

**EYEWITNESS ON HOSPITAL SIT IN
12 PAGES STUDENT REBELLION IN SF
DANGER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 4, NO. 19-85

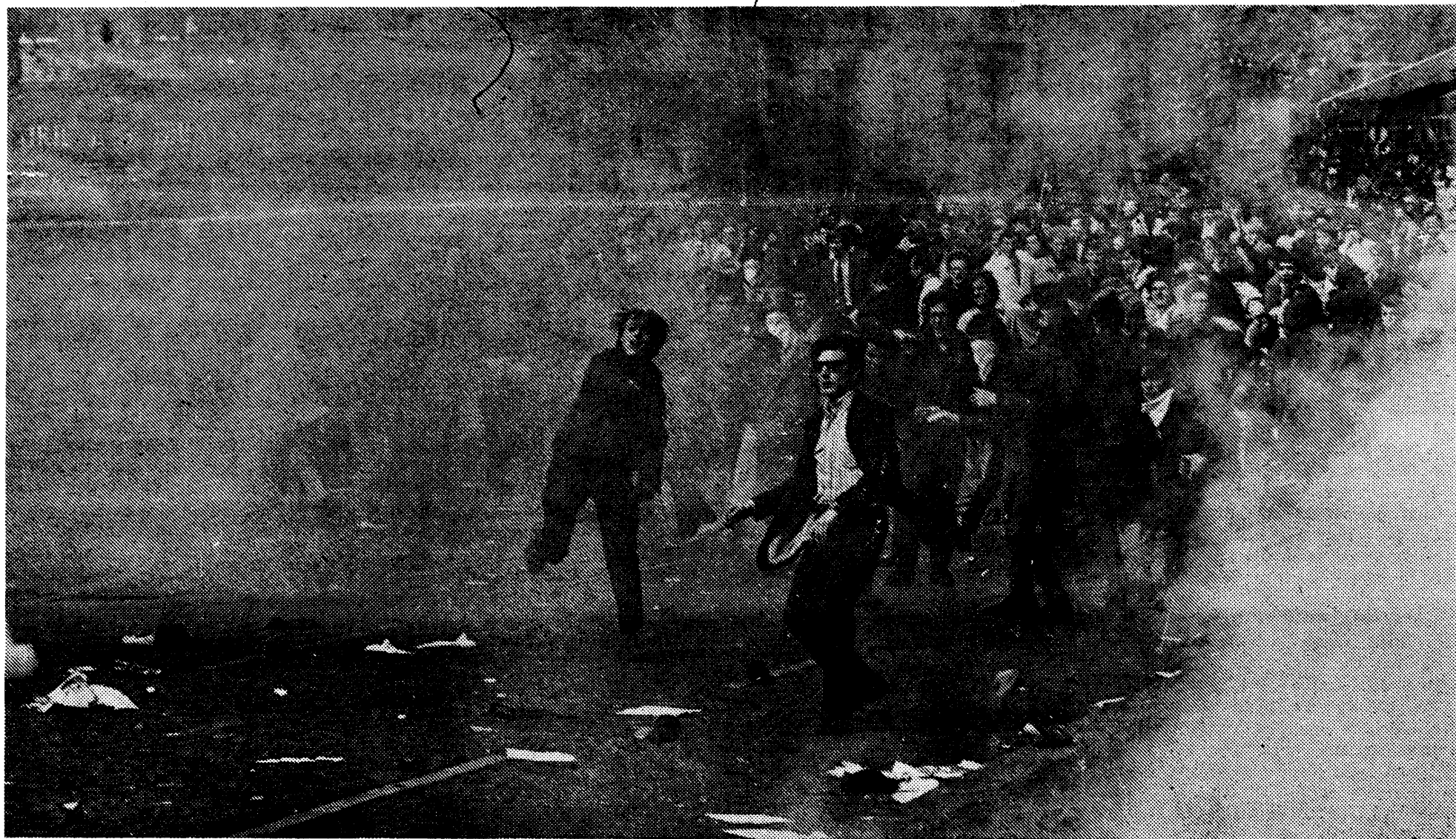
JUNE 10, 1968

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**ON THE SPOT
REPORT FROM**

FRANCE



STUDENTS TOSS PAVING STONES AND TEAR GAS GRENADES BACK AT POLICE DURING BATTLE IN LATIN QUARTER. THREE AND ONE HALF PAGES ON FRANCE.

direct from resurrection city

CRISIS IN POOR MARCH

CRISIS IN POOR MARCH

by Fred Mueller

The Poor People's Campaign is in grave danger. Precisely because of the overwhelming support of the masses of the poor--Black, White, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian--the leadership is running scared. Its program now is to hold back the struggle, send Negro youth home, erect a fence around Resurrection City to keep the poor isolated, postpone the great Memorial Day demonstration when it was gaining real strength in the trade unions, dissipate the militancy of the poor already in Washington through token demonstrations and token arrests.

Abernathy and Company do this because they know full well that the politicians of the two boss parties can and will give the poor nothing. Instead they have already announced their intentions of cutting \$8 billion out of domestic spending, and Federal support to dependent children, a \$10 tax hike on all workers.

But the preachers cannot succeed. The movement will push on despite them and place their just demands at the doors of Congress -- over the heads of the leadership if necessary. The poor will wait calmly no more. They will discover in the course of this great struggle that they, like their brothers and sisters in France must go beyond mere protest to a direct struggle for power in America.

support

For this they need the support of the mass of American workers in the trade unions. The Workers League is fighting for this support. The Workers League is fighting

to build the Poor People's March despite its leadership. The Workers League proposes that this great force of the poor, the trade unions and the students take up the political struggle for a labor party in America.

The importance of the Poor People's Campaign lies in the demands it is making and the mass working class support it is receiving. It must not be seen simply as the creation of the official leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, supported by various trade union bureaucrats. It is much more than that. It is the response

of these leaders to the deepening crisis of capitalism, a crisis which is highlighting the continuing plight of the poor, of the unorganized and unemployed workers, and of Negro and other minority workers in particular. It is the response of these leaders to the growing class struggle, the growing militancy of the workers and the Negro masses in particular. The Poor People's Campaign is a vehicle of struggle through which the workers will learn about capitalism's crisis and the bankruptcy of all the official leaders.

It is becoming clearer and

clearer that the Revs. Abernathy, Lafayette, Jackson, Bevel and all the others are not even as committed to a militant non-violent confrontation with the government as the late Dr. King was. Now they have added Bayard Rustin to their staff. Rustin helped organize the 1963 March on Washington, and now he is coordinating the mass march which has been postponed from May 30 to June 19. Before King's assassination Rustin was known to be hostile to the militant campaign being planned. His new role is therefore a very ominous sign, especially since June 19 is a working day when many workers will be unable to attend. Rustin and the other leaders have nothing more than a repeat of 1963 in mind. If they think that this alone can improve their position of influence in the Negro movement or secure any serious reforms for the Negro masses, they are quite mistaken. The crisis of capitalism makes anything but more phony promises impossible to achieve without a struggle which goes beyond what the middle class preachers are ready for.

phoneys

Other ominous signs of the leadership's intentions are the big publicity given to figures like Mrs. Bobby Kennedy and Vice President Humphrey himself when they put in an appearance at Resurrection City headquarters in Washington. On May 22 the leadership sent 200 ghetto youth from Chicago and Detroit back

home with the explanation that they had been rowdy and uncooperative. The leaders were completely unable to communicate with or control these youth. They cannot lead the youth because they give them no program of action, no perspective of anything but routine lobbying and meetings. There is a serious danger that the campaign can become completely isolated from militant youth and younger workers.

fight

The fight must be taken more and more into the unions, especially to the rank and file workers. Make the unions fight to send large rank and file delegations on June 19. The unions must begin organizing the unemployed in the South and nationwide. The real role of the Democratic and Republican agents of the bosses must be exposed again and again as part of the fight for a labor party which will fight for all workers. The workers need political power to win all the demands of the Poor People's Campaign and smash racism and poverty for good.

Support the Poor People's March! Full union support to Negro and other minority workers! All out on June 19th.

Fight for a shorter work week to provide millions of jobs for all workers! Billions for housing, schools and job training!

Expose the Democratic and Republican big business politicians! Fight for a labor party now!

A look at the response of the leading capitalist candidates to the Poor People's Campaign will show why the workers must fight for their own party:

RICHARD NIXON: Congress should "completely reject" the demands of the Poor People's Campaign. What is needed is private initiative and help to black capitalists, not the masses of workers.

RONALD REAGAN: The Poor People's Campaign is a "hoax on the poor" because it "engenders false hopes."

EUGENE McCARTHY: He supports the "goals" of the campaign. He has never proposed any legislation to fight poverty or ghetto conditions and has no program to offer now. He has voted against even token civil rights measures on the phony grounds that they could alienate moderate and conservative support for other measures.

HUBERT HUMPHREY: We've never had it so good. Now is the time for happiness and national unity.

NELSON ROCKEFELLER: While Rockefeller has been pretty quiet on the campaign itself, his tremendous slash in the New York Medicaid benefits shows how he proposes to deal with the crisis of the bosses' system and their government--through attacks on the poor and on all workers.

ROBERT KENNEDY: His only programmatic suggestion is the idea of tax incentives to attract industry into rebuilding the ghetto. He proposes to fight poverty by fattening up big business. Even Johnson has been able to attack Kennedy from the left pointing out that private enterprise cannot carry out significant programs in the ghetto with or without tax incentives.

GEORGE WALLACE: No one needs to be told where he stands. He is a very real and very dangerous enemy of the Negro and of all workers.

student insurrection at sf state

by Jeff Sebastian

SAN FRANCISCO- As this is being written San Francisco State College is exploding into what may become another Columbia. Indeed, the PL-SDS leadership seem determined to learn nothing from the Columbia struggle. Their political perspective is designed to lead masses of students against the S.F. tactical police force armed only with the slogan 'we shall win'. Workers must take a serious look at the political methods of these tendencies. Precisely the same methods are brought into the working class movement under the slogans of 'rank and file militancy' and 'bread and butter demands'. In both cases the purpose is the same -- to keep politics out of the struggle. This can only lead to confusion and defeat.

The present struggle on State developed out of student demands on the administration to throw ROTC off campus, rehire Juan Martinez, a Mexican-American professor dumped for his radical political views, admit at least 400 Third World students and hire more Third World professors.

ethiopia

A sit-in of several hundred students in the admini-

stration building was answered by the administration with the police. Students were clubbed down and several dozen were arrested. When the students escalated the sit-in the next day 'liberal' president Summerskill who ordered the cops in added a bizarre touch by throwing up his hands and jumping on a champagne flight to Ethiopia where he hopes to secure a new job. Presumably the prospects for academic freedom are brighter in Haile Selassie's feudal kingdom.

The removal of Summerskill represents a move to the right. The new administration can be expected to deal with students in a much more heavy handed fashion. Already they have demonstrated this with their refusal to permit a referendum on the ROTC question. S.F. State will deal with the student protestors with all the brutality that the Columbia administration displayed. They will not hesitate, if necessary, to shut down the university and brutalize thousands of students with their police power.

Thus, all the armed power of the state is arrayed against the students when they begin a real fight for a few modest demands. The question posed before the students is how do they take on this state power

and win. PL and SDS promptly revealed that they don't have the slightest idea of the answer.

