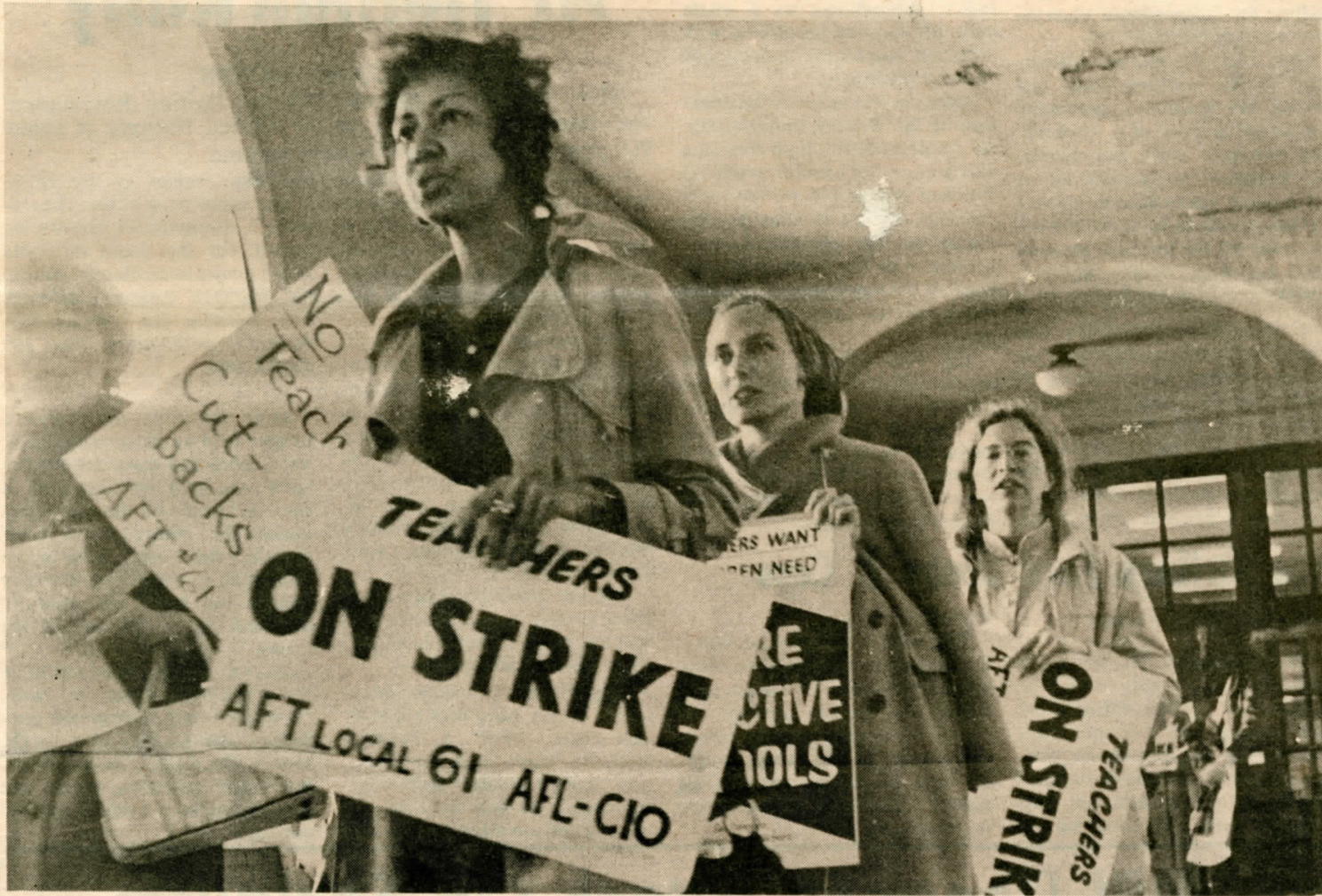


NIXON ORDERS FREEZE ON WAGES



San Francisco Teachers Strike

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Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

What
we
think

The 16 Payer And Preparation For The Leap

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Open Letter To PLP From Steve & Myrna Cherkoss Page 12

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

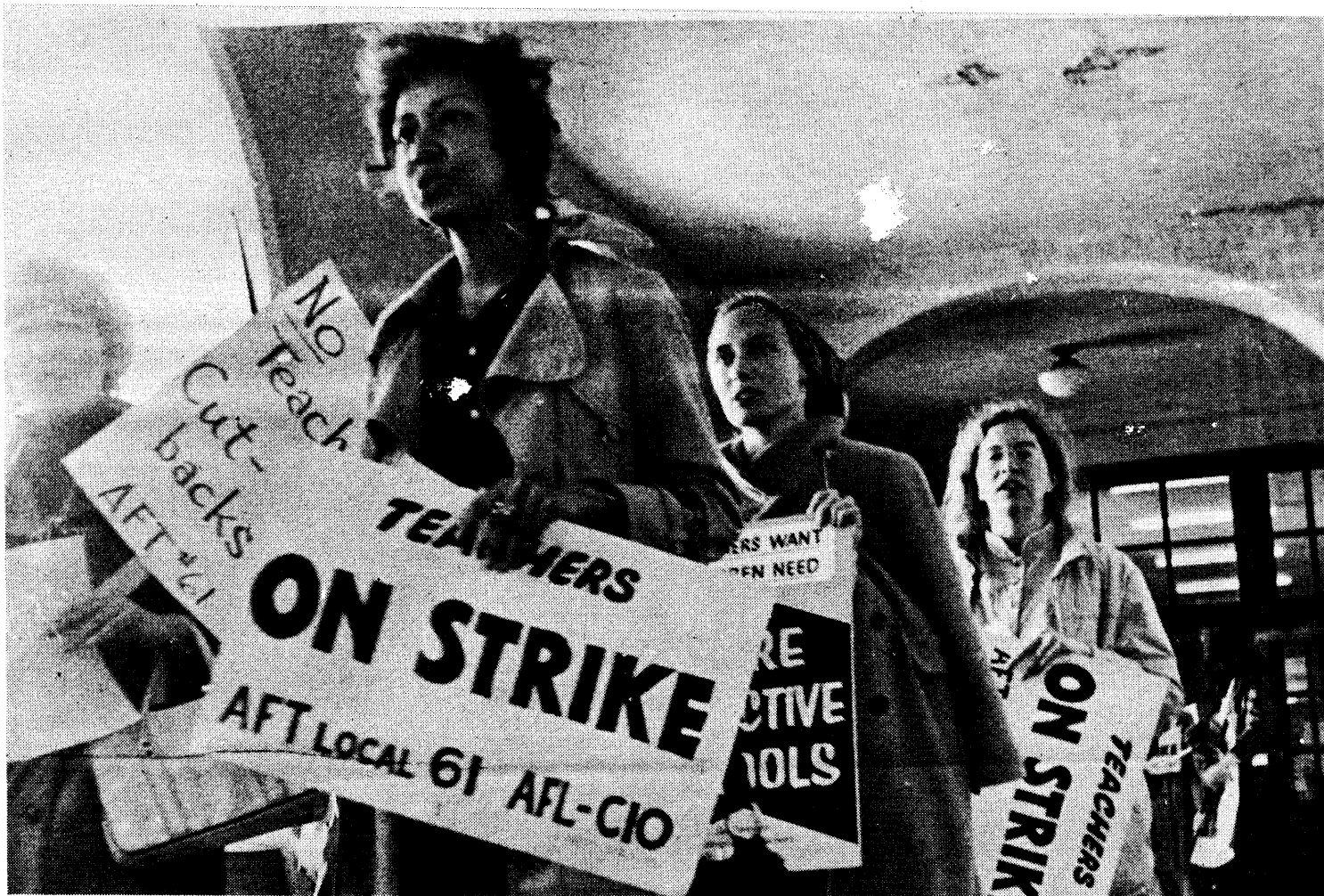
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(Continued On Page 6)

Bitter Civil War Breaks Out In East Pakistan

BY TOM GORDON

Civil war is raging between the workers and peasants of East Pakistan, and the military dictatorship of General Yahya Khan. Reports from the East, where newsmen have been banned, indicate that the people of East Pakistan control large sections of their country and are fighting beside East Pakistani (Bengali) regiments against the West Pakistani army of General Khan.

Tanks and heavy artillery, supplied General Khan by the U.S., Britain, West Germany, the Soviet Union and Communist China are being used against lightly armed civilians in the major cities of Dacca, Khulna, Daulatpur, Chittagong, and Rangpur. The city of Comilla has been bombed.

Students and workers internationally must come to the defense of the Pakistani workers and peasants, who have taken the lead in the struggle against the Khan dictatorship. Only a united front of the working class, led by a Marxist leadership against not only General Khan and his murderous troops but against the Bengali bourgeoisie, can assure the victory of the East Pakistan workers, peasants and youth.

Open and continuous fighting broke out in East Pakistan on March 26, when General Khan broke off eleven days of talks with Sheik Mujibur Rahman, leader of the "socialist" (actually petty-bourgeois nationalist) Awami League. General Khan's decision to postpone the opening of the constitutional assembly, in

which the Awami League was guaranteed 167 of 313 seats, touched off the crisis.

The leading West Pakistani party, the Pakistan People's Party (also a bourgeois party, led by Ali Bhutto), had already announced on March 3 that it would boycott and therefore sabotage the constitutional assembly. This would mean the assembly would not even be able to recommend a new constitution to the ruling clique of generals headed by General Khan.

This was an open provocation to the East Pakistani majority, and touched off calls for independence led by riots and clashes of students and workers against the Western troops. Mr. Bhutto had called for a "strong central government" while Sheik Rahman, leading a "nonviolent resistance" campaign, called at first for autonomy for the East, then began calling for independence when the current fighting broke out.

Only lack of a Marxist leadership in the working class and among the peasantry prevented the establishment of a workers' and peasants' state and allowed the Pakistani bourgeoisie to set up General Yahya Khan as a bonapartist trying to balance between and play off the tensions between East and West, worker, peasant, and boss and landlord.

General Khan responded with brutal suppression of the strikes, a wage freeze, the outlawing of trade unions, and eventually, martial law for the East. The elections have been followed by constant agitation and strike struggles especially in the East, including a general strike of go-

vernment workers called by Sheik Rahman, which took over the running of the Eastern government.

That the struggle in the East is an expression of a general class battle against the capitalists is shown by the movement in the West at the same time. Bhutto's People's Party has recently led workers in the occupation of nine textile mills in Lyallpur, West Pakistan. The police have made more than 100 arrests in ousting the workers from the plants.

What we are witnessing in East Pakistan is a civil war which must sweep all of the Indian subcontinent and the rest of Asia as well. It cannot be confined to the narrow sectional orientation of its present leadership. It is true that the Bengalis have little in common with West Pakistan outside of religion. But this situation exists throughout the Indian subcontinent as a whole with its diverse population with different languages, dialects and cultural traditions.

Pakistan was an artificial creation of the British imperialists. An "independent" East Pakistan will just create another artificial division among the workers and peasants. There is considerable indication that the Indian bourgeoisie with the support of sections of the American bourgeoisie would just as soon see this take place.

The only solution is a united and socialist federation of all the peoples of the Indian subcontinent as part of the struggle for a socialist Asia and a workers revolution in the Western countries. This is the program of the Fourth International.



Police try to separate socialist banners from Haitian demonstration.

WL Raises Socialism At Haitian Rally

BY JACQUES GAGNON

NEW YORK—On March 27th the Haitian Resistance movement held a rally at the United Nations of some 900 people against the Duvalier regime.

Duvalier and the fascists know the real power in the organized workers. They experienced it in 1957 when the whole working class stormed into the National Palace demanding participation in the government.

The Haitian Resistance is a bloc of different class tendencies. Even though it includes some Stalinists, it is dominated by the pro-fascist militarists. Following the logic of Stalinism, the left wing of this bloc refuses to pose the question of the independent fight of the Haitian workers and peasants for a workers government.

The perspective put forward by these groups was to pressure the butcher Nixon to help them overthrow the butcher Duvalier.

The Workers League intervened in the rally with a banner that read: "For a Socialist Haiti," "Down with Duvalier," and "Long Live the Fourth International." As soon as these slogans were unveiled, a polariza-

tion was created in the rally.

The right wing of the "Resistance" attempted to remove the banner but the young militants in the crowd immediately came to the Workers League's defense. The Bulletin got a tremendous response with more than 200 copies sold.

After the rally the Workers League held an independent rally which attracted some thirty militants who took up chants for a socialist Haiti. As the contingent joined the others for a brief march, the right wing again attempted to throw the Workers League out but it was strongly defended by a section of the crowd.

Failing in this, they called in the cops who, clubs in hand, formed a line to separate the contingent from the rest of the march. Once again the protests of the young militants forced the Resistance leadership to call off the cops.

Stonybrook Cafeteria Strikers Face Scabs & Cops

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK, March 30—The strike of cafeteria workers at the State University of New York at Stony Brook is in its third week and is at a crucial point.

The University administration, while claiming neutrality, has been squarely behind the company, Prophet Foods, which runs the cafeteria service, in its attempt to break the strike and destroy the strength of Local 1199 in the cafeterias.

University police have been filming the picket lines all week, and one worker was arrested for attacking one of these photographers. Meanwhile, the company refuses to come to the bargaining table, and the University administration expressed its "neutrality" by threatening the union with legal action from the very start. At the same time it denies that the company is not bargaining in good faith and that the workers are in fact locked out.

SCABS

The company claims it is losing less money with the workers out on strike than running the five cafeterias, and the administration refuses to hold them to their contract. However, quite a few times University cops have attempted to bring scabs through, only to be driven back by the workers and students. Today the company and University have announced that the Suffolk County

Police will protect scabs.

The leadership of the union feels that a victory could be achieved by merely sitting it out and keeping the five cafeterias closed. But one large scab cafeteria is still running on campus and numerous student-run food services are operating on an

expanded schedule.

The strike can only be won if the workers and students close the entire campus. The union must defend the worker already arrested by mobilizing the entire campus and all the campus workers and by calling on the Long Island Federation of Labor for their support.

MPI Deepens Attack On Socialism

BY HANK PADRO

It is within the context of the deepening class struggle internationally that we must look at not only the recent physical attacks by the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) on the Workers League, but at articles in *Claridad*, the paper of MPI, and *Palante*, paper of the Young Lords Party.

David Perez, Field Marshal of the YLP, in an article in the March 19th issue, of *Palante*, raises questions which are really at the heart of the struggle in Puerto Rico when he writes: "To be poor means that somebody, somewhere is rich. Who are these rich people? Since PR is a colony of amerikkka, they must be the same rich people as the ones in amerikkka, like Rockefeller and Hughes. Not only that, but there are rich Puerto Ricans stepping on poor Puerto Ricans for control of the island."

It is these rich Puerto Ricans, the native bourgeoisie, whom

Juan Mari Bras, head of MPI, and the MPI advocate allying with in the struggle for independence. The theory of MPI is that of Stalinism and the Communist Party—the two stage theory of the fight for independence, followed later by the fight for socialism. What this means is tying the Puerto Rican working class to the native bourgeoisie, to capitalism, and thus to imperialism itself.

SOCIALISM

In his article, Perez goes on to say that neither commonwealth, statehood (like Hawaii) or in-

dependence (like the Phillipines) mean liberation for Puerto Rico.

"Well, all of those things, statehood and commonwealth and independence are political systems. They have to be based on an economic system and they are: capitalism. One group, the rich, sucking the poor dry. Each one, statehood, commonwealth and independence is based on capitalism. And if we really look at it, capitalism is the main enemy. ...Capitalism must be destroyed.

"In place of capitalism we ask for socialism. Socialism means that the means of producing goods, the factories, the plants and companies, and the means of distributing these goods, like railroads, stores, ships and planes, must be owned by the people, the people who are now poor. And to do this we must

fight a long hard war."

Perez is saying that independence alone means a capitalist Puerto Rico, just as there is independence in the Phillipines, but it is still dominated by American imperialism and that it is necessary to fight for socialism.

This perspective goes against that of bourgeois nationalism expressed openly by MPI, most clearly in the speeches of Juan Mari Bras in New York in the past weeks, in which he has advocated the unity of all classes in Puerto Rico, an alliance with the native bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico.

By raising the struggle for socialism now in Puerto Rico, the Young Lords must confront other questions; they must face the history of workers' struggles for

(Continued On Page 12)

Calley, Nixon, & Brass Guilty

All of the right wing, anti-communist chauvinist forces from the American Legion to racist Southern politicians and big businessmen are rallying behind Lieutenant William Calley.

Calley, who once worked as a strikebreaker in Florida, was convicted this week of premeditated murder in the massacre of men, women and children in My-lai three years ago. Calley faces a sentence of death or life imprisonment.

Calley's defense from the very beginning has been funded by big business. Now rightist forces are trying to turn him into a hero and martyr to whip up a patriotic fever in the working class to divert attention from the tremendous defeat of U.S. imperialism in Laos.

While Calley may well be a scapegoat for the capitalist class, for the Pentagon and for Nixon, this does not get him off the hook. Calley is not just a rank and file G.I. He was an officer and a careerist. He has been a most faithful and outspoken servant of imperialism and its war.

It was in fact the courage of rank and file G.I.s like Meadlo and Dursi who spoke out against the massacre that brought Calley to trial. Some of these

soldiers refused to shoot at My-lai.

While Calley may be dehumanized he was perfectly conscious of what he was doing and could have stopped it.

We shed no tears over Calley. Calley is guilty. He should be punished. But it is not just Calley who should be sentenced to the gas chamber or a life of hard labor but the whole lot of imperialism's rulers from Calley's superiors, to the Pentagon, to Nixon.



No tears for Lieutenant Calley.

Nixon Imposes Freeze On Wages In Construction

BY A CONSTRUCTION WORKER

March 29—President Nixon issued an Executive order today creating the mechanisms for deepening his assault on the construction unions.

The fact that this move had been agreed to beforehand by the leadership of these unions exposes the real danger facing workers in the building trades.

The new Executive order, which Nixon issued under the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, establishes 16-18 "craft dispute boards" which will review all wage increases being negotiated now or scheduled to go into effect in the future.

Any wage increases which go beyond the order's 6% limit—and this includes basically all agreements that take place in the construction industry—will be brought before a Construction Stabilization Committee. This Committee, which will be appointed by the Secretary of Labor, will decide whether the increase

violates Nixon's "constraints" and will then determine the proper penalties.

Such a "self-regulating" system requires the collaboration of the bureaucratic leaderships of the construction unions. That was the purpose of Nixon's repeal of the Davis-Bacon Act—to maneuver the bureaucrats into a position where they could collaborate with his union-busting schemes while still being able to keep their rank and file under control. So now Nixon holds out the carrot of the Davis-Bacon Act in exchange for their willingness to accept his new Executive order.

This collaboration on the part of the union leaders with the capitalists is a blatant betrayal of the struggles of construction workers to improve their living standards. Nixon's latest order is a direct attack on these living standards.

