

# Bulletin

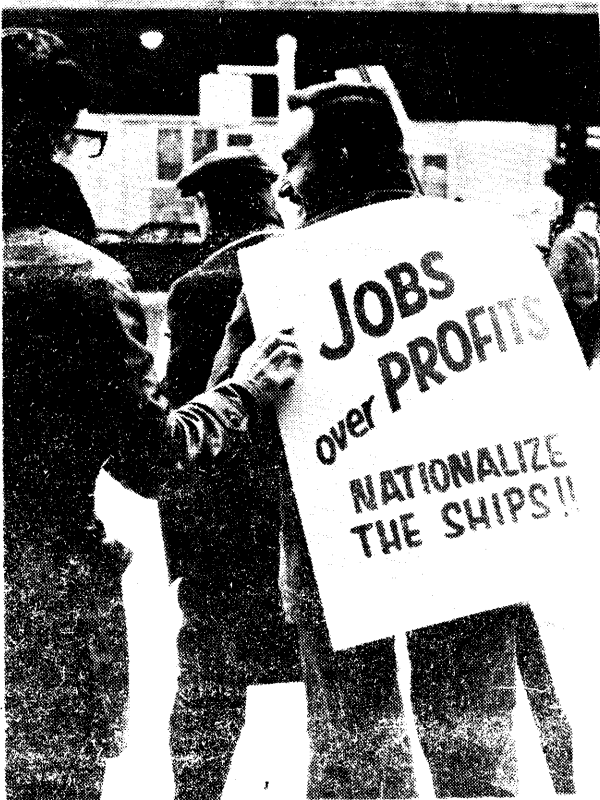
weekly organ of the workers league

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## NEW YORK LABOR EXPLODES



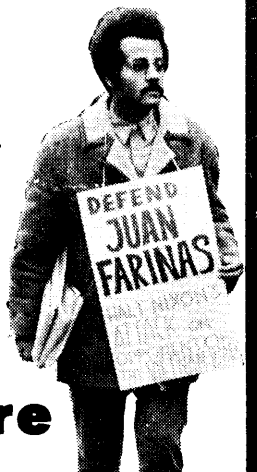
Dissident rank and file policemen raise clenched fist militant salute in protest against PBA sell-out (above right). Opposition group in the National Maritime Union (left) picket to protest new lay-ups of ships leading to more unemployment

in maritime industry. Telephone workers (right) man picket line in a strike which has led to fines of over \$600,000. Teamsters also struck produce markets last week while firemen, sanitationmen and welfare workers are in contract negotiations.

## MASS RALLIES TO DEFEND FARINAS!



As we move into the final week before the January 29th demonstrations, scheduled to coincide with Juan Farinas' sentencing, Ramon Malave, Vice President of Local 1199 has been announced by the union as a sponsor. The shop stewards assembly of Local 1707, Day Care Chapter has unanimously endorsed the case. The Soledad Defense Committee has also become a sponsor. Speakers at the New York rally will include Stanley Hill, President, Local 371-SSEU; Ed Cross, President Local 147, Tunnel Workers; Orrie Chambers, Organizer Newark Teachers Union and representatives from Local 1199, District 65, Black Panthers, Young Lords, Puerto Rican Students Union, and Workers League, as well as Juan Farinas.



**Noon-Friday-January 29**  
**New York — Foley Square**  
**Minneapolis—Old Federal Bldg.**  
**San Francisco — Federal Bldg.**



Photo shows American pilot participating in combat operation inside Cambodia.

## U.S. Readies Cambodian Invasion Steps Up Bombing Of N. Vietnam

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Each day the United States comes closer and closer to a new invasion of Cambodia. The latest move is the announcement that not only will the United States supply air support for South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops, but it will ferry around these troops with American-manned helicopters whose crews may even participate on occasion in the combat.

At the same time the United States is continuing its bombings of North Vietnam, the most recent being B-52 raids on three missile sites. Because of this situation the Pentagon has put a freeze on any further withdrawals of the Air Force. This action shows how tenuous the whole withdrawal program is since the underlying war continues and intensifies and the American position deteriorates.

## Agnew Proclaims 'Final Solution' For Welfare

BY MARTY JONAS

The veil was lifted on the stark reality that the capitalists have in store for the working class in a speech by Vice President Agnew on Jan. 14.

Agnew was speaking in Sacramento, California, before an audience consisting of Governor Reagan and 300 local government officials concerned about welfare costs. He started by saying that "hard social judgments" would have to be made about the rising cost of welfare.

He then said:

"I have a theory that these problems will never be subject to complete solution until somebody in public life is willing to take on the hard social judgments that very frankly no one that I know in elective office is willing to even think about.

"If a woman has not taken care of her children properly, who is going to say to that woman, 'We are going to take that child from you—the natural mother—and put that child somewhere it will receive the proper care.'

"Who is going to say to the welfare mother who has had three or four illegitimate children who are now charges of the state, 'We're sorry but we will not be able to allow you to have any more children?'"

### FUTURE

Agnew's statement on welfare points out what the capitalist future is for the working class—sterilization, concentration camps, and all out civil war. Agnew's "complete solution" smacks of Hitler's "final solution" for the ills of German capitalism in the 1930's—fascism.

Nixon has been trying his best to push through Congress his Federal Assistance Plan, which is brutal enough, but Agnew's speech shows that there is a section of the ruling class who feel it is necessary to go much further in attacks on welfare recipients. Nixon's plan is the beginning.

Behind Nixon stand the Reagans, the Agnews, the Buckleys who are preparing for the necessary attacks on the workers as the workers' struggles grow more threatening to them each day. This is the real face of the capitalist class and it can only be fought politically with the independent mobilization of the working class.

At any moment the situation in Cambodia could lead to a new American expedition and this in turn would require a whole reversal of the withdrawal program, deepening the crisis within the Army, and in the United States.

### WEAKNESS

The immediate situation in Cambodia involves a fight, which has been going on for some time now, to open up a strategic highway connecting Phnom Penh, the capital, with the sea. Despite the deployment of 8,000 Cambodian troops together with 5,000 Saigon troops supported fully by American air power they have so far been unable to dislodge North Vietnamese and Khmer Rouge troops from control of the road. When one realizes that there are only some 10,000 "enemy" troops actually engaged in combat in all of Cambodia, according to the United States, one gets some understanding of the extreme weakness of the Lon Nol regime and its supporters.

In Cambodia as a whole there are now 175,000 Cambodian troops, over 20,000 Saigon troops together with American air and sea power pitted against a force estimated by the U.S. at 40,000 troops, 30,000 of which are preoccupied with supply route work and maintenance. Added to that is the repeated statement by the American government that they are aware that North Vietnam is not seeking to topple the Lon Nol Government but simply to maintain its strategic position in Cambodia where it controls two-thirds of the country. So without really trying on the part of the Stalinist leadership the situation in Cambodia is now termed "tenuous" by the American Government.

## GIs March In Saigon In Defense Of Angela Davis

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

On January 15 over forty black GIs demonstrated openly in Saigon in defense of Angela Davis. This demonstration indicates the international movement of the working class and youth in defense of Angela Davis.

The demonstration also reflects the political character of the explosive struggle within the army which more and more cannot be separated from the struggles of the working class in the U.S.

It was because of this situation and the deteriorating military position of U.S. imperialism, that Nixon sent Melvin Laird to Southeast Asia. But all of Laird's talk about the "good morale" of the U.S. troops could not hide the real situation. While Laird was there, in fact, one army major was killed and another wounded in Saigon when they harassed five GIs who were listening to music in their hut.

This incident is not unusual as GIs begin to express their hatred of this war and imperialism through attacks on the military authority. Newsweek in its January 11 issue quotes entertainer Johnny Grant who was in the field in Vietnam during Christmas as saying, "At one camp we heard the grunts cheer enthusiastically when they learned

### EDITORIAL

## We Can Defeat Repression With Strength Of Labor

The recent revelation by a prosecuting attorney in Maryland that Rap Brown was accused of completely fabricated charges to bring in the FBI follows close on the heels of the Magee charge that he was approached by the prosecution to fabricate charges against Angela Davis.

Both developments reveal just a small section of the tremendous web of fabrication developed by the United States government in its efforts to repress the militant vanguard section of the working class.

At the same time these revelations come when the working class is moving forward in such a way that the government, for all its intentions to crush it, is forced into an extremely difficult position. In New York City the police strike continues despite every threat, pressure and the Taylor Law itself, while the phone men defy immense court fines and produce truck drivers go out on strike.

What this means is that the repression of the courts and the police can be beaten back IF the defense of the victims is rooted in the movement forward of the class. It is precisely because of this situation that the truth of the fabrications of the government begin to leak into the press. If Angela Davis gets convicted under present conditions there is every possibility of massive strike actions across the nation in factories, schools, colleges and in the army itself. This is the meaning of the demonstration by the Black GIs who marched through Saigon in support of Angela on Martin Luther King's birthday.

At the same time these vicious legal attacks, the extremely high fines levied on the phone men in New York, the stepped up military involvement in Cambodia, show what it is the ruling class is preparing for the working class as a whole. Only through struggle now can we prepare for the future.

### FARINAS

This is why we are struggling to build the largest possible demonstration of workers and youth on January 29th when Juan Farinas returns to court to face a possible 15 year jail term. The conviction of Farinas was based on the same kind of fabrications used in the Rap Brown, Angela Davis and Panther cases.

At the same time an extremely dangerous situation is now developing within those forces struggling to beat back these repressive forces. The Communist Party and its supporters are turning, not towards this forward movement of the working class and the youth, but to the liberals and ministers, and through them to a section of the capitalist class itself which is responsible for the repression.

They refuse to defend Angela Davis as a fight back against attacks on the working class. They refuse to defend Magee at all. They, along with the SWP and YSA, continue to refuse to sponsor the Farinas Defense Committee. At every point they seek, as Charles Garry the Panther lawyer put it, to construct a "popular front" with the capitalists.

### STALINISM

This is the policy of Stalinism which led to the defeats of the 1930s. Juan Farinas broke with the Progressive Labor Party precisely over this question of Stalinism because he was convinced that Stalinism would lead to new defeats today. Juan Farinas was right, as the attitude of both PLP and the CPUSA toward his own case proves.

The defense of the working class and all militants today, the victory of socialism and the defeat of fascism tomorrow depends fundamentally on the defeat of Stalinism and reformism within the working class. It is this theoretical fight which we must all take up urgently today.

Clearly the deteriorating military situation is an expression of the class forces at work in the region. The Lon Nol Government is a puppet government imposed by imperialism against the will of the working people and peasantry of Cambodia. As such it can survive in a small enclave of Cambodia only through the direct military intervention of the United States and even at times because of the political weaknesses of the Stalinists.

### MOVEMENT

All this can be swept aside at any moment through the onward movement of the workers and peasants and the internal decay of capitalism in the whole region threatening the entire American plans of maintaining

imperialist domination but cutting its "costs" in manpower and thus hoping to maintain a little peace at home.

### MASSIVE

American workers and GIs must be prepared for a new sharp turn in the situation with a new military adventure on the part of the U.S. ruling circles. We must answer with massive strike action in the United States accompanied by a massive movement of the GIs.

This is being prepared in the continuing strike wave sweeping the United States to the point where even the police are accused of violating "law and order" and in the growing discontent in the Army where soldiers march in Saigon in defense of Angela Davis.

that two of their own officers had just been killed in a Viet Cong ambush."

### FRAGGING

"Fragging," an attack on an officer using a fragmentation grenade, is becoming a common occurrence. One source in the American Division in Vietnam has said that fraggings average "about one a week, and there are at least one or two units in the country where it runs higher." The fear of open mutiny by the brass is reflected in the fact that no one has been convicted of these attacks.

The capitalist class must indeed be concerned about the situation of its fighting forces. This is why Nixon is again trying to push through the new measures to create

a professional army.

But imperialism is in an almost impossible position. The almost daily explosions that occur on bases in the U.S., Europe, and Vietnam are inextricably tied to the explosion that occurred in San Jose last fall. It is a class hatred which is being expressed by the GIs when they attack their officers just as it was the class hatred of Nixon that came forward from the unemployed workers and youth in San Jose.

This struggle inside the army can only go forward today if it is consciously connected with the struggle of the working class in the U.S., connected with the fight to mobilize labor against the war and against the employers. It must be connected with the fight to build a labor party.

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# New York Labor Begins Showdown

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

NEW YORK, Jan. 20—While Lindsay, Rockefeller and city officials were preparing to mobilize the National Guard yesterday, striking patrolmen reluctantly returned to work.

The situation facing the city—which can only be described as on the verge of civil war—was sharply posed by a leader of the dissident cops the night before. Speaking to NBC-TV, in relation to the troop threat, he said that the cops did not want “another Kent State” but that they would fight to stay out until their demands were met.

Lindsay and the entire capitalist class must very well be asking themselves what they face if those they pay to break strikes are themselves striking, if those who advocate and defend “law and order” now defy it.