In a meeting of over 400 students called to plan strategy the only thing this leadership could come up with was a 'mill-in' to disrupt the functioning of the university. Absolutely no preparation was made in the very likely event that they are driven out of the buildings and arrested. PL-SDS will simply call another meeting to decide on their next reaction.

cynical

We must be very blunt in describing the real perspective of these cynical manipulators. They are completely conscious of the fact that their tactics will bring in the police. In fact, they welcome it. In a disgusting display of cynicism one SDSer arose to point out that if they were chased from the buildings by the police there was an excellent possibility that innocent bystanders would be clubbed down as well. Quoting Mao he explained that they were like the fish in the sea and therefore indistinguishable from the other students. Not to be outdone one SWP-YSAer rose to extol the effect of the visual impact of students see-

ing their fellow students chased about by the police. In other words the armed might of the state is to be fought by provoking a confrontation that will so enrage the campus that a riot will ensue. Thus the essence of the PL-SDS perspective is to provoke a futile bloodbath.

When one somewhat timid professor arose to protest that they were bringing on another Columbia the entire group of 400 broke into cheers. The Columbia students were defeated. Apparently this does not matter.

This is PL and SDS's last chance. All year they led a series of demonstrations and confrontations that won them nothing but the distrust of the majority of the student body. Now they hope for one last fling two weeks before school ends.

Only the Workers League has been fighting for a political perspective that can arm students to win. For this we are answered by PL with the discredited slanders of Stalin's heyday. Like Stalin, those who prepare new bloodbaths can only answer the Trotskyists with cries of fascist and police agent. We are building a movement that will leave no doubt in the minds of students and workers why these people can only deal

with us with slanders.

The Workers League says to S.F. State students that you can only answer the force of the state by organizing an even more powerful force. Our perspective has been fully confirmed by the magnificent events in France. Students can successfully confront the power of the state when they succeed in forging a united front with the working class against the state. The slogan of 'student power' is an illusion designed to keep students separated from the class.

support

Students must fight to get support from the ghettos for the demands they are raising. **POLICE OFF THE CAMPUS AND OUT OF THE GHETTOS! FREE EDUCATION FOR WORKING CLASS STUDENTS! BILLIONS FOR EDUCATION!**

Don't let this fight be confined simply to the campus. The issues involved are the same as those at Columbia. In fact the struggle of students against the state poses exactly the same questions that brought on the French general strike. The struggle at State must express its solidarity with all these struggles. **DEGAULLE OUT! JOHNSON OUT! KENNEDY OUT! WORKERS IN!**

DIRECT FROM RESURRECTION CITY

by Carlos Baez

WASHINGTON--In an attempt to "purify" itself, today the leadership of the Poor People's Campaign expelled from its encampment about 200 youth from the Chicago's West side and Detroit areas. The reasons commonly given for this expulsion is that the youth had participated in acts of petty thievery, drinking and not getting along with white members of the campaign.

I had the opportunity of speaking with many of the youth the morning before they boarded buses back to the ghettos where they came from and interestingly enough many legitimate complaints were raised by these young people. One which I feel was their central grievance was the lack of activity which they found once they got to Resurrection City. To try to paint these youth as hoodlums is to distort the truth, for many of these youth made the long trek of the march from Marks, Mississippi to Washington, D.C.

frustrated

Who are these young people who could not be integrated into the movement of the poor? Essentially, they are the epitome of urban poverty. Unemployed, gang members, rioters, etc. Their acts are those of frustrated youth who have no faith in the capitalist system, and their behavior is typical of ghetto life. It is interesting to note that the leadership does not object to the presence of Middle class Black Nationalist who go around the encampment selling their "Black Capitalism" literature, for the leadership knows that these youngsters are satisfied with an intellectual confrontation with the politicians on Capitol Hill whereas the working class youth from Chicago and Detroit posed a confrontation of a different sort--either the demands of the poor were met or they'd burn down the town, like they had done back home.

The burning of Washington D.C. will not in itself bring about any concession from

the capitalist politicians. This is evident from the results of five continuous summers of ghetto uprisings, out of which the only change that has taken place is the size and type of police armament.

leadership

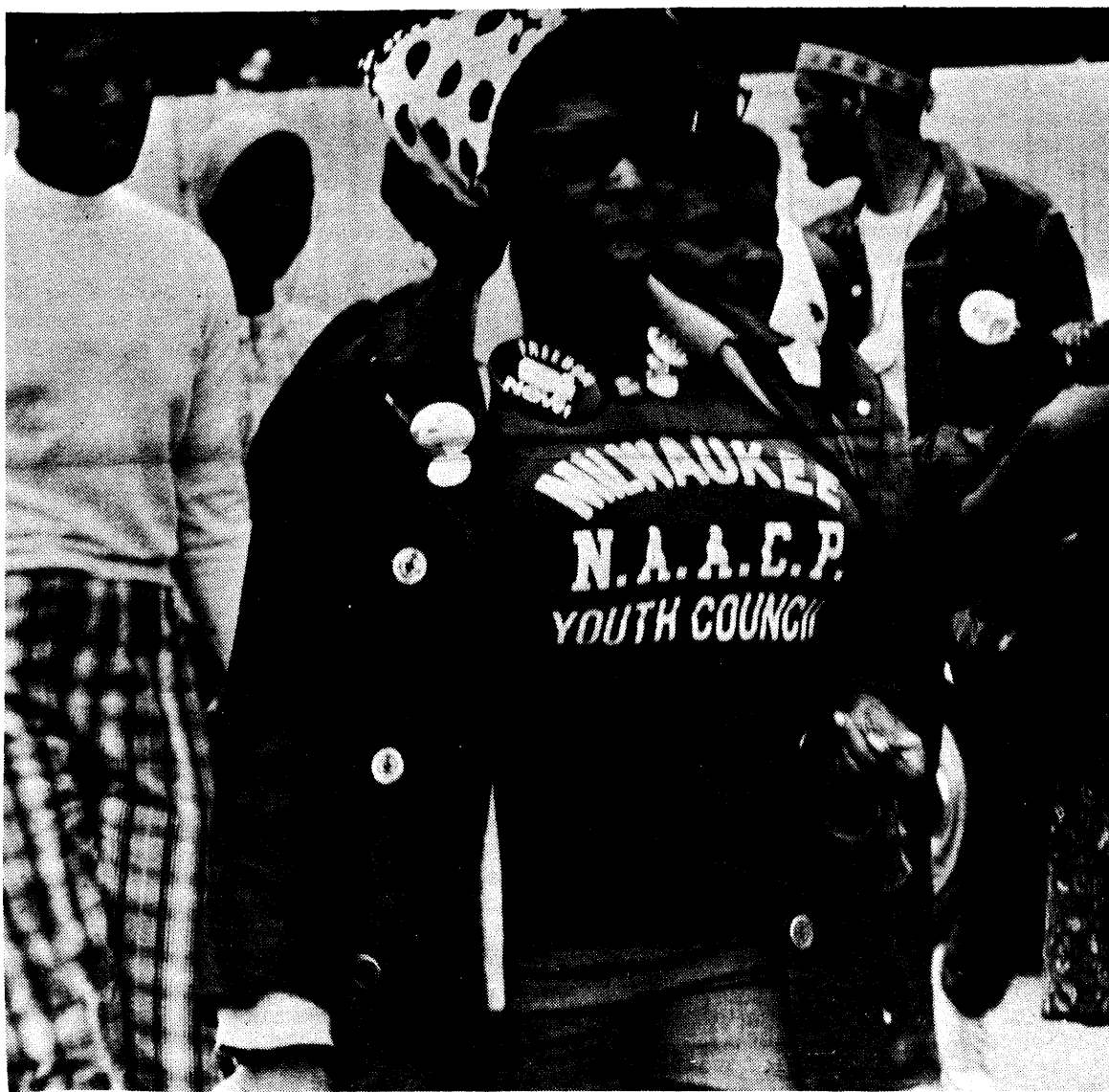
But the question of leadership falls on those who head the march, and their failure to communicate with a vital section of the poor, the impoverished youth of the slums who raise questions which must be answered.

Many of these young people joined the march in the first place because of the militant sound in the early days of the campaign. Once in Washington these youth demanded an adherence to the militant action so much talked about, only to be subjected to shack building, and once this was accomplished, to idleness.

The Blackstone Rangers are back in Chicago and the campaign leadership feels a sense of relief. This of course is unrealistic, for right in Resurrection City's backyard exists one of the worst ghettos in this country. The youth of Washington D.C. who are constantly hanging around the encampment must be dealt with. Where will they be dispatched to? In answer to the above question, the leadership must come to the realization that the question of a program must be dealt with. A program which can offer meaningful answers to the questions which face working class youth. This program must be a political one, independent of the political parties which run this country in the interest of the rich.

bull

How can the leaders of the march expect discipline among the youth, when the only thing they have to offer them are bull sessions with the same politicians who, without regard for human life, cut welfare programs, hike up taxes and pass other legislation which attack the living conditions of the worker and the poor.



the 200 youth sent home were frustrated by leadership's lack of militancy

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM
 Editor-Tim Wohlforth Art Director-Marty Jonas
 Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York 10003.
 Printed entirely by union labor.

CZECH REGIME MOVES TOWARDS CAPITALISM

by Dennis O'Casey

The coming to power of the Dubcek regime represents a fundamentally reactionary and dangerous trend in Czechoslovakian events. For Marxists the differentiation now opening up within the Czech bureaucracy does not pose the question of siding even critically with Dubcek or the recently deposed Novotny. It poses rather the political overthrow of this bureaucracy as part of the wider struggle to lead the working class on the road to political revolution throughout the Peoples Democracies, the USSR, and China.

The Czech "democratization" now considerably in advance of similar reform movements in Rumania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia arose out of the contradictions between the need of the advanced industrial Czech economy and the stagnation imposed on it Novotny's policies of subordinating Czechoslovakia to the economic and diplomatic needs of the USSR and the Eastern European Community (Comecon).

concessions

Seizing upon what by 1963 had become a major economic downturn Dubcek rose to power basing himself on concessions to sizeable layers of middle class technocrats and other bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements inside and outside the party who had decided that their appetites for Western affluence could only be met by deeper integration of the Czech economy with Western capitalism.

The sweeping economic reforms of the New Economic Model drawn up by a battery of Czech economists headed by Ota Sik in 1963 were introduced on a nationwide basis in 1967. Their paramount aim was to increase productivity and efficiency in the Czech economy to enable it to participate more competitively and therefore on a more expanded scale in the world market.

This isto be achieved by the gradual replacement of centralized administrative planning mechanisms with the introduction of market mechanisms in the Czech economy. This means not only decentralized planning but the end to state subsidies to enterprises who cannot pull their weight under market pressures. The replacement of government prescribed prices with free fluctuating market prices puts pressure on each enterprise to realize profit out of which investments and loans are to be financed as well as to encourage individual incentive among the managerial strata.

bureaucracy

The problem is not that the trend towards wider use of bourgeois norms of distribution will not increase productivity and therefore the overall social surplus. The reactionary character of these reforms lies in the fact that this gain in productivity is to accrue not to the working class but at its expense to the bureaucracy in the form of TV sets and luxury apartments and to western capitalism in the form of profits.

Under these conditions the NEM incorporated now into Ducek's "action program" must be called by its right name: a deepening of the exploitation of the Czech working class.