One worker who is employed in building the World Trade Center in Manhattan told the Bulletin recently that "Nixon ought to work here a while and risk getting his head knocked off by material falling from above. Sure, we get pretty high hourly wages, but that's when we work. Right now, I'm only working two days a week and you can see that I don't bring home that much money."

VICIOUS

Most important is that the attacks on the building trades unions is only a dress rehearsal

for even more vicious attacks being prepared for the trade union movement as a whole. That is why the collaboration of the bureaucrats of these unions is so rotten. They are actually easing Nixon's path in his plans for even more deadly assaults on the unions.

This Executive order has no muscle except for what the bureaucrats themselves put into it. Nixon's strategy is clear. He fears in this period a head-on confrontation with the working class, so he relies on the aid of its leadership in the trade union movement.

So when the bureaucrats maneuver with Nixon, it is in order to cover up their tracks. They accept the reinstatement of the Davis-Bacon Act in order to use it to hide the meaning of Nixon's new Executive order which is an even more open attack on wages.

Meanwhile, 17 building trades unions have recently signed an agreement with 34 members of the National Contractors Association which calls for the abolition of "restrictive work practices": the elimination of "featherbedding," standby crews and work slow downs, and a discontinuation of overtime pay. At the same time, it permits contractors to employ non-union labor and removes all restrictions on labor-saving tools.

When the 300,000 member Building and Construction Trades Council of California called for a nationwide general strike, and when the Michigan unions called for a march on Washington, to fight against the attacks by Nixon, these unions began to show the way forward.

PARTY

Both the Democrats and the Republicans have joined in granting Nixon the power to institute a wage freeze on the working class. The most virulent Vietnam doves like Javits and McGovern now show their true interests as they unite with Buckley and Nixon in calling for this wage freeze.

A general strike of the whole of the labor movement must be called in order to defeat these attacks and to open the way for a convocation of labor to prepare the building of a labor party to unite the working class politically to defeat the capitalists.

NTU LEADERSHIP TURNS TO GIBSON

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, March 28—At a membership meeting today held in the Robert Treat Hotel, the leadership of the Newark Teachers Union brought out its "big guns" as part of an attempt to sell a new contract to the ranks.

Guest speakers at the meeting included David Selden, President of the American Federation of Teachers, a spokesman from the national AFL-CIO leadership, and F. Megaro, councilman from the North Ward.

When the bureaucrats spoke, it was to express their encouragement for the "militancy and determination" being put forward by the teachers. The spokesman from the AFL-CIO stated that the strike was not just an economic strike, but more important, it was a question of "pride."

This militancy and courage of the ranks—which certainly does exist and is a prime factor in the difficulty the bureaucrats are having selling their betrayal—is being idealized by these leaders in order to avoid the main question facing the NTU: How do you win the strike?

This they cannot answer. Instead, the NTU bureaucracy says that it is simply the determination of the ranks divorced from any strategy which will win a decent contract. Said one speaker: "If you can hold out just one week, one day, one hour, one minute longer than the Board, then you will win."

But simply holding out is not enough. It will only set the stage for demoralization unless behind it is a strategy with victory as the goal. Yet, in a leaflet printed this week, the NTU Executive Board states that "Mayor Gibson can end this strike!"

They say that they have accepted the recommendations of Jonas Silver, the New Jersey State appointed Mediator, which includes accepting binding arbitration for grievance procedures.

The NTU leaders ask Gibson to step into the strike and get the Board to accept Silver's recommendations. They end their leaflet by asking the citizens of

Newark to send telegrams to Gibson urging the mayor to aid the sellout.

For all their talk against Gibson, the NTU leaders look to him to "mediate" the dispute not to the independent mobilization of the labor movement to shut Newark down in a general strike.

The Board has refused to accept Silver's recommendations and only calls them "a basis for renewing negotiations."

SSEU Must Prepare April 21 Strike

BY AN SSEU MEMBER

NEW YORK—Talks between the City and the SSEU-371 welfare workers union have been dragging on for months since the contract deadline expired.

The talks have been a complete farce. The City has told the union point blank, that there will be no job security, no job description, and no workload clauses in the new contract.

The City, furthermore, has refused any more than a wage cut as a pay offer, and has told the union that there will be layoffs during the term of the contract.

Nevertheless, the union leadership remains at the table, discussing tertiary issues with the City. Behind this is the hope that somehow the minor issues will be gotten out of the way and they will have something to offer the membership "in the 11th hour" before the April 21 work action deadline.

Progress on these minor issues, however, has been extremely slow. This is because it is impossible to negotiate on them without an overall picture of how the City intends to reorganize the various departments, and without any union controls over reorganization.

The Hill leadership has been completely stymied before the City. Its only perspective is for

STOP PRESS—Tuesday, March 30—The Newark Board of Education suspended 347 teachers tonight as a "definite retaliation" against these striking members of the Newark Teachers Union. This action was defended by Board President Jesse Jacob as "the only alternative we have in reaching a settlement." Now a general strike is an absolute necessity.

The rank and file must demand that the NTU go back on the offensive through a real fight to bring out the labor movement in a general strike that will shut Newark down.



DEMONSTRATE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, FOR SOCIALISM WITH THE WORKERS LEAGUE
SAN FRANCISCO - WASHINGTON
APRIL 24

Local 49 Must Fight Layoffs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER
PONTIAC, March 26—The management of Pontiac State Hospital has informed its employees that it is in a very bad financial situation and that it will be trying to make the workers pay for the crisis. The workers are members of AFSCME Local 49.

Management has said that \$63,000 must be made up by July, 1971. If the problem is not solved by that time, 35 workers will be laid off, 116 employees will lose six days time each, overtime will be eliminated, or checks will be withheld until the deficit is cleared up.

The union leadership put an ad in the *Pontiac Press* saying that these attacks are grossly unfair to the working class and attacking the idea of making the workers pay for management's problems. But this is not enough. The ranks of Local 49 must be mobilized in the face of this attack and must also turn to the other AFSCME locals in the Oakland County government complex.

Only massive strike action as a show of complete class solidarity will defeat management and their vicious anti-labor plans.

Detroit Unemployed Soars, 14% Out Of Work

BY KEVIN HAZLETT
DETROIT—Mayor Gribbs told President Nixon in a statement on March 23rd that Detroit's present unemployment rate is 14%. This means that as many as 125,000 workers in Detroit may be unable to find jobs.

The figure is even higher in the poor working class sections of town, 25.4%; for youth and women it is 50%. The figures purportedly also include people who have never held a job, such as high school dropouts. The 14% figure is higher than even in January, 1962, when the rate was 11.6%.

The unemployment figures will rise sharply again when thousands of university students begin looking for summer jobs. This reporter checked out the employment offices of the big auto plants and found that most had long lists of workers already laid off and were not even accepting applications.

Gribbs told Nixon that "the situation in our cities is now far more critical than ever. One in every seven people in Detroit's work force is out of work." But merely telling the truth does not let Gribbs off the hook. He himself advocated laying off large numbers of city personnel a short

time ago. Close to 200 Detroit teachers are being laid off, plus other clerical and administrative personnel.

ROUGE

The crisis in the auto industry is hitting hard in the Detroit area. Over the past few months at the River Rouge Ford complex, 150 jobs have been eliminated in the speciality forge. Also at Rouge, last week shift 1 was laid off and this week shift 2 will be laid off. This follows on the heels of the nationwide layoffs at Ford plants when the Rouge plants were partially shut down for one week. Two weeks ago, the Wixom Ford plant laid off 3,000 men for one

week.

Governor Milliken has slashed education aid from the state, causing massive layoffs and cutbacks in school systems everywhere. In addition to the layoffs of 200 Detroit teachers, Pontiac is laying off 250, Farmington 71, Bloomfield Hills, 98, and Rochester, 66. So far 28 out of 560 school districts in Michigan are laying off teachers. Many other districts are not filling vacant positions.

One source in Pontiac said, "It is going to be next to impossible for teachers to find jobs around here." Oakland University's placement office has long lists of education majors waiting

for each school district recruiter on campus. Some graduating students have placed applications as far away as Fairbanks, Alaska in hopes of getting a job.

Not one trade union leader here has called for the unity and mobilization of labor against these attacks. Not one officer of the UAW or the teachers union has fought for the support of other sections of labor in defense of the rank and file.

The only answer the workers can have in the face of these attacks is the fight for: No Layoffs! A 30 hour week at full pay! This means a fight to mobilize the whole labor movement in a general strike.

Financial Crisis Faces Hospitals -Unions Must Plan Fight Back

BY AN 1199 MEMBER
Like a ticking time bomb, the hospital crisis deepens daily. The latest developments include the announcement that the municipal hospitals face a deficit as high as \$40 million out of a current budget of \$618 million.

On the same day the city government announced that it could no longer continue to share

with the state the cost of meeting monthly deficits of 22 of New York's largest voluntary hospitals. These hospitals (private, non-profit) have been running \$1.3 million monthly deficits on outpatient clinics run under the so-called Ghetto Medicine Plan.

Now this barely patched-together solution is coming apart and outpatient clinics in some of the biggest hospitals may be forced to close.

In their private patient operations these prestige hospitals are meeting expenses. When it comes to continuing even the present totally inadequate care for the millions in the ghettos, however, it cannot be done.

As far as the city hospitals are concerned, the new City Hospitals Corporation has reassured the public there will be no closings—just borrowing against next year's budget and continued deterioration in conditions for both workers and patients!

It is the financial crisis which is behind all the attacks on hospital workers, the harassment of militants as previously reported in the *Bulletin*, the recent struggle at Mt. Sinai Hospital, the

struggle over union recognition at Fordham Hospital and the victimization of workers who led the organizing campaign, as well as layoff threats all over the city.

The attacks and the threats become more serious every day. Up to now the Local 1199 leadership, representing more than 30,000 workers in New York, has done nothing to mobilize the workers against these attacks. The leadership has threatened strike action against any layoffs, but when it came to the attempted firing of Fordham workers it agreed to arbitration.

The first step in the fight back can be taken through a city-wide demonstration against layoffs and health care cutbacks and attacks on working conditions. A demonstration which mobilizes workers from all over the city and directs their fight against the government and hospital bosses responsible for the crisis is what is required.

Hospital workers should insist on this kind of action now, before mass layoffs, before clinic or hospital closings, before more worsening of conditions for the entire working class.

Taxi Election: A Fraud

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER
NEW YORK—Fleet taxi drivers continued to suffer through another week of low bookings, low tips and few fares since the fares were hiked. Talk of re-negotiating the contract, a wildcat strike, and a number of other job action spread throughout the garages.

What makes the drop in income tough to take, is that under the new contract, 10 cents out of the initial 60 cent drop goes into the pension and welfare plan. The driver's percentage of the meter (42% for new drivers, up to 49-50% for older drivers) begins only after this dime is extracted. For a full-time driver who averages 25 fares a day, \$2.50 is subtracted for the new pension and welfare plan.

"Some pension and welfare plan!" said one driver when he totalled up the figures. "For \$50 a month I better get sick and retire."

In another related development last week, it was revealed that Harry Van Arsdale, the prime innovator of this sellout contract, is being forced to run for elec-

tion again, as head of Local 3036. The previous election was invalidated.

Somehow, 2,000 men who were not eligible, voted, and about 1,500 men who wanted to vote, did not receive ballots. Charges of fraud brought to the attention of the Labor Department by the Taxi Drivers Action Committee proved so conclusive that the Van Arsdale leadership was forced to seek a compromise (which it got) in having the election run over again!

Tremendous opposition is building for the semi-annual spring union meeting against the 42% cut that new drives take from bookings. Since more than 50% of all drivers are part-time (this percentage is increasing) the future pattern for the industry is clear. By sacking older drivers on any pretense possible, (older drivers pull 49-50% of the meter, depending on longevity) fleet owners can realize an increased profit from the meters of 7-8%.

What is required is an all-out fight by rank and filers to overturn this sellout leadership.

ALLENDE COURTS FAVOR OF IMPERIALISM

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The coalition government of Salvador Allende in Chile is taking a sharp turn to the right. Facing mounting pressure from the United States to preserve its interests on the one hand, and from the Chilean workers and peasants to expropriate the capitalist class on the other hand, Allende is making concession after concession to the United States.

On March 26, an agreement between Bethlehem Steel and the Chilean government was announced. Rather than expropriate the iron mines owned by Bethlehem Steel in Chile, Allende bought them and agreed to give Bethlehem interest payments amounting to more than \$30 million.

Then on March 27th, in an interview reported in the *New York Times*, Allende bent over backwards to demonstrate his warm and friendly feelings for the United States.

He emphasized that he wanted nothing but "the best—the very best relations with the United States." He said Chile was a "democracy" and "will never do anything against the United States or contribute to injuring its sovereignty."

"We will never provide a military base that might be used

CARLETON PACIFISTS PUSH BINH BETRAYAL

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NORTHFIELD, MINN.—The Carleton College faculty has for more than a decade been a reliable seismograph of middle class reformism. In the more recent period many of the teachers have been in the forefront of pro-McCarthy activities in the State, have vigorously supported anti-draft agitation, and have promoted ecology, including opposition to SST, with unstinting fervor.

So it is hardly an accident that a Carleton Professor of history was one of five Minnesotans to journey to Paris recently for a "People's Peace Conference."



Salvador Allende greets American Ambassador Korry (right).

against the United States." He scoffed at the notion that the United States wanted to overthrow the Chilean government. He said "there is no United States conspiracy."

Further, Allende promised that all U.S. holdings that were nationalized would be compensated. "I simply cannot imagine that the United States government would make common cause with private enterprise on an issue like this..."

Since their return from France the housewives, clergy, and academics have been eagerly promoting the line of the "People's Peace Treaty."

While there may not be any conscious Stalinists on Carleton's campus, it is evident that their People's Front program, the very one leading to the catastrophe of fascism in Europe during the thirties, is very much alive.

Students from Carleton must join the workers and students from other schools in Washington on April 24th in a counter-demonstration called by the Workers League against this imperialist-Stalinist treachery.

After centuries of brutal exploitation by U.S. imperialism in Latin America in which the large corporations have made billions of dollars off the misery of the masses, Allende is sure that Nixon has Chile's interests at heart!

He assures the United States he will respect their sovereignty after its capitalist class has trampled all over the sovereignty of the entire continent.

Allende intends to continue Chile's membership in the Organization of American States which is nothing but a tool of imperialism's interests in Latin America.

And the man actually says he is a Marxist-Socialist! Like Castro, Allende is nothing but a bourgeois nationalist who uses Marxist phrases while accommodating himself to the capitalist countries.

Workers and peasants are on the move in Chile. Over the past months peasants have been taking over large farms despite Allende's pleas for restraint.

Allende will quickly be exposed to the Chilean masses in whose hands the future socialist revolution in Chile lies.

Editor: Lucy St. John ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

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General Strike Greets Argentine Dictator

BY PAT CONNOLLY

General Roberto Levingston, President of Argentina, was ousted on March 23 by rival military leaders led by Lieutenant General Alejandro Lanusse.

Lanusse, who was sworn in as president on the 26th, comes from one of the largest landowning and business families in Argentina.

The Levingston regime, hated by the working class, was deposed after a massive general strike in the city of Cordoba. Last week the Peronist-dominated CGT (General Labor Confederation) called a general strike of

throwing thousands out of work. Food and some consumer goods are scarce, and now the sale of beef has been prohibited for two weeks because of the scarcity—in the largest beef producing country in Latin America.

The Cordoba strike follows the general strike of May, 1969. At that time every major city in Argentina was shut down by striking workers. The regime purged the university faculties, banned student organizations and poured police onto every campus, after using troops against striking workers.

VOLCANO

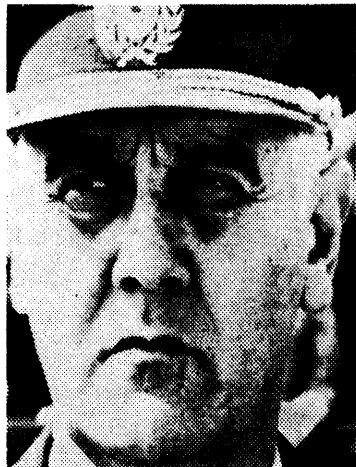
The bourgeoisie in Latin America is sitting on top of a volcano which is in the process of exploding. Not only in Argentina, but throughout Latin America, the working class has shown its willingness to fight against imperialist domination and the exploitation and oppression by the ruling class.

The new military dictatorship, like those before it, promise a return to parliamentary democracy "someday." But the Argentinian ruling class, no less than the capitalist class internationally, is thrown into crisis as it tries to maintain profits, and requires open class dictatorship to maintain itself in power. The new regime is the third in five years, as the ruling class desperately goes from one military dictator to the next, in search for the strongest arm to hold down the working class.

LEADERSHIP

The fight now facing the working class in Argentina and in all Latin America is to construct a Marxist leadership to bring the working class to power. Such a leadership must fight against all those who try to mislead and disarm the working class, like Allende of Chile, and Peron, former President of Argentina, who use "left" phrases and demagoguery to tie the working class to the native bourgeoisie and thus to capitalism and imperialism as a whole.

The fight against the military dictatorship in Argentina must be the fight for the socialist revolution, to smash imperialism and its puppet military dictators.



Strike wave brings Lanusse in.

over 10,000 workers and students. In the lead of the strike were auto workers from the huge Renault and Fiat plants in Cordoba, the most industrial city in Argentina.

The stage for the general strike was set by a ten percent increase in the cost of living over the past two months, as the workers began demanding wage increases to keep up with prices.

ARRESTED

Army troops surrounded the city as government planes flew over Cordoba searching for snipers. Police began a house to house search in the Clinicas, the student quarter, searching for "professional agitators." Over 400 workers and students were arrested.

Unemployment in Argentina is high, not just in the industrial city of Cordoba, but in provinces such as Tucuman, where major sugar refineries were closed,

Tories Ready Vietnam-Type 'Pacification' For Ulster

BY ED SMITH

The election of Brian Faulkner as the new Unionist Prime Minister of Northern Ireland will do absolutely nothing to reduce the impasse in which British imperialism finds itself in its oldest colony.

More and more the ruling Conservative Party and its Unionist affiliate find themselves torn apart between extreme right wing elements advocating the internment of working class militants, and those who wish to implement their vicious objectives by relying on the treachery of the Labor Party leadership.

