., for example, the Watts festival has been taken out of the hands of the youth and made into the municipal government's festival. Out of 34 who died down there, 22 were youngsters. I resent the festival in the first place.

Q. We say that in order to beat back the attacks of the Democrats and Republicans on the unions, the youth, and revolutionaries, we must unite and construct an independent party of the working class, a labor party, to run its own candidates in 1972 against the capitalist parties.

A. It's necessary to unite all the people in order to be effective. The older workers should be the vanguard. They have the experience. But the leaders will be the youth. If you can unite them, you'll have a force the government can't reckon with.

that "...the convention urges the government to combat inflation by using general measures for the whole economy." The resolution ends by saying that "...the Oregon AFL-CIO will lend its full support if the restraints are even-handed..." It was George Meany, who in 1941 when wage controls were imposed, stated that "the government hadn't stopped the rise in the cost-of-living and that American workers didn't believe that prices would be controlled." Meany and his lieutenants are fully aware that the situation today is no different.

The utter contempt that the bureaucracy holds for the rank and file was revealed very clearly with the passing of a resolution on the salaries of officers of the Political Education Department. An amendment to the resolution was made calling for a cost-of-living provision for these officers.

As if these back-stabbings were not enough, the bureaucracy twisted the knife with their warm reception of the members of both capitalist parties who were invited to speak and who were allowed to hurl outright lies and threats at the labor movement.

Governor McCall was most brazen in stating that he and the AFL-CIO president had called for wage controls two years ago. After declaring his wholehearted support of Nixon's plan to carry out the second phase of the freeze, he launched an attack on the ILWU and asked the bu-

reaucrats to get the ranks to betray their brothers on the docks by bringing the longshoremen to a "table of reason." He also stated that threats of shutting down the nation are the "first rehearsals of terror in the streets."

Democratic presidential hopefuls Henry Jackson and George McGovern, realizing that their party lies in shambles and that their ties with the working class are rapidly being broken, spoke against Nixon's policies. It is these same Democrats who have been calling for wage controls for years now and who helped Nixon by passing the necessary legislation in Congress.

### ILLUSIONS

Although the post-war boom is over, the illusions of rank and file workers that trade union militancy is sufficient to protect the rights and gains of the working class linger on. As trade unionists are being driven further in the struggle for power, the agents of the capitalists in the form of the labor bureaucracy are determined to maintain these illusions under which the ruling class is laying the foundations for fascism.

The rank and file must commit their union leaders to the formation of a congress of labor, minorities, and youth to build a labor party against the Republicans and Democrats for the 1972 elections.

## Police Arrest Venceremos

BY BARRY ZVERKOV

Reagan, at a recent meeting of key state leaders, called upon California to be the number one state in restraining revolutionaries who are committing "mad dog type of activities." On the same day the police conducted a roundup of Venceremos members from their homes in Menlo Park. Two have been arrested so far and they are seeking others.

The juxtaposition of these two events is extremely significant, because it is not accidental that Reagan's "mad dogs" should begin moving so swiftly on command.

Venceremos has a long history of being attacked by the police,

particularly last year at Stanford after their sit-in at the hospital. But this new attack cannot be viewed apart from the deepening crisis of capitalism. For today, as the ruling class declares war on the trade unions, they must also proceed with the liquidation of all militants and revolutionaries.

Venceremos must be defended against this attack. At the same time it is crucial to expose their class role in preventing this leap in consciousness, particularly in the youth. This can be seen very clearly in their reaction to the assassination of George Jackson.

He had begun a conscious fight for Marxist theory. He was beginning to question and attack the policies and theories of the American Communist Party. His murder, which was necessary to the capitalists, was a direct blow against the working class, particularly the youth. But Venceremos, with their Marxist rhetoric, acts only as a left cover for the Stalinist betrayals of the Communist Party. They both seek to turn the youth away from the class issues, away from the crisis itself.

What is most crucial today and what the Workers League poses is the building of a revolutionary youth movement based on Marxism, around a program which can defeat the enemy, the capitalist class. The youth are vital to the revolution, for they form the vanguard, leading the class in its struggle for consciousness.



Steve Cherkoss of WL addressing forum on fighting wage freeze.