## LYNCHED

At the meeting last night at which the delegates of the PBA voted to call off the wildcat, PBA leader Kiernan was almost lynched. He left the meeting under heavy guard. Rank and file patrolmen, raising the clenched fist salute, shouted “Kill Kiernan,” “Sellout,” and “Strike, Strike, Strike.” The Daily News of January 20 described the meeting: “At one point it appeared that the dissidents would wrest control of the session as they screamed more gutter language than is heard at protests that cops are usually called on to maintain order.” One older delegate who has been a cop for 18 years and was a union organizer before that, told the News: “I never saw any group act like this. They were nothing but hoodlums.”

The police wildcat began when the State Supreme Court ordered a jury trial over the PBA's demand for parity. The PBA is seeking to enforce a 3.5-3 ratio between sergeants and patrolmen which was agreed upon in 1968. Enforcing this ratio would mean that each patrolman would receive \$2,700 in retroactive pay. The patrolmen defied both their leadership and the court injunctions.

The action by the cops (there has not been another such strike since one in Boston in 1919) and defiance of their leadership



Militant policemen march for parity during strike which was supported by 85%.

symbolizes a change which is occurring in the labor movement as well. Despite all the efforts of the City to bolster the leadership of the PBA, it is clear that it is through. The New York Times puts it this way: “City Hall believes that a victory by the militants would lead to a total breakdown of police discipline, culminating in strikes.”

## TRIGGERED

Objectively this action supported by transit and housing authority police has triggered a whole fight on the part of the city labor movement against the attacks on wages, jobs, and working conditions. It is in the city labor movement that the struggle will be decisive. The city that was once misnamed “Fun City” can better be called “Strike City.” This is no accident. It was Lindsay who announced a few months ago that city workers would have to pay for the economic crisis with “payless paydays” and mass layoffs.

The explosion that began last week in the city labor movement bringing out the cops, phone workers, taxi drivers and produce

workers is far from over. Nothing has actually been settled for the cops, although of all the contracts this is the one the city would like to settle. Judge Saypol has agreed to hear the parity issue in court, but Lindsay has refused to either grant amnesty to the strikers or to agree to the court's decision on parity.

## DELURY

Any concessions made to the cops on the question of wages will only raise the fight by the rest of the unions whose contracts expired on December 31. On Sunday both the sanitationmen's and firemen's unions rejected the City's 17% wage offer over three years. Delury, head of the sanitationmen's union called it an “insult” saying, “we want dollars, not pennies,” “loaves not crumbs.” Delury says that his union is asking for a 50% wage increase and has warned that the City should “fish or cut bait.” He has set a deadline of February 1st.

It is clear that the ranks of city labor are not going to agree to Lindsay's plans

to drive back wages, institute layoffs and increase productivity. This is why Delury is talking so militantly today.

## CWA

While the City did everything it could to avoid calling out the troops, fearing what this would mean, it was prepared. It is prepared to break the unions if it has to.

This is the lesson of the strike by Local 1101 of the Communications Workers. The government is seeking to virtually liquidate this union through heavy fines which now total \$600,000. As the president of the local put it, the fines are “just beyond us.” Despite the vicious attacks on the local by the government and its own international leadership, which has refused to defend it, the strike is continuing.

Lindsay is fully prepared to hold out and to use the vicious Taylor Law against any section of labor. Meanwhile the leaders of the city unions are sitting back and waiting. When the patrolmen went out, Delury, Maye, and Gotbaum refused to call out their ranks.

## SSEU

The only way that the city workers are going to win a victory in their contract struggle is through a united struggle to close down the entire city. This means that the ranks must prepare now for action.

The Committee for New Leadership of the SSEU 371 is fighting for a job action throughout the Department of Social Services. It has petitioned and won a membership meeting for Wednesday. Already in some centers workers are preparing to take on the City. Action by the SSEU-371 now can give leadership to the rest of city labor. This is going to require a sharp battle with the leadership, as it will in every union, as the bureaucracy tries to maneuver with the city to get a settlement.

## VICTORY

Now is the time to strike. A victory by workers in New York City can change the whole situation in the labor movement nationally and reverse the setback suffered by the auto workers this fall.

## Stalinists, Liberals, Betray New Haven Panther Defense

BY LISA SIDNEY

NEW HAVEN, JAN. 13—Over 350 people, made up of ministers, their congregations, middle class liberals, and a section of youth, as well as the Black Panther Party and the Workers League, attended a panel discussion sponsored by the New Haven Council of Churches to discuss whether or not Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins could get a fair trial.

It was obvious that by their uncritical participation in the meeting, the Communist Party is going beyond its call for a Marxist-Christian dialogue to open collaboration with the churches in betraying the struggles of the working class. This poses the gravest danger for those sections of youth who are in the forefront of the struggle, as the CP seeks to betray them by keeping them tied to liberalism.

The opening statement of the panel reported that, after many, many months of research, they have come to the conclusion that criticisms of the courts are justified! The participants in the panel, which included Charles Garry, defense attorney for Bobby Seale and Donald Freed, author of the play “Inquest,” at every point betray the defense of Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, and all other victims of political repression.

## CONSCIENCE

They do this by appealing to the conscience of the middle class. They try to cover up the real meaning of these political attacks by pleading with the middle class “to take into their Christian hearts a love for Bobby and Ericka and help to see that they get a fair trial.” In other words, political repression is treated as a moral issue, thus leaving all victims of the class struggle at the mercy of the rulers, their

cops and courts.

What sections of youth and workers are beginning to understand is that under capitalism there is no justice. Nixon and his business partners are using their courts to prepare for a civil war against the working class. It is not a question of having a fair trial so that Bobby Seale can be legally and fairly lynched. It is a question of the class nature of the courts and understanding that only by mobilizing the working class and the youth independently can we win freedom for political prisoners. This is the lesson of the victorious struggle against Franco in Spain in defense of the Basque nationalists.

The heart of what was put forward at this meeting—and which is the core of Stalinism—was a complete covering up of the class conflict. The Panthers do not strike fear into the hearts of the ruling class because they call for free breakfast programs, but because they are expressing a movement which has called for a socialist America.

This, of course, is not what the ministers and liberals want to hear about. This is what lies behind their refusal to allow Juan Farinas to speak on the nature of the courts and his case, as a participant on the panel. The Workers League was told that its politics are too radical for these people. The last thing the CP, in collaboration with the Council of Churches, wanted at that meeting was a class fight. This is why they refused to sponsor the Juan Farinas Defense Committee.

## DIMITROV

At this panel discussion Charles Garry openly resurrected Dimitrov, head of the Stalinist Comintern during the period in which its policy of the Popular Front brought bloody defeats to the working class.

In his speech Garry compared Dimitrov's “united front” theories of the 1930's with the Panthers' “United Front against Fascism.” This comparison expressed the true meaning behind the meeting. Just as the Panthers are more and more placed



Bobby Seale cannot be defended with the popular front which brought fascism to Europe.

at the sharp edge of the class struggle, the Stalinists and their middle class allies are trying to dull this class conflict because of their real fear of it.

When the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League took up the cross for the capitalist politician, Rev. Duffey, in the recent elections, they were carrying out the same rotten policies as they are now trying to do with the defense of Angela Davis and the Panthers.

By relying on the liberals and subordinating the needs of the working class and the youth to these capitalist lackeys, the Stalinists betray the struggle. Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins cannot be defended with a leadership composed of Kenneth Gibson, Shirley Chisholm, and the Reverend Willard Uphaus.

Only by exposing the class nature of these attacks can a real political, class defense be built which can unite masses of workers and youth to their defense. The popular front politics of Dimitrov and Stalin led to fascism in Spain and the defeat of revolution in Europe after World War II. We cannot and will not allow the Stalinists

to defeat the revolutionary struggles today as they put forward these very same policies.

## LESSON

There is a lesson that must be learned from this meeting for the building of the mass meeting of youth and workers to defend Juan Farinas, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, Carlos Feliciano sponsored by the Workers League, the Black Panther Party, and the Young Lords Party to be held in New Haven next month. There must be no concession made to liberal middle class politics.

If this perspective, the perspective of the Stalinists, dominates the struggle to defend these victims of repression, they will face disaster and the whole struggle of the working class and youth will be crushed.

This meeting on February 21 in New Haven on political repression must pose very sharply a class alternative based on the mobilization of the tremendous strength of the working class and youth to free all political prisoners and beat Nixon back!



Unemployed line up in New Haven Center. Rate in Connecticut is third highest in U.S.

## Unemployment Soars— 100,000 In Connecticut

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT—In the last two and a half months, unemployment in Connecticut has skyrocketed from less than 50,000 to more than 100,000 workers.

This figure, which includes workers insured with unemployment compensation, brings the state total to 8.1% out of work. When uninsured workers are included, the figure rises to 9%. In six industrial communities in Connecticut, unemployment is well over 8%, with Waterbury at 10% and Bristol (population 50,000) close to 17%. Only Washington and Alaska have a higher percentage of unemployed.

Nixon's efforts to stave off the crisis in the economy through recession and unemployment has affected Connecticut workers deeply. About one-third of the state's industries are related to defense. In the last six months these industries were hit hard by the government's cutbacks in spending. Thousands of workers have been laid off.

The Sikorsky aircraft plant in Bridgeport laid off 200 workers last week alone, with more expected to follow in the near future. Olin Corporation, a large manufacturer of M-16 ammunition, laid off 500 workers before Christmas and out of 850 workers who were "furloughed" for a month, several hundred are being told that their "vacation" (without pay) is now permanent.

### CONSTRUCTION

The same developments are occurring in the other fields. Yale University is enforcing a job freeze and thus cutting its work force through attrition at a time when student enrollment is growing. Construction workers, who invariably are hit with high unemployment in the winter season, are having an even harder time of it. In the height of the summer, unemployment for operating engineers, for example, was double that of the year before. Most construction workers are lucky if their unemployment check equals 40% of their usual pay.

A Bulletin reporting team interviewed unemployed workers at the unemployment center here in Bridgeport last week. One worker said he did not see any relief in sight. "Every week," he said, "I come down here it seems as if there are more and more people. Half the time you can't even get in that door it's so bad."

### RIGHT

Hundreds of workers here stand in lines blocks long, waiting to collect unemployment compensation. A 23 year old unemployed construction worker, a Vietnam veteran, who has been out of work for two months told us:

"There are too many people out of work. If there weren't so many unemployed you could always make more jobs. But there are so many people. You see how many there are lined up here today.

"I think every worker has a basic right to a job. If a man wants to work he should be able to work, especially if he has a family. I have a wife and two

children. When I first got out of the service and came down here to collect because I couldn't find work, they gave me \$54.00 a week. I was supposed to pay my rent, buy food, support my wife and two kids on \$54.00 a week! Now how I was supposed to do that I don't know. It doesn't work. I don't know what they're going to do this time, but they better come up with more than \$54.00.

"The labor movement should do something because it's getting bad. With more and more people out of work, the crime rate goes up and the whole works, because people just don't have any money. They just can't feed their families. I know if I can't feed my family, I'm going to get it somehow. If I can't work for it, that's not my fault. I want to work. I don't want to be a thief. I don't want to go to jail. All I want is to have a job and be able to support my family."

The president of the Connecticut State Labor Council, John Driscoll has said that the unemployment rise was a "shocking jump" and that the situation would grow worse and develop into another "Great Depression" unless the federal government steps in and does something.

### NIXON

The trouble is that in the past period Nixon has stepped in with the purpose of increasing the political and economic attacks on the working class. This is the reality that Driscoll does not want to face up to.

The labor movement must take up the fight to organize the unemployed workers and above all to fight for full employment through the demand for the thirty hour week at forty hours pay.

Most of the workers this reporter interviewed saw the Nixon administration as having responsibility for the situation. This raises sharply the fight for the political mobilization of the workers and the fight for the labor party.

# St. Louis Power Workers Still Out Boss: Strikers Are Like Angela

BY JIM HAYS

ST LOUIS—The much hated boss of the Union Electric Company, President Dougherty, in a TV interview on January 15 equated here the fight of the workers at the Cahokin, Illinois power plant with the fight of Angela Davis and Bobby Seale.

### DISCIPLINE

Members of Operating Engineers Local 148 in St. Louis have twice refused to go back to work if disciplinary action against these workers is not lifted first. They are accused of reducing electric power output at the Illinois plant in solidarity with the beginning of the Union Electric strike here which has now lasted over 50 days.

The strike began when a worker at another plant refused to do maintenance work which would violate Local 148's contract and lead to the layoffs in personnel. President Dougherty is attempting to "cut costs" and break the union in the process.

On KSD-TV Boss Dougherty insisted that the union demand that the disciplinary action against the suspended workers be lifted as a condition of ending the strike was as outrageous as the demand that Angela and Bobby be freed without trial.

### BACKFIRE

While Dougherty is trying to use the comparison to whip up racism and anti-communism, this can only backfire in his face. The frame-up of Angela Davis and Bobby Seale and the attack on the Union Electric workers are part of the same war the employers and government have launched to beat back the working class and stop any opposition to its system.