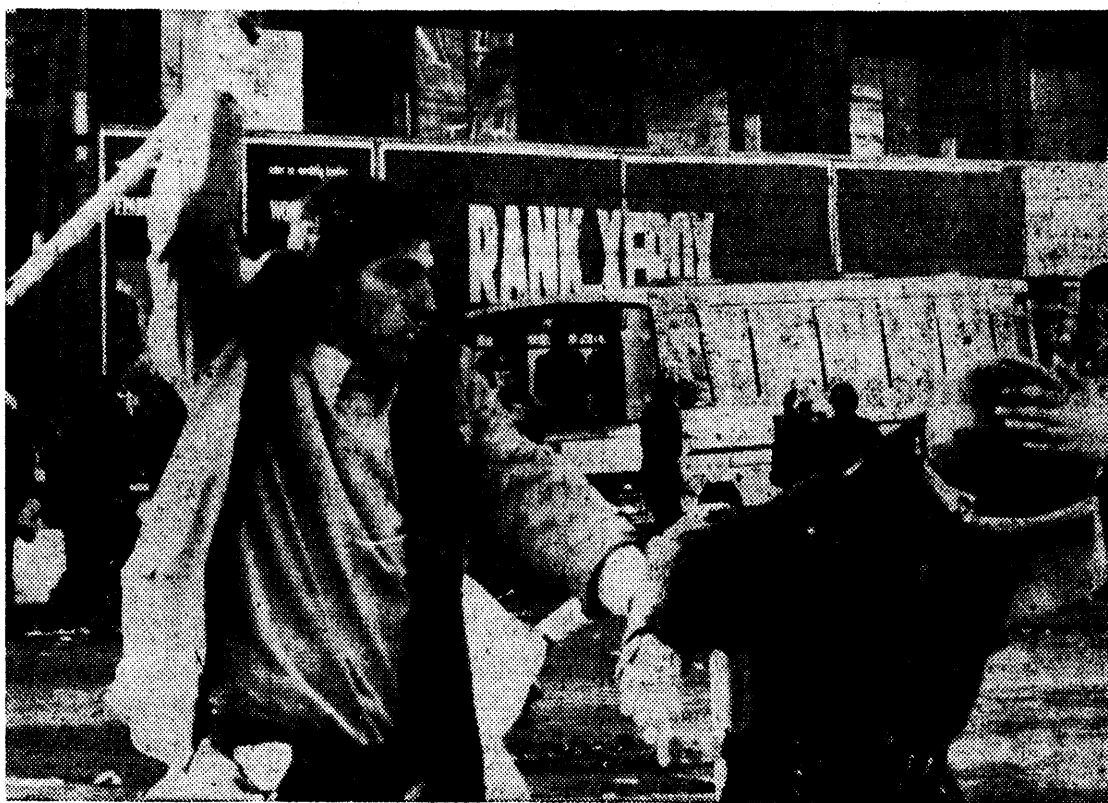
This is the reason behind the open challenge of the extreme right-winger William Craig to Faulkner, a "moderate" who stands for a "firm" policy of terror against the Catholic working class in Ulster. It is expressed in the calls by the Tory MPs for a repetition in North Ireland of the bloody "pacification" of Malaysia by British

troops in 1948. In other words the Tory right wing is proposing to transfer the methods of Viet Nam—"resettlement," village burning, and terror—to the British Isles.

The Heath government hesitates before such an all out terror policy, but like Nixon in Laos, Heath for the moment feels he has no alternative to continuing on his present course and hoping for the best. In the face of an open split among his supporters, Heath finds his strongest point of support for his repression among the Labour leadership.

WAR

"Labour's shadow cabinet, which met last night, had no quarrel at all with Mr. Heath's statement" commented the Tory Daily Telegraph. Labour leader James Callaghan and Party Secretary Sir Harry Nicholas, in fact, have made a tour of North Ireland precisely to push Heath's



Enraged farmer beats policeman during demonstration against Common Market in Brussels.

Angry Farmers Storm Brussels Protest Common Market Attacks

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Eighty thousand angry farmers from all over Western Europe stormed into Brussels last week to protest the plans of the Common Market to drive them out of existence.

In an explosion of fury and desperation the huge march poured through the streets of the Belgian capital, smashing windows and burning street cars. Any cop foolish enough to interfere was quickly dealt with. The farmers immediately beat up and slashed the throat of a policeman who had shot and killed one of the farmers.

EFFIGIES

Effigies were burned of Common Market officials such as Dr. Mansholt, the man in charge of the Market's agricultural policies. The week before hundreds of Dutch farmers drove their tractors into West Germany, many of them decked out with gallows.

The capitalists are now faced not only with a revolutionary up-

surge among the working class but among the small farmers as well.

The decision of the Common Market officials in Belgium following the demonstration was to fight it out to the finish. They rejected the farmers' central demand for a 15% price increase to keep up with inflation and offered only 4%.

STAGNATION

The Common Market was established to pull Europe out of its economic stagnation by attempting to unify all agriculture and industry throughout Western Europe. The capitalist class of Europe, faced with tremendous competition from the United States was essentially trying to overcome one of the essential features of capitalism, the boundaries of the nation states which hold the productive forces back. To do this they have been forced to modernize all enterprises by increasing their productivity and profits.

In industry this has meant the Industrial Relations Bill in England and other laws to destroy the organized resistance of the workers and to throw millions of workers out of work.

In agriculture, the small farmers who cannot invest huge sums of money to modernize their farms must be driven out. The bourgeoisie, now in its deepest crisis, is no longer willing to pay subsidies to farmers who

cannot produce large quantities of goods at low prices.

Dr. Mansholt has said he aims to reduce the numbers of small farmers by 50% by 1980.

To make his contempt for their future even clearer Mansholt is offering them a yearly pension of \$600 if they will leave the farms and seek jobs in the city. Mansholt knows very well that they can neither live on \$600 a year nor find jobs in the cities where skilled workers are already on the unemployment lines.

SOCIALIST

The European bourgeoisie seeks to unite economically and politically to crush the struggles of the workers and peasants. This is the real program of the Common Market.

These plans cannot and will not succeed. The workers and farmers will not submit passively to their own destruction. The capitalist countries cannot eliminate the rivalry and competition which is now intensifying between them.

Only the working class can unite the oppressed of all the countries of the world through the fight for the socialist revolution.

The road to victory for the farmers lies in allying their struggle with the working class of Europe for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the United Socialist States of Europe.

Nixon-Agnew Prepare For Media Censorship

BY MARTY JONAS

The increasing pressure from the White House on the television medium threatens to open the way to government censorship of the press.

As the Laos invasion began to turn into a rout early in March President Nixon accused TV of carrying on a "drumbeat of suggestion" that the U.S. and ARVN troops were losing.

Then a couple of weeks later, Agnew came out in a series of attacks on CBS-TV, specifically on a TV documentary called "The Selling of the Pentagon." The documentary demonstrated the techniques of lying used by the Pentagon. Agnew was joined in

his attacks by House Armed Services Chairman F. Edward Hebert. Hebert has promised an investigation of the TV program.

Dick Cavett, after great pressure from the President's office, was forced to give a good portion of time on his late night TV talk show to a staunch proponent of the SST.

These moves toward muzzling of the press open the door to Bonapartism in the United States. Government censorship, along with surveillance and detention camps are the conditions which the ruling class must have in order to wage civil war against the working class.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

Join Workers League Rally On April 24th

The puppet troops of the South Vietnamese army have been thrown out of Laos and are in disorderly retreat. American positions in the Khesanh area are under heavy bombardment. The Vietnamese workers and peasants have delivered hammer blows to imperialism. They have once again shown us the way to carry forward the struggle against our common enemy, the rulers of this nation and the world.

What the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and all other so-called radical groups are doing is exactly the opposite. They are proposing to turn the massive opposition to the war and to Nixon's attacks on workers here into a rally IN SUPPORT of the very ruling class which perpetrates these crimes addressed by leading spokesmen of this class. Now it is announced that leading Democratic spokesmen, Senators Hartke and McGovern, will address the April 24th rally organized by NPAC. The SMC and SWP beg Democratic leader Edmund Muskie to join with them!

The Workers League will not accept this situation. We base ourselves on the movement of the workers in Southeast Asia and the interests of workers in the United States and in the rest of the world. We will give no support whatsoever to this official rally around the liberal capitalists. We urge all class conscious workers and militants to refuse to give any support, in any way, in any form, to this rally.

The Workers League is organizing its own rally to carry forward the struggle around a program which represents the interests of the working people. Neither Hartke nor McGovern will speak on our platform—not even a dogcatcher from either of the two parties of capitalism.

We say openly and plainly to all political tendencies in the United States, all trade unionists, all minority militants, all students and youth. Only the betrayers of the working class will mount that NPAC platform on April 24th. Do not place a single foot on that platform nor bring one body in front of it.

You are all, all welcome to stand on our platform. You are free to present from our platform any views you wish to present. We ask only that you be of our class, of the exploited, of the discriminated against, and that you give no support whatever to the capitalist class, its politicians and its system.

We will be going to Washington and San Francisco around the following program:

- U.S. OUT OF SOUTHEAST ASIA NOW! We denounce the fraud of proposing "immediate withdrawal" and then tacking on that Nixon must "set the date" for the completion of the withdrawal. The U.S. must either get out right this minute or be thrown out just as the South Vietnamese were thrown out of Laos.

- FOR A GENERAL STRIKE OF LABOR AND STUDENTS AGAINST NIXON'S WAR, ANTI-LABOR LAWS, INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, RACISM AND REPRESSION! Middle class marches, parades and picnics will not stop this war. Only the class action of the working class can stop it.

- FOR AN ASSEMBLY OF LABOR, YOUTH AND MINORITIES TO CONSTRUCT A LABOR PARTY DEDICATED TO PEACE AND FULL EMPLOYMENT THROUGH NATIONALIZATION OF BASIC INDUSTRY! We must take up the fight now to remove from power those who perpetrate the war and the attacks on workers and youth. This is why we must demand that the trade unions convoke a general assembly of all working class organizations, all student organizations, all representatives of the minority workers to establish a new party, a labor party based on the trade unions but representing the working class as a whole.

- VICTORY TO THE NLF! FOR A SOCIALIST AMERICA! The Vietnamese are not our enemies but the enemy of our enemy—the rulers of America. Their victory will mean a defeat for our enemy and a victory for us. It will strengthen us in our struggle for a socialist America. Only a socialist America can bring about a peaceful world through a world socialist society.

THE CHOICE ON APRIL 24TH IS EITHER MCGOVERN-HARTKE OR THE WORKERS LEAGUE—EITHER CAPITALISM AND WAR OR SOCIALISM AND PEACE. JOIN US!



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

revolutionary party cannot be built for if it is just shaped by the present it will be torn apart by the totally different situation in the future.

It is with this understanding of these two points that we go forward with our 16 page paper. The development of the paper first of all allows us to take forward the theoretical struggle for Trotskyism against Stalinism and revisionism. This task takes on a new urgency as these tendencies are thrown into the sharpest crisis while at the same time at any moment we ourselves will be faced with the task of leadership on a mass scale while the Stalinists with the aid of revisionism will become absolutely necessary to the preservation of capitalism.

At the same time we must proceed with the perspective of developing the Bulletin into a mass paper read by hundreds of thousands and leading millions. The sharp revolutionary leap which stands before us internationally and here not only requires this but will make it possible. We must prepare this as well by extending the paper TODAY as deeply into the new

layers of the working class and youth as we can. By fighting under current conditions of struggle at all times with the perspective of the revolutionary confrontation in the making we can prepare for the mass paper and the mass revolutionary party.

What is required by the coming qualitative leap in the objective situation and the relationship of classes is above all a qualitative leap in the theoretical development of the revolutionary party. This however cannot come out of nothing. It must come from the development of the Bulletin, its theoretical penetration into the crisis of centrism and Stalinism, its penetration into the American labor movement through the struggle to lead the American working class today, its penetration into the revolutionary layers of working class youth and students.

In the recently published Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36), Trotsky makes two critical points about the development of a mass paper. First, that the development of a mass paper is the most difficult challenge to a party from the point of view of theory.

"A mass paper is distinguished

from a theoretical review or from an organ of cadres not by the slogans but by the manner in which they are presented. The cadre newspaper unfolds for its readers all the processes of the Marxist analysis. The mass paper only presents its results basing itself at the same time on the immediate experience of the masses themselves. It is far more difficult to write in a Marxist manner for the masses than it is to write for cadres."

The mass paper then must not just simply be an instrument of propaganda but an agitator and organizer of the class; it must be a living instrument of revolutionary change.

In producing a mass paper we will not water down or "simplify" our slogans or program because they are "too complicated" or advanced. This is the second point Trotsky makes: "The mass is not homogeneous. It develops. It feels the pressure of events. It will accept tomorrow what it will not accept today."

In building a mass paper we will not cease our attacks on the betrayers of the working class, on Stalinism, revisionism and nationalism. In fact we seek this struggle as the central one in developing our strategy and penetrating the working class. Arguing against the centrists who saw themselves and the mass paper "above the fight," Trotsky remarked: "If there are true and false tendencies, then the workers must be made to distinguish among them. They must be called upon to join the correct tendency to fight the false."

We will utilize all the history of the defeats and victories of the working class to bring this understanding forward.

The movement of the working class has thrown the nationalists, the Stalinists and revisionists into a deep crisis as they attempt to head off the developments. It is their fear of the working class, of Trotskyism, and its weapon, the Bulletin, that is behind MPI's hooligan attacks to try to physically prevent the Workers League from selling the Bulletin. It is the Bulletin's fight for the only alternative against capitalism and its ruthless exposure of those who mislead the workers and youth that they fear.

This 16 page paper is a warning to these forces. We will not be silenced! You will not be allowed to perpetrate your betrayals, to lead the working class and youth into defeat.

Build Bulletin Subscription Drive

BY BRIDGET ELLIOT

With this new expanded issue, the Bulletin once again takes the lead in the fight for socialism in North America. Coupled with this brand new format, structure and expanded content is a massive campaign to expand our circulation to 10,000 by September.

Concurrently with the expansion of the Bulletin, we have launched a subscription drive to get 2,000 new subs by May 15th. We have already received over 400 subs towards our goal.

Since September 12, 1964, when it appeared as a mimeographed biweekly, the Bulletin has been at the forefront of the deepening class struggle.

With the fight for this paper and its expansion we make the struggle for revolutionary leadership our central task.

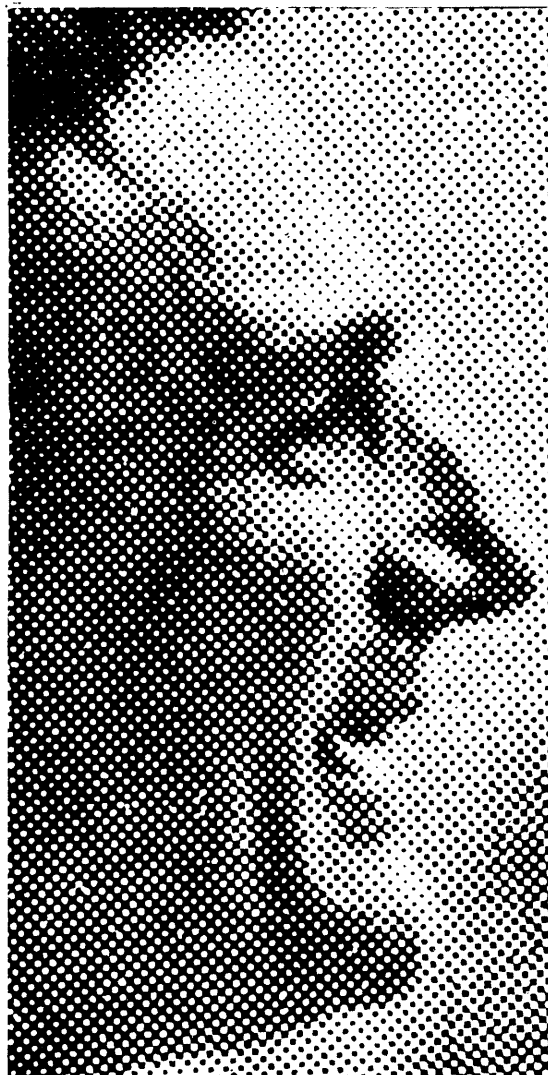
With this issue we are beginning a very important series on Ernest Mandel. Future issues will include a series on the history of the Black Panther Party by Li'l Joe and the crisis inside Progressive Labor Party by Lucy

St. John. In addition to the West Coast News, News from Canada, and a cultural section, we are expanding our international news coverage and preparing to publish regularly a page in Spanish.

Because of the pressures of inflation and our desire to improve the Bulletin in both its form and content we are raising its price to 15 cents. The subscription rates of \$1.00 for a 6 month introductory sub, \$3.00 for a year, \$1.50 for 6 months renewal will remain the same.

The sixteen page paper would not have been made possible without the backing we have received from our readers and supporters. We are confident that this support will grow in this period.

We urge all our readers and supporters to join the campaign to build the circulation of the Bulletin in your area, to sell subscriptions in your shops, schools and communities. In this way we will not only meet our goal of 2,000 by May 15th but go well over it.



Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

Introduction

ERNEST MANDEL IS the leader of the international Pabloite movement, the revisionist split off from the Trotskyist movement organized in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." The Socialist Workers Party in the United States rejoined the Pabloites in 1963.

At the time of the last international congress of the United Secretariat, the leadership of the SWP found itself at loggerheads with Mandel over the issue of the planned liquidation of the Latin American sections into OLAS. Today Ernest Mandel's theories are being brought full square into the American Pabloite movement. These theories are being used by the leadership of the SWP as a bludgeon against those in the SWP-YSA who are today echoing with much force the call issued at the time of that congress for a return to the road of Trotskyism.

This is the meaning of the fact that at the YSA National Conference held in December 1970, Ernest Mandel was dragged into the main political resolution in the form of an unprecedented statement re-

ferring to "today's neo-capitalist society."

What is reflected in this statement is that the SWP, now in a sharp turn to the right, is prepared to go over more openly than ever before to all the extreme positions and formulations of Mandel.

This is why we feel a re-examination of Mandel and his relationship to the whole development of Pabloism is very much in order at this time.

DIALECTICS

What has fundamentally characterized Mandel, and Pabloism in general, has been the inability to develop dialectical materialism against idealist methods of thinking, particularly pragmatism and empiricism. This has been shown consistently throughout the seventeen year struggle by the International Committee of the Fourth International against Pabloism.

Because of their refusal to take up the questions of dialectics, Mandel and the Pabloites found themselves prostrate before the apparent restabilization of capitalism during the postwar boom and before the Stalinist and bureaucratic forces in the working class that drew strength from this apparent stability. This prostration and adaptation to the bureaucratic forces took, in particular, the form of the liquidation of Trotskyist parties.

Mandel himself has played the leading role in developing the theoretical justifications for the headlong retreat of Pabloism from Marxism. This is the meaning of his theories of neo-capitalism, the third industrial revolution, the new working class and structural reform.

Armed with these theories, Mandel has emerged as the chief apologist for a whole string of betrayals of the working class movement for which he and his Pabloite co-thinkers must bear responsibility. Mandel capitulated to Stalinism in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and to the petty

bourgeois nationalists in Algeria and Cuba. He played a key role in the defeat of the 1961 Belgian General Strike and in the liquidation of the largest section of the Trotskyist movement into the bourgeois coalition of Madame Bandaranaike in Ceylon in 1963. He provided the cover for the French Pabloites' criminal adaptation to student power in the May-June events.