The NEM openly calls for more pronounced differentiation between wages of white and blue collar workers. The gradual elimination of price controls on consumer goods will inevitably mean inflation which has risen 30% in Yugoslavia since reform. 1967 saw shoe prices rise 5%, restaurant meals 5%, potatoes 7%, fruit 8% and vegetables 10% in Czechoslovakia. Workers have been frankly told the reforms will mean sacrifices. It is conceded that tens of thousands of workers will have to be shifted to other places and occupations. Thousands of others are to go on a dole of 60% of average net earnings as various enterprises are phased out and superceded by more profitable ones. This is not mention the increased drive to reduce conditions for workers in every way which will have to be opened up by the new cost conscious, profit conscious trusts. Finally it should not be overlooked that the introduction of profit orientation into the economy means the gradual gearing of the economy away from many areas of social need.

market

Related to the exploitative character of these reforms is the danger they pose in terms of opening Czechoslovakia to the fiscal crisis raging in the capitalist economies. As the Czech economy becomes more and more dependent on the world market the Czech bureaucracy with no strategy



MAY DAY 1946 IN PRAGUE-- STALINISM REMAINS for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie must inevitably become increasingly subservient to the political requirements of imperialism. This is precisely where plans to gradually erode the Czech monopoly on foreign trade exposing domestic producers to competition by foreign concerns and thereby gradually eliminating the disparity between domestic and world prices must lead.

Negotiations are under way to allow joint ownership of auto factories between the Czech Sloda and the French Renault. Similar deals are being negotiated with Britain for autoparts, textiles, and machine tool companies. Krupp is also extremely interested in this and very significantly several U.S. firms are becoming involved in negotiations. Thus Western capitalists are being invited to Czechoslovakia to directly exploit Czech workers with the full blessing of the liberal "reformers."

Already Czech economists think in terms of participation in the IMF while Dubcek makes tacit agreements to remain silent on Vietnam and even negotiates indemnification of expropriated US-Czech pre-1948 holdings in order to create a favorable trade relation with the United States. Economic integration with capitalism within the confines of the theory and practice of "Socialism in One Country" is leaving the door wide open to capitalist restoration. This is the greatest crime Dubcek is perpetrating against the Czech working class.

Dubcek's lifting of the censorship ban, the launching of a national campaign against Stalinist blood purges in Czechoslovakia since 1948 and the whole "political liberalization" which has accompanied reform is being utilized by Dubcek solely for the purpose of purging the Czech Communist Party of the Novotny forces who have impeded reforms at every step. That Dubcek's attacks on the working class should proceed under the guise of political liberalization rather than repression as in Rumania is only a reflection of the tremendous strength of the Czech working class issuing from its important role in the social transformation of 1948 and thus the fear it inspires in the bureaucracy.

forces

The key point regarding the new climate of political liberalization is that it brings into the arena of struggle against old guard Stalinism aggressive forces both to the right and to the left of Dubcek--forces that neither Dubcek nor Novotny nor even the Red Army can necessarily contain.

On the right are those forces towards whom Dubcek is accommodating himself--elements within and without the bureaucracy concerned primarily with the maintenance of their political and economic privileges. Many of these elements are seeking a new life for the Catholic dominated Peoples party and the Socialist party who today couch their real hostility towards socialism behind slogans of Czech nationalism and the seemingly democratic demand for the return to multiparty rule. There are as well the representatives of Western capitalism whose relations with Czechoslovakia will be governed at all times by a strategy of reinforcing restorationist tendencies inside Czechoslovakia. It is these forces that are now taking the lead in channeling the anti-bureaucratic moods of the Czech youth into reactionary displays of Czech nationalism as with the demonstration recently recently held in honor of Jan Masaryk.

contradictory

This is not to say that Ducek or his supporters

in the bureaucracy are themselves simply a force of restoration. Such would be a one-sided assessment. In understanding their real role it is necessary always to return to the contradictory and parasitic character of the Stalinist bureaucracy whether of the Dubcek or the Novotny stamp. This bureaucracy acts at one and the same time to defend the privileges it has usurped from the working class and to defend the social property relations issuing from the October Revolution from which it sucks its livelihood. Thus over and over again the Dubcek regime sincerely maintains its loyalty to the nationalized property forms in the face of criticism from the Kremlin and other Eastern European leaders. The point however is that in so much as the defense of its privileges require in Czechoslovakia concessions to restorationist elements these privileges come into sharp conflict with and jepordize the national property forms independent of the will of the individual bureaucrats.

It is the inability of groups like the Progressive Labor Party to come to grips theoretically with the contradictory nature of the Soviet bureaucracy that has led them to the absurd conclusion that the Soviet Union is a capitalist state and now that there is a fascist regime in Czechoslovakia.

youth

Although at this stage the events in Czechoslovakia have not taken the form of an open differentiation between the working class and the bureaucracy clearly the force upon whom this tasks falls are the Czech youth. At the same time sections of the youth are temporarily drawn into reactionary expressions by their loyalty to the bureaucratic Czech leadership the ferment amongst the youth will not necessarily be placated before they have been dredged a great deal more of the Stalinist past to the surface. Already it is the youth that is in the forefront of the struggle to rehabilitate the victims of Stalinism. Already the youth have come into the streets in support of the uprisings of students in West Germany and Poland, the latter, in particular, drawing sharp warnings from the Dubcek regime. Nor will the significance of the events in France be easily lost on these Czech youth.

The resolution of the present crisis lies in the linking up of the struggles of the Czech youth with the Czech working class which is already chaffing under the burden of reform.

forward

The question, however, is not back to Stalinism, but forward to real proletarian democracy, through political revolution. It is on the basis of the demand that political power be returned to the working class in the form of soviet rule that a fighting alliance between the workers and the youth can be achieved.

Central to the development and leadership of this struggle is the need for the construction of a section of the Fourth International on Czechoslovakian soil.

This is the advantage to which the present "liberalization" must be put. All too soon the fear that precisely such a struggle will open up, which is the real basis for the Kremlin's hostility and even military and economic provocations towards Czech events, will begin to grip the reformers themselves.

We must be clear however as to what is meant when we raise the slogan of political revolution in Czechoslovakia. The political revolution is not simply a matter as recent articles in the Militant poses it of further working class pressure on the Dubcek regime aimed at forcing him to go beyond reform to the institution of proletarian democracy.

"Destalinization" falls completely on its face as a characterization of Czech "democratization." The danger of restoration the SWP maintains is weak and "the international situation, hardly favorable to reinforcing." is in fact clearly present. We are not in a period of the stabilization of capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracies. Rather the period is one characterized by intense crisis throughout the capitalist world which is more and more of necessity reflected within the Stalinist bureaucracies. More and more the privileges of the bureaucracy will pose threats to the conquests of October far more serious than the Czech democratization.

Contrary to the revisionist theories of the SWP there is no progressive role for Stalinism. The defense of the working class and its past conquests in Czechoslovakia and in every workers state under conditions of this crisis thrusts to the top of the agenda precisely this question of political revolution.

VIETNAM-- NO DEALS! VICTORY TO VIETCONG!

by Dan Fried

The decision of America's capitalist rulers, represented by the Johnson Administration to enter into peace negotiations with North Vietnam was a near desperate attempt by U.S. imperialism to salvage something in Vietnam. When Johnson stole the thunder of the 'doves' with his announcement of the partial bombing halt and the decision not to seek re-election, the U.S. forces have yet to recover from the Tet offensive of the NLF in Saigon; demoralization was growing throughout the U.S. Army and Marine forces as the NLF increasingly showed that it could strike any place, any time, with great force and it has the overwhelming support of the Vietnamese workers and peasants united in their hos-

pare a behind-the-scenes deal with the Kosygin-Brezhnev bureaucrats of the Soviet Union who they hope will be able to pressurize Hanoi into a deal leaving the U.S. some form of continued domination of Southeast Asia.

Up to now, the continued strength and combativity of the Vietnamese forces against the U.S. has been the big stumbling block for Johnson and Kosygin who would gladly sell out the Vietnamese revolution. The Vietnamese have correctly said that: "Fighting while negotiating is aimed at opening another front." We say, good! U.S. forces have absolutely no right to be in Vietnam, let alone to bomb North Vietnam! There can be no compromise on this.

Hints in the press that Hanoi is willing to negotiate

U.S. deaths for any two week period since the war began. The U.S. rulers are not about to stop sending more American boys to slaughter as long as they think they have a chance of salvaging something in Vietnam. Only a complete victory of the Vietnamese workers and peasants leading to a withdrawal of U.S. troops can stop the death and maiming of thousands of American boys in Vietnam.

The attempt by the Soviet bureaucracy to hold back the struggle of the Vietnamese revolution gives aid and comfort to U.S. imperialism and only serves to prolong the reign of death and destruction. As the April 2 Toronto Globe and Mail remarked: "In the present situation US officials believe the role of the Soviet Union and the influence it may be able to exert in Hanoi will be of critical importance."

secret

We commend the North



WHILE NEGOTIATORS TALK VIETCONG PUSHES ON TO NEW VICTORIES IN VIETNAM

tility to the presence of Yankee imperialism. In short, the U.S. faced a total rout with a good possibility of being unceremoniously dumped from Vietnam.

At home, the U.S. rulers feared that the American workers, forced to pay for the war through growing inflation rising taxes and the death of their sons on Vietnamese battlefields, would begin to join with the massive and still growing student opposition to the war. The tremendous overhead costs of the war were interfering with the efforts of the U.S. capitalists to reduce the balance of payments deficit, and make U.S. products more competitive by undermining the power of the unions and pushing back the standards of the workers.

stall

While the U.S. still faces defeat in Vietnam and growing opposition at home, they have been using the Paris peace talks to stall for time, to try to rebuild their military strength in Vietnam, bringing fresh supplies of U.S. youth to the slaughter on behalf of the almighty dollar. At the same time they pre-

de-escalation of the U.S. bombing in stages should be a warning to the Vietnamese freedom fighters to be on guard. Such a compromise can only serve to encourage the hopes of the U.S. rulers that with a little more effort and addition of troops and military terror, it can avoid being quickly and unceremoniously tossed out of Vietnam.

The latest admission by the military command in Saigon that it has called for "an all out offensive against the enemy" in a secret directive to U.S. field commanders and the rumor that this directive called for victory within three months, shows that the U.S. will continue to use the Paris talks as a cover for their continued efforts to bludgeon the Vietnamese people into submission.

bloody

U.S. workers understandably welcomed the peace talks as a sign that the bloody war might soon be over. But it is apparent that far from being over, the renewed military efforts on both sides have resulted in the highest toll of

Vietnamese delegation for refusing to give in to Harriman's urgings to negotiate secretly and stop explaining each step of the negotiations to the world working class public. Far from Harriman's assertions that such policy bars "fruitful" negotiations we say the only fruitful negotiations are ones which mobilize the world working class and combine this with the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the U.S. imperialists. No secret negotiations! These can be fruitful only for the imperialists!

The French workers and students have shown the way. Each blow against world capitalism anywhere on the face of the earth strengthens the hand of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Each blow by the workers and peasants on the Vietnam battlefield strengthens the hand of workers everywhere.

Any settlement short of recognizing the NLF as a legitimate government of South Vietnam and immediate evacuation of the U.S. troops is a sell-out. No deals! Victory to the Vietcong!

editorial

FRANCE

the lessons

1. The recent revolutionary events in France fully confirm the position which the International Committee of the Fourth International alone has held since 1961. The world capitalist system is in deep crisis thus posing the necessity to construct revolutionary parties to lead the working class to power in all countries.

2. These events have revealed the complete bankruptcy of the revisionist United Secretariat supported by the Socialist Workers Party. Just a few months back in France itself these revisionists wrote in their youth paper: "In the advanced capitalist countries the relative stability of the existing regimes and the extreme weakness of the vanguard obviously excludes in the immediate period all struggles of a revolutionary character capable of bringing down our own bourgeoisie." With such an outlook these revisionists were incapable of either preparing for the struggles now going on in France nor have they been capable of giving these struggles leadership today.