## Taxi Wildcat For Wage Hike

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER

NEW YORK—Wildcat slow downs on the night shift erupted last weekend in four taxi garages in Brooklyn and Manhattan.

What initially began as a protest against lack of police protection in the streets, rapidly developed into a two hour demonstration by night drivers against the City Council's continued delay in granting a fare increase, which is the basis now of the drivers' wage increase.

By dragging its feet, the City Council hopes to demoralize the drivers into accepting a minimal settlement. The owners are also contributing to the city's attempt at weakening the union by placing ads in all major papers encouraging people to become taxi drivers.

### SHAPE UPS

Two hour shape-ups for night drivers seeking cabs are now commonplace in Manhattan, as the bosses try to have two and three people competing for each cab.

The Local 3036 leadership must be held responsible for its failure to push for a decent settlement for the drivers, a settlement which would not be tied to a fare increase. By refusing to defend the drivers against attacks in the press, and by quelling the wildcat slowdowns, the union leadership has confirmed what many drivers have been saying for weeks—it's time for a change in the Local 3036 leadership.

More and more workers are beginning to see how these attacks are inextricably connected and that the defense of Angela and Bobby is part and parcel of the fight

## REWARD

Union Electric Company will pay a reward of \$10,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons who maliciously damaged Union Electric property located at its Mitchell Substation in Mitchell, Illinois, on or about December 22, 1970, and at its Fort Bellefontaine Substation located in St. Louis County, on or about December 24, 1970. Anyone having such information call 621-3222, Station 2955, or write Mail Code 1310S, Union Electric Company, P.O. Box 149, St. Louis, Missouri 63166.

UNION  
*Electric*

to defend the unions, its rights and conditions. This struggle is what the employers fear.

It is the Union Electric Company officials who should be put on trial for exploiting and robbing the workers.

On January 19 at the Fox Theater in St. Louis a group of senior citizens will hold a mass rally against the electric power rate increases demanded by the company.

It is no accident that this comes at the same time that thousands of workers are fighting for their jobs and unions in this strike.

### REJECTED

The ranks of Local 148 have shown a high degree of militancy in this strike. Twice the union leadership has tried to make the membership return to work without the Cahokin workers returning also. Each time this has been rejected by an overwhelming vote of the ranks. Now the company is threatening legal action to force the workers back to work.

The ranks must stay out until their demands are met and the Cahokin workers are guaranteed their jobs with no reprisals. The ranks must answer Dougherty by consciously linking their fight with the fight to free Angela Davis, Bobby Seale, and all political prisoners.

## 900 Laid Off In Madison As Major Plant Closes

BY STEPHEN DIAMOND

MADISON, Jan. 16—Nine hundred workers are soon to be thrown out of work by the closing of the Gisholt Machine Company here. Just a year ago the plant employed nearly 2,000 workers.

Gisholt was one of the nation's leading manufacturers of lathes, balancing machines and superfinishing machines. It is a well known fact that the machine tool industry is among the first to feel the effects of a recession. The closing of Gisholt foreshadows massive shutdowns in basic industry.

### BLOW

Gisholt's closing is a major blow to the working class of Wisconsin. Gisholt was the second largest industrial plant in Madison. The employment situation for blue collar workers in Wisconsin is very tenuous already. It will now become almost impossible.

The Steelworkers Union Local 1404 has passively accepted the closing. The union must demand that Gisholt's books be opened to the workers and that Gisholt be nationalized under workers control and run at full capacity. The closing is of immediate concern to workers throughout Wisconsin. Local 1404 will have to fight to mobilize the entire state labor movement in defense of the jobs of the Gisholt workers and to stop the closing.

## BLACK NATIONALISM & MARXIST THEORY



by Tim Wohlforth

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AND FOR SOCIALISM 50¢

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by  
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“The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.”

**IMPERIALISM** has entered its deepest crisis. This is the opinion not only of the Marxist movement, but also of the more far-sighted members and representatives of the capitalist class.

In the last four years a series of monetary and financial crises have brought the near collapse of arrangements painfully devised at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, themselves an attempt to avoid a collapse of the system on the scale of the 1930s.

This growing monetary crisis which imperialism cannot solve has been combined with preparations for a trade war between the United States and the Common Market countries.

Beneath the economic crisis has been a loss of confidence by capitalists in the future and stability of their system.

This evaporation of confidence has been increased by the action of workers all over the world, but especially in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and America.

So a world economic crisis tends to merge with and develop alongside a deep political crisis in which the continued rule of the capitalist class is at stake in every country, together with that of the bureaucracy in E Europe and the Soviet Union.

## Opportunities

The present period contains great opportunities for the revolutionary movement. But it also holds great dangers, particularly at a theoretical level.

It would be wrong to think that we can grasp the depth of the crisis by focusing attention on surface events like strikes which are effects not causes.

We must study the situation **theoretically** — and these articles will explain how Marx approached the analysis of capitalism.

It is impossible for Marxism to anticipate forms of development the crisis will take as it unfolds.

Capitalism is not a system capable of rational planning. It operates through the mechanism of blind market forces — and because of this we cannot ‘know’ in advance precisely how and at what speed the enormous changes now being prepared will develop.

Marxism remains only a general science of development which has the task of estimating the main forces and contradictions at work in the course of preparing revolutionary crisis and the struggle of the working class for the taking of power.

All changes and develop-

# Philosophy and Political Economy

ment of the imperialist crisis, both economic and political, have to be analysed continually. If we take only certain isolated aspects of the crisis — for example its purely ‘economic’ manifestations — we run the risk of being taken completely by surprise when sharp ‘turns’ in the situation take place, none of which can be predicted precisely beforehand.

The first question to ask is: why did Marx write ‘Capital’ in which the bulk of his analysis of capitalism is to be found?

Immediately we run up against the problem of the revisionists. One of their main aims has been to undermine Marx by presenting his analysis as that of a mere ‘economist’.

They attempt to divorce Marx’s work in the field of politics, history and philosophy from his study of political economy. Above all they want to ignore Marx’s central concern which was preparing the working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

## ‘Capital’

This is what ‘Capital’ is about. Unless this is understood **nothing** essential about the work or about Marxism can be grasped.

Marx sought to demonstrate in ‘Capital’ that the working class alone had the task of overthrowing existing social relations.

He went on to show that the working class, in completing this task, would not, as had other revolutionary classes in history, replace with one form of exploiting society another.

The dictatorship of the proletariat would lay the basis for a classless society freed from all forms of exploitation and oppression.

These views separated Marx from all the varieties of Utopian socialism characterized by their inability to see how socialism could arise out of the conflicts in capitalist society. For them socialism remained a ‘good idea’ which could best be put into practice through the force of moral persuasion.

But Marx argued that the

very development of capitalism had laid the material foundation for a socialist system at the same time as it had brought into being that force — the working class — which was continually, if unconsciously, in conflict with it.

Marx was doing more than analysing the role of the working class. He was demonstrating the correctness of his general world outlook, historical materialism.

In the ‘Preface’ to his ‘Critique of Political Economy’ (1859), Marx explains the outline of the world outlook which guided his studies.

‘In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness.

‘The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.

## Proletariat

‘At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or, what is but a legal expression of the same thing — with the property relations within which they had been at work before.

‘From forms of development of the forces of production, these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution.’

For Marx the most revolutionary element within the productive forces was the proletariat.

It was the clash between

the needs of this class and the restrictions imposed upon the systematic development of the productive forces represented by production for profits that constituted the fundamental ‘opposites’ in capitalist society, from which his entire analysis begins.

## ‘Hypothesis’

Lenin explained how Marx developed the ‘hypothesis’ which we have quoted from the ‘Critique’:

‘He took one of the economic formations of society — the system of commodity production — and on the basis of a vast mass of data (which he studied for not less than 25 years) gave a most detailed analysis of the laws governing the functioning of this formation and its development.

‘This analysis is strictly confined to the relations of production between the members of society: without ever resorting to factors other than relations of production to explain the matter, Marx makes it possible to discern how the commodity organization of social economy develops, how it becomes transformed into capitalist economy, creating the antagonistic classes — the bourgeoisie and the proletariat — how it develops the productivity of social labour and how it thereby introduces an element which comes into irreconcilable contradictions to the very foundation of capitalist organization itself . . . since the appearance of “Capital” — the materialist conception of history is no longer an hypothesis, but a scientifically demonstrated proposition.’

To understand Marx’s aim is to see why he starts ‘Capital’ with an analysis of the commodity. ‘At first sight the wealth of society under the capitalist system presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity.’ (‘Critique’)

## Commodity

A commodity was an object of wealth produced for exchange on the market, rather than for the use of the pro-

ducer.

Under capitalism, unlike all former modes of production, commodity production was the dominant form. Under capitalism production for the market is driving out all small scale production not just on a national, but on an international scale.

The opposite had been the case under feudalism, for example. Here the greater part of production had been for the immediate needs of the producer or his family. Trade, although growing in importance as capitalist relations matured within feudal society, played only a secondary role compared to the one which it was destined to play with the triumph of the new mode of production in western Europe.

In particular, the ability to work, or what Marx in ‘Capital’ terms **labour power**, under capitalism becomes a commodity. The working class appears under capitalism as that class with only its labour power to sell to the owners of capital and therefore locked in continual struggle with them.

For this to happen, the small owners had to be forcibly dispossessed, and all the wealth accumulated by the capitalists.

The creation of the categories of political economy, and particularly ‘labour power’ were the result of the struggle between classes.

The violent separation of the English peasantry from the land and the driving of the population into the towns in the horrific conditions of the industrial revolution, were absolutely necessary prerequisites for the full development of capitalism.

And as it grew in number so this new class became increasingly conscious of its identity, in struggle with the employing class and the landowners.

## Franchise

The fight of the trade unions in the nineteenth century against all forms of legal repression, the struggle for the extension of the franchise and



above all the emergence of Chartism in the 1840s, were indications of this growing class consciousness.

In engaging in commodity production, men were engaging in social production:

'In production men not only act upon nature but also on one another. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production take place.' — (Marx, 'Wage-Labour and Capital').

In the following two articles we shall deal in detail with Marx's analysis of the commodity. But as a preliminary, we can say that for Marx the exchange value of a commodity, as distinct from its use value, is determined by the proportion of society's total social labour time which it embodies.

For example: take a pair of shoes as a commodity. The shoes have two aspects: on the one hand they have a particular use—as things to wear on the feet. This is their use value and to be a commodity an object must have use value: that is it must be of some use for someone apart from its producer. On the other hand the shoes also have an exchange value: that is they can be exchanged in definite proportions for all other commodities, whatever their use value.

Marx explains that the exchange value (or simply the 'value' as he always terms exchange value) is determined by the socially necessary labour time involved in their production. Thus to say that commodity X has a value twice as great as commodity Y means that it has, on average, taken twice as many hours to produce.

This category value appears therefore as the expression of the production-relations between men in society. The relationship, manifesting itself on the market between goods which are the subject of individual exchange, is in essence an expression of the relations between the separate producers of these goods.

## Method

In 'The Poverty of Philosophy' (1847), which indicates the method and conception which was to be developed in 'Capital' later, Marx says:

'In principle there is no exchange of products — but there is an exchange of labour which co-operates in production. The mode of exchange of products depends upon the mode of exchange of the productive forces.

'In general, the form of exchange of products corresponds to the form of production. Change the latter, and the former will change in consequence.'

In other words, what Marx had to do in demonstrating the correctness of historical materialism, was to show how all forms assumed by the relations of production in capitalist society could only be understood not as things 'in themselves', but as forms determined by the social relations of production.

## Analysis

This is why 'Capital' starts with an analysis of the com-

modity. For behind the exchange of a commodity—an act repeated millions of times in capitalist economy—lies the exchange of labour between men.

In order to explain these 'appearances' — the exchange of 'things' as commodities — Marx had to penetrate beneath the surface to the 'essence' which determined them: the relations between men in production and exchange.

In the next two articles we will show how Marx, developing his analysis from the commodity, seeks to explain all capitalism's surface movements.

He was able to do this because of his profound grasp of the method he inherited from Hegel—the dialectical method.

**THE ANALYSIS presented by Marx of the social relations of production under capitalism would have been utterly impossible without the application of the dialectical method. He was indebted principally to Hegel for his grasp and development of this method.**

It has become increasingly fashionable to attack the dialectical method of 'Capital' as so much German metaphysical nonsense which Marx imposed upon reality.

## Logic of 'Capital'

Such a view runs completely counter to the real essence of 'Capital', as Lenin and others well appreciated:

'If Marx did not leave behind him a "Logic" (with a capital letter) he did leave the logic of "Capital", and this ought to be utilized to the full in this question. In "Capital", Marx applied to a single science, logic, dialectics and the theory of knowledge of materialism (three words are not needed, it is one and the same thing) which has taken everything valuable in Hegel and developed it further.'

And it is little wonder that this method has been consistently rejected by both the bourgeoisie as well as the revisionists.

For the essence of the dialectical method is that it starts from nothing—including capitalist society—as fixed, but sees everything in the world as a series of processes.