He supported Dubček in the Czech uprising of 1968. These are only the most outstanding of these betrayals. Today the liquidation of the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat into OLAS is contemplated at a time when Castro is moving very swiftly into the arms of US imperialism.

CONTRADICTIONS

Since 1968, however, a new situation has opened up. This situation is characterized by the surfacing of all the contradictions of the capitalist system which built up underneath the apparent stability of the boom period. What we now see is the intense world financial crisis, raging out of control and threatening a collapse even more disastrous than the fall of 1929. Flowing from this crisis is a tremendous deepening of the class struggle internationally posing before the working class the choice between fascism and socialist revolution. This crisis deepens as well the crisis of Stalinism and all those bureaucratic agents of capital that fed off the boom.

This crisis lays the basis for cutting the ground out from under the feet of Pabloism and, in particular, the theories of Mandel exposing these theories, which have been based upon the belief in the permanency of the boom, as a complete fraud.

The destruction of Pabloism and the theories of Mandel, however, will not simply occur spontaneously with the development of the class struggle. Unless a conscious practical and theoretical struggle is waged

against Pabloism, it can emerge, as it already has, as a powerful handmaiden to Stalinism and will actually lead the working class into another historic defeat more disastrous than that of the 1930's.

DEVELOPMENT

To the forces who are impelled by the sharpened objective situation to turn towards Trotskyism, including those within the United Secretariat, we say that in the fight against Pabloism there must not be simply another empirical rejection of the false theories of Mandel and Pablo. Such a rejection can be neither permanent nor can it provide the basis for the theoretical development of Marxists.

This is the lesson of the turn of the SWP back to Pablo and Mandel after breaking with them empirically in 1953.

What is required in the new situation is for those new forces looking for the road to Trotskyism to undertake the fight undertaken by the International Committee from 1953 onward to understand from the standpoint of Marxist philosophy the real source of the revision of Marxism which lies at the heart of Pabloism.

CORRECT

This is no mere historical exercise. It is only through the sharpest fight against the presence and influence of bourgeois methods of thought inside the working class movement itself that dialectical materialism can be developed and the movement prepared for the correct orientation in each new situation.

Thus it is not just the past struggle against Mandel, but the fight to deepen that struggle today that inoculates the movement against Mandel's method and thereby makes possible the construction of mass revolutionary parties. This is above all a daily theoretical battle against those very pressures to which Pablo and Mandel succumbed.

1 The Method of Ernest Mandel

ERNEST MANDEL'S HOSTILITY and opposition to dialectical materialism finds expression in everything he writes, says or does. This hostility to dialectics, however, finds one of its most explicit expressions in the introductory chapter of his major work, *Marxist Economic Theory*. In this introduction Mandel makes the following definition of the Marx-

ist method as he conceives it:

"The Marxist method is moreover inconceivable except as an integration of dialectical rationalism with empirical (and practical) grasping of facts." (1)

This definition should really be branded across the forehead of Mandel and all those who adhere to him. It represents not only the essence of Mandel's whole rejection of dialectical materialism, and therefore Marxism, but it expresses the method by

which Mandel himself proceeds. KANT

Mandel's integration of dialectical rationalism, empiricism and pragmatism places him philosophically squarely in the camp of Kant and the modern schools of bourgeois philosophy all of which emanate from Kant. In fact it was Kant who integrated the French rationalism of Descartes and the empiricism of Bacon and Locke. In so doing, he came up with the dualist philosophical outlook that underlies all bourgeois thinking and which dialectical materialism is at war against.

Rationalism, dialectical or otherwise,

together with empiricism and pragmatism are all idealist and bourgeois methods of thinking. No integration or any other combination of the three will add up to the dialectical materialist method upon which Marxism is based.

What is involved in Mandel's method which he tries to pass off as dialectics, is the typical procedure of bourgeois science. You collect an abundance of empirical or even practical data and then either construct or find ready made a model, a rationalist schema to fit onto it and thereby explain the data.

This, of course, is a completely idealist way of proceeding and builds a barrier

to a correct understanding of the objective world. It does so in the following way.

FACTS

By beginning with empiricism, with an "empirical grasping of facts," one is capable of grasping only what Marx called the "imaginary concrete." Empiricism is capable only of arriving at a chaotic picture of the whole, a mass of highly complex and therefore nearly worthless abstractions at the level of appearance. Empiricism as a method is unable to grasp the fundamental processes which underly appearance and determine it.

It in no way deepens our understanding of reality or brings us closer to it to impose upon these facts a rationalist schema originating in someone's head in scholastic fashion. Mandel's talk of dialectical rationalism in this regard is nothing more than the crude impositions of triads upon reality that Marx and Engels attacked as a common distortion of the dialectical method.

ESSENCE

On the contrary, dialectical materialism rather than imposing theory in a formal way on reality from without, penetrates into reality through appearance, i.e. the level of fact, to the level of essence, grasping the underlying contradictory processes of which fact itself is just a momentary expression.

Theory, dialectics is thus not as Mandel conceives it—a property of mind separate from the material world which we impose on the facts. It is actually a reflection in the mind, albeit in an abstract way, i.e. through a series of abstractions, of the material world itself. As such it is completely hostile to Mandel's method of combining empiricism and pragmatism with rationalist schematism.

It is this combination of schematism and empiricism, however that dominates Mandel's whole method of procedure in his two volume Marxist Economic Theory.

In Volume I Mandel makes a routine recapitulation of the basic economic categories as presented in *Capital* by Marx. Mandel's contribution is to embellish Marx's categories with an abundance of factual data. His pretense for this is to demonstrate statistically, to buttress up Marx, proving the correctness of Marx on the basis of data culled from contemporary science.

SCHEMA

Thus *Capital* is turned into an idealist schema onto which Mandel appends a wealth of superfluous factual data. By proceeding in this way Mandel completely distorts the fundamental principles laid down in *Capital*.

In Volume II Mandel proceeds with the same method only here the schema of neo-capitalism replaces that of *Capital*.

Here is how Mandel actually explains his procedure.

"The scientifically correct position is obviously that which endeavors to start from the empirical data of the science of today in order to examine whether or not the essence of Marx's economic propositions remains valid."⁽²⁾

Mandel not only proposes to test *Capital* empirically against the "science of today" but to actually reconstruct it.

"What we seek to show is that it is possible, on the basis of the scientific data of contemporary science, to reconstitute the whole economic system of Karl Marx."⁽³⁾

Perhaps the best example of what Mandel has in mind by this talk of empirically validating or reconstituting Marx is the following statement made in a footnote in this introduction:

"Several writers notably Francois Perroux have frequently declared that the laws of capitalist development discovered by Marx have never been demonstrated by observation or by means of statistical data.... We try in this book to show that this is not so...."⁽⁴⁾

BANKRUPT

This is, of course, completely bankrupt. The basic laws of capitalism uncovered by Marx reflect the essence of capitalism and are in no case immediately verifiable on the surface, on the level of appearance by recourse to statistical data. They operate in a contradictory way. They are often suspended for whole periods by the operation of contradictory laws so far as the appearance of capitalist society is concerned. This was precisely the case through the whole period of postwar economic boom.

The real fact of the matter is that the "science of today," i.e. the empirical facts, what Mandel calls the "raw material of all science," cannot provide the basis or starting point for objective science.



Ernest Mandel (left) at Liege looks over forces of International Committee. He developed his revisionist theories as a weapon against real movement of Trotskyism.

The facts of capitalist society are conditioned by and are products of capitalist society itself. Any science that takes them as its starting point, as does all bourgeois science, "the science of today," rather than the underlying contradictory processes that both determine and provide the basis for the transformation and overthrow of capitalist society, is subjective. Such science stands with both feet firmly implanted in capitalist society and serves as an apology for capitalism. It cannot be objective.

Such science therefore cannot be revolutionary. It can only reflect and thus defend the existing reality. It is unable to probe to the way in which reality changes and cannot become a factor in the transformation of reality.

HOSTILE

Marxism is hostile to this. Marx did not, as Mandel tries to suggest with some clever text-juggling in this introduction, proceed with two different methods, empiricism and rationalism, first collecting empirical facts and then dialectically presenting them.

Mandel does not understand what Marx meant in the passage he paraphrases in his introduction about the necessity to analyze the concrete into its abstract relationships so as to reconstitute the concrete. Marx does not accept the concrete, the imaginary concrete, as his starting point.

Marx did not accept as the starting point in *Capital* the economic categories—wages, profit, rent—as they appeared on the surface to bourgeois political economy and then develop a rationalist schema to explain them. On the contrary he was able to subject these facts, so to speak, of capitalist economy to a dialectical, critical analysis and actually break up the surface appearance to show that these categories and capitalist relations were not what they appeared to be.

To say that we must begin with facts, with the concrete, is true—in the sense that it is necessary to actually grapple and subject to analysis the concrete and in the sense that the path of consciousness proceeds from the concrete to the abstract. But Mandel has something entirely different in mind. He begins with the facts in the manner of the empiricist, that is, as objective reality, what he can accept as real. Theory, dialectics becomes a method of formally arranging this reality rather than grasping its internal contradictions and movement.

Mandel, as we will see, is completely hostile to the idea that there is more to reality than appearance, that abstractions are, as Lenin points out in the *Philosophic Notebooks*, more real than the so-called facts. Thus Mandel despite all his formally correct quotes and references to Marx on questions of method is completely

dominated by an opposite method.

Not only would Mandel be hard pressed to make good on his arrogant scheme of reconstituting *Capital* with this method but with this method it could never have been produced in the first place by Marx.

BOURGEOIS

Mandel's most open admission of his agreement with the bourgeoisie on the question of philosophy and method is made at the end of the introduction to *Marxist Economic Theory*. Here Mandel anticipates a hypothetical objection that might be raised in relation to his method:

"It will be said that though he has certainly based himself on empirical data of contemporary science, he has done so selectively. He has chosen the data which fit into his preconceived system, and not all the data."⁽⁵⁾

Mandel's answer to this charge is to in fact admit that this is indeed his method and to defend it as scientifically sound. What is truly amazing, is that he summons to his defense (in a footnote) a series of bourgeois scientists in order to quote their opinions on the question of scientific method. We get for example, the opinion of two economists, Edey and Peacock, who have the following to say:

"The facts with which we are concerned in most fields of knowledge are many in number and exhibit great complexity in their relationships one with another. ...It seems to be the natural reaction of the human mind in such circumstances to classify, with varying degrees of precision depending upon the man and the nature of the problem, the relevant facts and relationships into a sufficiently small number of categories for them to be comprehended... after which they can be used as a basis of judgments about the nature of the world. ..."⁽⁶⁾

What is being advocated here is a completely subjective and pragmatic method. Mandel quotes this tripe in defense of what he conceives to be the scientific method. What is revealed is that Mandel stands in complete solidarity with the bourgeoisie on questions of philosophy and method.

In fact the only danger or threat Mandel recognizes to proceeding scientifically is the deliberate suppression (or falsification) of experiments and observations, so as to deny "phenomenon which do not fit into the schema."⁽⁷⁾

Mandel never grasps that there is anything wrong with the "schema" method. He denies that there is a philosophical conflict between Marxism and the bourgeoisie which has a direct impact upon every concrete, practical and theoretical problem.

CLASS

There are for Mandel not two distinct

class methods; there is only the scientific method. It is as if the 100 year struggle by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky for dialectical materialism against the idealist philosophy of the capitalist class had never taken place. Mandel's agreement with the bourgeoisie on questions of philosophy leads him to play a specific class role.

The appearance this takes in the introduction of his *Marxist Economic Theory* is that of a petty bourgeois free lance Marxist economist, pandering to bourgeois academic circles. He seeks to introduce Marxism into these circles by transforming it into the empirical-statistical-practical science that their pragmatic thinking demands.

Mandel goes so far as to actually imply that the Keynesians, the followers of Berle and even reactionaries like Raymond Aaron can be won over to Marxism if it is only put on the sound footing that Mandel's book purports to do. Mandel makes the absurd claim that bourgeois economics is no longer apologetic in character and that it is wrong to see the resistance to Marxism in academic circles as having material class roots.

PETTY BOURGEOISIE

In the latter part of the footnote already quoted in part above concerning Mandel's contention that the basic laws of *Capital* can be statistically proved, Mandel says the following:

"We are curious to know whether the official economists will be able to refute the material that we have brought together in this connection, or if they will go declaring dismissively that 'Marx is out of date,' thus revealing the same lack of scientific rigor as the pseudo-Marxists who confine themselves to repairing figures and examples from the last century."

Without going into here all that is implied in this statement, it is important to understand that this position of the petty bourgeoisie seeking to win the middle class to Marxism is really an inverted form of Mandel's real objective role.

This role far from winning the petty bourgeoisie to Marxism is one of defending the theories of the petty bourgeoisie, like Keynesianism, within the working class movement by giving them the dress, as only Mandel the renegade from Trotskyism can, of orthodox Marxism.

This is the real meaning of his defense of pragmatism, empiricism, and idealism in the name of dialectics. This is the real meaning of his attacks on Marxism contained in his explication of each of its fundamental points and particularly of his whole theory of neo-capitalism.

It is not at all with Mandel a question of the inadequate defense of Marxism or conciliation with bourgeois theories. Those who proceed with and defend the method of the bourgeoisie actually serve it as a class by distorting and carrying its theories into the working class.

As we have already noted Volume I of *Marxist Economic Theory* is largely devoted to a routine (and most importantly completely distorted) recapitulation of

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch 1: Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

First Edition of *Capital*



Mandel's reaction to Hungarian Revolution (above) like Czech events was revisionist.



"Congratulations on winning the Nobel Prize, Mr. Samuelson."

Not only Samuelson but Mandel stands on basis of Keynes and bourgeois method.

Capital embellished by attempts to validate it by recourse to a mountain of empirical data.

Volume II is devoted to a study of monopoly capitalism, imperialism, the Soviet economy, socialism and in particular those phenomena which Mandel has come to include under the heading of "neo-capitalism."

FUNDAMENTAL

Mandel's empirical approach in Volume I and his other writings on the fundamentals of Marxist economics leads him inevitably to an actual attack upon the fundamental principles of Marxism. This assault on fundamentals finds finished expression in his theory of neo-capitalism.

We will take as an example two laws or principles which are essential to a correct understanding of Capital and in particular, to a correct understanding of the present development of the world economy—the labor theory of value and the falling rate of profit.

Mandel attacks the labor theory of value by throwing out the very discovery, the category abstract labor, that made it possible for Marx to place the labor theory of value at the center of his analysis of the capitalist economy.

Here is what Mandel says about the labor theory of value. Here is how Mandel seeks to establish its validity:

"The labor theory of value can be demonstrated empirically even if only in the sense that in the last analysis, all the elements of the cost of production of a commodity tend to be reduced to labor and to labor alone if one goes back far

enough in the analysis." (9)

NOTHING

But this is completely beside the point. It is not a matter of proving the labor theory of value in any case. To state that all commodities are reducible to labor in the "last analysis" is to say nothing; many bourgeois economists would agree.

It was one thing to show, as did Adam Smith and others, that the law of value operated in primitive society. Here the organic relationship between labor and the appropriation of its product had not yet been broken as it was in capitalist society. The task posed to Marx was to show that beneath the appearance in capitalist society the same law of value which operated in primitive society operated under capitalism but in a more complex way.

ABSTRACT

It was only through probing the problem from the standpoint of dialectics that Marx was able to solve this task. Marx accomplished this through the discovery of the category—abstract labor—which he showed was actually the substance of value itself. With this category Marx was then able to show how the law of value operated. It operated not in a way immediately apparent on the surface but through a continual deviation of price from value and through a constantly equalizing process of over and under production. Marx was able to show, therefore, that the law of value stood at the very center of the operation of capitalism.

Without the category of abstract labor one cannot establish the relation of the

law of value or the validity of the labor theory of value in relation to capitalism. This is why Mandel's attack on the conception becomes a challenge to the labor theory of value itself.

Mandel's sharpest attack on the category abstract labor is made in his pamphlet "An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory."

PROOFS

In this pamphlet Mandel, like a real scholastic, posits the existence of three proofs of the labor theory of value. We have already cited the first which Mandel calls the "analytical proof." Another is similar to the first in that it is an empirical proof based upon the hypothetical elimination of living labor in a future fully automated society and the consequent elimination of value. He calls this the "proof by reduction to the absurd."

Marx's own explication of the question, what Mandel terms the "logical proof," was that the only thing that commodities have in common that provides the basis for their equation and exchange, is their character of all being products of and receptacles of a certain quantity of abstract labor, a certain quantity of congealed labor time. What is significant is that it is this conception that Mandel basically rejects.

Here is what Mandel says: "Marx's reasoning here is both abstract and difficult and is at least subject to questioning...."

"Is the fact that all commodities are produced by abstract human labor really the only quality which they have in common, apart from their natural qualities? There are not a few writers who thought they had discovered others. In general (my emphasis—D.O.), however, these have always been reducible either to physical qualities or to the fact that they are products of abstract labor." (10)

By asserting that Marx on this most fundamental question is at least subject to questioning and then to declare that attempts to actually overthrow Marx on this point have only been in general unsuccessful, Mandel reveals himself not simply as a sceptic but an outright opponent of Marx on this issue.

What is clear is that Mandel is a total prisoner of the conception that only what is subject to empirical measurement, either actually or hypothetically as in the case of his two proofs, is real. For Mandel what is abstract is unreal, metaphysical.

Thus it is on the fundamental question of abstract labor as the actual substance of value that Mandel is at loggerheads with Marx. This is also not just a proof, as Mandel the metaphysician imagines, but the reflection of a real material historical process in which labor in the concrete is actually transformed into undifferentiated labor in real society.

Inevitably his whole presentation, by disparaging the significance of this, serves to hack away and undermine the foremost pillar of Marxist economics.

In the concluding chapter to Marxist Economic Theory, Mandel again tries to explain why the labor theory of value is needed. From his explanation we can get an even more distinct picture of the empirical and pragmatic way in which he conceives the labor theory of value and theoretical propositions in general.

"Why," Mandel asks, "should we seek some mysterious 'intrinsic value' echo of the old natural price lying behind actual market prices? What does the labor theory of value add to the concrete analysis of capitalist phenomenon?" (11)

SIMPLE

Here is Mandel's answer: "The endeavor to find a simple category which provides the ultimate explanation of the structure or internal logic of phenomenon is not a mere intellectual exercise. It is the way in which scientific thinking proceeds in all fields of knowledge. Chemists try to reduce all substances to molecular structure. Physicists reduce molecules to atomic structures made up of electrons or other infinitely tiny particles. Linguistics has become a science with the discovery of its constituent elements (phonemes). Every discipline which declines to look for comparatively simple elements behind apparent forms dooms itself to pure empiricism, remains confined to the surface of things, and is incapable of grasping them in their process of development.

"By discovering this constituent element, value, economic science becomes possessed of a key for the solving of a number of practical problems." (12)

The practical problems to which Mandel refers include "the calculation of national income and the study of possibilities of economic development, above all for the

underdeveloped countries." (13) He later on attacks the Marginalist theory because it cannot be empirically demonstrated and particularly because it is useless to the capitalists in determining prices and output and giving general guidance to the economy.