## Meeting Hits Freeze

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

LOS ANGELES—Thirty five workers, youth, students and unemployed attended a Workers League forum here on how to fight and defeat the wage freeze.

The meeting was held at the United Electrical Workers hall, Local 1421, and the Local President Billy Lloyd first spoke on how the wage freeze affected his local directly.

He spoke in particular about a recent unsanctioned work stoppage by the rank and file over an unreasonable suspension and a wage raise that was not granted because of the freeze.

He also spoke about the willingness of the rank and file to fight these attacks even in defiance of the national leadership.

The next speaker was Steve Cherkoss from the Workers League. He placed the wage freeze in the context of the whole international monetary crisis. The

wage freeze, like the Tories' Industrial Relation Bill is aimed at disciplining the working class and shifting the whole crisis onto the backs of the workers.

Cherkoss went on to explain the necessity for building an alternative leadership, in particular calling for a convocation of labor to construct a labor party on a socialist program as the only way to turn back these attacks.

In the discussion that followed, questions were brought up concerning the role of bourgeois parties.

A Workers League member from the audience criticized Lloyd's position which was that the way to fight the freeze was by building his particular local. The speaker then went on to explain that there was no individual solution on the local level, that the whole weight of the capitalist state is being thrown on the working class.

In the end Lloyd conceded that the attacks were political even though his union wanted to keep it on a bread and butter level.

## SWP To Oppose Alioto



Edmund Muskie

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—On Labor Day, the East Bay Labor Council exposed the real meaning of all its rhetoric opposing the wage freeze. The annual Labor Day Picnic was turned into a degrading spectacle as California labor bureaucrats attempted to boost the presidential prospects of Senator Edmund Muskie.

A small unenthusiastic crowd was all these fakers could turn out to hear Muskie support Nixon's freeze while calling for it to be more fairly applied.

Perhaps in a bid to out point their East Bay cousins the labor bureaucracy here is beginning to launch the campaign to reelect "labor's friend," Joseph Alioto, as mayor.

Alioto, the man who stole millions in legal fee splitting and today stands with the racists in opposing busing is hailed as labor's champion. This is his reward for laying off city workers, betraying the teachers strike and informing municipal employees that a 4% raise was in his opinion quite generous.

A big campaign must be launched in the unions against this betrayal. For the first time there will be a real alternative in the election. The Socialist Workers Party has announced that it will oppose Alioto, running Nat Weinstein for mayor on a program of opposition to the freeze and calling for a labor congress and the construction of a labor party.

The Workers League intends to wage an independent fight for this program. We will campaign for it among the youth and minorities and in the unions. We will give our full support to this election campaign despite our many differences with the SWP in order to advance the fight for an independent party of labor.

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# West Coast News

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

## Bridges Seeks Deal With PMA

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Faced with the possibility of a nationwide dock strike in less than two weeks, Harry Bridges and the ILWU leadership along with the PMA are desperately attempting to reach a settlement in secret negotiations.

The secret coastwide negotiations with the employers were initiated by Harry Bridges after the institution by Nixon of the wage freeze and the extremely slow pace of the local negotiations.

The new negotiations were opened up despite the fact that the employers had made no new basic offer since the beginning of the strike.

It is very clear, however, that the employers have no intentions of conceding one inch to the dockers. Nixon with his wage freeze and anti-strike legislation at hand stands four square behind the employers.

This is despite the fact that the effects of the three and a half month old strike are now spilling into all sections of industry from canning and pulp to automobiles.

What is throwing the greatest fear into the ILWU leadership and the employers is the extreme resistance that every section of the dockers continues to express to any sellout and attempt to drag them back to work.

"We'll be staying out until November 12 if that's what it takes to get what we need" was the comment of one docker and it expresses the sentiment of many.

### POLITICAL

Dockers however cannot defeat Nixon and the employers by their own strength alone. What must be demanded from Bridges and the rest of the ILWU leadership is that they wage a political fight to bring out the entire trade union movement in a general strike for the defeat of the wage freeze and any controls on the rights of the unions.

Any attempt to get an exception to the freeze or to collaborate in any form or matter with these attacks will mean a major victory for the employers and their plans to decimate the unions.