Once the working class had appeared as a historical force the capitalist class had to pretend that its system was 'natural' and 'eternal'.

The science of political economy which had, during the period of the industrial revolution tried to discover the real laws operating in capitalist economy, was now transformed and turned into 'economics' which sought to justify the exploitation under capitalism as 'rational' and 'necessary'.

'Dialectics', writes Marx in the Preface to 'Capital', 'in its rational form is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable

breaking up; because it regards every historically-developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.'

So without a systematic study of the origins of Marxism and its relationship to Hegelian dialectics, there can be no full understanding of 'Capital' or a deepening of our understanding of the growing economic crisis.

This is what Lenin meant when he warned that 'Capital' could not be grasped without a full understanding of Hegel's 'Logic'.

As we explained in the first article, Marx started his study of capitalism with the commodity.

Historically this new mode of production involved the dominance of commodity production and in particular the creation of a working class having only one commodity—labour power.

It was, and is, the sale of this commodity — the ability to work — which kept it alive.

Marx starts 'Capital' with an examination of the contradictions within a single commodity.

The commodity is at one and the same time a use value and also an exchange value.

## Exchange value

A commodity has a certain use: a coat is used to keep its wearer warm, for example. However each commodity also has an exchange value: it has a certain value in relation to all other commodities: a coat, for example, might exchange for two pairs of shoes.

The rate at which commodities exchange is determined by the proportion of total social labour which they embody.

In all pre-capitalist society the production of wealth had largely taken the form of the production of use values, that is the production of goods for the actual producer's use.

With the development of commodity production — the sale of goods on the market — production of exchange values becomes the dominant aim. For in selling his commodity a producer is losing control over its particular use value in order to acquire money, which he then expands to get the use value of other goods.

Under capitalism, the use value of the product is purely incidental as far as the driving forces behind the system are concerned. The capitalist is not concerned with the commodity's particular use but only to the extent to which it contains exchange value, that is value in general.

If a capitalist starts with a sum of money, M, he is only interested if, after buying raw materials, power, heat, light, machinery and labour power with which he then produces commodities, there is an increase in value. This will allow him to take what he needs for his own consumption and allow him to start the process again, but on an extended scale.

The capitalist is not just greedy. He is in competition with all other capitalists.

Unless he constantly strives to expand the capital under his control, to innovate and make continual technical changes, he runs the risk of being forced out of business.



Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common, April 1848.

Marx shows how a lengthy historical period was necessary to make the transition from commodity production (where the creation of exchange values predominates) to capitalist commodity production (where the drive for surplus value predominates).

When labour productivity was raised to a sufficient level and necessary changes in agriculture were carried through which created a landless proletariat, these gradual quantitative changes produced a qualitative leap.

'Here, as in natural science,' observes Marx, 'is shown the correctness of the law discovered by Hegel (in his "Logic") that merely quantitative differences beyond a certain point pass into qualitative changes.'

## Opposite sides

So, in starting with the commodity, and the contradiction inherent in its opposite sides, Marx is exposing, at microscopic level, the essence of the contradiction of capitalism: that production is carried on not for use, but for profit.

'In bourgeois society the commodity-form of the product of labour—or the value-form of the commodity—is the economic cell form. To the superficial observer, the analysis of these forms seems to turn upon minutiae, but they are of the same order as those dealt with in microscopic anatomy.' ('Capital' Vol 1.)

'In his "Capital", Lenin explains in the 'Philosophical Notebooks', 'Marx first analyses the simplest most ordinary and fundamental, most common and everyday relation of bourgeois (commodity) society, a relation encountered billions of times, viz., the exchange of commodities. In this very simple phenomena (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) analysis reveals all the contradictions (or the germs of all contradictions) of modern society. The subsequent exposition shows us the development (both growth and movement) of these contradictions and of this society in the summation of its individual parts, from its beginning to its end.'

After revealing the contradictory nature of the commodity, as a value and a use value, Marx then demonstrates how this contradiction is transformed, made part of a more general contradiction. This process takes place through the medium of money.

If we can understand the dominant role which the creation of exchange value plays under commodity production, then it is possible to grasp the part which money plays in the capitalist system, a source of so much confusion for bour-

geois economists.

As we have already indicated, once a capitalist has produced his commodities he is not interested in them as a collection of use values.

He is interested in them only because they contain exchange value and surplus value.

Unless his commodities can be transformed into exchange value of a universal type — which can be used as and when required to purchase further supplies of raw materials and labour power—then they are of no value to him.

So under capitalism a producer starts with a sum of money (M). He uses this to buy raw materials and labour power to the value C.

Through the application of labour to these raw materials the resultant commodities now contain more value than the original in puts, C. Let us call this greater magnitude C'.

## Value in money

The aim of the capitalist must now be to realize this magnitude of value in money of a similar value, M'.

So when complete the process looks like this: M—C—C'—M'. This increased value, M' then provides the basis for the expansion of production on a higher scale.

The rate of surplus value for the capitalist is given by the increment in value (M'—M) compared with the original magnitude of value (M). Unless the producer can complete the process in this way, by realizing his surplus value in the money form, the exercise has been worthless from his point of view.

For he is left with a collection of use values in the form of commodities which he may not be able to dispose of except by selling at a price below their value, that is by making a loss or at least accepting a lower rate of surplus value.

So for capitalism, driven along not merely by the creation of exchange value but, above all, by the creation of surplus value, the role of money is indispensable. It is not, as many shallow commentators imagine, merely a clever device which overcomes the problems and difficulties of barter.

By 'money' we mean one commodity which stands opposed to all other commodities in that its use value represents its command over the exchange value of all the other commodities from which it is excluded.

With the development of capitalism, gold tended to be

selected out as the money commodity for particular reasons.

It was easily divisible, it was durable and a relatively small weight embodied a considerable amount of value. This was due to the conditions under which it was mined, requiring the expenditure of large quantities of human labour to extract small quantities from the earth.

## Parallel 'opposition'

In the opening chapter of 'Capital' Marx explains the money's role as the 'externalizer' of the antagonism between the use value and the (exchange) value of each commodity.

Although difficult, it is worth producing a passage from this analysis which indicates the dialectical method running through the whole of this chapter, and indeed the whole of the work.

Marx explains how the 'opposition' of the money commodity (or simply money) exactly parallels the opposition within the commodity.

But, he insists, the opposition between money and all other commodities should not be conceived of in terms of opposites which are fixed. On the contrary, each 'opposite' contains within itself the elements of the other 'opposite':

'Commodities, first of all, enter into the process of exchange just as they are. The process then differentiates them into commodities and money, and this produces an external opposite corresponding to the internal opposition inherent in them, as being at once use values and values. Commodities as use values now stand opposed to money as exchange values. On the other hand both opposing sides are commodities, unities of use values and exchange values. But this unity of differences manifests itself at two poles, and at each pole in an opposite way. Being poles they are as necessarily opposite as they are connected.

'On the one side of the equation we have an ordinary commodity, which is, in reality, a use value. Its value is expressed ideally in its price, by which it is equated to its opposite, the gold, as the real embodiment of value, as money. Gold as gold, in exchange value itself. As to its use value, that has only an ideal existence, represented by the series of expressions of relative value in which it stands face-to-face with all other commodities, the sum of whose uses makes up the sum of the various uses of gold.'

Marx also shows in the early part of 'Capital' that corresponding to the opposition of use value and value is that between abstract labour and concrete labour.

The development of capitalism tended inexorably to break down all differences between particular types of labour: all tended to be reduced to the same qualitative level through the operation of the market.

Under petty production (that is production not for the market) labour took on a concrete form, in that it was concerned with particular skills (weaving, tailoring etc.) which produced use values, (cloth, trousers etc.).

Under capitalism what is compared is labour in the abstract which produces not

use values, but exchange values.

In other words, the exchange of commodities compares not the specific, unique, qualities of labour which they embody, but their abstract labour, the quantity of socially available labour time which they contain.

## Concrete labour

We can note here that this distinction which Marx draws between abstract and concrete labour as the producer of exchange values and use values respectively was not only a logical, theoretical category; like all Marx's abstractions, as we shall see later, it was also historical, reflecting the real development of social relations which the emergence of capitalism involved.

It was only under commodity production that individual, private, concrete labour tended to be dissolved in the market place into its opposite, generalized, labour in the abstract.

This was a process completed essentially in the period of the Industrial Revolution which saw the break-up of nearly all narrow crafts and the development of a relatively homogeneous labour market.

In this one example we can see Marx's dialectical method as well as his materialism.

For throughout 'Capital' he traces the connection between his theoretical categories (in this case the category 'abstract labour') and the real, material developments in capitalist economy, of which they (the categories) were a reflection.

This is an aspect of 'Capital's' method we shall examine in the next article. Then we shall look at the present economic crisis in the light of this theoretical analysis.

**IN THE previous article we stressed that 'Capital' cannot be understood without grasping Marx's debt to Hegel.**

**This is true of the entire work, not merely aspects of it.**

In fact Marx presents his analysis of capitalist economy in a dialectical way throughout the three volumes of the work.

In this article we shall illustrate this method by taking two important examples, bearing in mind that 'Capital' cannot be reduced to a series of examples, but has to be studied as a whole.

We can start with a discussion of the relationship between 'value' and 'price' in 'Capital' and the way in which Marx treats this question.

As we have seen, in the opening chapter of Volume 1, Marx explains that the value of a commodity was equal to the amount of socially necessary labour time which it embodied.

This is the basis of his theory of value, the labour theory of value.

At this point, Marx presents no systematic analysis of price. He assumes that price and value are equal.

But in Volume 3 he demonstrates that this is not the case; indeed he establishes that under capitalism price and value must necessarily diverge, that this divergence is demanded by the very working of the system.

Price is the outward, the

money form, which value assumes in capitalist economy. Why does it diverge from value and why does Marx leave a discussion of this point until near the completion of his work?

Under capitalism, the regulation of production takes place through the mechanism of the market. All production tends to be production for the market, that is it takes the form of commodity production.

## Anarchy

Capitalist economy is therefore characterized by anarchy. There is no overall conscious plan determining the distribution of labour.

The 'planning mechanism' is the blindly working market. Decisions taken by individual producers about their output levels, their prices, etc. are taken on the basis of profit expectations which can only guess at the intentions of producers in the same branch and other branches of industry.

The 'correct' balance between for example, the steel industry and all the steel-using industries (so that steel production just matches steel demand) is met only as a result of continual 'trial and error' in which price and output always tend to fluctuate.

This is true even in phases of relative overall capitalist prosperity and expansion. It is even more so in periods of growing crisis when such fluctuations can assume violent proportions.

Using our previous example, if there has been an over-production of steel relative to demand (because some producers over-estimated the market size or the share of it which they hoped to capture) price will tend to fall below value.

This will be an expression of the fact that socially unnecessary labour has been used in this branch of economy and some compensatory mechanism is set in motion.

In this case, the tendency for prices to fall below value will produce pressure on the rate of profit for the steel industry; this will either force producers out of business, involve cutbacks in production or drive capital to more advantageous sectors of the economy.

So the divergence of price from value is the 'blind' regulatory mechanism built into the capitalist system.

But Marx's analysis is on a deeper level than this when he considers the relationship of the categories' value and price.

In order to explain this point we need to say something about the organic composition of capital.

To start production, a capitalist will make two types of purchase. First he buys machinery and raw materials, rents factories etc. This is his expenditure on what Marx terms constant capital, constant in the sense that it cannot, by its own accord, create value. Although it contains value it can only pass on the equivalent of this value in the course of production.

Second, he also purchases another commodity: he buys the workers' labour power. In return for this he pays wages.

The labour which the worker performs during the time he is paid his wages creates more value than the equivalent wages.

For this reason Marx designates it variable capital.

## Concentrated

The categories 'constant' and 'variable' capital not only allowed Marx to discover one

of the driving mechanisms behind the capitalist system, but that they were also historical categories, reflecting an economic system in which the means of production were concentrated into the hands of a minority class as capital.

The relationship between constant and variable capital Marx calls the organic composition of capital; in concrete terms it is the ratio between total expenditure on raw materials, heat, power, light, machinery on the one hand and the wage bill on the other.

Under capitalism there is a general tendency for this ratio to rise; the pressure of competition stimulates technical changes and revolutions which all the time tend to shift the balance in favour of the value of constant as against variable capital.

Marx goes on to show how this tendency lies behind the continual pressure upon the rate of profit, one of the major sources of recurrent capitalist crisis.

But we have to draw attention to another aspect of Marx's treatment of the organic composition of capital: it tends to rise, but unevenly throughout the economy.

Again, because capitalism is not consciously planned, some sectors of the economy tend inevitably to move ahead more rapidly than others. This tendency towards uneven development become even more pronounced under capitalism, particularly in the epoch of imperialism.

## Uneven

Given this unevenness, if the labour theory of value operated directly, that is, if values and prices were always equal, more values (and hence surplus values) would be produced in those industries with a low organic composition of capital (the more 'backward' sectors, roughly speaking) where expenditure on labour power is relatively greater.