It is in this sense that Mandel concludes that:

"In science, any refusal to face fundamental theoretical problems always has to be paid for. The 'utility' of keeping the labor theory of value, that is, of a coherent economic system forming a whole, is thus fully demonstrated." (14)

WRONG

Everything is wrong with this statement. In the first place Mandel's attempt to equate the category, value, with the discovery of molecules or atomic particles and phonemes shows again that he is incapable of anything but an empirical conception of Marx's categories and cannot at all grasp the meaning of abstractions.

The only process that Mandel recognizes as scientific is the process of reducing complex physical phenomena to their simpler constituent elements by an ever more rigorous empirical approach. Mandel's conception that the way to determine the value of a commodity is through a rigorous dissection of the commodity into its constituent prices of production flows directly from this.

In point of fact, however, value is an abstraction. The relationship between price and value is the relationship not between molecules and atoms—the complex and the simple on the level of appearance—but between the concrete and the abstract, appearance and essence. It is this which Mandel's example directly denies.

Mandel does not understand that Marxism is not an exact science but a science of the general laws of development of all phenomena. These general laws are reflected in men's minds in a series of theoretical abstractions. These abstractions are, in fact, more real and express reality in a more fundamental way than any factual statement however quantitatively precise about surface, concrete, phenomena.

Lenin makes the following point in relation to abstraction in his Philosophical Notebooks:

"Thought proceeding from the concrete to the abstract—provided it is correct... does not get away from truth but comes closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short all scientific... abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly, and completely." (15)

This is what Mandel denies, and this is why he can neither grasp the law of value nor capital as a whole.

The second part of Mandel's argument for the retention of the labor theory of value is that attention to fundamentals is useful for the solution of certain technical economic problems under capitalism such as computation of national income and economic planning. This is the biggest fraud of all. This purely pragmatic argument is the last refuge of a man who cannot establish the validity of this law on the theoretical level.

KEYNES

In the final chapter of Marxist Economic Theory, he sets out, however, to make such a case. What Mandel ends up saying, albeit in a roundabout way, is that Keynesian techniques, which hold the practical solutions to capitalism's ills, are founded upon the labor theory of value and upon Marxist principle. Consequently the labor theory of value has practical significance and should be retained.

To maintain that Keynesianism is consistent and rests upon the labor theory of value, when in fact the very opposite is true, takes considerable sleights of hand. Mandel, however, is the master of such trickery. Here is what he first says about the Keynesian school. This statement correctly shows its anti-theoretical character.

"Keynes and his followers were pursuing a practical purpose: organizing state intervention in economic life in order to bring about a weakening in the violence of crisis. All their theoretical preoccupations pointed in that direction. Purely theoretical problems were brushed aside more and more pre-emptorily. One of Keynes' disciples, Samuelson, is content to start, in his textbook Economics from the 'fact' of the 'three factors of production,' without even bothering to formulate a theory of value.

"Being pragmatic, the Keynesian school is essentially macroeconomic. In order to save capitalism this school focuses attention on the major economic aggregates and points to them as the object of possible intervention by the public authorities, the

value, or the individual price, of commodities matters little. The decisive turn of official political economy towards macro-economic theory made it possible to deepen the theory of the economic cycle and of economic growth, and through the medium of econometrics it has given birth to a series of new techniques for economic research, forecasting and planning, which are as useful for a society which has abolished capitalism as for capitalist society itself, if not more so."(16)

PRAGMATIC

This quote not only reveals the anti-theoretical, pragmatic character of Keynesianism, particularly its hostility to the labor theory of value, it likewise expresses Mandel's solidarity with Keynes. What Mandel is saying in this quote is that in spite of the fact that Keynesianism does not even bother with a labor theory of value, Keynesianism makes possible a deeper understanding of economic cycles and supplies us with a series of techniques useful both under capitalism and socialism for economic planning and forecasting.

In short with this most anti-theoretical of theories the practical problems of economic science can be solved. One would assume, as one should therefore, that Mandel's position is the same as Keynes, i.e. that the labor theory of value is a useless metaphysical abstraction.

Mandel, however, is unwilling to be caught in so obvious a trap which would destroy his attempt to straddle Marx and Keynes.

Therefore he proceeds to make a series of completely false claims on behalf of Keynes in an attempt to portray Keynesianism as a theory consistent with Marxist principles. If this can be achieved, if Keynes can be married to Marx and the labor theory of value, then Mandel will have succeeded in making a purely pragmatic case for retention of the labor theory of value.

Here is what Mandel says in contradiction to his earlier statement:

"These positive elements contained in the Keynesian revolution cannot be denied. They constitute, moreover, on the whole, at least objectively, a return to classical conceptions, if not to those of Marx. Keynes' criticism of the theory of markets and of the quantity theory of money is to be found in its essentials, in Marx's work; even the theory of interest based on liquidity preference originated with Marx.

"Nevertheless Keynes remained a prisoner in a number of spheres of the mistaken ideas of the neoclassical Marginalist school."(17)

In a footnote following the above sentence Mandel adds:

"It must however, be pointed out that in one place at least Keynes tries to return to the labor theory of value. He writes:... 'It is preferable to regard labor, including of course, the personal services of the entrepreneur and his assistants, as the sole factor of production, operating in a given environment of technique, natural resources, capital equipment and effective demand.'"(18)

VULGAR

This is of course a total fraud. Keynes is far from representing a return in the direction of the classical school and Marx. His theories represent at best an empirical adaptation of the theories of the vulgar, neoclassical school to the new circumstances presented by sharp crisis hitting the capitalist system in the twentieth century.

The neoclassical school itself represented a retreat from the objectivity and adherence to the labor theory of value represented by Smith and Ricardo. Keynesianism's extreme hostility to all theoretical questions arising from its essentially pragmatic character must be seen, if anything, as a further stage in the disintegration of bourgeois economic thinking.

Specific formulas on this or that concrete question lifted by Keynes from Marx do not change the fundamental character of Keynesianism. Above all Keynes does not adhere to the labor theory of value in any way. The fact that Keynes is quoted to the effect that labor is the sole factor in production means nothing. We have already shown how Mandel's adherence to the proposition that all commodities are traceable to labor in the last analysis (which is what Keynes is saying) says nothing because it does not show how the labor theory of value governs the operation of the capitalist economy.

Clearly Keynes and his whole method are completely hostile to the idea of the labor theory of value. Keynes like Mandel may agree that commodities are ultimately composed of labor, but he rejects that this governs their production and distribution under capitalism. Keynes' theory and his descriptions are founded upon



Mandel's whole pragmatic method is based on surface impressions of the temporary boom of the 1950's. Therefore he cannot explain sharpening of class struggle in current period which actually was prepared by developments beneath the surface. Above are auto workers whose strike was central to recent wage offensive of workers.

the utmost hostility and in opposition to the fundamental theoretical premises of Marxism and are purely empirical and pragmatic.

Thus Mandel's attempt to demonstrate the utility of facing up to fundamental questions of theory by falsely linking Keynes to Marx and the labor theory of value is a complete fraud.

The real practical significance of the labor theory of value has got nothing to do with the narrow pragmatic significance which Mandel attempts to attach to it. The law of value, far from being a level for the day-to-day conscious regulation of capitalism operates in a blind way, regulating economic life behind men's backs irrespective of their will.

CRISIS

The central practical significance of the law of value at the present time is far from the narrow pragmatic job of patching up capitalism which Mandel assigns to it. It must now serve to tear the capitalist system apart after 25 years of postwar boom.

It is precisely a correct grasp of the meaning of the law of value that made it possible for the International Committee to anticipate and prepare for the present crisis. We were able to understand that the inflation of paper money by the United States agreed to at Bretton Woods in 1944 must serve at a certain point, through a reassertion of the law of value, to precipitate a world monetary crisis. We were able to understand how this in turn would usher in a new period of revolutionary struggle.

Mandel could neither grasp the relationship between value and price nor how the abstraction, value, would assert itself against a mountain of concrete paper dollars. This is precisely the reason he could not anticipate this crisis. It is because Mandel no more holds to the labor theory of value than Keynes (or more exactly holds to it in the same meaningless way as Keynes) that the question of the world crisis building up under the surface of capitalism for the past 25 years has never held any serious place in Mandel's analysis.

PROFIT

The same distorted conceptions dominate Mandel's discussion of the falling rate of profit. By destroying both Marx's presentation of the labor theory of value and on top of that the falling rate of profit, Mandel destroys the two most fundamental keys to understanding the development of capitalism.

The tendency for the rate of profit to fall under capitalism, just like the law of value, does not avail itself of the simple kind of empirical verification that Mandel's method requires. In Capital while the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is shown to proceed as a direct result of the rising organic composition of capital, it is also noted by Marx that this tendency may be offset for whole periods by the operation of other tendencies that counteract this fall. These include the increasing intensity of exploitation, cheapening the elements of constant capital, foreign trade, etc.

This for example has been the case with world capitalism throughout the whole postwar boom period. As we will discuss later the inflationary expansion of the system expressed in the huge growth of investment and trade offset the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. Only now with the collapse of the boom does this tendency which had operated all the while beneath the surface, show itself on the surface with the collapse of huge corporations and Wall Street finance houses. With the termina-

tion of the inflationary policies that covered it up for 30 years, the falling rate of profit must now assert itself throughout the whole capitalist world.

Mandel, however, incapable of recognizing anything beyond the empirical fact, is completely incapable of understanding this process. Mandel is blind to the reality of abstraction and therefore to the general laws of capitalist development, which, like the law of value, operate beneath the surface appearance of capitalism. Therefore, he cannot understand the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. The only falling rate of profit that he can comprehend is that directly revealed in the bookkeeper's ledger.

DOCUMENT

Thus while Mandel is capable of repeating in a most scrupulous fashion what Marx wrote on the subject, his incomprehension of what Marx wrote bursts through in his absurd attempt in his Marxist Economic Theory to actually document the fall in the rate of profit statistically.

Mandel presents a statistical table which purports to show the exact amount of fixed and constant capital, wages and salaries profits and rate of profit from the years 1889 to 1919. His table shows that in the respective years 1889, 1899, 1909 and 1919 the rate of profit in the American manufacturing industry fell from 26.6%, to 20.5% to 18.1% to 16.2%.(19)

These figures are to a large degree suspect to begin with if only because the category, rate of profit, in Marxist theory is quite different from that used by the bourgeoisie—Mandel's interpolations notwithstanding.

The main and obvious objection that must be raised to Mandel's whole line of approach is that it is worthless precisely because it cannot be taken past the year 1919.

OPPOSITE

Mandel by attempting to demonstrate Marx's law with this empirical method inevitably ends up proving the very opposite. Precisely because the rate of profit on the bookkeeper's ledger has generally risen since 1919, Mandel's method can only end up proving that Marx is wrong about the tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

Nowhere is Mandel capable of explaining that although the rate of profit may even rise on the surface, this in no way negates the fact that underneath the tendency for the rate of profit to fall continues to operate. Even though Mandel enumerates those tendencies that Marx shows counteract the falling rate of profit, nowhere does he show that he understands how a rise in the actual rate of profit on the surface is consistent with the Marxist theory of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

If the rate of profit is not falling on the surface, Mandel removes this tendency altogether from his calculations and as a factor governing the movement of the economic and the political situation.

Only once in his whole study of postwar capitalism does Mandel touch upon the question of what has happened in relation to the falling rate of profit in this period. Here he makes the following remark:

"This phenomenon (distinguishing the acquisition of new plant and equipment under the heading of operating costs) must be allowed for when analyzing in a critical way the statistics which point to a recovery in the average rate of profit since the Second World War...Without a proper accountant's report made under trade union supervision it must doubtless remain impossible to estimate the real wealth of monopoly firms and therefore to determine whether their rate of profit is or is not

lower than before the First World War.

"The law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall continues to show itself through the fact that the average rate of profit is lower in the more advanced industrial countries than in the less advanced."(20)

EVADES

The above formulation leaves open the question of what has happened with the rate of profit in the advanced countries in the postwar era until Mandel's trade union commission opens up the capitalists' books. This is simply Mandel's way of evading the central questions. Hasn't the actual rate of capitalist profit risen in the boom period? Doesn't this disprove Marx's analysis in relation to the tendency for the rate of profit to fall?

If Mandel understood the meaning of this tendency he would not be obliged to equivocate about the very obvious rise in the rate of profit in the postwar era. If properly understood there is nothing contradictory between an actual rise in the rate of profit brought on by the general expansion of the capitalist system through expansion of foreign investment and trade and the huge increase in exploitation brought on through automation and the tendency for the rate of profit to fall. It is simply that this tendency has been negated for a certain period by counteracting tendencies as shown by Marx.

Because Mandel fails to understand this, the only case he is able to make for the continued presence of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall is where it can be empirically demonstrated as in the case of the difference between the rate of profit in the advanced as opposed to the colonial countries.

REJECTION

This, however, is only Mandel's fig leaf. The fact of the matter is, as we will show, that Mandel's empiricism leads him to a rejection of the tendency for the rate of profit to fall as the driving force behind the development of capitalist accumulation and the source of capitalist crisis.

This is why the falling rate of profit figures no more than the law of value in Mandel's assessment of postwar capitalism. Because the falling rate of profit was removed from his analysis, Mandel was unable to anticipate the present wave of bankruptcies precipitated by the reassertion of the falling rate of profit on the surface. This now threatens to plunge world capitalism into another 1929 collapse.

The empiricism which lead Mandel to reject both the labor theory of value and the falling rate of profit as factors in the fortunes of postwar capitalism can thus lead him to the rejection of the two most fundamental factors in understanding and preparing for the present world capitalist crisis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," November-December, 1968
2. Ibid., p. 3
3. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 529
4. Mandel, Ernest, "Workers Under Neo-Capitalism," op. cit., p. 3
5. Ibid. p. 534
6. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 529
7. Ibid., p. 534
8. Mandel, Ernest, An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, p. 55
9. Ibid., p. 57
10. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 521
11. Ibid., p. 519
12. Ibid., pp. 519-520.
13. Lenin, V.I., Imperialism (International Publishers), p. 31
14. Ibid., p. 90
15. Ibid., p. 35
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17. Mandel, Ernest, An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, p. 68
18. Ibid., p. 69
19. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 531
20. Mandel, Ernest, An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, p. 531
21. Ibid., p. 60
22. Mandel, Ernest, Marxist Economic Theory, p. 531
23. Ibid., p. 501
24. Ibid., p. 531
25. Ibid., p. 528
26. Ibid., p. 532
27. Ibid., p. 532
28. Mandel, Ernest, An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, pp. 55-56
29. Ibid., p. 60

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

LOVE STORY. Directed by Arthur Hiller. Written by Erich Segal. Starring Ali MacGraw, Ryan O'Neal, Ray Milland. Paramount Pictures.

As the capitalist class moves more deeply into crisis and prepares for civil war against the working class and the youth, ideologically it reinforces itself to meet each new development of the class struggle. The capitalist class relies upon religion, education, propaganda to perpetuate its rule, to justify its system of exploitation. As capitalism goes into decay, so does its ideology.

Escapism is glorified through the youth culture, through music, films and TV and in public spectacles. With Agnew's declaration of war upon TV broadcasting, there has been a move towards greater and greater censorship of news programs and towards complete elimination of controversial material. The TV screens are dominated by soap operas, nature studies, religious programs, soft-focus material. The ruling class turns more and more to earlier cultural forms, to the thirties and forties, to religion and mysticism.

This is what lies behind the "phenomena" of the book by Erich Segal and now the film, "Love Story." This reviewer waited in line for half an hour, along with two thousand other people. Thus far, according to *Variety Magazine*, thirteen million people have seen "Love Story." Foreign language versions in Japanese, Indonesian, Vietnamese and African Languages have been dubbed. The film will be distributed to seventy nations. Even the Soviet Union will show it. "Love Story" will eclipse "Gone With The Wind" and "Sound Of Music" with one year. The capitalist class knows what it wants and "Love Story" is its vehicle.

There is not much one can say about the movie. During the depression, escapist films were made which depicted poor girls marrying rich boys and vice-versa. Generally, the accompanying music was filled with the lush sounds of violins, pianos and incredibly high voices. But characterizations were beyond the superficial, utilizing the acting and comic talents of W.C. Fields, Chaplin, Bacall, Robinson, Cagney, Bogart, Hepburn, Gable, and the Marx Brothers. Gifted script writers like Rice, S.J. Perelman, Amis, Trumbo and Faulkner although this was done, sought to create within the depression a certain understanding of the period within the confines of escapism. This reviewer would not dare say this for "Love Story."

The story of Jenny Cavallieri, the daughter of a Rhode Island baker, and Oliver Barrett III (or is it IV) is one of thousands of tales that have lulled children to sleep at night or served to caress the illusions of working class youth who face a bleak future. Everything appears at face value, like some cash transaction in a bank.

Jenny, Catholic, bright and poor attends Radcliffe. There, she meets Oliver Barrett III (or IV) in the Harvard Library. Oliver you see is the son of the Barrett bankers. One of the campus buildings is named for his grandfather. After a brief meeting the two fall desperately in love. He is in part fascinated by her attractiveness, intelligence and semi-poverty. She is fascinated by Barrett's attractiveness, his potential, his wealth.

In order not to reveal its superficiality too overtly, the film dresses up with the tired, played-out rags of the NOW generation. It leaves out the drugs and sex, but keeps in the allusions to smut, rock, clothes, hostility to religion. Thus, Barrett seeks to get away from his square, martinetish father, pathetically played by Ray Milland (who must have dreaded playing this role), and his prissy mother.

He plays sports demoniacally, he rebels, while keeping the sports car and accepting the handouts. When his intentions of marrying Jenny are made quite clear, and she agrees to give up a promising career in music for him, then the stuffy old millionaires threaten to cut Oliver off. After all,

Jenny is Catholic and poor. Not even going to Radcliffe can save that.

So, while Barrett goes to law school, his wife supports him by teaching. They are happy for four years. Barrett has severed the ties with his family. So now the audience is waiting for the clincher, waiting for what the film has been about, and what provides it its only direction—Jenny's untimely death from cancer. While the lugubriousness is kept to a minimum, we must point out the film's real intent through the final death sequences. It is the exhortation, the glorification of death which concludes a blissful, virtually unmarked, romantic interlude.

Oliver climbs into bed with his wife as she expires and the live theme which has intruded upon us in various motifs, played by each and every instrument and group of instruments in the orchestra now roars to climax in this almost necrophilic scene. This pathetic musical theme in sixteen track stereo is as effective as the rattling of skeletons on a roof of a building being torn apart by a tornado. And the reconciliation with Oliver's father comes

when the latter pays his respects and Oliver III answers him by repeating the most profound statement in the movie: "Love means never having to say you're sorry." Finis Ad Nauseum.

And this was Mr. Nixon's favorite film of the year! Such is the decay of capitalism and its rulers.