3. The recent events have completely revealed the counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism. The French Communist Party opposed the student struggles at the beginning only supporting them when the working class forced them to do so. The Communist Party did not call for the sit-ins which have closed down virtually all industry in France but once the workers struck they were forced to support them. The French Communist Party sought to save the Gaullist regime by negotiating improvements in working conditions when the French workers and students recognize that the task is a political one--the downfall of creation of a workers and peasants government to replace it. The workers then turned down the CP sellout. Their political demand is the establishment of a "Popular Front" government with the left bourgeoisie committed to the preservation of capitalism when the destruction of capitalist rule and the capitalist state is posed by the actions of the workers and students.

4. The actions of the French Communist Party represent the policies of all Stalinist parties all over the world.

The American Communist Party has lauded the French party supporting its pro-capitalist popular front line. The Polish leadership has expressed its concern over "chaos" in France while the Czech regime has also expressed its concern as it looked to France for its opening to the West. DeGaulle was on a state visit in Rumania when the struggles broke out. These Stalinist forces stand for the preservation not the overthrow of world capitalism.

5. The French struggle shows the way out for revolutionary students, Anarchists, New Lefters and revisionists who have sought to keep the student struggles separate from the working class. The Trotskyist - led FER fought for the unity of students with the working class in a political fight against DeGaulle. Only through such unity can the students achieve their own aims. Every force, like the SDS in Germany and America, who separates student struggles from working class struggles plays a reactionary role.

6. The task in France today is to consolidate the power of the workers in the factories through the formation of factory committees and the construction of a revolutionary party to establish a workers and farmers government in France to replace DeGaulle. The policies of the DeGaulle regime are the policies of the capitalist class in a period of crisis. There is no solution to this crisis short of the overthrow of capitalism.

7. The crisis in France is but a more extreme form of the crisis building up in the United States. Today it takes the form of student struggles, black struggles, limited trade union actions. Tomorrow the working class as a whole will take up the struggle against capitalist rule. The task of revolutionaries in this country is to prepare for these future struggles by building the revolutionary party today on the basis of a program to unite the workers--black and white, and students in a common political battle for its own alternative for a labor party. Only the Workers League, American supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International, carries out this struggle today.

WHITHER FRANCE?

BY LEON TROTSKY

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expose of popular front in 1930's. must reading for today!

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

243 E. 10 ST. RM. 8 NEW YORK 10003

FRANCE - WORKERS PEASANT

DIRECT REPORT

FACED WITH a situation in which its repression of the students was rapidly escalating into civil war the Gaullist regime has had to draw back.

It thus recognizes that in a serious contest for power with the working class it could not count on victory. Like its predecessor, the Fifth Republic is being driven to a position where many of its former friends and supporters are no longer ready to fight for it.

How, in the space of one week, could a government which seemed to be one of the strongest in the capitalist world, be so obviously thrown onto the defensive, forced to resort to repression which stopped short only of a bloody massacre and with its own actions condemned by all but the most reactionary organs of the press?

To answer this question it is necessary to take up a number of aspects of a complex situation in which the student revolt acted as a catalyst.

There is, in the first place, the nature of the regime itself and its relationship to the different social forces in France. De Gaulle was brought to power exactly ten years ago to save the bourgeois order from decomposition and collapse. The March 13 uprising of the extremist settlers in Algiers, the impotence of the parliamentary regime, the general discredit and contempt which surrounded the Fourth Republic and the threat of military takeover decided the bourgeoisie to hand over full powers to de Gaulle.

Precarious balancing act

From the beginning the General has had to balance between conflicting social forces and has had to cope with all the problems of an ageing capitalism which undermined the previous regime.

A number of factors in the situation favoured his enterprise. He was able to bring to an end the Algerian war which had been becoming increasingly unpopular and a strain on national resources. Following devaluation, and in a period of world economic expansion, it was possible to carry forward a certain modernization of the economy.

Exploiting national sentiment he pursued an 'anti-American' foreign policy which satisfied sections of the bourgeoisie otherwise suspicious of a Bonapartist-type government.

Most important of all, of course, was the fact that de Gaulle had only been able to take power at all because of the paralysis of the working class.

Imprisoned by the Social Democratic and Stalinist apparatus the working class was carried bound and gagged into the new order of the Fifth Republic. For the past ten years the relative stability of Gaullism has rested upon the passivity of the working class and the trade unions. In other words, the tacit acceptance of the regime by the Communist Party has been an essential factor in the situation.

In particular, of course, the Communist Party has endorsed the foreign policy of 'national independence' pursued by de Gaulle. Its policy, in recent years, has been to enter an electoral alliance with the parties of the left-bourgeois opposition, abandoning its former verbal opposition to the constitution of the Fifth Republic and further acting as a brake on the combative energies of the working class.

This policy of class collaboration, decided in accordance with the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, has carried with it the continual danger of an outflanking from the left. The Party has had constantly before it the spectre of an alternative pole of attraction appearing, of movements winning mass support which would elude its control and threaten its dominant position in the organized working class.

It is this fear of outflanking from the left which has dictated a policy of violence towards other left groups and movements. This has consisted locally of attacks on distributors of leaflets and journals and attempts by CP toughs to exclude the banners of youth and student movements outside its control from participation in demonstrations of solidarity with Vietnam and on occasions such as May 1.

It was this fear of outflanking which determined the position of the Communist Party towards the student movement, which has gathered strength during the past year, as well as its sensational reversal consummated in the early hours of May 11.

As events moved forward in the universities the role of the CP caused it increasing discredit, not only amongst students but also amongst its working-class supporters. More will be said later about the position it adopted towards the student struggle.

Before taking up the position in the universities it is necessary to say something about the French police. The regime of 'the strong state' for which de Gaulle stands depends upon having at its disposal large, professionally-trained and mobile repressive forces.

It is true that de Gaulle did not evolve this technique of rule, but in taking it over from the previous regime he made sure that it was expanded and developed. The lessons of 1958, when the allegiance of the police to the Fourth Republic was in doubt, showed the need to pay particular attention to this arm of government.

Now in France there are several different kinds of police. As well as those dependent upon the municipal or other authorities which deal with routine matters of traffic control, public order and crime, there are the gendarmerie, the Gardes Mobiles and the Compagnies Republicaines de Sécurité.



HATED 'FLIC' IS CARRIED OFF ON STRETCHER

Military force trained for street fighting

The last two, in particular, are specifically intended to provide mobile forces to deal with strikes and public disturbances of a political character. These forces do not act individually but are organized and operated in military formation and are highly armed and trained for street fighting. They depend directly upon the Minister of the Interior.

Like professional soldiers generally, the Gardes Mobiles and the CRS are recruited from the families of peasants in the poorer agricultural districts and from the least class-conscious sections of the working class.

They are men without much education and no skills who would otherwise be condemned to the lower-paid jobs, casual work or unemployment. Enlistment in the



SOME OF THE 40,000 WORKERS WHO HAVE SEIZED THE RENAULT PLANT

forces gives them security and a regular wage, a feeling of importance, a pension on retirement and the certainty of secure work in state employment or private employment.

The professional policemen are therefore naturally grateful to those who employ them. Their ideas are of a limited nature and tend towards the most reactionary extremes.

Once released by the masters on a particular enemy, like a well-trained and faithful dog they pursue their prey with single-minded and ruthless purpose. For them the behaviour of striking workers or protesting students is alike incomprehensible. It can only be explained as the work of agitators and foreigners.

Once at grips with them, therefore, any feelings of humanity are completely suspended: they only know one law—to beat, beat and beat again regardless of the age,

Hence daily protests in the bourgeois press.

But when all is said and done the Gardes Mobiles and CRS are the last-ditch defenders of the bourgeois social order. They are there to protect factories against strikers and generally to preserve capitalist private property from challenge. That such methods have to be used when the challenge is even suspected is a sign not of strength but of social crisis.

For almost two weeks now the main activity of a powerful contingent of these police forces has been to clear the students out of the University of Paris and hold the Latin Quarter (the university district) against the students.

Themselves the product of the failure of capitalist education which turns out hosts of young people at 15 or 16 semi-literate and unqualified, they have to defend its failures at the highest level against the students and young intellectuals in the universities.

How does it come, therefore, that the students should be at the centre of the dissolution of the Fifth Republic?

There is no intention at this point to provide a full analysis of the problems which have been agitating increasing numbers of students not only in France but in many capitalist countries in the past year or so. Nor is this the place to deal in the requisite detail with the nature of the policies and methods of struggle which have been employed by the elements which have come to the fore.

In the case of France the present student revolt is part of a continuing resistance to the Gaullist plans to streamline the universities into the system and mould its products more closely to the needs of capitalism, which has been going on for some time. These changes, embodied in the Fouchet Plan of the Minister of Education, have been consistently opposed by the main students' organization (UNEF).

UNEF leadership is petty bourgeois

As followed, of course, from the social composition and nature of the student body the predominant leadership of UNEF was of a petty-bourgeois character. Its traditions placed it politically on the left as far as general gestures were concerned. Faced with government pressure on the students, however, it tended to see this as a university matter which could somehow be dealt with in isolation from the class nature of the regime.

From November 1967, the history of the student movement is one of large mobilizations of protest and growing hostility to the government and its ministers. At the same time the leadership of UNEF has been vacillating and undecided as to what to do when meetings called have had a big response from students. As the movement gained ground from March of this year the government showed that it was not prepared to give ground.

Meanwhile, in UNEF a constant

STUDENTS STRUGGLE FOR POWER

BY TOM KEMP



STUDENT PLANT NEAR PARIS. SIGN AT ENTRANCE SAYS 'WORKERS POWER'.

struggle was going on for political leadership. The students organized in the CLER (Comité de Liaison des Etudiants Revolutionnaires) were calling for a linking up of the students' struggle with that of the working class and the youth. This kind of demand was resolutely opposed by the UNEF leaders and by the Stalinist student leaders. A campaign was set going to build up a reputation of violence around the CLER.

One significant aspect of the lack of leadership by UNEF and the discredit of the opposition political parties, as well as the Gaullist regime, was the development of intense political activity in some universities. The focal point of this new 'wild' agitation was mainly in the faculties established in the new university buildings in the Paris suburb of Nanterre.

Student agitation here took on various forms. In part it was a revolt against archaic restrictions and regulations concerning such matters as the hours at which men should leave girls' rooms or the rights to hold political meetings on the campus.

Clearly behind this ferment, as it gathered ground, were a whole series of problems representing anxieties and doubts which students had about the nature of the society which they were being trained to serve.

The extraordinary agitation reigning in Nanterre provided a free field for all sorts of tendencies: anarchist, Guevarist, Maoist and so on. In the course of this Daniel Cohn-Bendit emerged as the main figure, largely due to fake revolutionary eloquence and a romantic dynamism.

Organized protection against fascists

Rejection of serious political action and particularly of a link-up with the working class characterized this tendency. Its basis was a well-founded suspicion of the Stalinist and other political leaders from the main parties.

An element of provocation in the situation was provided by the fascist student group, Occident, which carried out a number of commando-type raids on the Latin Quarter. It was therefore necessary for UNEF and for other student organizations to protect themselves against these violent attacks as the police invariably did nothing.

Towards the end of March a series of incidents took place in Nanterre during which, under the leadership of Cohn-Bendit and others, students carried out a strike and occupied the faculty. Disciplinary measures and threats of action by the authorities sparked off further protests leading, by May 2 to a lock-out of the students.

From the activities in Nanterre and the repressive actions of the authorities a stimulus was given to the agitation in the main university in the Sorbonne. At the same time, the militants in support of UNEF organized to protect themselves against threatened fascist aggression by Occident and 400 students were mobilized for that purpose.