This is evidently not the case.

In fact there is a tendency for the rate of profit to be equalized throughout the economy: this is a requirement of a system based upon the market. Thus capital will tend to flow to those branches with a high rate of profit and away from those where the rate is below average.

How does Marx reconcile the 'law' of uneven development, with the 'law' of an average rate of profit?

He shows that in those industries with a low organic composition prices will tend to be below values while in those industries with a high organic composition, prices will tend to be above values.

In this way the uneven combination of constant and variable capital will be compensated for by deviations of price from value.

Marx explains these and related matters only in Volume 3. He does so only near the completion of his investigations because his general method, again a reflection of his dialectical approach to all questions, was to move from the essence of phenomena to their appearance.

So he starts with the 'hidden' value and moves to the 'open' price, explaining the latter in terms of the former.

Here we see a classic example of Marx's historical materialism.

## Relations

Throughout 'Capital', he is seeking to demonstrate that all the 'appearances' in capitalist economy necessarily arose

from the relations established in production between wage labour and capital.

Hence the continual fluctuation of prices was based upon the operation of the law of value and was made necessary by the very operation of that law.

To take another case: the relationship between surplus value and the various forms of capitalist income: rent, interest and profit.

In Volume 1 Marx shows the mechanism by which surplus value is extracted from the working class: as we have said above through the monopolization of the means of production by the capitalist class.

Marx shows that the emergence of surplus value was possible only on the basis of the violent emergence of definite social relations of production involving the dispossession of the English peasantry and the concentration of all means of producing wealth into the hands of a capitalist class.

## Basic category

But in Volume 3 Marx shows how this surplus value assumes the forms it does on the surface of capitalist society: as rent, as interest and as profit.

Here Marx is concerned with the laws which govern the relationship between these three categories. But at all points he stresses, and in his opinion this was one of the 'two best' discoveries of 'Capital', that all these forms are related to the basic category, surplus value.

'The surplus value and the rate of surplus value are, relatively, the invisible and unknown essence, while the rate of profit and the resulting appearance of surplus value in the form of profit are phenomena which show themselves on the surface.' ('Capital', Vol. 3.)

... profit is ... that disguise of surplus value which must be removed before the real nature of surplus value can be discovered. In the surplus value the relation between capital and labour is laid bare.' ('Capital', Vol. 3.)

Again we can contrast this basic materialist method with the apologetics of bourgeois economics; the latter presents us with a spurious 'science' which explains these three categories by deliberately avoiding the relations of production.

Profit is a reward for 'enterprise'; interest a reward for 'waiting' before enjoying the fruits of one's capital.

So there is a general transition from the essence of phenomena to their appearance on the surface of the economy. But we must stress that these appearances are not mere optical illusions.

As Marx points out in the very opening chapter of 'Capital', under capitalism, social relations of production (relations between men) take the form of (appear as) relations between things, commodities.

But, although appearances, these are necessary appearances, necessary for the capitalist system, that is. For under capitalism, the increasingly socialized nature of production takes the form of a growing exchange of commodities.

These appearances cannot therefore be destroyed 'in the head'.

They can only be overthrown through the overthrow of the material foundations which sustain them and make them necessary, that is the relations between wage labour and capital, between the em-



ploying class and the working class.

This is why 'Capital' ends and does not begin with a specific treatment of the class struggle and the forms which it assumes.

For it is on the arena of class struggle that all the 'appearances' of capitalism (also dealt with only at this stage) will be 'smashed up'.

For Marx the class struggle was not something 'added on' to his 'economic' analysis. Rather it was the plane on which men became conscious of the contradictions of society and fought them out.

## Tendency

We can take one example by way of illustration.

As Marx explains, the very drive to accumulate capital (depicted in the formula M-C-M' which we discussed in the last article) tends to produce the very force which threatens to throw this process into crisis and turn it into its opposite: the tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

We cannot deal with this law of tendency in detail at this stage. Marx explains it in Volume 3.

As we have already suggested, the basis of this law is the tendency for the organic composition of capital (occ) to rise, that is for the value of constant capital (c) to rise more rapidly than variable capital (v).

Yet it is only expenditure on v which yields any surplus value to the capitalist. Expenditures on c can only transfer value to the final commodities depending upon the value of stored up labour which they embody.

But if the ratio of c/v is tending to rise and yet only expenditure on v (a declining fraction of total outlays) alone yields surplus value, then the rate at which profit is earned—that is the amount of surplus value in relation to total expenditures on both constant and variable capital—must tend to fall.

But Marx immediately stresses that there is nothing automatic about the operation of this law.

For there are many 'counter-acting tendencies' operating which impede, offset, or even reverse the law's operation.

Thus if the capitalist can step up the rate at which he extracts surplus value, through, for example, the drive for increased productivity or through the depression of wages 'below value', he may be able to overcome the law's effects.

Ultimately, the question is settled on the arena of the class struggle, and, above all, on the level of politics, in the struggle for state power.

For on a purely 'economic' level, the forces tending to produce a breakdown in capitalist economy also tend by their very operation to produce their 'opposites'; that is forces tending to restabilize, on a temporary basis at least, the capitalist system.

These economic fluctuations can only be broken by the working class politically—through the smashing of the capitalist state which concentrates all the power into the hands of the ruling class whose control over it allows these inevitable fluctuations to be contained within the limits of capitalism.

So in the final article we shall examine some of the points discussed about the method of 'Capital' in relation to the development of post-war capitalist crisis.

**AS WE SAID AT THE START OF THIS SERIES, THE GREAT DANGER FACING MARXISTS IS**

**that they will tend especially at a time of money crisis to concentrate merely upon the forms assumed by the class struggle at a particular period of capitalist development.**

Such a method is idealist in content in that it does not start from these forms in their relationship to the overall processes and tendencies operating in the economy and in the class struggle but sees them as isolated forms 'in themselves'.

This, of course, is the method of the revisionists. The Pabloites and state capitalists starting from their scepticism and lack of confidence in the working class, developed 'theories' to show that capitalism had, in the post-war years, found ways of overcoming its basic contradictions.

Thus the Pabloite theory of neo-capitalism and state capitalist theory of the 'permanent arms economy'.

We shall examine the implications of both these theories in more detail later. But we can note their similarity at this stage in one vital respect. Both of them, inspired by the apparent strength of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic bureaucracy after the war, took certain isolated features of capitalist development and on this narrow basis erected theories which 'proved' that the building of revolutionary parties to lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalism was not on the immediate agenda, if it was on the agenda at all.

In opposition to this middle-class, anti-Marxist method, we always insisted upon an all-round analysis of capitalism, which took into account all its forms of development and related them to the deepening crisis of a system in its decline and death agony.

Only in this way were we able to prepare a movement which can now enter the new period of class struggle as a powerful and decisive force.

## Stalinist betrayals

The first point we have to insist upon is that the capitalist economic 'revival' after 1945 was based not so much upon 'economic' as 'political' factors. It was only the conscious betrayals of Stalinism that allowed capitalism, particularly in France and Italy, to overcome the acute social crisis that followed the end of the war. Without Stalinism there would have been no post-war boom.

And if we are to understand the real nature of this period we must start not from the workers' apparent apathy—or rather large sections of the working class—but from its great strength. For it is this strength which has dominated all economic and political relations.

For in order to try and prevent a recurrence of the 1930s slump as well as to maintain its rule in the face of a powerful and revived working class, capitalism was forced to adopt

new economic policies which involved the adoption of 'inflationary measures to stave off a crisis.'

Agreement was eventually reached at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference to give the dollar a privileged position in the international monetary system. This meant that the provision of international credit necessary to revive the crisis-torn European economy, was made an American responsibility.

But while these arrangements, which also involved tying the value of all currencies to that of the dollar, provided the basis for a large inflow of capital into W Europe they could do nothing to overcome the basic contradictions of the system.

The role played by money in capitalist economy, at both an international and a national level is crucial. It is not merely a device to overcome the problems associated with barter.

On the contrary, only if the system can find an adequate commodity in which the surplus value embodied in commodities can be realized prior to the re-entry of capital into the circuit of accumulation, can it avoid being plunged into grave crisis.

The stability of 19th century capitalism was, in the monetary sphere, founded largely upon gold and the operation of the gold standard, along with the role of sterling and the City of London.

## Crisis and decline

The attempt at Bretton Woods to replace the Gold Standard, which had collapsed with the crisis of the 1930s, could never reproduce the stability of the pre-1914 period. For although American capitalism had now replaced Britain as the leading economic power, it did so in a period when capitalism as a whole system was in acute crisis and decline.

The constant drive of American capital abroad—itself associated with the attempt to overcome the contradictions involved in the tendency for the rate of profit to fall—has brought with it a growing balance of payments crisis for America. This also caused currency disturbances in Europe and elsewhere, as well as growing political opposition from certain quarters, notably among the French capitalist class, to American economic domination.

These currency disorders, themselves an indication of a fundamental disturbance in the system, began to assume importance from the early 1960s onwards.

It was then that the American payments gap began to grow at a rapid rate, the gold reserve began to fall particularly when considered against the growing volume of dollars circulating throughout Europe, the result of private and government investment.

The examination of inflation also leads to a consideration of the role of arms expenditures. Abandoning Marx in favour of Keynes, the state capitalist revisionists of the 'International Socialism' group explained that the increasing arms expenditures which occurred after the outbreak of the Korean War now played a role in permanently stabilizing capitalism.

In a certain sense the manufacture of arms does play a role which is different from the production of 'normal'

commodities. For with arms the 'realization problem' (that is the problem of actually realizing surplus value through the sale of commodities on the market) largely disappears, in that arms contracts are invariably provided by the state.

And there is no doubt that arms expenditure did play an important role in the expansion of capitalism, particularly after 1950. But the matter does not end there.

For arms expenditure has certainly been one of the main factors stimulating the inflationary pressures at work in the capitalist economy over the last 20 years. More arms meant more taxes with which to finance them; increased taxation brought greater demands for wage increases which in turn meant further price increases.

In addition, state arms spending also tended to stimulate the further growth of monopoly in that most contracts went to already established and dominant firms.

## Fundamental question

But to return to an even more fundamental question: the operation of the law of value in the period. As we showed earlier this law was an objective expression of the social relations of capitalism, the means whereby society's labour was distributed between the various branches of the economy.

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

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

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

So the price of gold is grossly below its value; which is only the same as saying that the dollar is considerably overvalued in terms of the current American price level. Only a huge dollar devaluation or an equivalent increase in the gold price can restore the 'correct' relationship demanded by the law of value.

Within certain limits such an imbalance could be tolerated in an expanding system, particularly while confidence in the general performance of capitalism lasted.

But the last few years, especially since the November 1967 sterling devaluation, have seen a severe crisis of confidence among leading circles in the capitalist class. They are faced on the one hand by the prospect of monetary breakdown and on the other by a confident working class able to make considerable inroads into the available surplus value.

In this situation 30 billion or so dollars circulating in Europe, two-thirds of which are unbacked by American gold, become an increasingly volatile factor in the situation.

Only through the forcible destruction of the great majority of this paper money, along with a similar proportion of the increased paper share values built up during the boom, can the value of gold in the world monetary system be forced into line with the

value of commodities.

Finally we can consider the nature of the technical changes which have occurred over the period.

In the eyes of the Pabloites, and particularly Mandel, the changes in industrial techniques over the last 30 years constitute a 'third industrial revolution' and have laid the basis for what they choose to call 'neo-capitalism'.

As we have many times pointed out, this conception constitutes a complete rejection of Marxism and more particularly of Leninism.

Lenin insisted that imperialism marked the highest stage of capitalism, that at this stage all its progressive features were exhausted and that there could be no all-round development of man's struggle against nature without the establishment of socialism.

To talk about a new phase or stage of development (neo-capitalism) is to reject Lenin's economic analysis of imperialism and the political conclusions which flowed from it.

What, in fact, is the real role of the changes in production methods which occurred in many industries during and after the last war, together with the crop of new industries which also emerged in the period, many of them stemming directly from the war economy?

They were certainly important in attracting new capital which, with the assistance of the state, was often transferred from the old dying industries like railways, coal and textiles.

As such, they played their part in initiating the post-war boom. But they must also be examined from a different angle.

If we start not from the temporary and relative stability of capitalism at any point in time, but from its absolute contradictions it is clear that all the technical changes of the post-war years, far from providing capitalism with a new lease of life and constituting a further development of the productive forces, in fact increasingly threaten these productive forces with destruction.

By speeding up even more the drive towards the centralization and concentration of capital they further heighten the contradiction between the increasingly socialized nature of production and its private appropriation and control.

But above all, these changes in technique and organization which have marked the last three decades, threaten the most revolutionary and vital component of the productive forces, the working class itself.

Not only does the use of atomic energy for war and war preparations threaten the whole of humanity with destruction; the increased intensity of mechanization, in a period of growing capitalist instability, produces a social crisis of enormous proportions which cannot be contained within the confines of the capitalist economy.