While the reader may regard this film, ineptly acted by Ali MacGraw, suitably acted by Ryan O'Neal and well acted by Paul Morrow (as Jenny's father) as some sort of put-on, we must be conscious of quite another thing. The film is well shot, well lit, well edited and seriously directed by Arthur Hiller. And its role is conscious, as conscious as the First National City Bank, the Loew's Corporation which funded it.

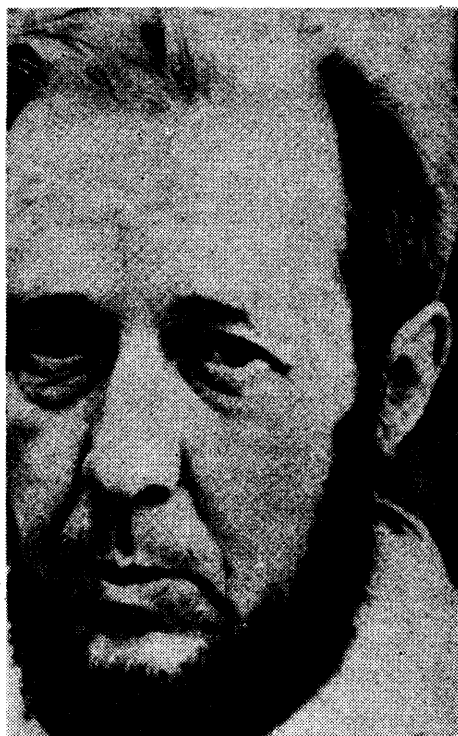
Clearly what the capitalist class is preparing for culturally is the most insidious form of escapism and barbarism which at once dulls the sensibilities while reassuring the working class that everything is and will be all right. But under the surface it is another story.



BOOKS

LOU BELKIN

One Day In The Life Of Ivan Denisovich



Nobel Prize winner Solzhenitsyn.

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH. By Alexander Solzhenitsyn, translated by R. Parker.

In October of last year, the Nobel Prize for literature was awarded to Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for his first novel, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*.

The novel was first published on November 20, 1962 in the Soviet literary magazine, *Novy Mir*. Khrushchev himself argued before the Central Committee of the Communist Party in favor of its publication. Yet by October 1970 the author was forcibly prevented from leaving the Soviet Union to collect the prize, under threat of being denied entry back into Russia.

Solzhenitsyn, hailed in the past inside the Soviet Union as a "truly great artist" (*Novy Mir*) who dared write the first novel about Stalin's slave camps, is defiled and flailed in 1970 as a "degenerate, decadent bourgeois, a traitor, a literary hack."

One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich is a superlative book. Precisely now as a profound crisis penetrates within world capitalism and within the Soviet countries, Solzhenitsyn is condemned for daring to recall the past in all its starkness. He is removed from his post and prevented from even travelling within the Soviet Union. The slaughter of Polish workers and youth

in December, 1970 goes hand in hand with suppression of revolutionary Russian art at a London museum and the forcible detention of all opposition within the Soviet Union in mental hospitals or prison camps or places of exile.

Yet the opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy grows and flourishes and tens of thousands of intellectuals, workers and youth defy censorship and suppression. It is in this light that Solzhenitsyn's novel must be viewed.

CAMP

Solzhenitsyn himself, like his protagonist Ivan, was sent to a "special camp" (hard labor) at the close of the Second World War. Like his protagonist, he served in the Red Army with valor. For "political reasons" he was accused of "spying and traitorous behaviour" and imprisoned for eight years. Yet little else in the novel directly parallels Solzhenitsyn's internment.

The book describes realistically through the eyes and mind of Ivan, a skilled but semi-literate peasant-artisan, one complete day in one of Stalin's special camps in Siberia. We are introduced immediately to the frigid conditions.

"At five o'clock that morning reveille was sounded, as usual, by the blows of a hammer on a length of rail hanging up near the staff quarters. The intermittent sounds barely penetrated the windowpanes on which the frost lay two fingers thick, and they ended almost as soon as they'd begun. It was cold outside, and the camp-guard was reluctant to go on beating out the reveille for long."

The narrative appears as a recollection as the author seeks to present the reader with a minutely detailed description of the camp setting, the routine, the environs of Ivan Denisovich Shukhov's "home." What proceeds in the course of one day is viewed through the character himself, succinctly, carefully, uncompromisingly. The writing is crisp. Solzhenitsyn imposes nothing upon his style.

"They sat in the cold mess hall, most of them eating with their hats on, eating slowly, picking out putrid little fish from under leaves of boiled black cabbage and spitting the bones out on the table. When the bones formed a heap and it was the turn of another squal, someone would sweep them off and they'd be trodden into a mush on the floor. But it was considered bad manners to spit the fishbones straight out on the floor."

FRUSTRATION

Ivan had arisen late on this day and

felt ill. He went to the dispensary. Upon further reflection, he felt that it was useless to ask to be put into the dispensary. The doctor would not allow it. Ivan's "faking" would be exposed. Solzhenitsyn's sums up the frustration, the resignation so adroitly:

"Vdovushkin reached for the thermometer and read it. 'H'm, neither one thing nor the other. Ninety-nine point two.' Shukhov said nothing. He didn't even nod. Pulling his hat over his eyes he walked out.

"How can you expect a man who's warm to understand a man who's cold?"

Stalin is alluded to only sparsely and obliquely in references such as "old whisker face." The following incident richly illustrates the power of the bureaucracy and the apprehension of it by the prisoners:

"Every old timer knows that the sun stands highest at dinnertime.

"Old timers, maybe," said the captain. 'But since their day a new decree has been passed, and now the sun stands highest at one.'

"Who passed that decree?"

"Soviet power."

But the greatness of this first novel lay in its ruthless attention to detail, nuance and to the interpenetration of people's lives at the camp. Ivan remains central in focus, but he reflects that dreaded world of the Moscow trials, the lack of preparation in the Soviet Union for the Nazi invasion, the forlornness.

"There were three thousand six hundred and fifty three days like that in his stretch. From the first clang of the rail to the last clang of the rail. Three thousand six hundred and fifty-three days. The three extra days were for leap years."

IMPORTANCE

All the initial supporters of the novel within Russia now turn upon Solzhenitsyn, as the wrath and fear of the bureaucracy comes down upon all those who fight for a truly socialist and democratic Soviet Union and against the rehabilitation of Stalin.

This is the importance of Solzhenitsyn and his work. We stand with those who epitomize the great traditions in Soviet art, with Babel, Eisenstein, Dziga-Vertov and Meyerhold. And we stand with Yakir, Sinyavsky and Daniel, Grigorenko, Rostropovich and the others who speak out against the bureaucracy and who suffer the torments of Solzhenitsyn's "Ivan."

OPEN LETTER TO PLP FROM

Dear Comrades:

We are writing this because we know that many comrades in and around the Progressive Labor Party are completely serious and dedicated to constructing a revolutionary Leninist Party that will smash the capitalist system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat here in the U.S. and throughout the world.

In December 1970 we were removed from the leadership of Los Angeles. In January 1971 we were essentially forced out of the Party. In this letter we would like to explain and clarify the political reasons behind our leaving PLP and our perspective for the future. Briefly for those of you who are not familiar with us, we'll sketch our background.

Myrna joined PLP in December 1965 in New York City and was involved in high school work and *Free Student*, the press of M2 M. She moved to San Francisco in April 1966, went to work, and was involved in the trade union work of the Party. In August 1967 she went to work for the telephone company and was placed in charge of nationwide telephone concentration and served in other leadership capacities. In September 1968 she was placed in charge of all Bay Area and San Jose trade union work and became a member of the Bay Area Exec. In February 1969 she was sent to the National Trade Union Commission to represent San Francisco. In May 1969 we got married and Myrna moved to Los Angeles to help lead the work there. After the rectification plan in January 1970 she was overall in charge of *Challenge* and high school work.

Steve joined PLP in January 1965 in San Francisco. He was in the Bay Area leadership from May 1965 until February 1967 when he was transferred to Los Angeles. He was West Coast student organizer of PLP, West Coast Editor of *M2 M Free Student* and a leader on the Steering Committee of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee. In August 1966 he was called before HUAC in Washington D.C. along with other members of PLP and leaders of the anti-war movement. In September 1966 he began doing trade

union work, moved to Los Angeles in February 1967 to develop and lead the trade union work and help lead the overall Los Angeles work. At the 1968 convention he was appointed along with seven other Party leaders to be on the National Trade Union Commission, that is, to lead the trade union work of the Party nationally. He has been a steel worker for the last three years.

POLITICAL

While there certainly have been weaknesses in our work and our development as communists over the years, we generally gave a good account of ourselves, helped recruit, bring closer and develop a number of people in the Bay Area and Los Angeles, all to the best of our abilities. Our removal from leadership was politically motivated. While we ourselves were not clear on many points, we conducted a struggle within the leadership for Marxism-Leninism on a number of questions.

In December 1966-67 we struggled against the line of "Road to Revolution II" around the following points: 1) the origins of revisionism; while we didn't see all the implications and were by and large ignorant of Trotskyism we realized that revisionism did not start with Krushchev, but had its origins in Stalin's policies such as the building up of the state bureaucracy; the Dimitrov-Stalin popular front line and the ensuing defeats of the working class in Spain, France; the liquidation of his opposition; and his alliances with the international bourgeoisie. In the U.S. we felt that Browderism was not isolated but was directly related to Stalin's line. 2) We thought that the document's publication was a violation of democratic centralism, because it was not discussed throughout the Party from the point of view of changing it before it was published. 3) We disagreed with the line put forward on entering into alliances with the "progressive" section of the bourgeoisie and we did not feel that the document had proven that capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union although we could see the restoration process. We struggled for the Party to seriously get at these questions and the roots of revisionism.

Although we were unclear on many issues of importance in discussions over the last two years centering mainly in

the leadership, we did not hide our belief that the origins of revisionism lay in Stalin and Stalinism. This was true and much clearer for us to see in regards especially to the Seventh World Congress and the popular front revisionist line that flowed from it, as well as Stalin's dissolution of the Third International in 1943. At that point we came to think that the theory of socialism in one country and the Soviet bureaucracy that rested upon it, were the root causes of revisionism in the Soviet Union and the international communist movement and lay behind the "mistakes" of Mao and the deformation of the Chinese revolution.

The reason we didn't submit these ideas to the November 1969 bulletin on the international question or after was a lack of clarity about the alternative to Stalinism—namely Trotskyism as well as slavishness and fear that we would be expelled by the national leadership for daring to raise such things. Our lack of clarity was based on our ignorance of Trotskyism and a disparaging view of the main Trotskyist group in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party which we saw as just as revisionist as the Communist Party. At the time, all we knew of the Workers League was through their press—the *Bulletin*—to which we had a sub-

THEORY

These traits of ours stemmed from our contempt for theory and the lack of serious struggle against revisionism and pragmatism. We certainly did not learn Marxism-Leninism coming out of the working class, army, school, etc., before joining PLP and we never really were taught in a living way about the life and death necessity of studying and applying dialectical materialism and the revolutionary theories of Marx, Lenin, Engels and Trotsky while in PLP. We weren't unusual in this and now realize that it is the PLP leadership's contempt for theory, history and the dialectical method that has led it precisely to the dead end crisis that PLP is now in today. No amount of activity, no matter how enthusiastic and militant, can lead the working class forward, can build the revolutionary communist leadership within the trade unions, and build a mass Leninist party of the working class to establish socialism.

The struggle for theory—for the theoretical development of Marxism is

not something outside the class struggle, but absolutely essential to moving that struggle forward and thus must be continuously developed by all comrades. Without the struggle against pragmatism, idealism and revisionism carried out inside the Party and among the masses no revolutionary party will develop. This is precisely PLP's main weakness and precisely what it cannot do unless it comes to grips with the lessons of the Russian Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, as well as the struggle by Trotsky and world Trotskyism against Stalin's theory of socialism in one country, the development of a privileged bureaucracy and all the betrayals of the world communist movement and the international working class that came from Stalin's theory and practice.

As the international crisis deepens and the international working class moves forward in the revolutionary struggle for power, this question of Trotskyism versus Stalinism is not at all academic...but it is a matter of life and death. PLP has never been able to confront this since its origins and split from the CPUSA in 1962 and this is the source of the crisis. All PLP's mistakes and errors are rooted in this revisionism such as the abandonment of the trade unions and calling them reactionary; out and out reformism coupled with revolutionary slogans, such as all the programs like worker-student alliance, worker-client alliance, etc., and the abandonment of serious inner party struggle and democratic centralism.

REVISIONISM

Because of PLP's incorrect understanding and outlook, all of its programs, now matter how much they tack on slogans of dictatorship of the proletariat, lead inevitably in the long and the short run to tying the working class to capitalism.

The roots of revisionism go back to Stalin, not Lenin, Marx or Engels. Mao's theories and errors are part of Stalinism not Leninism. Because the national leadership has chosen to slander and skip over Trotsky in the struggle with Stalin, it has to take Lenin head on in order to explain revisionism. We have come to understand that Trotskyism is the conscious reflection of the revolutionary movement of the working class and its program for victory. As the international working class moves forward in the struggle for power,

MPI Deepens Its Attack On Socialism

SSEU Prepare

(Continued From Page 3)

(Continued From Page 2) socialism. This means confronting the question of Stalinism and Trotskyism, and the role that nationalism plays in this relation.

The MPI bourgeois nationalists lean on Stalinism to hold back the working class and the youth as they struggle against capitalism.

The Stalinists, whose interest lies in preserving the privileged bureaucracy in the Stalinist countries, are mortally afraid of the movement of the working class—like that in Poland and Czechoslovakia, which threatens to overthrow them.

Their policy of the popular front is to draw the working class into an alliance with its enemies, the capitalist class. The two stage theory fits right into this. The struggle for socialism is put off to the indefinite future, and the working class is tied to the bourgeoisie, just as MPI would have the working masses of Puerto Rico tied to a bourgeois nationalist "independent" government.

The Stalinists fear the movement of the working class but so do the petty bourgeois nationalists who lean on Stalinism. Therefore it is no coincidence that MPI and the Communist Party choose to hold a joint conference at the point when the class struggle reaches a fever

pitch, it is no coincidence that the *Daily World*, once again drags up old slanders used against Trotskyism, and that MPI not only takes up these slanders, but attempts through physical attacks to prevent the sale of the only Trotskyist paper in America, the *Bulletin*.

But the MPI fears not only the conscious policies of socialism, but also the turn of masses of youth toward socialism. That is the reason for the article on the YLP in the current issue of *Claridad*, by Juan Mari Bras.

Mari Bras cannot deal with any political questions in this article. He tries to cover up the blatant bourgeois character of the MPI with organizational attacks on the YLP. Although he says they are "fraternal criticisms" he berates the Lords for calling their officers "Marshall" and "Minister" and says that they are not a revolutionary party, such titles will not make them one, and that they are "ridiculous."

But what is a revolutionary party? What is its program? What is objectively required for the revolution? He can answer none of this. He goes on to say that the YLP thinks it has "the magic touch" to liberate Puerto Rico, without so much as a word dealing with YLP policies or what their policy should be.

He also says YLP is not "im-

pressed" or does not venerate the nationalists' historic struggle:

"A century of uninterrupted struggle, for liberty fertilized by so many heroes and martyrs, which includes more than a decade of the new struggle for independence which has succeeded in putting us on the offensive and united with solid popular forces, does not seem to impress the YLP who announce their coming so that they can liberate us..."

Then the MPI warns that for "a long time the Puerto Rican independence movement has reached its historical, ideological and organizational maturity" and that "to learn this is essential for all those who wish to be useful to our cause."

But it is not that MPI has reached its "ideological, historical and organizational maturity." Judging from its alliance with the bankrupt counterrevolutionary butchers—the Stalinists—one can only conclude that it is not mature, but fast decaying politically.

This article by Mari Bras is a warning to the YLP and expresses the tremendous fear that the MPI has of the youth who more and more turn toward socialism, and a fear that they will go beyond bourgeois nationalism to a Marxist understanding.

This is why MPI is suddenly

all over New York, dominating the recent Ponce demonstration, and with Mari Bras speaking on campuses all over the city. They are warning the YLP not to intrude on the MPI on the island, and seeking to strengthen themselves here, against the young Puerto Rican workers and students who are turning more and more toward socialism.

But the Young Lords themselves have to confront now the question of nationalism. When they advance the slogan "Unite the Nation," they are putting forward a perspective essentially the same as MPI—they are asking for unity between the working class and the ruling class of Puerto Rico.

They are asking for unity between Benitez (a citizen of the "nation") and those independentist students (also part of the Puerto Rican nation) shot down by Benitez. This is why the MPI was able to dominate the YLP Ponce rally. To fight for socialism in Puerto Rico as well as in the U.S. and internationally, we must fight for the slogan of "Unite the Class."

The struggle for the true independence of Puerto Rico is linked inseparably with the struggle for the working class to take the power, to drive out the imperialists and their allies in the native bourgeoisie.

strike mobilization before the referendum.

The Committee for New Leadership will put forward a motion at this meeting calling on Hill to turn around the situation in negotiations, by insisting that the City negotiate the major issues immediately. The motion will further demand that if the City refuses to negotiate on the major issues, the union must break off negotiations and make it clear that it will not come back to the table unless a substantive offer is made.

The CNL will demand that Hill seriously get down to the business of strike preparation if the union is forced to call off negotiations. A press conference must be called, announcing the union's intentions to keep the April 21 showdown with the City, and to back this with a strike.

Once it is clear that SSEU-371 is prepared to hit the streets on April 21, then an all-out campaign for massive labor support must be launched.

But the Hill leadership must go way beyond this. In view of the explosive situation still unresolved between the uniformed service unions and the City, every step of preparation for a SSEU-371 strike must raise to the rest of the City labor movement turning this into a common struggle through a general strike.

STEVE & MYRNA CHERKOSS

challenging the bourgeoisie and the history and the betrayal of revisionism, the program and struggle of Trotskyism cannot be avoided by anyone—not even the PLP leadership.

This is why we were forced out at this time. The PLP leadership wants to squash discussion of these life and death issues at all costs. The leadership knows very well that we like many others in and around the Party would not stand for this frontal attack on Marxism-Leninism that has taken the form of "Road to Revolution III." This is why other comrades who were challenging the leadership and their revisionism are being forced out of the Party in one way or another. This is why Helena and Juan Farinas, former editors of Desafio, were expelled in New York City last March. This is why Al Appel was suspended in Los Angeles in early March 1971. Also included are the friends of PLP group in Portland and countless others.

CHINA

In the discussion in PLP today around "Road to Revolution III" the leadership is preparing a complete break from China and Mao. While at this point they proclaim Mao a revisionist the logic of their position is to call China a capitalist country as they have the Soviet Union. In trying to ignore Trotsky the leadership has launched a broadside attack against Marx and Lenin, saying that Lenin was responsible for the betrayal of the Russian Revolution. The logic of this is to say that Lenin was responsible for the crimes of Stalin, for the bloody defeat of the Chinese working class in 1927, in Germany, in France and we suppose in Indonesia, too.