Bridges' recent statement at the UE (United Electrical workers) convention that all the ILWU wanted from Nixon was an exception to the freeze, goes hand and hand with the active collaboration that Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons intend with Nixon's labor controls after November 12.

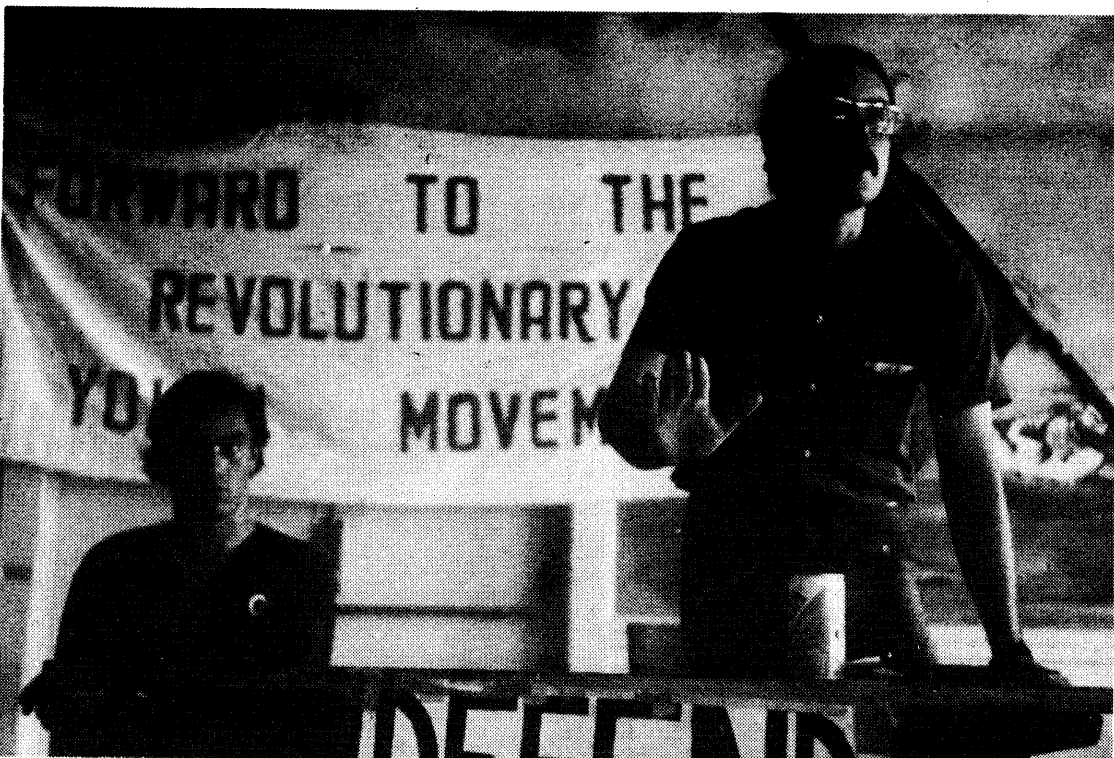
In both Bridges' position and the rest of the trade union leadership's view, what is required is "more equitable controls," not a complete break in principle with any and all controls.

The role of the Stalinists is to back to the hilt this retreating union bureaucracy. In the September 11 issue of their paper, the *People's World*, any mention of the secret negotiations and Bridges' capitulation to the wage freeze is avoided like the plague.

Instead all the Stalinists can spare for the dockers' strike is an emergency appeal for donations to tide longshoremen over until the end of the strike.

It is today the possibility of a joint ILWU-ILA docks strike and the refusal of entire sections of labor to buckle under Nixon's and the employers' dictatorship that threaten to upset all the maneuvering of the union bureaucracy with Nixon.

Dockers must demand an immediate end to secret negotiations and an all out fight to rally the rest of labor to their struggle.



Juan Farinas speaking at meeting of 75 youth and workers in San Francisco. Another meeting was held in Garfield Community Center, as Farinas toured Bay Area and Minnesota. He is now appealing his conviction and faces two years in prison for taking up fight against Vietnam war in 1968.