These points should make it clear that it is impossible to grasp the real nature and depth of the forces now being generated by the present crisis and which are often below the immediate surface of society.

These forces can only be understood by workers who, as part of their struggle to defeat capitalism by building the revolutionary party, study Marxism and in particular 'Capital'.



# City Covers For Murders As Inmates Face Trial

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, January 18—Last week the commissioner of the Correction Department suspended five guards from the Tombs. The suspensions came after one guard admitted that four others had worked over a prisoner, beating him with fists and black-jacks until he was almost unconscious and the walls of his cell were splattered with blood.

The guards then fabricated a report stating that the prisoner had attacked them, and force was "necessary to restrain him." The prisoner, Raymond Lavon Moore, was found dead in his cell two days later. The autopsy stated that the cause of death was suicide by hanging, contending that the fractured skull and bruises on Moore's body were caused when his body

was cut down.

This is just the latest of a series of brutal murders in the prisons which has come to light. It has come to light only because one of the guards who saw the beating made it public, and McGrath responded by suspending five guards.

### "SUICIDE"

Moore was killed in November. Julio Roldan, a member of the Young Lords Party who had been thrown into the Tombs on trumped up charges, was also murdered in his cell, another supposed "suicide." Hundred and hundreds of other unknown and unnamed prisoners are written off as "suicides" when they are found dead in their cells, and no guards are suspended.

William vanden Heuvel, head of a "watchdog" commission on the prisons, claimed that the revelation of the facts about Moore's beating by the guards proved that his group needed subpoena powers. "If we had the right to subpoena powers we would have gotten to the bottom of this a long time ago," vanden Heuvel stated.

But it will take more than subpoena powers to get "to the bottom" of the foul, brutal situation which exists in the prisons. Vanden Heuvel's "watchdog" commission and McGrath's suspension of five guards does not get to the bottom of it—they are used to cover up what goes on in the prisons.

### INDICTMENTS

A great deal of publicity in the bourgeois press accompanied the suspension of the Tombs guards. But there has been nothing whatsoever about the eight prisoners who represented inmates during the insurrection in the jails last fall. Today these

prisoners are being charged with kidnapping, grand larceny, attempted murder, and are under indictment.

After the rebellion in the prisons, Lindsay promised no reprisals. Photographers from the Daily News took pictures while inmate leaders had their legs broken and their skulls fractured by guards on a rampage. Then indictments were brought down against the prisoners' representatives.

Today McGrath and a guard in the Tombs are forced to admit that brutality is used against prisoners, but the government is prosecuting those who fought against that brutality.

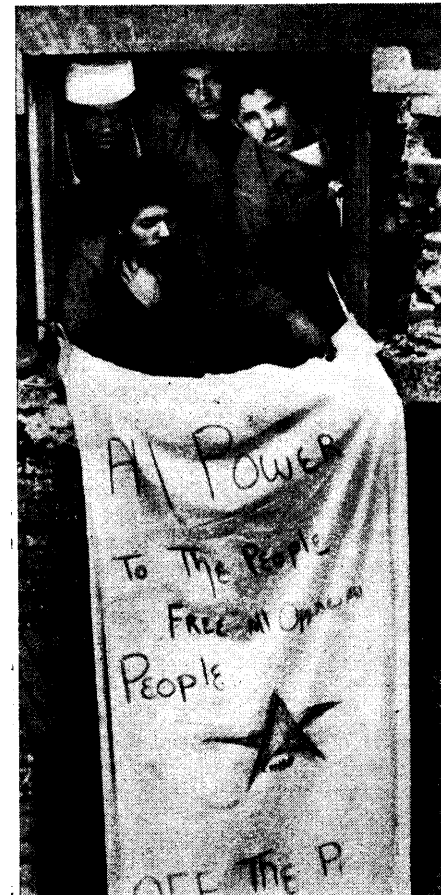
These inmates under indictment face life imprisonment if convicted of these charges. But they face not just life in prison, but death in prison, the way Raymond Lavon Moore died. Thousands of prisoners will be warned that to take action against their conditions will mean the same for them.

The state is charging Victor Martinez, Lumumba Shakur, Kenny Cender, Robert Drake, and others with murder and kidnapping, grand larceny, and conspiracy.

But it is McGrath, Lindsay and the rest of the capitalist class, from Nixon on down, who should be jailed. They throw militants in jail for fighting back against the system, and murder them in prison if they resist.

The ruling class, while it covers itself with commission and suspensions, tries to railroad prison rebels to their death. They do this as they carry out witch-hunts against Angela Davis, the Black Panther Party, Juan Farinas and other socialists and militants. They do this as they use troops against striking workers, threaten troops and injunctions against the railroad, sanitation and firemen, and jail Caesar Chavez.

Their strategy is to drive back the working class, break the trade union movement, divide the working class through racism, set employed against unemployed, young against old. The fight to defend the inmates must be taken into the trade union movement and among the students and youth, fighting for this understanding.



Inmate leaders now face life imprisonment.

### DEFENSE

A mass defense must be built, but it can only be built with the understanding that the indictments are an attack on the working class and youth. The struggle that broke out in the prisons this fall was a political struggle, an insurrectionary struggle.

It cannot be defended simply as a question of civil liberties or as a moral question. A defense campaign must be built, not on the pious moralizing of ministers and liberals who seek to contain the struggle on the level of reforms, but on the strength of the working class which is now coming forward against capitalism.

# Big Business Backs Fascist Youth On L.I.

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK, L.I.—A defense committee has been formed here in answer to the re-emergence on campus of the openly fascist National Youth Alliance, which two weeks ago robbed and vandalized the office of the Workers League.

The NYA is by no means merely a campus organization. An investigation by the committee has shown that, besides having branches at Brooklyn College, SUNY at Stony Brook and Fordham University, there are locals in towns on Long Island, in 1969 a "White Power" conference was held at Brentwood, Long Island, in which the NYA played a prominent role.

Nationally the NYA is associated with the Liberty Lobby, an extreme right wing, Washington based organization supported by prominent businessmen and politicians. The NYA is far from a dime-store operation.

Many of the supporters of the NYA came from the Youth for Wallace campaign. A section of these youth split and formed the American Conservative Team because they opposed the hard line racism and antisemitism of the majority NYA faction.

The NYA is clearly and openly a dangerous fascist force, probably enjoying

significant financial support, not all from small local businesses but from the big businessmen whose millions fed the Wallace presidential campaign. It is a militant organization whose declared aim is to "get the New Left off campus." In interviews with the press they have revealed that they will organize to break up demonstrations.

The Defense Committee, which at present has representatives from Workers League, Labor Committee, the Puerto Rican Student Organization, the Independent Caucus of SDS, and the Long Island Farm Workers Service Center, brought up the question of common defense before a PL-SDS meeting. While the meeting as a whole voted in favor of a united defense against fascist attacks, the sympathizers of PL refused to support such a defense, claiming that the best way to fight fascism is to "build SDS." They felt that in general students "would not accept fascist ideas" and therefore there is no danger of the growth of the NYA.

One member of PL-SDS actually told this reporter at the meeting that "fascism is

capitalism at its weakest. It is the best opportunity for revolution. Fascism will rapidly radicalize the workers."

The leadership of SDS also put forward Stalin's old idea of "social fascism." They denied the necessity of confronting the development of fascism among the youth.

The dangers of PL's Stalinism become particularly clear on this question of fascism, on which they parrot those policies of Stalin which actually led to the victory of Hitler.

Their sectarianism on the question of the defense of Juan Farinas who is being framed and railroaded to jail for antiwar activities carried out while Farinas was a member of Progressive Labor itself also came to the fore. Farinas was denounced during that very meeting as a scab because he raised the question of Trotskyism inside PL.

The Defense Committee will do everything necessary to drive the fascists from Stony Brook, expose them to all the students, and organize defense against their attacks on demonstrations and pickets lines, not only on campus but in the surrounding towns.

It is the responsibility of all workers, militants and students to participate in this campaign against the fascist threat.

# 1199 Wins Dubious Victory As Jobs Are Threatened

BY PHILIP BRANCHE

STONY BROOK—On January 7th, Profit Foods, Inc. provoked a job action of 400 cafeteria workers in Local 1199 at the State University here when it reneged on a medical coverage clause in the contract that was agreed on in September.

The one day action came as a result of widespread clamor among the ranks who did not want to wait another five days, at which time negotiations on the clause were scheduled.

But the role of the union representatives, PL-SDS and other student groups emerged as being dangerous and hostile to that militancy. PL saw fit to side with the union leadership and refused to warn the ranks of the sellout that was brewing.

### SELLOUT

At a time when the action was strong, the leadership made arrangements to meet with representatives of the company at 3 a.m. Friday morning. Because of this "gesture of good will," the leadership allowed food to be distributed Friday night.

The leadership had the ranks at work bright and early Friday morning, even before the agreement had been consummated. Those who called the action a success and the settlement a victory have a great deal to answer for however. At the very moment that PL was extolling the settlement at an SDS meeting on Jan. 12th, signs were being posted all over campus detailing measures that would have to be taken against the interests of both students and workers.

The management had the audacity to threaten the closing of one of the five foodplan cafeterias and the revamping of the other four. These measures promise to wipe out the very job security which PL and the 1199 leadership refused to defend.

### CUTBACKS

The Workers League intends to take this struggle deeper with the issuing of a leaflet against the layoffs and for a struggle by the workers and students against the cutbacks which are hitting this university.

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# Strikes Spread As Polish Workers

BY MELODY FARROW

As we go to press Edward Gierek is being forced to address the Polish nation on the new crisis in Gdansk. While a shipyard strike, called for January 19th, was narrowly averted, slowdowns are taking place there. Transportation was snarled for two hours on the 19th as streetcar employees refused to begin work until wage and other demands were placed before management officials. In fact the struggle of the Polish workers against the bureaucracy which broke out on December 14th in Gdansk and the surrounding area never really ended.

A temporary agreement had been reached in which the government promised a 20% wage increase and the withdrawal of all troops. The meaning of the bureaucracy's promises is now clear. In exchange for a wage increase from 200 zlotys to 700 zlotys a month the bureaucracy wants a far greater productivity from the workers.

One worker stated that the new quotas in production would virtually nullify the wage increase. The workers are also

demanding the release of all prisoners arrested in December and that Edward Gierek the new head of Poland come to Gdansk personally to speak to them. It is widely believed that the workers in Warsaw plan to strike next week.

Faced with the threat of political revolution, the Polish bureaucracy was forced to beat a retreat in December. They stopped denouncing the workers as hooligans and anarchists, and piously criticized their own errors. The workers

demanding "independent working unions responsible to the workers." Under pressure from the workers the head of the Polish trade unions was ousted.

## MEANING

The move on the part of the new leaders for increased productivity reveals the meaning of the concessions made in December. The new Stalinist regime was only trying to buy a little time while preparing even more vicious attacks, harder work and more repression against the working class. Gierek does not have one ounce of confidence among the workers who are prepared to go on the offensive once again. Every conciliatory gesture by the government will only strengthen the confidence of the workers in their power.

Recently the government broadcast a number of interviews with workers in Gdansk over the Gdansk radio which revealed the depth of the workers' hatred and frustration. One shipyard worker

stated "More care and attention should be given to the material conditions and earnings of young people. . . who earn the lowest and are the least noticed." Another worker from the engineering works said "We have it every day, the treatment of workers, relations between men and management, the wrong distribution of bonuses. . ."

Last week Information Ouvriers, organ of the Workers Alliance Committee in France, published a detailed account of the December uprising which appeared in the official Gdansk Communist Party newspaper. Although this account carefully avoids mention of the slogans of the workers and glosses over the police repression, it is forced by the strong position of the workers to present an actual description of what happened.

## COMMITTEES

What it reveals is the tremendous spirit and sense of discipline of the workers as

# The True History Of The American Communist Party

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

STALINISM AND TROTSKYISM IN THE USA—An answer to Hyman Lumer and Others, by Fred Mueller. Labor Publications, 80 pages, 50 cents.

In the middle of December several thousand shipyard workers in the Polish port of Gdansk marched through the city singing the Internationale on their way to storm the local Communist Party headquarters to protest against new economic attacks on the workers. They were soon joined by workers all over Poland in a massive movement that almost toppled the bureaucracy, opening the way to the establishment of workers democracy throughout the workers states.

Immediately the American Communist Party repeated the slanders of Gomulka, calling these workers "hooligans" and suggesting that they were inspired by the CIA. When the slanderer himself, Gomulka, was deposed they readily accepted this as well.

These very same anti-working class policies dominate the Communist Party's actions within the United States as well. The CPUSA has openly supported a section of the bourgeois Democratic Party. In the recent auto strike it lined up solidly behind the Woodcock leadership and thus against the rank and file. Today it uses the defense of Angela Davis and of the Panthers to build up a political bloc with liberals and the church and thus cut off the independent movement of the working class. In so doing it assists the ruling class which seeks to suppress Angela and the Panthers precisely out of fear of that development and contributes not to the defense but to the continued repression of Angela, the Panthers, and the working people as a whole.