This whole document has nothing to do with the Marxist-Leninist method but is completely rooted in the bourgeois school of pragmatism and is put together in a completely dishonest way. What the leadership does is start with preconceived conclusions and then tries to fit all of history to them. Naturally the leadership ignores all facts which contradict their premise.

In one section of the document Lenin and the other leaders of the Russian Revolution are depicted as "elitist" and "racist." Lenin, they claim, did not understand the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, did not understand the October Revolution, had little confidence in the working class as well as the peasantry and was no more than a tricky reformist who put forth Peace, Land and Bread.

The document states that the peasantry is a revolutionary social class like the proletariat. That is, the peasantry can constitute itself a ruling class. This is certainly a new revelation, missed by everyone including Marx, Lenin, Engels and Trotsky, and even Stalin. Implied in this assertion is that Marx and Engels completely missed the boat when in 1848 they concluded that the proletariat was the revolutionary class. The new PLP discovery of the peasantry negates the concept of the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat. As we mentioned in the March 22 issue of the Bulletin, PLP completely leaves out Lenin's "April Theses" and pretends that by not mentioning it, comrades will believe that it does not exist. Yes, this is their method.

All this is a good indication of the distortions of Marx and Lenin, and a good indication of what happens to a party that bases itself on pragmatism and contempt for Marxist-Leninist theory and Trotskyism. Only Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution gets to the roots of revisionism, and explains the betrayals of Stalinism in the world communist movement. This is the very same movement that PLP broke from organizationally in 1962 but never theoretically or politically with regard to fundamentals. PLP cannot transcend history but is and will continue to repeat the past revisionist mistakes in different or new forms.

TRANSITIONAL

The following are some specific examples of the policies of PLP which we struggled over and which reflect PLP's

lack of a transitional program, that is, the programmatic way to politically educate and organize the working class and move the struggle forward.

All the Party's weaknesses are reflected in their newspaper, *Challenge-Desafio*. *Challenge-Desafio* is undoubtedly the most militant paper in the country and possibly the world. But it is not a Marxist-Leninist newspaper. It does very little to raise the political consciousness of the working class, youth and students. A worker or student could read *Challenge* for three to four years and not be any closer to a Marxist-Leninist understanding. *Challenge* is a mixture of various economist and reformist struggles coupled with some standard leftist formulas.

In *Challenge-Desafio* over the last couple of years at least, practically every article concerns some kind of reform struggle, at the end of which, tacked on



Challenge is empty of theory.

mechanically in one or two sentences or paragraphs is something about socialism, internationalism or dictatorship of the proletariat. There is very little analysis of those reform struggles and what is needed to move them forward. Very rarely is a political program put forth to lead these struggles forward, but instead these struggles are reported as somehow separate and the link up and strategy that comes from an outlook of the crisis of capitalism and imperialism internationally is completely missing.

This is what is behind PLP's inability to escape from reformism even with the most revolutionary mechanistic formulas. Thus the transitional program, that program which starts with the immediate struggles and needs of the working class, is the only program which organizes and leads to the independent mobilization of the working class in the concrete struggle for power.

TRADE UNIONS

We started questioning the left-center coalition after studying more about the CP and their left-center coalition and the dead end it led to. The weakness we felt was that it subordinated the left to the bourgeois consciousness of the center—and instead what was needed was to build the revolutionary consciousness of the center and build left-led caucuses. This would be the process in building a revolutionary Marxist leadership within the unions.

At the National Auto Conference, March 1970, it was more or less decided to abandon the demand to take over the unions since that was a demand similar to community control. This was a complete break with our national trade union program and was never discussed on that National Committee, on the National Trade Union Commission or in the whole Party. We argued against this break, against the violation of democratic centralism and on the content—that workers' organizations, although in the grips of bourgeois leadership could be possibly compared to community. We felt that the logic of such a concept would lead to calling for the smashing of the unions and the building of red trade

unions which is dual unionism and the abandonment of the working class to the present bureaucracy.

STRIKES

The General Motors strike as everyone knows was a terrific class battle and one of the highlights of 1970. Our work in it reflected all the weaknesses of our line and program. We completely failed to link up and put forth a program that would lead this living class struggle forward. PLP refused to put forward the demands of the transitional program such as: All Out Together, Break the Teamster Pact, over \$1.65 in real wages; full cost of living clause; 30 for 40; and the Labor Party to break the workers from the two capitalist parties and emphasizing a national caucus with units in every plant to be organized around this program, that would pit the workers versus the bosses and challenge the UAW leaders for power. Instead, PLP supported anything that was going on, did not put forth a program for victory, diverted the struggle away from the point of production in the form of boycott marches which accomplished essentially nothing, organized a demonstration at GM Corporation at which the only auto workers were Party members.

We felt that PLP was leftist and sectarian also in relation to other groups and their being attacked by the ruling class. We felt and argued that the main enemy was the ruling class and we should not let the ruling class get rid of our political opposition. That is, we should defend these groups, such as the Panthers, and Angela Davis against the ruling class' attacks while criticizing how these groups mislead the people.

Today the main activity for all of PLP is around unemployment. But the way this fight is conducted is just another example of the major weaknesses of PLP. Essentially the workers in the shops—the employed workers—have been abandoned. *Challenge* is not sold anymore at shops and the hope is that the revolution will be built on the streets. The key to unemployment is through the employed workers and PLP is throwing all its forces into unemployment centers, demonstrations, marches, but making no serious attempt to reach employed workers—those engaged in struggle at the point of production and through the trade unions linking employed and unemployed around the demand of 30 for 40.

RECTIFICATION

Why was rectification necessary in the first place?

The leadership said that rectification was necessary because the Party was in a crisis. Some of the older members from trade union work were leaving the Party after becoming highly demoralized at their inability to win workers to sharper class struggles and to the Party. This was certainly true, but it was not their inability, it was the line. The reasons the leadership gave for this development were that the people leading this work had a petty bourgeois mentality and background, instead of confronting the real questions of theory and program.

Both of us were part of the Party's move to penetrate the working class in 1966. The Party never looked at this penetration as a theoretical question, but merely as an organizational one—i.e., go to work here, there, etc. In addition to this lack of a Marxist-Leninist trade union program, there was a highly idealized view of the working class and its consciousness and so the struggle against workers' bourgeois ideas was not seen as a life and death matter. The theoretical training the comrades got was next to nothing. Naturally economism and adaptation to the bourgeois consciousness of the working class was rampant, and the need for a Party was not clearly seen nor put forth.

Another aspect is that the transitional program was absent. This meant that we swung like a pendulum from left to right to left. The majority of comrades who entered into trade union work from 1965-67 period have quit the Party. Most of those who are still in PL have become cynical and disillusioned about the wor-

king class and revolution. On whose shoulders does this fall, theirs or the leadership's? The PLP leadership to this day has never been self-critical about these errors, but instead blames the members.

Most of these things we had raised but in a pragmatic way. We did not link up all these questions, did not see the logic of them all, did not see the life and death nature of these questions. We stopped short of the logic of these questions—Trotskyism—because of our ignorance, fear and the slander heaped upon Trotskyism by everyone in the national leadership.

PLP is in a deep crisis and is degenerating rapidly from whatever Marxist-Leninist understanding it once had. Stalinism is unable to deal with serious political differences and opposition in any other way than organizational maneuvers, slanders and expulsions.

TROTSKYISM

Thus the central question behind our leaving PLP was Marxism versus Revisionism, Revolution versus Reformism or Trotskyism versus Stalinism. We feel that Trotskyism, the continuation and enrichment of the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin are represented in the U.S. by the Workers League and internationally by the International Committee of the Fourth International. We think that all serious comrades in and around PLP should begin reading the major works of Trotsky. We began by reading the *Revolution Betrayed*, *Moscow Trials Anthology*, *The Permanent Revolution*, and *In Defense of Marxism*.

We would like to say that we are just at the beginning of understanding Trotskyism and the road to proletarian revolution. We would like to encourage all comrades to read the *Bulletin* and all Workers League pamphlets, especially *Questions Facing Progressive Labor and Stalinism versus Trotskyism*.

We think comrades in and around the PLP have basically two choices. Either stay in PLP and fight to transform it into a revolutionary organization or join with and help build and develop the Workers League. We believe that today only the Workers League basing itself on the international class struggle and the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and Trotsky will develop into a mass vanguard Party and lead the working class in smashing the capitalist system and establishing socialism.

Steve became a candidate member of the Workers League two weeks ago and Myrna is a supporter. This is only the beginning. We certainly don't claim or pretend to have all the answers. We realize that some of this letter may be unclear or sketchy.

We wanted to get this out as fast as possible, because we felt it was crucial. We would like to discuss these and other questions we have raised with you. Please contact us at:

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Stalinists Open 24th Congress CPSU

BY FRED MUELLER

The 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party is scheduled to open on March 30th, one year later than originally scheduled. The delay in the holding of the Congress, as well as in the publication of the draft directives for the ninth Five Year Plan, issued just a few weeks ago, reflect the acute crisis facing the ruling bureaucracy.

The Communist Party's *Daily World* has begun to give a big play for the Congress. CP General Secretary Gus Hall recently left to attend it and the March 25th *Daily World* reports that he was "warmly greeted" on a stopover in Prague.

Hall was greeted by a delegation led by Gustav Husak, who was installed as Czech CP leader following the Moscow-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The *World* reports that "Husak and others, in greeting Hall, expressed their appreciation of Hall's August 31, 1968, report to the U.S. party's national committee on the Czechoslovakian developments."

At a time when Moscow and its hard-line supporters in Czechoslovakia faced tremendous opposition within the European Stalinist parties themselves, the American CP faithfully upheld the Kremlin and defended its every move. For this blow by Hall against the Czech workers he is now honored and welcomed by their jailers.

The March 23rd *Daily World* reports on the preparation for the 24th Congress. Mike Davidow reports from Moscow that the preparations "have been a demonstration of democracy in action that is unknown in the U.S."

"In contrast to conventions of the two major American parties, at which platforms, put together at routine hearings are masterpieces of double talk and candidates are generally picked in smoke-filled rooms, the entire nation in the Soviet Union participates in the preparations for the Congress of the CPSU...The universal acclaim for the proposed ninth five-year plan was not accidental. It was the fruit of the democratic way in which the plan was formulated..."

Davidow is completely correct when he refers to the conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties, but he does not explain his party, supposedly upholding the interests of the working class, regularly supporting the "double talkers" of the Democratic Party.

Davidow is also correct when he says the universal acclaim for the next five year plan "is not accidental." It is stage managed from start to finish. Ever since the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy to political power in the USSR, the Soviet masses have been totally excluded from

any role whatsoever in decision making and planning.

The Stalinists regularly present the facade of mass participation as an expression of workers' control, even of Leninism! A glance at the latest "Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,"



published in Moscow in 1970, is revealing in this regard. This latest official version says the following in discussion of the role of the party in the 1930s:

"Socialism created favorable conditions for the development of democracy in the country as a whole and within the party... The introduction of the 1936 Constitution signified further democratization of the Soviet social and state system. In December 1937, elections were held to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR... The elections demonstrated the strength and vitality of socialist democracy and the Soviet people's support for the Party." (p. 238)

Yet in the latest Krushchev memoirs,

which, whatever the doubts about their authenticity, are essentially a detailed version of the famous 1956 revelations at the 20th Congress, the former top Soviet leader writes that "We helped him (Hitler) along considerably by destroying the cream of our executive personnel, our Party leadership and our scientific intelligentsia. The bloodbath reached a red-hot frenzy in 1937."

Thus the bureaucracy itself has already admitted that at the very moment it was boasting, and still does, that Soviet democracy was reaching new heights, a gigantic

standing even the most elementary aspects of Soviet society and its contradictions.

A *New York Times Magazine* article by Richard Lowenthal sees the conflict within the Soviet Union as between the "neo-Stalinists" and the "de-Stalinizers," the hard line versus liberalism, the police state versus "a gradual extension of pluralistic freedoms."

Lowenthal also sees the current leadership around Kosygin and Brezhnev as very much in control and able for the present to submerge all differences within the leadership in a way not done before.

What Lowenthal and all the other bourgeois "experts" fail to even mention is the working class. But it is the class struggle internationally and its expression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which is responsible for all of the moves of the bureaucracy.

From the U.S. to Poland to Indochina the international working class is on the offensive, and the bureaucracy is in panic. The essence of the policy of the bureaucracy is to seek at all costs to maintain the status quo, to achieve peaceful coexistence with imperialism. The status quo is being constantly exploded, and every explosion puts the bureaucracy closer to the knife's edge.

Moscow and its supporters are forced to more and more openly do the dirty work of the imperialists. Thus we have the worldwide campaign for the "People's Peace Treaty" in Vietnam, the peaceful road to socialism through support to the liberal bourgeoisie, combined with the most ruthless suppression of the working class and the intelligentsia in the Soviet countries themselves.

The real policy of the bureaucracy is more and more, "Back to Stalin." In order to maintain its rule and its privileges, it is forced to take harsher measures against the growing opposition. The power and prestige of the security organizations have been consciously increased. Labor camp inmates are reported to have risen to the million mark once again, and many thousands of political prisoners are put away in the prisons and the mental institutions. More and more the methods of Stalin are being reintroduced by the bureaucracy, which has always remained faithful to Stalinism as the defense of its interests and privileges.

The struggles of the working class internationally, the fight to construct new revolutionary leadership, the Fourth International, will seal the doom of the bureaucracy.

Woodcock Refuses Action To Defend British Ford Strike

BY MELODY FARROW

Auto union leaders from three continents, including Leonard Woodcock from the United Auto Workers in the United States, met in London to discuss "concerted international action" in defense of the British Ford workers who have been on strike for eight weeks.

The conference, organized by the International Metalworkers Federation, was called in response to Henry Ford's threat to take his business to another country if the strikers did not return to work.

Hugh Scanlon, President of the British Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that Ford workers were now fighting the battle of all workers.

He called Ford's threat "blatant blackmail." He said "there is a deliberate policy, inspired by government and connived at by employers, to make trade unionists unable to negotiate settlements like those being made in Europe."

One of the basic tasks of the conference was to "establish a common front against the corporate giants. We must not allow the international monopolists to operate the rule of divide and conquer." He stressed that the lack of such international cooperation was one of the main weaknesses of the unions.

Leonard Woodcock said that Ford was continuing its traditional strategy of "playing workers off against workers."

Yet Woodcock made it clear that he would

take no immediate action to help win the demands of the Ford workers. While the whole conference posed the international unity of the working class, all Woodcock proposed were some pathetic long range reforms of capitalism.

Neither Woodcock nor Scanlon put forward a concrete program to fight rising unemployment, although this was at the heart of Ford's threat to move his investments out of Britain.

Woodcock said workers should exert their influence nationally for strong government controls over international firms.

He urged the development of an enforceable code of "good behavior and citizenship" for international corporations and the incorporation of fair labor standards into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades.

"I hope," Mr. Woodcock said, "we will make genuine progress towards common expiration dates for our agreements, corporation by corporation, the key date in each case being the expiration deadline in the country where the major corporate negotiations take place."

SOLIDARITY

Not one union leader at the conference called for immediate solidarity strike action which would deal a serious blow to Ford's empire.

Ford can only be laughing at the bulk of Woodcock's proposals. Woodcock should know that the fight against the inhuman conditions at the Ford plants in Ameri-

ca and for union recognition was not won by appealing to Ford's sense of fair play and good citizenship but only through a ruthless and bloody strike struggle.

The bureaucrats deny the whole lesson of the Ford strike and the postal strike in Britain in which the Tory government openly urged the corporations to hold the line against wages—that the enemy is not just Ford but the capitalist government.

Not one word was said at the conference about the Industrial Relations Bill, the Tories' declaration of war against the unions. The cause of the defeats that the British workers have suffered over the past year is precisely the unions leaders' refusal to take up the struggle to throw out the Tory government and replace it with a Labour Party government pledged to expropriate the corporations and turn over industry to the working class.

These are the same questions that workers face here in the United States. Woodcock, as every American auto worker knows, has done nothing to launch a fight against massive layoffs throughout the auto industry or even defend his members' wage demands in the last contract.

The American ruling class is now preparing to launch a vicious attack against the living standards of American workers with wage controls and anti-union laws bolstered with the club of rising unemployment. Nixon openly seeks the cooperation of the union leadership.

Representatives of the capitalist class

scurry all over the world to meet each other to work out a common strategy against the blows of the working class.

LINKED

The trips of Henry Ford and then Woodcock to England make it clear that the struggles of American workers are linked with the struggles of their European and Asian class brothers. The only way to fight back internationally is to force the union leaders to call a general strike against the attacks.

Woodcock and the entire bureaucracy seek to hold back the political development of the working class. The International Metalworkers Federation refused to allow the CGT and the CGIL, the French and Italian unions, to attend on the basis of their connections with the Communist Party. Although these trade union federations are Stalinist and have posed no fight beyond protest strikes against the capitalist class, their exclusion is based on anti-communism on the part of the right wing union leaders. As the struggle deepens, these leaders will witchhunt any tendency with a communist history.

American auto workers must fight Woodcock to call strike action in solidarity with British Ford workers. Put Ford on notice that an attack on any section of workers anywhere in the world will be met with the powerful united action of the working class. A defeat of Ford in England will be a victory for the struggle of American workers.

West Coast News

1000 March In Chicano Rally

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN JOSE—Rising repression, police attacks, unemployment and widespread discontent caused by the sharpening of the international capitalist crisis forced 1000 members of the Chicano population here out in a "Chicano Moratorium" last week.

Uniting around cries of "Viva La Raza," "La Raza Unida," and other slogans calling for the solidarity of the Chicanos as a race, a predominantly youthful gathering listened to more than a dozen speakers, the majority of whom sought to promote and encourage the nationalist tendencies which have been nurtured here by the dismal economic situation.

In posing the struggle as one of race rather than class, the organizers of the Moratorium contended that since the "consciousness" of the Chicano people is on a racial and nationalist level, it is on that level that the people must be dealt with—and therefore the "La Raza" line is necessary and progressive. But the leadership was fundamentally mistaken.

FARINAS

This was openly demonstrated at the Moratorium. Juan Farinas, a political prisoner free on bail but facing two years in jail for leafleting an induction center against the war, spoke to the gathering who received his call for class action favorably. But afterwards while distributing a leaflet announcing his speaking engagement at a local college later in the day, Farinas was confronted by the Moratorium leadership and told to discontinue his leafleting on the basis that he was a counter-nationalist.

The last time Farinas was in such a situation he was facing not a Chicano nationalist but an army officer, and through the latter, the entire repressive

forces of the bourgeoisie. The class nature of the leadership was clearly expressed as they attacked Farinas for a leaflet which in essence said the same thing that the ruling class considered so dangerous to their plummeting security that they had to conjure up frame-up charges to insure that Farinas would be sent to prison. Apparently, the leadership does not include within its perspectives the defense of political prisoners, who, like this leadership itself, are under the gun of the ruling class.