This was on May 3. On that day, Jean

Roche, Rector of the University of Paris, presumably acting on instructions from the government, invited police already gathered in Paris to enter the Sorbonne.

About 400 students were arrested, the university faculties were closed and a large force of security police took up positions. The students were now locked out and French culture was under the custodianship of a force of armed men whose general nature and character have earlier been described.

Thus was presented clear evidence of the police nature of the Gaullist regime, but, of course, much worse was to follow.

Before taking the story further it is necessary to look a little more closely at the policy of the Communist Party. Because of its control of the main trade unions and its hold on the working-class districts of Paris and the main industrial centres the Communist Party remains a decisive force in French politics.

As has been seen, it had been preparing for some time for an indefinite period of peaceful co-existence with its new friends in the Mollet Socialist Party and the Mitterand left. Not surprisingly it saw the student movement as disturbers of the peace who had, at all costs, to be discredited and divided from its working-class supporters.

It is, therefore, particularly instructive to quote some of the statements made about the students in the period during which the conditions for the occupation of the Sorbonne and the police repression of the students were being prepared by the government.

The Communist press had all along taken the view that the agitation at Nanterre and elsewhere was the work of a small group of agitators and trouble-makers. Its descriptions followed almost word for word the statements of ministers and the bourgeois press.

Thus, writing in 'L'Humanité' of May 3, George Marchais, a member of the Communist Party secretariat, wrote with reference to the 'March 22 movement led by the German anarchist Cohn-Bendit' and other left groups the following:

'Not satisfied with the agitation which they lead in the student world—an agitation which goes against the interests of the mass of the students and favours the provocations of the fascists—these pseudo-revolutionaries now have the pretension to give lessons to the working-class movement. More and more often they are to be found at factory gates, or in places where immigrant workers are to be found, distributing leaflets and other propaganda material.

'These false "revolutionaries" must be energetically unmasked for, objectively, they serve the interests of the Gaullist power and of the big capitalist monopolies'.

Marchais appeals to backward prejudices

We will not enter here into the question of whether the criticisms Marchais

then makes of the ideas of Herbert Marcuse—said to be the source of the ideas of Rudi Dutchke and Cohn-Bendit—are justified or not, since this subject requires an article to itself. But Marchais goes on to make the still more astonishing allegation:

'These theses and the activities of these "revolutionaries" is a fit subject for laughter. Especially because they are, in general, the sons of big bourgeois—who are contemptuous of students of working-class origin—who rapidly put out what they call the "revolutionary flame" when they go on to direct Daddy's business and exploit the workers in the best traditions of capitalism'.

The appeal to prejudices to be found among many backward workers is particularly to be noted. All the time the name of Cohn-Bendit was linked with his German origin: read, a foreigner, and a Boche in particular who has no right to get mixed up in French politics (echoes of what the bourgeois press a century ago used to say about the 'German anarchist' Karl Marx).

Likewise the attempt to divide the students from the workers. Based in part upon an undoubted fact: that the proportion of French working-class children who have a hope of going to the university is very small and thus many workers see the university as a preserve of the rich, it obviously distorts out of all recognition the real social position of the students.

CP on the side of law and order

In fact they are predominantly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie and, far from going on to become the heads of family firms, will, in many cases be themselves the subordinate employees of the monopolies.

So, at this stage, the Communist press did not seriously analyse the conditions which produced Cohn-Bendit and his like because that would have revealed their own position too clearly, i.e. that what they were worried about was precisely that student agitation could bring about a juncture with the working class and thus blow sky-high the perspective of peaceful and loyal opposition to Gaullism which they held out with the prospect of entering as loyal partners into some future bourgeois government.

The line of Marchais was echoed in numerous articles in the following days. On May 6, for instance, in another 'L'Humanité' article, Georges Bouvard wrote:

'One can see clearly today what final result of the adventurist activities of leftist, anarchist and Trotskyist groups which play the government's game and aid its policies against the students. The discredit which they bring to the student movement, as well as the violent campaigns on the bourgeois press and radio which assimilate their behaviour to that of the mass of the students, aim to isolate the students from the workers and the population.'

This type of statement was taken up in 'Pravda' and repeated in Hungary and other countries of Eastern Europe. It is significant on several counts.

First of all, objectively—to use a term much in favour in the offices of 'L'Humanité'—it placed the CP on the side of law and order at a time when police repression had already begun and the official organizations both of the students and of the university teachers had been obliged to take a firm stand against the government.

Secondly, using another familiar Stalinist device, it accused the left groups of precisely what it was doing itself: namely, isolating the students from the workers, or, rather, isolating the workers from the students.

Not surprisingly, by this time the Communist Party audience among students had shrunk to smaller and smaller proportions. Its spokesmen were unable to get a hearing from students, some having the unenviable experience of being

shouted down.

The famous Communist poet, Louis Aragon, who went to the Sorbonne to parley with students later in the week was met with cries of 'GPU, GPU' and 'Long Live the Polish Students'.

On Monday, May 6 a large demonstration of students was broken up by the police and pitched battles took place in the streets. In the days which followed it was evident even to the CP that it was no longer a question of a handful of troublemakers, but of an enormous and largely spontaneous movement of the students, not only in Paris, but in all the provincial universities, against the police occupation of the Sorbonne and the repressive government measures.

In the course of the Monday demonstration many students and their supporters were arrested and sentenced. The university authorities had already disciplined other students or were intending to do so. The University of Paris was in the hands of the forces of law and order and large police forces had been massed in and around Paris or were being held in readiness in the provinces.

The maintenance of this line by the Communist Party and its press was thus assuming the dimensions of a political crime.

Undoubtedly, although the CP had already done much damage by making use of currents hostile to the students in the working class for its own purposes, more and more workers in the factories and the trade unions were beginning to demand a change in policy.

As the repressive face of the government was revealed and the exploits of the hated 'flics' began to fill the press, and even to receive mention on the press and TV (strictly controlled by the government), an atmosphere of developing crisis and politicalization began to spread. In fact by the end of the week it resembled that which, during May 1958, had preceded the accession of de Gaulle to power.

At this point it is necessary to insist that although a struggle for the leadership of the students was going on in which the Federation des Etudiants Revolutionnaires (successor to CLER)—the student movement of the French Trotskyists—was engaged, it still remained in the hands of the petty-bourgeois UNEF and the various trends which accepted Cohn-Bendit as their spokesmen.

Spontaneous revolt against state

At the same time, it had now become a mass movement in which were joined not only many students who had not previously been in any political organization or been much concerned with politics, but also the pupils from the upper forms of the secondary schools and many young workers. In that sense it had become a spontaneous revolt against the bourgeois state which assumed an insurrectional character.

But it was an insurrection or revolt without leadership, or with a leadership which, predominantly, made a virtue of spontaneity, action and violence. Thus the demonstration on Friday, May 10, while it displayed the vigour and the extent of the movement, reflected also its weaknesses and, thanks to the policy of the Communist Party, its isolation, at least physically, from the working class. Taking the form, to begin with, of a demonstration of much greater size than the previous ones, it marched through to the Latin Quarter, itself held by strong forces of police, in the early part of the evening.

From about 9.30 sections of the demonstrators began to erect barricades, using paving stones, cars and materials left on building sites, at all the main intersections. In the course of the night about 60 such barricades were constructed, some being built up to a height of seven or eight feet.

Once the barricades were set up, however, the demonstrators were condemned to immobility and were, in turn, surrounded by massive forces of police armed with revolvers, carbines, grenade throwers and the rest—to all appearances

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sex or condition of their victims.

Told a few years ago to go out and get Algerians they threw many into the Seine. Sent into the precincts of the Sorbonne, pride of French culture, they treat it likewise as enemy territory to be occupied.

The brutality of the police has shocked and surprised many respectable bourgeois. Some have found themselves on the wrong end of a truncheon or have had tear gas bombs thrown into their shops and apartments.

Others have had to fetch their sons and daughters from hospitals, badly beaten or even maimed for life.

Yet others have witnessed the police dragging the injured off stretchers to beat them again, tearing the red cross armbands off first aid workers and throwing them into the paddy wagons, and interfering with doctors and nurses attending the badly hurt.

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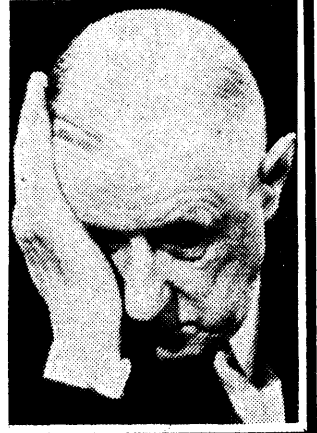
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**COPS DRAG
OFF INJURED
SECRETARY
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3,000 students marched under red banners of Trotskyist FER shouting '500,000 Workers to Latin Quarter'



raring to go.

There was, therefore, a strange mixture of willingness to resort to a pitched battle with the police which could only lead to massacre and a willingness to negotiate with the authorities on the principal demands which were being made: the dropping of charges against demonstrators already arrested, the evacuation of the Latin Quarter by the forces of repression and the re-opening of the faculties.

While the barricades were going up, which left the students open to police attack with no possibility of reinforcement, the members of the FER were holding a meeting in the Palais de la Mutualité attended by some 1,200 students.

This meeting stressed the need to carry the student struggle into the working class and to give it a revolutionary political character.

It therefore adopted as its principal slogan the bringing into the Latin Quarter of 500,000 workers from the suburbs as an answer to the governmental repression.

When this meeting ended at about 11.45 p.m. on Friday night those who had attended it formed up with linked arms in a solid phalanx which marched through to one of the main barricades on the Boulevard St-Michel in the Latin Quarter.

This march took place through streets the entrances of which were barred by hundreds of armed police and which were still full of people in the proximity of the Latin Quarter. Responsible and disciplined, with student stewards marching with joined hands on all sides, at times passing within only a few yards of the lines of police, it chanted the slogan: '500,000 workers to the Latin Quarter on Monday', alternated with singing the Internationale.

Order to clear the streets

At the barricade the followers of Cohn-

Bendit and other groups refused to accept the proposition of a link up with the working class.

The red banners of the FER were therefore taken back through the marchers, whose numbers, joined by many bystanders, had increased to some 3,000. On arrival at the Mutualité, at about 1.15 a.m. a short speech was made by a leader of the French Trotskyists and the order was given to disperse and to carry the slogan into the working-class districts during the weekend.

Meanwhile, on the barricades, after some desultory attempts at discussion in which the authorities presumably hoped that it might persuade the demonstrators to go home or at least be able to divide the more from the less militant, the order was given to the police from the highest level in the government to clear the streets. This came at about 2 a.m.

Then, with tear gas bombs and batons, close in-fighting was engaged by the police. The demonstrators undoubtedly displayed tremendous courage, standing their ground as long as they could and fighting back—for which some had clearly been prepared from the start.

Many girls and young pupils from the secondary schools were beaten up by the unchained watchdogs of bourgeois society.

The wounded were torn from stretchers for another beating and various other brutalities occurred which were fully reported in the French bourgeois press, as already mentioned.

From 2 a.m., therefore, a full-scale repression was launched to clear the Latin Quarter which stopped short only at the use of firearms.

In the following hours there were many rumours that dangerous chloride bombs had been used. In any case it is certain that many persons have been temporarily blinded by tear gas bombs and it is probable that official reports have underestimated the number and the seriousness of the injured.

For all its heroism this action had the

character of an adventure which could only expose those who took part in it to serious injury without any prospect of victory.