## CRIMINAL

Tomorrow this party can play an even more criminal role, breaking the revolutionary movement of American workers with reformism and thus aiding the triumph of fascism in America. Precisely because the international crisis of capitalism is so deep, we must be prepared now for a sharpening of the class struggle in the United States and Europe, for precisely the conditions under which the role of Stalinism will be most dangerous.

We take with great seriousness its publication of a daily paper, its role in the establishment of a national trade union organization, and its youth organization even though this youth organization is still quite weak.

The publication of "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA" at this time is particularly important. This pamphlet is the only one available which details the actual role of American Stalinism from its origins and in this way explains why it is the Stalinists act as they do today and what it is they will do in the future if not defeated politically now.

It is therefore the most important recent publication in the United States. It must be read by every militant. Every revolutionist must arm himself with an understanding of the history of Stalinism in the United States if he is to prepare for the open fight for socialism in the United States in the coming period.

At the same time the pamphlet is a development of Trotskyism, an accounting of Trotsky's whole fight against Stalinism. Only through understanding Trot-

skyism is it possible to understand Stalinism. Fred Mueller answers each charge and slander of Hyman Lumer and in so doing gets straight the real history of the Soviet Union, why Stalinism arose, and how the theory of socialism in one country still stands today as central to the counterrevolutionary policies of Stalinism.

## BUREAUCRACY

The pamphlet shows how this theory found expression in the United States in the Communist Party's support to Roosevelt, the Moscow Trials, its complete betrayal of the American trade union movement and the Black people during World War II, and its support to the crushing of the Hungarian working class in 1956.

The strength of Stalinism today rests essentially on two pillars. First of all the Stalinists base themselves on the bureaucracy within the workers states and defend the interests of this bureaucracy against the working class. As long as Stalinism still reigns internationally the American Stalinists will have a basis for existence.

Just as important, the American Stalinists live today off the political backwardness of the American working class. This can be seen particularly sharply with the revolutionary movement among minority working class youth, but the same development also takes place in the trade unions. The youth who are attracted to organizations like the Black Panthers and the Young Lords are hostile to the reformism of the Stalinists. They begin as revolutionists, not reformists, but they begin without a theoretical understanding of how to bring about a successful revolution in America. They come constantly into collision with the Stalinists and liberals.

But it is precisely their theoretical weaknesses, the concessions they make to pragmatism, which forces these youth back into the camp of the Stalinists time and time again. This is why the Panthers can denounce the Communist Party in their press but still leave their defense essentially in Stalinist hands.

The Stalinists survive precisely because of those who say the lessons of history are unimportant, that theory is not essential, that we must begin from our immediate practical tasks alone. This is why this pamphlet which details the real history of Stalinism and the central questions involved in the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism is of such burning importance today. Precisely because there will be many who resist reading a pamphlet like this, we must fight all the harder for an understanding of the importance of its contents.

## ASSASSINATION

This past year marks the 30th year since the assassination of Trotsky by Stalin's agent in Mexico. This pamphlet was originally written as a series in the Bulletin as part of the Workers League commemoration of this event. It includes a special section on the actual role the American Communist Party played in this murder.

It is significant that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance held no meetings during the entire year of 1970 to commemorate this event. They

## Stalinism & Trotskyism in the USA



refused our invitation to hold a joint meeting. They have no pamphlets available on the question of American Stalinism and continue to refuse a real struggle with Stalinism. It is precisely the paralysis of the revisionists before Stalinism which is a major factor in allowing the Stalinists to recoup their strength in the recent period in the United States.

## CRISIS

There is a sharp change in the relationship between Stalinism and Trotskyism today as compared with the 1930s. The two pillars upon which American Stalinism rests—the international Stalinist bureaucracy and American pragmatism—are actually in such a state as to leave it tottering. International Stalinism is in such a deep crisis that each day this crisis delivers deep blows to the American Stalinists. This is the meaning of the recent Polish events.

At the same time the pragmatic method, as Trotsky pointed out, "works" as long as capitalism is in a period of general growth and maturity. But today it is in decline and the crisis engendered by this decline shakes up all the old ways

of thinking in the United States, objectively undermining the pragmatic method. Today Huey Newton calls for a turn to dialectics as hundreds of thousands of youth turn towards Marxism and theory for a way out of this crisis.

## MARXISM

Stalinism internationally will not fall of its own weight and the pragmatic method will not be wiped out by objective developments alone. But today the conditions are extremely favorable for a fight for Marxism in the United States on a scale never before achieved in the history of this country. This fight for Marxism now falls onto the shoulders of the Workers League. It is the SWP's betrayal of the fight for Marxism which paralyzes them in the struggle against Stalinism.

The future of the world will be determined by the struggle of classes in the United States, and central to this struggle will be the fight between Stalinism and Trotskyism on American soil. This task falls upon the Workers League. This pamphlet will be an invaluable weapon in this struggle. It must be read by all.



# Renew Struggle

they entered the struggle. The question of political revolution was posed very sharply. From the very beginning delegates were chosen to represent the workers and strike committees were established in every shipyard and factory.

In the city of Szczecin a central strike committee was formed. These committees organized workers militias which prevented provocations and took care of the needs of the workers. The main target of the workers' anger was the party headquarters which was repeatedly attacked and set on fire.

As the worker marched through the town they took over police cars and loudspeakers, calling for a general strike at 7:00 a.m. the next day. With shouts of "bread" and "the press lies," they attempted unsuccessfully to march to the radio station to broadcast their appeal to all the workers of Poland. The ranks of the shipyard workers were soon filled with workers and youth from all over the city.

## YOUTH

These reports also reveal the heroic role of the youth who placed themselves in the forefront of the battle. They jumped into the tanks warning that if the soldiers could not be convinced to lay down their arms, they would be thrown out. At one point after a meeting of 5,000 workers in the occupied shipyards, a group of youth decided to challenge the tanks that surrounded the yards. Two of them were killed and many were wounded.

These strike committees still function and the workers continue to hold their

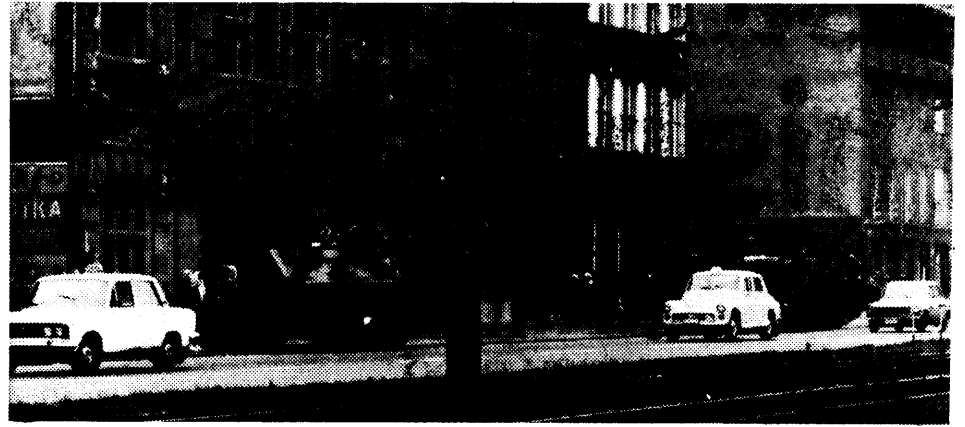
own meetings where the next course of action is hotly debated.

## CP

How does the Daily World, organ of the American Communist Party, explain its twists and turns on the Polish events? From the very beginning of the Gdansk uprising, the Daily World dutifully mouthed the line of the Kremlin, even if it meant completely lying and contradicting itself. At first the World wrote that the demonstrations were caused by "young toughs" and "adventurist hooligan elements". The workers were linked with counterrevolutionary forces such as the CIA and Radio Free Europe.

Then we were told that everything was returning to normal at the very moment that new stoppages took place. On Dec. 22nd, the World fell into line and admitted that Gomulka had made mistakes but that everyone was returning to work to fill production goals. Yet a worker on the Gdansk radio said that it was impossible to fill production goals because the equipment was so outdated!

How does the Daily World explain the accounts published in the Gdansk newspaper which make it clear that the workers, not hooligans, were behind the demonstrations? Why does the World not mention the strike committees, and the workers' demands for more pay, better housing, more democracy, and an end to privileges? No amount of slander and distortion can hide what really happened—the beginning of working class insurrection and the beginning of the end of the



Tanks line up in street in Gdansk during December struggle which is continuing.

bureaucracy.

The economic crisis in these countries is now so deep that there is no way to head off the clash between the workers and the bureaucracy. The Soviet Union faced with its own critical shortages cannot come to Giersek's aid.

The bureaucracy is gathering its forces for a new assault on the Polish working class. In this fight we stand with the Polish workers who are the true inheritors of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and against the traitors in power who have betrayed the socialist revolution.

The question facing the Polish workers at this stage in their struggle is the need for a conscious party and program that poses the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

## CONFERENCE

In this connection the conference of Eastern European students called by the Organizing Committee of Eastern Eu-

ropean Communists held from December 19th to 21st is an important step forward. The call for the conference stated "We have a common ground which can and must unite us: The struggle for international socialism and against the bureaucracy. This constitutes the only condition and political basis of our conference."

In the general resolution the conference stated that their goal was "the Socialist United States of Europe as a first stage of the Universal Republic of Soviets." They also resolved to "establish the necessary link by exchanging experiences, discussions and by regularly publishing a news bulletin for students." They also issued a call to youth organizations in the capitalist countries and a memorandum against repression which called for the release of all political prisoners.

The fight to build revolutionary parties in the Eastern European countries must now go forward.

## Polish Uprising-Direct Accounts From Gdansk Press

Monday, Dec. 14, 7:30 am—The workers of sections F-4 and F-3 of the shipyards gather at their work sites. The workers from W-3 head for the shipyard directors building. Workers from other shops arrive from the side streets. A crowd of about 3,000 people gathers before the building....

11:05 am—A parade of about a thousand workers leaves for town. They gather in front of headquarters of the regional party. Around it there is a bigger and bigger crowd of spectators. The organized strength of the demonstration includes people in work clothes and work hats.

The words of the "Internationale" mingle with the hymn of the Popular Guard and with various slogans....

A car of militia arrives.... The demonstrators get hold of the police car. Scores of hands push the car. Behind a line forms heading for the Gdansk docks. Through the loudspeaker calls are constantly made for a strike....

The tone of the appeals called for by the occupants of the police cars changed. Political slogans appear. (The bureaucracy is careful not to mention what slogans they were—editors.) Following the streets of the National Marine the demonstrators head for the Gdansk Polytechnic school.

2:10 pm—The crowd breaks down the door of the school. About 300 people enter the building calling on the students to join the demonstration.... Several hundred people go into the building and call on the students to come into the street. The calls are not answered. The students refuse to participate in the demonstration. (This information is not likely. In the following days the students joined en masse the fight—editor) After 40 minutes the demonstrators leave the technical school. A section of them heads for Wrzeszcz—neighborhood in Gdansk—to the radio offices. The others head for the university dormitories.

3:55 pm—The first clash between the demonstrators and the forces of order takes place at the Blednik bridge. Calls to disperse have no effect. The deployment of the militia in cars is too weak to contain the assault of 3,000 people. The head of the march, in the tumult and with the help of stones, makes their way to the main railroad station and to the building of the Voivodie Committee of the P.O.U.P.

4:20 pm—In the area #1 of the port more than 200 workers leave work and head for the city to join the fight.

5:15 pm—The demonstrators pass through the Drzewny Square. One hears shouts of "bread" and "the press lies." In the printing house, at the theater and in the investments bank, young men break windows with stones. Nevertheless a row of police prevents them from going too

far. The crowd returns to the Committee building.

6:15 pm—New assault on the party headquarters. A rain of stones. Twice a group of young people try to set the building on fire. They finally succeed in opening the door to the print shop which is in the basement. Detachments of the militia and the army go into action. . . . Calls to disperse meet with no response. Even tear gas and exercise grenades do not stop the assailants. . . .

Tuesday, Dec. 15, 12:45 am—A strike is continuing in Gdansk port. Section 1 and 2 are not working as well as part of the workers of section 3 did not come to work. On the docks where coal and minerals are unloaded everything is normal.

1:10—From different sections of the Gdansk port it is learned that the workers refuse to work and are announcing a general strike for 7:00.

4:20—The port is on strike. The leadership of the dock participates in the discussions with the workers but the dockers refuse to return to work. For the most part as a sign of solidarity with the strikers. . . .

6:40—Workers of the cadres of the shipyards leave the section and go to the house of the director. Here workers arrive from sections K-2 and the C establishments. Two hundred people stop working. At Hydroster tension is mounting. In the #1 factory of furniture workers 600 people quit work.

6:54 am—A group of about 1,000 people are before the door to the Przerowka shipyards. The organizers of this demonstration place young boys from the Technical School at the head of the march as protection against the forces of order. There are already 1500 people at the directors of the shipyards. Section K-2 arrives. The first secretary of the factory committee of the party tries to speak. He is received with cries of "Outside! Throw him out." The conditions do not exist for normal conversations. It is not a question of a discussion. The meeting ends with whistles and nasty shouts. . . .