## 6400 Layoffs At ROHR Aerospace

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN DIEGO—Workers at ROHR Corp., an aerospace company here, and their supporters, recently staged a picketline demonstration at the company's main gate to protest a shift toward production in Mexico on the part of this firm.

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literally obsolete in the near future through automation and reduction of whole sections of industry. The crisis of aerospace and the attacks on steelworkers' jobs are just the beginning. And demonstrations like this one at ROHR are the beginning of labor's answer to those attacks. Behind these marches will follow mass movements of millions of workers.

## CP-Backed Coalition Passes Austerity Budget

BY TOD ZWER

BERKELEY—The Berkeley Council has finally passed a budget which is different from last year's only in that this one is an austerity budget. There are none of the reforms for which the April Coalition campaign. The fact that there was no money to provide for their pitiful reforms has in a few short months split the coalition down the middle.

Now that these questions have been in the open for some time, the *People's World*, reflecting the views of the Communist Party,

has finally come out with an "analysis" of the problems of the April Coalition.

What this analysis amounts to is a cover up from top to bottom of the coalition's politics. This article begins and ends with the complete support of the coalition's programs, and claims that the only failure, was a failure to implement those programs. What were these programs? Minor cutbacks in the police budget, and additions of several small health clinics and community centers.

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It is not surprising that the CP continues to support the April Coalition, in light of their attempts to carry out this fraud on a nationwide basis. All of these radicals have the same program of getting crumbs from the table of the American corporations.

The Communist Party has a long history of selling out the working class, from their support to Roosevelt in the thirties, to their open strike breaking of the forties, this is the same perspective they carry forward in their support of the April Coalition.

## JACKSON MURDERED SAYS EX-INMATE

The following is an interview with a young Black militant who spent eight years in California prisons, including Soledad and San Quentin.

Q. What is your opinion of George Jackson's death?

A. George Jackson was not a common thief as these idiots claimed. At eighteen he may have been a small thief, but since he was locked in, his awareness changed, his values changed.

Q. What do you think about the press stories of his escape attempt?

A. Impossible. In B section it's impossible to get anything bigger than a file in or out. That business about an afro wig—anybody who knew George knew

his hair wasn't black, but sandy brown. George was murdered. People like George and Angela Davis are able to pull people to them. The institution gets afraid. If ten people get together they can disrupt the whole institution. It's necessary for them to kill these people, to maintain Black against white, Chicano against Black. Divide and conquer. George believed in the third world movement.

Q. From your experience, what are conditions like in the prisons?

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fused to cut my hair. It's the pettyness of the rules!

Q. What do you think about the rising political militancy in the prisons?

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the tremendous anger and desire of the youth to fight back, the Stalinists of the Communist Party tried to turn the youth to liberals like Ron Dellums and Willie Brown, calling for an impartial investigation and prison reform.

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# West Coast News

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## Bridges Seeks Deal With PMA

BY STEVE SAYLOR

SAN FRANCISCO—Faced with the possibility of a nationwide dock strike in less than two weeks, Harry Bridges and the ILWU leadership along with the PMA are desperately attempting to reach a settlement in secret negotiations.

The secret coastwide negotiations with the employers were initiated by Harry Bridges after the institution by Nixon of the wage freeze and the extremely slow pace of the local negotiations.

The new negotiations were opened up despite the fact that the employers had made no new basic offer since the beginning of the strike.

It is very clear, however, that the employers have no intentions of conceding one inch to the dockers. Nixon with his wage freeze and anti-strike legislation at hand stands four square behind the employers.

This is despite the fact that the effects of the three and a half month old strike are now spilling into all sections of industry from canning and pulp to automobiles.

What is throwing the greatest fear into the ILWU leadership and the employers is the extreme resistance that every section of the dockers continues to express to any sellout and attempt to drag them back to work.

"We'll be staying out until November 12 if that's what it takes to get what we need" was the comment of one docker and it expresses the sentiment of many.

### POLITICAL

Dockers however cannot defeat Nixon and the employers by their own strength alone. What must be demanded from Bridges and the rest of the ILWU leadership is that they wage a political fight to bring out the entire trade union movement in a general strike for the defeat of the wage freeze and any controls on the rights of the unions.

Any attempt to get an exception to the freeze or to collaborate in any form or matter with these attacks will mean a major victory for the employers and their plans to decimate the unions.