As it happened, however, coming in the period when it did, it precipitated an important change in the policy of the CP.

No doubt in the previous two or three days there had been some indications that the former position as stated by Marchais and Bouvard had become untenable. To maintain it would have meant cutting off the Party from its worker militants as well as from the students and would have been tantamount to political suicide.

So, sitting in the early hours of the morning, the Political Bureau, made a re-assessment of the situation and issued a declaration timed as at 6.30 a.m. on May 11, 1968, taking up the student demands.

A special issue of 'L'Humanité' with the headline 'Halte à la Repression' was rushed onto the streets as a follow-up to the regular edition which had already gone out to the newstands. Besides the Party declaration it contained similar appeals from the CGT and the Young Communists.

Later in the morning it was announced that the CGT had called for a general strike to protest the repression for the following Monday, a call supported also by the Catholic but not the Social-Democratic Unions.

By the forenoon of Saturday the full gravity of the events of the previous night was becoming known. An atmosphere of politicalization was spreading through Paris: in the shops and cafes, on the buses and the Metro there was only one subject of conversation. The question of for or against the strike was being posed and no one could take a position without giving reasons.

With the 2 a.m. decision to beat down the student barricades the Gaullist regime, waiting to celebrate its tenth anniversary and being the host to the Vietnam peace talks, was, in fact, gambling on its own future existence.

The decision of the CP and the CGT, as well as the volume of public protest which was rising from every quarter apart from the most reactionary circles and press organs, must have both surprised and alarmed it.

The student organization, denounced only a few days before as objectively playing the government's game and being led by sons of big bourgeois etc. had become the unconscious instrument for affecting a radical revision of Communist Party tactics.

The Party, always afraid of being outflanked from the left, would now have to try to keep the spontaneous movement of protest and revulsion in check. It was now confronted by its biggest challenge of this sort since the miners' strike of 1963. It was presumably hoping to

take its place at the head of one of those massive but essentially aimless demonstrations of which it knew the secret which, once over, would leave the situation exactly as before.

At least its immediate aim of loyal opposition and adherence to the paths of the constitution and legality had been frustrated.

In the Fifth Republic, as its radio had from time to time reminded listeners, gatherings on the public highway are not permitted by some article of the penal code. In principle permission has to be granted by the police some days before demonstrations of the sort which had been taking place with impunity in the past week could be held.

From Saturday morning, then, the situation had changed radically in the course of a few hours. The regime had now to face the organized working class and a shocked and hostile public opinion.

It was really thrown back to the point where it had begun ten years earlier. Brought to power under circumstances where no one was prepared to risk their lives for the existing parliamentary republic it rested essentially on its control of bodies of armed men.

Now 'Le Monde' and other papers were calling for the heads of the Minister of the Interior and the Rector of the Paris University as though de Gaulle's is the sort of government in which a few ministerial changes can meet a crisis and enable everything to go on as before.

De Gaulle and his advisors obviously thought otherwise. The Prime Minister, Pompidou, who had been out of the country on a diplomatic mission, was given the task of applying his diplomacy to more urgent matters. By a last-minute acceptance of at least the major student demands it was hoped, at the cost of some dignity and face, to enable the regime to survive.

At this point with the students victorious for the moment and resting from their strenuous activities of the past weeks this record of events must terminate.

The task of the revolutionaries now turns into the working class with the ground now prepared and under more favourable conditions than have existed for a decade.

The tenth anniversary of Gaullism, instead of taking place in an atmosphere of euphoria and self-congratulation, now marks the end of a chapter in which the succeeding pages will not be written on the General's orders.

Not only, as 'Le Canard Enchaîné' put it, has he lost control of his faculties but he will go down in history as the General who, although he conquered a nation without firing a shot, never won a battle—not even against the students of Paris.



by Lucy St. John
NEW YORK-- The Ocean-Hill-Brownsville experimental decentralization project has proved to be a resounding success. A success, that is, for those, the bosses and their government, who have absolutely no interest in improving the conditions of the schools.

Those who are responsible for the rotten conditions have gotten off the hook -- they are free from blame. Meanwhile those whose interests lie in improving the schools are fighting each other.

The Brownsville dispute has been perpetrated and serves the interests of those, and only those, who control this country in the interests of capitalism.

The Brownville situation cannot be seen separated from the context of the development of capitalism today. The capitalist system faces enormous economic difficulties, which threaten profits and the very existence of the system itself. The capitalist economy is not capable of involving the entire population in the productive process; it is incapable of tackling the problem of poverty and all that goes with poverty, unemployment, discrimination, slums. At the same time it must lower the living standard of that section of the working class, the organized industrial workers, to the level of the poor.

In order to implement austerity, the bosses and the government must keep the working class divided and fighting each other, black against white, employed against unemployed, young against old.

ford
 This is the meaning of decentralization. This plan was authored and funded by the bosses in the form of the Ford Foundation and promoted by direct political representatives of the bosses such as Nixon and Lindsay. The implications of decentralization are to set the Negro ghetto against the teachers and their union, keeping them fighting each other rather than the real enemy and cause of the rotten schools, the capitalist

system. It spreads the idea, a reactionary utopian idea, that democratic control by the community will solve the problems of the ghetto. It says let the Negro ghetto be continued, let those who live there control their misery and take the blame off us. Decentralization begins with apartheid. No longer does the capitalist government have to give excuses and try to hide the fact that it cannot provide the billions of dollars necessary to wipe out poverty. They instead substitute 'democracy.' It should be clear that democracy is only an empty form if it does not mean control over the resources which alone can provide the solution to poverty and need.

This policy is combined with a policy to destroy organized trade union's movement which alone has the power to challenge the system, to close down this country in the interests of the entire working class.

unite
 The only way to fight this attack by the capitalist system and its representatives is for all sections of the working class to unite in a political struggle. This means breaking from the capitalist parties, the Democratic and Republican parties, and forming a party, a labor party, which will fight in the interests of the entire working class with a program which can end racism, which can organize the economy to meet the needs of the majority of the people in this country.

This party must be based on the organized trade union for only this force has power. At the same time the organized trade union movement must fight for the interests of the unemployed, the youth, the poor - all those excluded from the productive process. They must root out every bit of racism existent in the labor movement. This racism only serves the bosses

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CINCINNATI

lessons of whiteway strike

by Mike Ross
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The basic strike issue was over wages. The workers wanted a fifty cent wage hike over three years and a cost of living clause. They got thirty-nine cents and the cost of living clause.

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And on the subject of what demands the workers should make, we should look again at Whiteway. The owners of Whiteway, the J.H. Spaulding Co., undoubtedly claimed that they didn't have enough money to come across with the extra 11¢ per hour the workers demanded. Yet if one drives past Whiteway, he will see that some remodeling of the plant is in process. The money for that just didn't fall

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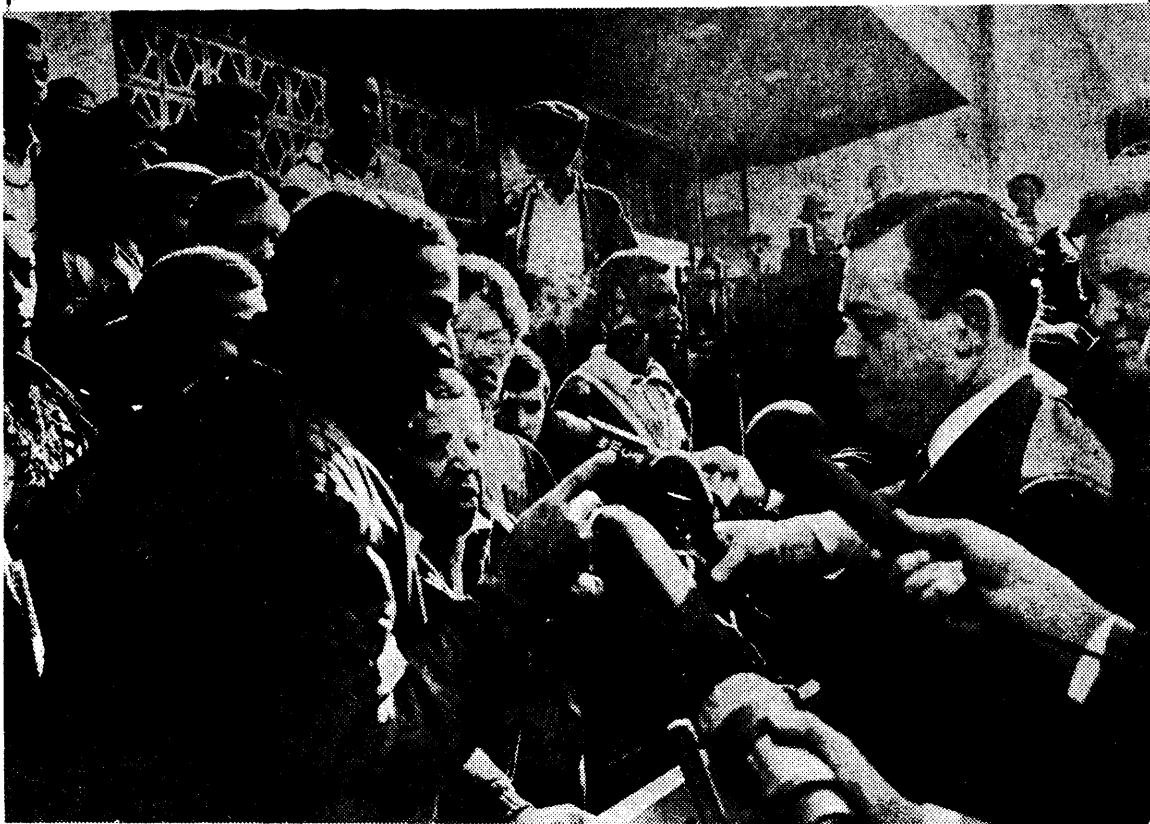
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by Tim Wohlforth

Recently the Socialist Workers Party has re-issued, for the first time publicly, some of the discussion material related to the controversy which led to the split between the SWP and the International Committee of the Fourth International and the expulsion from the SWP of the group which formed the Workers League. The collection entitled 'The Nature of the Cuban Revolution: Record of a Controversy 1960-1963' contains an introduction by George Novack which states: 'This collection is an instructive case-history in how Marxists apply their method of thought to a new political phenomenon of immense importance for the world revolution and defend their conclusions with convincing arguments against critics and opponents.' We agree.

dialectics

The very key to the theoretical development of the revolutionary party is its ability to develop dialectical materialism as contrasted to empiricism or pragmatism. The failure to develop dialectical materialism of necessity leads to adopting the empirical method of capitalism. This in turn traps the movement within the confines of the 'given facts' of capitalist society and thus it is incapable of changing the capitalist facts and creating socialist facts-it is incapable of revolution.

Empiricism begins and ends with the facts. It

ical understanding thus becomes more real, less abstract. It is the empiricist in his fear of theory and abstraction who actually is the most abstract. He presents us with his string of facts, his weight of 'evidence', but each fact stands isolated, abstracted from each other fact, the inner connections between facts are not seen, the underlying contradictory processes, completely obscured.

We start thus, not with factual appearance but with a struggle to understand the essential process which changes appearance. Our error Hansen says 'is to establish an absolute gulf between empiricism and Marxism.' This is in fact our strength. On this score we stand with Trotsky, who upon landing in Mexico in a discussion with George Novack no less, stated in uncompromising terms: 'Pragmatism, empiricism is the greatest curse of American thought.'

idea

Then there is another problem--the central question which has concerned philosophy since its beginning: the relation between men's thought processes and the processes in the natural and social world. Marx's greatest philosophical contribution was to resolve this question and by so doing he finished off philosophy for good. This is why philosophy since his day has been retrogressive - a retreat to philosophical conceptions objectively destroyed by Marx.