6:50—A group of workers arrive before the entrance to the North shipyards. They call for a general strike. The delegation was pushed away from the entrance to the building. At Przerowka, part of the workers hold a meeting. Work has stopped in the Gdansk port, the atmosphere is tense but generally the situation is calm. In the gas factory and the electric centers work continues.

7:00 am—In the naval yards of Gdansk 3000 have gathered already. The march goes in the direction of town. It is joined by demonstrators from the re-

pair yards. Passer bys join the march at the main railroad station. There are many youth and even children. In the furniture factory more than 500 workers are in the courtyard. They want to go out on the street and announce a march to the Voivodie committee building. A hundred workers have left the fur concern on Lakowa street. They head in the same direction. In Gdynia more than 1,000 workers left work in the yards of the Paris Commune.

GDANSK—Dec 15, 7:15—The head of the march of shipyard workers has already reached the party headquarters. The crowd contents itself with shouting a few slogans and then goes to the police commissioners house and the headquarters of the National Council. This group is rapidly enlarged by a crowd of adventurers.

7:30—The weak forces of the police are pushed far back the street. The policemen hide in the commissioners building, some of them enter the offices of the National Council, others withdraw further back. The whole width of Karowki Avenue is occupied by a compact crowd, blocking any access to that part of town.

Then the assault of the commissioners building begins. The main entrance and the street level windows of the police headquarters are the object of the attack. Slogans ring out: "Liberate the prisoners!" They attack the prisons. Above is a cloud of tear gas.

The police use clubs and . . . grenades. But this is not enough to contain the crowd. The most aggressive group, armed with iron bars enters the building and reach the arms shop on the ground floor. At the last moment the functionaries take away dozens of automatic pistols and cartridges. . . .

At the time when the crowd at the police commissioners and the National Council they ordered the evacuation of the party committee employees. Seven political soldiers remained in the building. Around 8:00 armed cops with clubs and grenades arrive.

8:45 —The crowd is now more than 10,000 people who, excited by the fighting and the first victims, attacks the party headquarters with even greater energy. A cloud of black smoke rises from the area around the station.

9:50—The demonstrators have succeeded in setting the party headquarters on fire.

3:00 pm—Large groups of workers from the Gdansk shipyards, the North yards and the repair yards return to the yards and declare a strike with occupation. An atmosphere of war dominates the city.

Grenade explosions can be heard, the gas stings the eyes. . . .

The authorities announce that as a result of the riots on Dec. 15 six people died in Gdansk and nearly 300 wounded.

December 16, 4:00—The army enters the city. The tanks protect the public buildings. They approach the naval yards in order to intervene in case of sabotage on the company premises.

6:40am—In the naval yards of Gdansk a crowd of more than 50,000 people gathered before the directors building, demanding an answer to the demands that were voted yesterday. 75% of the employees are in the yards. The authorities, with the help of party activists call on them not to leave the yards. . . .

8:00am—They constantly warn that the army will use force to prevent riots in the city and counteract terror in the streets. Not listening to the warnings a group of youth gather and decide to go before the tanks to see the reaction of the soldiers at their attempts to leave the yards. The outcome is tragic. They fire. Two people are killed, eleven workers wounded. The demonstrators withdraw into the yards.

8:15 am—At Przerowka a meeting is taking place. The workers are demanding conversations with the representatives in power who they went to present their demands to. A section of workers, especially the youth threaten to destroy the machinery if their demands are not satisfied.

8:20 am—The Gdansk dock workers refuse to work. They demand a salary increase of 30% and improvement in housing conditions. The yards proclaim the strike with occupation.

10:45 am—Near Port #2 in Gdansk a dockers meeting is over. A resolution was voted demanding among other things, salary increases and lowering of the taxes.

Noon—In the naval yards a meeting of 3,000 people is taking place. The workers representatives are discussing the best way to settle the question. It is decided that the workers should return to their shops and see that order is maintained. The strike committee of the factory sets up a militia. Calm and discipline is maintained.

2:40 pm—In the repair yards the workers elected a factory committee. A 24 hour strike is declared. The demands: protect the work site against destruction and hooligans, bring those responsible for the economic situation to justice, stabilize prices, withdrawal of the army from the city.

3:40 pm—In the North yards a meeting of delegates is taking place. A petition of 5 points is voted. It is also decided that as long as the demands are not satisfied they will not return to work.

## Ranks Begin Fight In CSEA As Big Layoffs Hit State Workers

BY A CSEA MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—The California Department of Architecture and Construction has been hit with 170 layoffs in all job categories, as Gov. Ronald Reagan's 'economy' moves go forward across the state.

Massive reorganization of all depart-



Ronald Reagan is on warpath again.

ments, called "rotation," is now setting up state employees for the worst round of layoffs ever seen in California. These developments have produced a potential explosion in the ranks of state workers. There is open talk in many of the departments in San Francisco of striking in July and of "lynching Reagan."

Because of the complacent and compromising leadership of the 100,000 member California State Employees Association, state workers have no history of any strikes or job actions in the fight for wages and benefits. CSEA has lobbied its way to complete ineffectiveness as a workers' organization. Consequently state employees have been left out of most of the recent gains of the American working class.

Wages and basic benefits have fallen far

below union scale in private industry. It was only the illusion of "job security," which could be cited to our advantage. Now in his program to solve the state's economic crisis on the backs of his civil service workers, Reagan is blasting the "job security" myth to smithereens. He wants to enter the July 1 budget fight facing a weak, terrified state work force, too riddled by layoffs to beat back the wage cuts he plans as the final crushing blow.

### LEADERSHIP

In response to this blueprint, the statewide CSEA leadership acts as expected, weak and terrified. Its program calls for conciliation on wages (a rotten 6% raise) and does not even mention fighting against layoffs. It poses as an alternative to the election by CSEA General Council of a statewide president who comes out openly against striking and for compulsory arbitration.

The newly formed Committee for New Leadership of CSEA has developed a program in total opposition to Reagan's budget cuts and to his plans for eliminating thousands of jobs. State workers must take up these demands for an absolute guarantee against layoffs with all job eliminations since January 1 rescinded, for an average wage increase of 13%, and for the right to collectively bargain with the state, to have a written contract, and to strike. This program bases itself on the strength of state workers, and as such, will draw a bitter opposition from CSEA bureaucrats, statewide and locally.

### STRIKE

At a meeting called last week by the CNL, workers representing four CSEA chapters in the San Francisco area agreed on the absolute need for a militant strike to beat back Reagan's attacks. That this meeting would even take place with such a response from state workers, shows the qualitative change and upsurge within our ranks.

The perspective of CSEA must be to link up with the willingness to fight of

## Local 400 Leadership Retreats As Reagan Slashes Budget

BY A LOCAL 400 MEMBER

SAN FRANCISCO—On January 13 the membership of Local 400 adopted a series of priority demands to be made during coming salary negotiations with the city of San Francisco.

These demands include: a 10% cost of living increase, adjustments to rectify the inequities which occurred after last year's strike, health and dental plans for all employees and dependents fully paid for by the city, and increased vacation time.

After the demands were ratified by the membership, Executive Secretary, John Jeffrey began speaking about the "realities." "We're not going to get the six points. We'll do well to get a decent salary adjustment. These demands just represent the feeling of the membership."

After months of commotion about rank and file democracy in drawing up their demands, the leadership then informs the members that the limits of their participation have been reached.

The rank and file are encouraged to voice their feelings about what they need, and then are told they cannot fight and win these demands.

Two hundred eighty-two positions in the Department of Social Services are frozen, causing speed-up for workers and slow-down for clients receiving any benefits. Attempts have been made to cut the hours of the school clerks, and there is a freeze on hiring for the Community Health Centers in conjunction with Reagan's cut-backs on the state level. Permanent employees for the State are being laid off and there is no guarantee that layoffs of Civil Service workers will stop with the temporary workers.

Most clients can expect a \$40 decrease in grants in the coming months to pay for Reagan's "fiscal oversights in planning," and already suffer cuts in medical service.

What John Jeffrey tells city workers when he says he does not think we will strike is that it is not necessary to strike, that the attacks are not part of "reality."

But his attitude toward our demands is about as real as expecting a bagful of benefits because you wrote a letter to Santa Claus!

The Rank and File Caucus of Local 400 is fighting for a rally of all city workers at City Hall, raising the following demands:

- A written contract
- A guarantee against layoffs
- A 10% wage increase
- Paid health and dental plan

It is clear that the ranks can win by mobilizing for an all-city workers strike in March despite the plans of the union leadership!

## Labor Leaders Support Scab Edict

BY DENISE ALEXANDER

SAN FRANCISCO—At a time when Nixon's policies provide tax cuts for businesses and unemployment for workers, when they point to wage controls, when labor leaders are being jailed for using the unions' hard-won rights to bargain over working conditions, the San Francisco Labor Council voted on the side of those working to emasculate the power of the trade union movement.

The amendment posing the most serious threat to labor is that picket lines shall be respected "wherever and whenever it is possible to do so without the affiliate incurring legal liability." This in effect means no penalties for scabbing.

The other two issues were a change to per capita fee which penalizes large unions, and from the secret ballot to open roll call voting.

The Executive Board attempted to play down the importance of the picketing amendment by posing that the real fight was around the other two charges. Their recommendation to the membership was to comply to the mandate without a vote, and to accept under protest the amendment which would abolish the secret ballot and the delegates fee.

When asked by several delegates whether



millions of civil service workers by preparing for a statewide, all-out strike. To this end, the CNL is calling for a San Francisco Bay Area-wide rally of state workers in February against Reagan's cuts and for wages, job security, and the right to bargain and strike. This proposal must be fought for in every chapter in San Francisco.

Chapter 3 of CSEA in San Francisco, with 2,000 members, meets on January 27 after work. The CNL will be there to fight for the calling of this rally, in preparation for a massive strike and confrontation with the Reagan administration. All Chapter 3 members should come to wage this battle to make this rally a reality. All out for the February rally!

## CP ON WEST COAST SABOTAGES DAVIS-MAGEE DEFENSE

BY JOHN BREAN

SAN FRANCISCO—The government is trying to railroad Angela Davis to the gas chamber. This attack is part and parcel of the preparations by the capitalist class to destroy the working class.

In the face of this the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis is consciously building a defense campaign on the liberals of the Democratic Party, the church and the capitalist legal system. The actions outlined by the Communist Party in the January issue of People's World can have no other effect but reassure Nixon that the fight to defend Angela Davis will be contained. The committee proposes to collect one million

signatures sponsoring Davis' freedom. The committee hopes to make International Woman's Day a focus of the Angela Davis case.

The line of the defense committee runs like this—Angela is innocent, therefore she will be set free. Basing itself on capitalist morality and justice, the CP has refused to defend Ruchell Magee. The People's World on January 9 runs a heart rending story on the frame-up of Magee under the title "Ruchell's Passion: The Untold Story Behind the Outburst." But the point of the story is that there can be no defense of Ruchell Magee!

Davis, Magee and all political prisoners can only be defended through a fight to mobilize the American working class.

## Chartrand, Facing Sedition Trial, Hit For 'Contempt' In Montreal

BY STEVE FINNEY

MONTREAL, P.Q.—Michel Chartrand, president of the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN-CNTU), was sentenced on January 8th to one year in jail for contempt of court.

He is awaiting trial on charges of seditious conspiracy and membership in the outlawed F.L.Q.

Mr. Justice Roger Ouimet, who handed down this harsh sentence, was at the time hearing a petition from Chartrand to separate his trial from his co-accused—Jacques Larue-Langois, Pierre Vallieres, and Raymond Lemieux.

Ouimet has a long history of defense of the capitalist class in their attempt to smash the working class. By his conduct in the trials under the War Measures Act, and especially in the sentencing of Chartrand, he is continuing the vicious attacks against political prisoners and the working class.

As Chartrand stated of Ouimet: "If you are to be the judge in my case, I

want you to withdraw because you're prejudiced, partial and a fanatic."

There were bitter exchanges between the two, as Ouimet cried out "Outrage au tribunal" (Contempt of Court). Chartrand continued to denounce Ouimet and was sentenced to one year in jail on four charges of contempt.

Ouimet during these exchanges, purposely neglected to warn the defendant that he would be found in contempt if he continued, which is the tradition in Canadian courts.

The sentence imposed on Chartrand, in addition to the still existing War Measures Act, demonstrates the fear that the rulers have of the working class. His sentence is not only an attack on an individual, it is an attack on the entire working class.

The crisis of capitalism intensifies day by day. As this crisis continues, as unemployment rises, the ruling class is forced to put more and more workers and labor leaders in jail.

The defense of these political prisoners must be seen within a political, within a class context. This cannot be seen as a question of civil liberties.

The working class must fight the attempts of Ouimet, Trudeau, Bourassa, and company to smash it. The fight must be taken up by all workers, especially those in trade unions all across Canada.



Trade union leader Chartrand faces jail.