Bridges' recent statement at the UE (United Electrical workers) convention that all the ILWU wanted from Nixon was an exception to the freeze, goes hand and hand with the active collaboration that Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons intend with Nixon's labor controls after November 12.

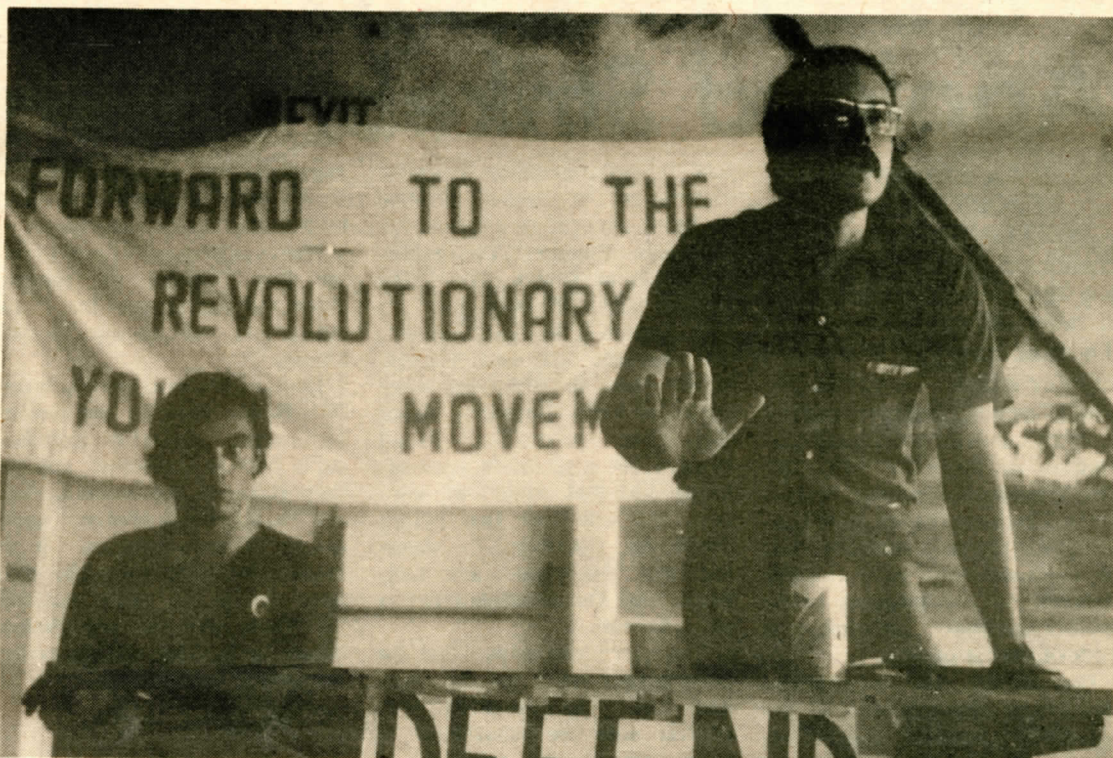
In both Bridges' position and the rest of the trade union leadership's view, what is required is "more equitable controls," not a complete break in principle with any and all controls.

The role of the Stalinists is to back to the hilt this retreating union bureaucracy. In the September 11 issue of their paper, the *People's World*, any mention of the secret negotiations and Bridges' capitulation to the wage freeze is avoided like the plague.

Instead all the Stalinists can spare for the dockers' strike is an emergency appeal for donations to tide longshoremen over until the end of the strike.

It is today the possibility of a joint ILWU-ILA docks strike and the refusal of entire sections of labor to buckle under Nixon's and the employers' dictatorship that threaten to upset all the maneuvering of the union bureaucracy with Nixon.

Dockers must demand an immediate end to secret negotiations and an all out fight to rally the rest of labor to their struggle.



Juan Farinas speaking at meeting of 75 youth and workers in San Francisco. Another meeting was held in Garfield Community Center, as Farinas toured Bay Area and Minnesota. He is now appealing his conviction and faces two years in prison for taking up fight against Vietnam war in 1968.

## 6400 Layoffs At ROHR Aerospace

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