The early empiricists saw mind as a mere sim-

writer stated: 'I might start out by saying that in addition to having differences with Joe on the substantive theoretical questions of the Cuban revolution, I'm afraid to say that I also have a difference on the question of methodology. And this may prove to be the most fundamental difference. I really don't believe that our task, the task of Marxists, is to find out in the tradition of Sergeant Friday of 'Dragnet' what the facts are, just the facts, and then find a label for them.'

In fact Hansen's speech at that time stands as the most gross example we have ever seen of empiricism and pragmatism in action. As he explains proudly, the SWP reacted to Cuba on a purely empirical level as long as it could and only when forced to, resorted to theory of any sort--and then of course to pragmatism.

As Hansen explains: 'Now how did we begin our approach to the Cuban Revolution? We did not begin it from a theoretical level. We began it from a political level. The first thing we did was to determine what our attitude would be toward the Cuban revolution as a whole. What our policy would be toward it. This was reflected immediately in our press, in the Militant.'

Then he chronicles how the Militant 'had no difficulty whatsoever' in determining its attitude toward a series of factual developments over a period of six months or so without, as he states, having any theory whatsoever of the nature of the Cuban revolution. Thus it simply informed its readers whether this fact or that fact was progressive or not. Then he apologizes to this audience, the National Committee of the SWP, for having now to come to a theory of Cuba. But as he states: 'At this point, still looking at things from a political viewpoint, it has become politically necessary to make a theoretical assessment.'

gulf

Pragmatism, as we have seen, actually places a gulf between idea or theory and empirical reality. This chasm is never fully bridged as the theory only approximately fits as a 'theoretical construct' to explain the empirical data. Dialectical materialism approaches this question in a fundamentally different way. Theory is not seen as something separated from reality but as in fact a higher expression of this reality than a mere reiteration of the 'facts' of reality. Ideas are not seen as fixed forms which one seeks to impose from outside upon a changing empirical world but rather as an expression of the inner contradictions at work. Ideas are not a mirror of surface appearance but an expression of inner dynamics.

By this placing consciousness within empirical reality Marx not only broke down an age old dualism which led philosophers to either deny thought or deny empirical reality or fall into the Kantian muddle of two absolutely contradictory and thus unrelated 'realities', but with the same stroke he yanked the philosopher out of his study and threw him into the cauldron of class struggles of our epoch. Thought and action became one. The understanding of the processes of change were indissolubly linked with the conscious struggle to change society fundamentally. Thought thus became more than a reflection of the real world; it became the central tool for changing the real world.

Thus when confronted with something like the Cuban revolution we do not simply collect the facts, inform our anxious public which facts are good and which are bad, then when forced into it, find a label which best fits this set of facts. Nor do we simply note the trend of factual development and project this trend into the future as the way future development will occur. This latter approach, what we call impressionism, is but a variety of pragmatism and like pragmatism never gets beyond the surface. It establishes a model to explain a contemporary phenomenon and then projects this model as the way in which future phenomena will take place. Or in terms of the controversy under discussion this took the form of the 'Cuban model' as the pattern for future development in colonial areas.

contradiction

Such an approach can never explain the contradictory movements of underlying process and surface appearance, failing to see that in this underlying movement is the making of future surface appearance.

Instead we begin by asking the why and hows of the facts, to understand the process at work. But we seek to understand this process only in order to consciously intervene in that process to bring about a fundamental change in the very nature of society itself. And only by seeking to consciously intervene can we understand. Once socialists abandon this totally revolutionary methodological approach, they are no longer determinants in the historical process but become simple facts of capitalist reality themselves determined by this reality and thus totally incapable of changing it.

SWP THEIR METHOD AND OURS



JOE HANSEN

stays on the level of phenomena, of appearance. But the facts are the facts of a particular class society--capitalism. This is why empiricism of necessity produces opportunism--an adaptation to a reality produced by capitalism rather than a struggle to transform this capitalist reality. With empiricism you are strangled by the 'given facts'. You can only seek to influence them in this direction, push them in that direction; decide which facts seem progressive and which facts seem reactionary. You seek, as Joe Hansen puts it, 'points of support' in empirical reality. Rather than fundamentally changing the facts it is the facts that change you.

Dialectical materialism approaches this fundamental question differently from empiricism. It does not hold, as Hansen claims we hold, that 'mere trifles like facts don't count'. Neither is it a matter, as Hansen claims it is, of 'starting with the facts.' It certainly is not, as Hansen also states, "empiricism systematically carried out."

It is true that Marxism, like empiricism, seeks to understand empirical reality and is thus the enemy of religion and all idealist philosophical systems which deny the existence of empirical reality or which, like Kant and the pragmatists, seek to maintain a dualism between empirical reality and 'ideas'. However it does not equate empirical reality with 'appearance' or 'fact'. It sees reality dialectically thus exposing the contradiction between appearance and essence, form and content. Only by making this distinction can it then probe the most fundamental question of all--how facts change into their opposite.

change

As long as one stays on the level of the appearance of fact, change is inscrutable--but change is the business of revolutionists. The empiricist can note change when it has happened but cannot fathom how it happens. Each fact is a formal fixture completely separate from each other fact.

Change occurs through the inner contradiction within the fact itself, the process of negation by which the fact becomes its opposite. In probing this contradictory struggle within the very inner content of factual reality, the dialectician actually penetrates deeply into reality. His theoret-

ple mechanical reflection of empirical fact. Thus the contradiction between reality and thought was wiped out by wiping out conscious thought itself. While one could perhaps get away with such thoughtlessness in the early state of capitalist development the greater complexity of capitalist development combined with its growing irrationality required the re-introduction of idea both to mystify people as to the nature of the system they lived under and to cope with the scientific problems raised in a more complex economy.

dualism

This led to the dualism of pragmatism, a method Joe Hansen, our lover of the facts, just the facts, is also forced to use. Pragmatism, which has its roots in Kantian dualism, which contradictions Hegel thoroughly exposed over a century ago, sees ideas and theory as something separate from empirical reality. Empirical reality is seen as real but not fully scrutable, not fully knowable. As with Kant, God survives in that section of reality which is inscrutable as a symbol of a society which cannot look at the world with complete objectivity without revealing that capitalist property forms no longer develop the productive forces of man but stand as a fetter upon them.

To the pragmatist, theory is only an approximation of reality and thus remains essentially separated from it -- something imperfectly imposed upon reality from without. This finds expression in the 'model-building' methods of academic social science. It works this way: you construct a model and models. Then you look at reality and see which model fits best.

labels

With Hansen this takes the form of labels; 'I don't think we should be afraid of labels--especially if they are correct labels. Labels you know are sometimes a very advantageous thing. I've noticed that many times at the bar. Put a bottle of Old Pap (private label bourbon) up and a bottle of White Horse and you usually reach for the White Horse.' And so, with this profound method, Hansen develops his theory of the Cuban state. 'Our characterizations', he states, 'simply reflect the facts, just the facts.' No wonder in the debate with Hansen, in January 1961, from which these quotes are taken, this

by Lucy St. John

Throughout this series on Progressive Labor we have shown the revisionist role played by PL in the working class movement. While spewing forth leftist propaganda, PL in all areas of struggle, the trade unions, student movement, and Negro struggles adapts to the present level of struggle. They are for bread and butter in the unions, student power on the campuses, and community control in the ghettos.

They contain these struggles on their present level limiting them to anti-political forms of action. They cannot relate these struggles because they refuse to fight for an independent political struggle with a working class program. Their revolutionary propaganda becomes opportunism in practice.

We have pointed out that the basis of PL's revisionism is method. PL's method is one of pragmatism, "what works now" and impressionism. PL takes one or a number of visible aspects of this society which they distort and exaggerate so that their whole perspective becomes fantastically unreal. They are unable to see the whole picture because they approach it in a one-sided way. They see what they want to see rather than what is there. PL moves from one distorted view to another.

logic

This kind of sloppy theoretical analysis has a logic of its own. Its failure to grapple seriously and objectively with the roots of revisionism leaves it at a loss to explain events in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba, China. According to PL today the Soviet Union is capitalist, Eastern Europe is fascist, and Cuba while being socialist did not become so under the leadership of Castro--his movement was "bourgeois-democratic". Socialism came to Cuba according to PL "through another struggle". These are very serious statements with enormous implications for the world working class. But PL in all its voluminous literature cannot give an explanation for these developments. Rather it apologizes with the excuse that this matter is beyond "the range of this article."

origins

PL sees the origins of revisionism separated from international political developments. They see the rise of revisionism in the Soviet Union as being a result of Khrushchev. They do not attempt to deal with the growth of revisionism in the Soviet Union in a historical context. They see revisionism in the CPUSA as a result of Browder and his theory of "American Exceptionalism."

In attacking this theory they actually use the theory of "American Exceptionalism" seeing the growth of revisionism in the CP as a specifically American phenomenon. They are unable to relate it to the historical development of the world Communist movement and refuse to see any connection with Stalin. For PL Stalin was a "great revolutionary". They admit he "erred", was not democratic enough, but cannot relate Stalin's errors to the development of revisionism internationally and historically.

Contrary to what PL would like to see the origins go back further than Browder and Khrushchev. A Marxist analysis in contradiction to PL's impressionism searches out objective reality to grasp the whole, the origins, and history. Trotsky in his book, "Revolution Betrayed" analyzed the growth of revisionism in this context, using the method of dialectical materialism.

materialist

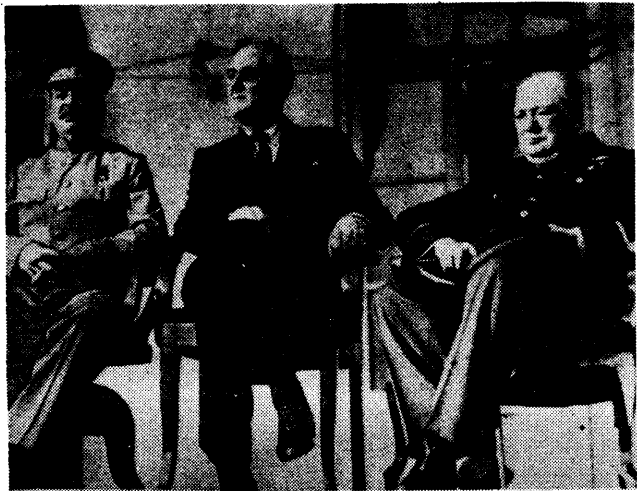
Trotsky sought out the material basis for the growth of revisionism. The material basis for revisionism lay in the objective conditions which the Soviet Union faced following the Russian Revolution, the Soviet economy, the defeat of the European proletariat, the changing composition of the party following the revolution. Stalinism found its base among that section of the party and government which sought to guarantee privileges for themselves through the administration of the economy developing as a result of the socialized property relations.

stalin

It was with this base and within this historical context that Stalin elaborated the theory of socialism in one country. This theory consisted of the justification of the guarantee to the new privileged strata that there would be no upsets, that their privileges would not be sacrificed to the struggle for world revolution. The theory contained the conception that the revolution was completed, that socialism could be built in the Soviet Union regardless of external developments, that peaceful growth could occur as long as there was no intervention.

The theory of socialism in one country required a break with internationalism and workers democracy and a suppression of all those who fought for these

pl and the origins of revisionism



STALIN FOUNTAIN OF REVISIONISM

At the same time the growth of the bureaucracy contained contradictions. It on the one hand usurped the power from the working class in order to guarantee privileges for itself. At the same time its power and privileges were based on the socialized property relations: the social basis for workers rule. While it denied workers rule it was also forced to defend the gains of October, the socialized property forms in order to defend the basis of its power.

collaboration

The direct result internationally of the theory of socialism in one country was a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention under the guise of guaranteeing the construction of socialism in Russia. The task of the parties in the other countries then became to protect the USSR from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power internationally.

Stalin's line meant that the struggles of the individual CP's became subordinate to the relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism. The class struggle at home was subordinated to the strategic needs of the Soviet Union. Instead of the class struggle, co-operation with the bourgeoisie. Instead of internationalism, nationalism. This policy is very clearly seen in all countries where there were Stalinist parties.

PL correctly sees that the CPUSA developed an uncritical, non-class attitude to the Roosevelt administration. However what they refuse to admit is that this policy was the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and the American CP was merely carrying out Stalin's policy of the Popular Front. During the '30's wherever there were Stalinist CPs this policy was carried out. The Stalinist parties all over the world formed sustained political blocs with non-socialist parties, blocs clearly limiting themselves to political goals within the framework of the status quo. The Stalinist parties after 1935 when the Popular Front was announced fought all over the world not for revolution but "democratic unity" and anti-fascist struggle." This policy was far from "American Exceptionalism" as PL would like to have it. The same policy was carried out in France, Spain, Italy, Greece and England and led to the defeats of the working class in these countries.

The origins of "peaceful co-existence" did not in fact come from Khrushchev, but lay in Stalin's policies during the 30s and 40s, conciliation with the imperialists in order to preserve a peaceful situation in the world so as to prevent any trouble for the Soviet bureaucracy. Class collaboration at the expense of the international mobilization of the working class was the position of Stalin and all the Stalinist parties all over the world.

marxist

Progressive Labor is unable to understand revisionism because it cannot approach it in a Marxist way. Instead of approaching the question historically, that is by searching for the origins of revisionism in the development of the Russian Revolution, it sees revisionism in an idealist and subjective way. That is as a set of ideas which a bad guy or guys developed in the Soviet Union. Through what process

these ideas developed is a mystery to PL.

PL is equally unable to understand revisionism in a materialist way. It cannot understand the real social roots of revisionism in the formation of a bureaucratic caste in the Soviet countries. It covers up this inadequacy by slapping unscientific labels on current revisionists which are used as swearwords, as a substitute for serious analysis. Thus the Soviet Union is 'capitalist' and Czechoslovakia 'fascist'. But Marxism is historical materialism--that is it views ideas like revisionism as the product of and serving the social interests of specific social strata and it seeks to understand such strata by studying their contradictory historical evolution.

Unable to understand revisionism through an understanding of its origins and contemporary social roots it of necessity cannot break from revisionism. It shares with the revisionism of the Soviet bureaucracy a common pragmatic method. This method is both the source of its current opportunist politics in the United States and the impediment to its breaking from revisionism through understanding it.

The method of thought of the Soviet bureaucracy is not a unique method exclusive to it because this bureaucracy does not represent some new or independent class force in the world. The Soviet bureaucracy rather represents a degeneration of a worker's revolution--a movement back toward capitalism. It is neither capitalist nor socialist but rather a transitional formation like the trade union bureaucracy--a bourgeois formation which stands on a working class property base. This, like the labor bureaucracy here, it represents bourgeois methods of thought within the working class movement. With such methods it can neither effectively defend the property forms created by the working class nor extend these property forms through revolution elsewhere--which is of course to same thing as the only real defense of the Soviet countries is the extension of the revolution.

The pragmatist cannot understand contradictory phenomena. They can only seek to impose on contradictory reality static formal labels--capitalism, fascism, socialism, etc. So PL wipes out the contradiction between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the workers property forms in the Soviet Union by declaring it to be a capitalist country. Thus we get only one side of reality--the USSR's attempt to hold back revolution and to compromise with the imperialists. Missing is the other side reflected, for instance, in the necessity for the USSR to give real and important material aid to North Vietnam and NLF in their fight against U.S. imperialism--not sufficient aid, and not without strings attached--but aid nonetheless. What capitalist country, we ask, is sending guns and supplies to the Vietnamese?

china

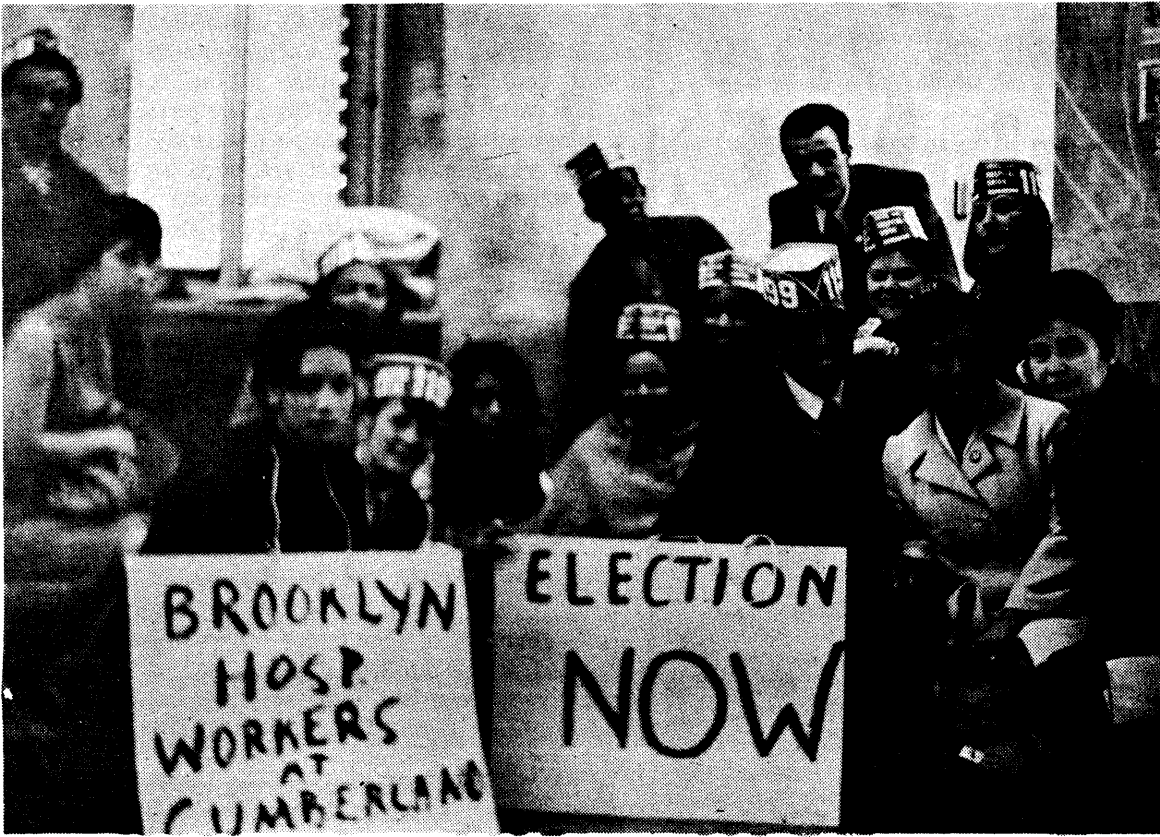
But when it comes to China contradiction is wiped out in the opposite way. The label 'socialist' is placed on China and the contradiction of the Chinese bureaucracy with the workers property forms is wiped out by wiping out the Chinese bureaucracy--not in reality but in the minds of PL members. Thus while PL can understand well enough Mao's mobilization of the Red Guards against Liu it cannot understand how Liu rose so high in the Chinese government to begin with nor can it understand Mao's efforts to leash the unleashed Red Guards, to compromise with center sections of the bureaucracy, and his fear to take any real step towards establishing proletarian democracy in the country--such as recognizing the right of parties who stand on the basis of the workers property form to function, print newspapers and compete politically with the CCP.

While PL can explain Mao's more intransigent stand against the U.S. in Vietnam now, it cannot explain Mao's complicity in the Geneva Accords which allowed imperialism to take over one half of Vietnam and thus lay the basis for the present conflict. The same goes for Mao's support of the Indonesian Communist Party which in turn supported the bourgeois regime of Sukarno leading to its own destruction at the hands of the Indonesian bourgeoisie.

defend

Trotskyists view the world differently. While PL continues to denounce us as 'anti-Soviet' we have no difficulty in defending all the workers states against the imperialists including the USSR and Czechoslovakia. At the same time we fight against the bureaucracies in these countries recognizing them as precisely the social force which undermines the property forms internally and cannot defend the workers states externally.

Here in the United States we start from the class interests of the workers not from particular momentary movements of the class. We fight for a program which can unite the class in action against the capitalist class and through which the workers can go from the defensive to the offensive by fighting politically for a new party of the working class as a whole.



STRIKERS OCCUPY HOSPITAL OFFICE DURING MILITANT 1199 STRIKE

By a Hospital Worker
New York, May 29--A militant sit-down strike at Cumberland Hospital in Brooklyn which began on Friday, May 24 ended in victory today. Nearly 100 technical and clerical workers began the sit-in in the hospital lobby, demanding an immediate election so they could choose Local 1199 as their representative. They won this demand on May 29, with an election to be held within 10 days.

city-owned but administered through affiliation contracts by voluntary (private, non-profit) hospitals.

Thus Cumberland is affiliated with Brooklyn Hospital, a voluntary hospital which has not yet been organized by the union and whose former director is none other than the present City Hospitals Commissioner, Joseph Terenzio. It is a safe bet that Terenzio had a hand in the efforts of the Cumberland bosses to

mount a campaign against it. But the workers held firm, and with support from their co-workers at other hospitals they won.

More than Cumberland was involved in this showdown. Local 1199 is now in the middle of negotiating a contract with almost 20 hospitals on a citywide basis. The Cumberland strike was a testing ground, a way for the bosses to test the fighting capacity of the union in preparation for the July 1st contract expiration date and showdown. The bosses have let it be known that they are preparing for a strike in July, and the victory at Cumberland shows the power of the workers.

sit-down strike wins at cumberland hospital

The sit-down spread to 2 floors of the hospital, occupying the Administration office and all of the labs, on the morning of May 27. By that afternoon 23 workers had been arrested but the strike continued very solidly, with sympathy support on the picket line from workers at other Brooklyn hospitals, including Brooklyn Jewish and Jewish Chronic. Hundreds of workers staged sympathy sit-ins at Harlem, Lincoln, and Queens General Hospitals which, like Cumberland, are

stall a union representation election.

The bosses first claimed that a jurisdictional dispute was involved, with Local 144 of the Building Service Employees also involved in organizing. This is a completely phony issue, as the election will show. Local 144 stopped organizing efforts some weeks ago and has absolutely no support among the workers. The bosses hoped to stall anyway, in the hope that delays would weaken the union and give them time to

This strike was just the beginning, as hospital workers also prepare for July. With less than five weeks to go, the confrontation shaping up will be something without parallel in the history of the union.

1199 members must prepare to strike on July 1st to win their \$100 weekly minimum salary demand and their other major demands. The ranks of the union must make clear their determination to win their wage demands in 1968.



PICKETS MARCH IN FRONT OF CUMBERLAND HOSPITAL



'V' IS FOR VICTORY AND THAT IS JUST WHAT HAPPENED



STRIKERS JAM HALLWAY IN ACTION WHICH FORCED BARGAINING ELECTION ON EVE OF CITYWIDE CONTRACT DEADLINE