But the Chicano nationalists are not singularly responsible for the betrayals that movements along the lines of the Moratorium represent. They are profoundly influenced and misdirected by those forces of the "revolutionary" movement which are now predominant. The Stalinist Communist Party, consistent with its whole historical role of counter-revolution and utter theoretical bankruptcy, promotes the backwardness of not just the Chicanos, but of all workers, young people, and minorities virtually everywhere in the world.

The Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance and its campus puppet the Student Mobilization Committee stand for the same thing as the Stalinists, with nationalism as one of its main platforms.

These are the people who lay the theoretical basis for the betrayal of not only the Chicano people, but the entire working class, Black, white, brown or Third World.

WL Discusses Panther Split

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Workers League Club held an extremely important meeting this Friday at San Francisco State College.

Built on the subject of the meaning of the split in the Black Panther Party, the discussion revealed the tremendous potential for theoretical development now opening up among Black youth which places at the very center the struggle of Trotskyism against Stalinism.

The speaker stressed that Huey Newton's call for dialectical materialism was an expression of deep developments within the working class. The sharpening of the international class struggle and in particular the brutal attacks launched on Black militants now challenges the old methods of pragmatism and opens up a search for new alternatives, for socialism, for a turn to the working class.

The Eldridge Cleavers with their rag bag collections of Maoism, drugs, mysticism and Black nationalism now come into the sharpest conflict with these developments. Huey Newton has been unable to clarify the real meaning of the split because he remains tied to black nationalism through his theories of inter-

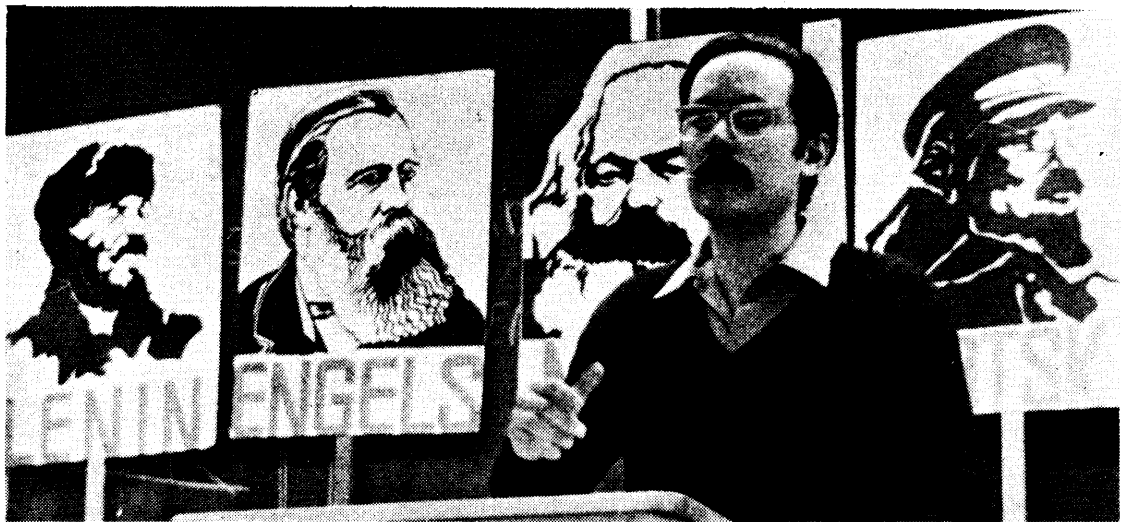
communalism.

The sharpest expression of this theoretical problem is the continuing opportunist relationship with the counter-revolutionary Communist Party and the policies of the Popular Front. The Panthers can now go forward only in the sharpest struggle to break from Stalinism and this means coming to grips with the entire historical struggle of Trotskyism and Stalinism. The conscious intervention of the revolutionary party, the Fourth International, now becomes a decisive factor in this struggle.

URGENCY

The discussion revealed the extreme urgency of these questions in that a number of those present participated in the Angela Davis Defense Committee and through their own experiences were forced into a fight with Stalinism around such questions as the defense of Ruchell Magee. What is clear is that while at this time the Stalinists do not have a mass base, those youth who begin to enter political struggle cannot avoid these questions from the outset.

It is impossible to understand the failure of the CP to take up a real defense of Magee without probing to its origins. Indeed how could the party that cheered on the executions of virtually the



Juan Farinas addresses San Francisco audience as part of West Coast tour including LA.

Juan Farinas Speaks On LA Campuses

BY BILL WINGFIELD

LOS ANGELES—Mrs. Bessie Philips, mother of one of three members of the Soledad 7 still facing California's gas chamber, expressed a major theme of three Los Angeles public meetings built in defense of Juan Farinas and other political prisoners when she told her student audience:

"We are of the same class; we're all working people. . . If the three brothers facing death, the four facing life behind bars, and Angela, Bobby, Juan, and the brother here (Gordy Baxter) lose, you've all lost. Even Huey has to go back to court. If they lose you all lose; and your college degrees won't keep you from losing!"

"I'm old. These other old women (mothers of her son's co-defendants)—we're looking for political leadership. It's up to you because you're young. Show people like me the way to go to get us all out from under this."

A total of 350 persons, mostly working class Black and Chicano students, attended the three meetings, March 22-24. Monday's and Wednesday's gatherings were held at California State College, Long Beach. The first was sponsored by the Black Students' Union (BSU), and the second by the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA). Tuesday's meeting took place at Compton Junior College, with the combined sponsorship of that ghetto

school's BSU and MECHA.

Despite her grasp of the class content of the persecution of her son, Mrs. Philips displayed confusion over the conflicting approaches to the defense of political prisoners. She spoke of "different roads going in the same direction" and expressed dismay at the criticism leveled at the Communist Party's "defense" of Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee by a preceding speaker, Steve Cherkoss of United Steelworkers Local 1845.

DEADENDS

Mrs. Philips' desire for the Workers League to abandon its struggle against the popular front-civil liberties perspective of the CP in favor of "unity" is an expression of her anxiety and frustration over the collapse of the Soledad 7 Defense Committee.

Thus, when Juan Farinas succeeded her to the podium, he carefully explained that it is just because that committee was limited by the Stalinists to the framework of bourgeois law that it became unable to function when bourgeois "justice" was apparently demonstrated in the dropping of the murder charge against four of the Soledad 7. "Some roads," Juan pointed out, "have dead ends."

Juan then turned to an explanation of the meaning of the struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism today and placed the Workers League's struggle for a class defense of political prisoners in that context.

Beginning with the lessons of the Paris Commune, he related the repression of himself, the Panthers, and others to the crisis of capitalism which is forcing

the U.S. ruling class and its political agents to prepare attacks on the entire working class—attacks that will pose the question posed by the Paris Commune: civil war and its aim, workers power.

Mrs. Philips' son, he concluded, cannot be defended successfully on a line that fails to confront the working class with the necessity of mobilizing in defense of itself, and therefore, her son as a class fighter in its own vanguard.

FIGHT

Finally, linking the attacks on the working class to the imperialist war against the workers and peasants to Indochina, Juan explained the CP's use of the "Peoples Peace Treaty" to contain the antiwar movement within the very popular-front perspective that is endangering the lives of the political prisoners they "defend."

He urged everyone to join the fight against the Stalinist betrayal of the working class here and in Indochina by mobilizing students to go with the Workers League contingent to San Francisco on April 24th for an independent rally to struggle to bring organized labor into a class fight for a general strike against the war and Nixon's attacks on the trade unions.

As a result of the struggle for Trotskyism waged by the Workers League on Monday, MECHA invited Juan to return to the campus for a meeting built by them on Wednesday. This was done, and 150 Chicano students, including many high school students, turned out to hear him.

Other speakers at one or more of the three meetings included Romey Johnson of the Workers League and Gordy Baxter, Secretary of Local 2070, UCLA Health Workers, AFSCME. A total of \$110 in literature was sold, and \$56 was contributed to Juan's defense costs.

Protest Unites Pacifists, Maoists

BY BARRY PORSTER

SAN JOSE—At a meeting at San Jose State called by the Peace and Freedom Party to discuss "violence versus non-violence" the pacifists and Maoists of the Revolutionary Union enacted a little drama which clearly exposed their objective kinship. The pacifists trotted out the mystical notion of "soul force" and the revolutionary essence of Christ while the Maoists argued that under certain conditions violence was a morally justified tactic.

Since the perspective of both groups was the same—bourgeois idealism—their concrete proposals coincided, namely, more of the same protest politics which led to the massacre of Kent State

and which, if continued, will break the back of the student and youth movement.

When one of the discussion leaders posed the abortive strike at Stanford against the invasion of Laos as the way forward, a member of the Workers League from Stanford pointed out that the only "concrete" results of that action were the expulsion from campus of members of Venceremos and the further demoralization of the campus.

The "strike" at Stanford was centered on driving off campus counter-insurgency and war-related research, in other words, student power protest politics. The comrade from Stanford went on to say that the issue of vi-

olence versus non-violence was a bogus issue, that the real question facing the youth was posed by the rapidly decaying position of the capitalists in Indochina and at home and by the forward movement of the working class.

When a speaker from the Revolutionary Union called for a mobilization around the People's Peace Treaty, a member of the Workers League pointed out that the treaty is a hoax aimed at diverting the working class from its class enemy and that in calling for "set the date" and a coalition government in South Vietnam it prepares the way for yet another Stalinist betrayal of the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

West Coast News

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Back Teachers With Fight For General Strike

BY EARL OWENS

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly all the teachers entering the strike meeting last week were soaked from head to toe, having picketed their schools in the pouring rain.

At issue in their strike is the elimination of 340 teaching positions through attrition, a freeze on hiring, a cut in the number of teacher's aides, the elimination of special programs as well as the elimination of the sabbatical leave program. In addition, an agreement to limit classroom size won during the 1968 strike is being nullified.

At the union meeting, the union leaders had little more to say than "keep it up." One union official informed the teachers that he was forming a brigade of teachers in mini-skirts to leaflet the financial districts! But no leafletting of other city workers was even posed.

When one teacher asked why the head of the Central Labor Council refused to grant strike sanction to the Hospital Workers Union and Janitors Union which would create the basis of a general city workers strike, Ballard, head of the union, refused to answer because "there were T.V. cameras present."

Victory for San Francisco teachers will not be an easy matter. Ballard is practicing a deception when he tells teachers they can win just by picketing day after day in front of some schools. The only way the strike is going to be won is through a general city workers strike. Every city department from the bus drivers to the hospital orderlies are fac-

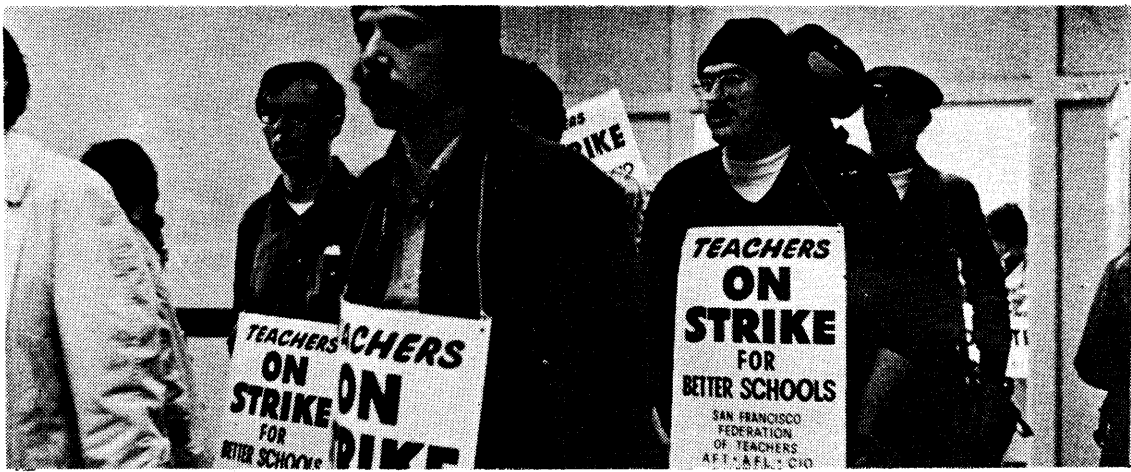
ing similar cutbacks as the teachers. But Ballard attempts to limit the strike and thereby isolate it.

DECISIVE

The coming week will be decisive in winning or losing the strike. The Classroom Teachers Association, a conservative professional association, has advised its members to cross the picket lines because the strike is "untimely." This decision was made by the Executive Board not by the membership. The Black Caucus has also advised black teachers to cross the picket lines—as if the cutbacks will not affect blacks as well as whites!

The Progressive Labor Party denounces the strike as "racist" because there is no demand for preferential hiring. Some of the members of PL are respecting the picket lines. However, in one high school PL members are crossing the picket lines to go to work because "the black teachers are going to work." According to PL, teachers are not workers anyway so the only important demands are student demands.

Today all over San Francisco teachers have been going door to door attempting to explain their strike and distributing leaflets in front of supermarkets. However, there is nothing in the flood of leaflets coming out from the union which connects the attacks against teachers with the attacks Reagan and Nixon are carrying out against the rest of the labor movement. Instead of appealing to the rest of the labor movement on the basis of joint class action, the union's leaflets appeal for nothing more than moral sympathy.



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Alioto and the Board of Supervisors care little whether any education is taking place in San Francisco and therefore are standing firm.

The ranks of the teachers union

together with the rank and file of all city unions must now take up a fight to shut down San Francisco completely until decent wages, working conditions, and job security are won.

The CP And Its Trouble With Harry

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The Stalinist chickens are coming home to roost in the ILWU. A very sharp struggle is developing between the Longshoremen's union head, Harry Bridges, and the Communist Party. The CP which only a few months before was the most uncritical admirer of the Bridges style of progressive unionism is suddenly devoting issue after issue of the *Peoples World* to polemics against Brother Bridges.

On the surface the differences began over some remarks that Bridges made in an editorial in the *Dispatcher*, the union paper, on the great struggles developing in the British working class. Basically Bridges' view is that the British working class brought the Heath anti-union legislation down on their own heads with an irresponsible policy of wildcat strike action.

Bridges is all too well aware of the implications of the British general strikes. He is openly forced to side with the trade union bureaucracy, recognizing that his own position with his rank and file places him in very similar peril to that of his bureaucratic Eng-

lish cousins. He concluded his editorial with some sharp warnings against the Stalinist led rank and file committees.

It is very important to note that during the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, Bridges came out strongly for the Soviet bureaucracy on the basis that the Czech workers were taking too much power into their own hands. The *Peoples World* of course did not think this was worth taking up. It is one thing when the Czech working class is strangled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and this is endorsed by "progressive" Harry. It is quite another case, however, when the Stalinists find themselves under

attack by the same methods.

The Communist Party does not, of course, give a damn for the interests of the British working class. They are sparing no effort to restrict the class struggles in England to impotent protest actions against the Industrial Relations Bill, rather than a massive movement to bring down the Tory government. Their break with Bridges is in no way a matter of principle.

The Communist Party built Harry Bridges. For years he has followed every twist and turn in the Stalinist line. The Communist Party supported the M & M agreements on productivity that now threaten the sharpest explosion on the docks.

The massive unemployment on the waterfront and the threats of containerization to decimate the work force now means big changes in the workers' consciousness. Bridges' sellout policies are detested by the rank and file. His hand-picked men are defeated in elections. For the first time the ranks voted him down for a dues increase.

The Stalinists are well aware that Harry's ship has sprung big leaks and is about to go under. It is pure opportunism and the instinct for self preservation that now forces them to pose a left wing stance. The British question is a cover for the fact that they have no policy for dockers independent of the bureaucracy.

FORWARD

The way forward on the docks to preserve jobs and beat back the government plans to smash the union with transport legislation will require a massive mobilization of the working class on a scale not seen since the San Francisco general strike. It requires a battle now to achieve united action with the East Coast longshoremen and a strategy for winning big support from the Teamsters in a fight to preserve all transport jobs.

On every one of these questions dockers will have to fight it out not only with Bridges, but with the rotten policies of the CP and the Rank and File Committee that would restrict these struggles to support for "progressive" bureaucrats like Woodcock and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Alioto Indictment Exposes Capitalist Corruption

BY STEVE SELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—Stench from City Hall is overpowering. Faced immediately with a teachers' strike, a general city workers' strike and the bankruptcy of the city treasury, Mayor Joseph Alioto was indicted last week by the Federal Grand Jury in Seattle.

He is charged with conspiracy, mail fraud and the use of the mails to promote the bribery of a public official.

The indictment stems from a fee sharing arrangement Alioto had with the former Attorney General of Washington State, John J. O'Connell. Under the agreement, Alioto, who represented Washington public utility districts agreed secretly to split any fees he received from a suit against 29 electrical manufacturers for price fixing with the then Attorney General.

O'Connell coordinated the suit and retained Alioto for the case with the stipulation that fees were not to go over one million dollars. Later, however, when the

anti-trust suit brought about 12 million dollars O'Connell amended the agreement to provide that any fees over a million dollars were to be split 50-50 between Alioto and O'Connell and his special assistant attorney general George K. Faler, an O'Connell appointee assigned to aid in the case.

Alioto now declares that there was nothing unusual about sharing these huge fees with O'Connell and that Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell are out to get him. Alioto is of course quite correct. In his circle of government officials, big businessmen and their legal attorneys, such arrangements are indeed the norm. We are quite sure that a pack of wolves would find nothing unusual in devouring a flock of sheep.

Perhaps the city workers who were informed by the mayor that he felt a 4% pay settlement was quite generous under the present circumstances will be pardoned for thinking that there is something not quite proper about sending a band of fee-sharing thieves off to do battle with a horde of greedy price fixers.

What becomes quite clear is not only the decay of bourgeois politics and the politicians but the rabid attacks they now mete out to each other as they prepare to come face to face with the working class. It is the extreme crisis of the entire system that now forces these disclosures out into the open.

One of the most disgraceful episodes in the whole affair was the performance of the labor bureaucrats who met their champion "Joe" at the airport with signs reading "Maritime workers welcome Joe" and "Transport workers support Joe." They are well aware that all their special arrangements with City Hall are now threatened and they fear the coming cataclysm.

Having done everything they could to prop up their good friend Joe, including a conscious sabotage of every attempt of city workers to defend themselves, they were rewarded the very next day when Alioto made it clear that there would be no compromises with the city workers because of the bankrupt city budget.

The only thing more degrading than the spectacle of the labor bureaucracy grovelling before Alioto is the incredible attitude of the Communist Party's *Peoples World* which sees the whole affair in terms of prospects for the Democratic Party in the mayoralty elections. The CP is speculating on the possibility of "popular young black legislator" Willie Brown, the Democratic assemblyman, stepping in if Alioto bows out.

The working class can only take pleasure in these disclosures. Indeed the striking teachers and the fight of all city workers can only be strengthened by the disarray in the capitalist ranks brought on by these developments. The way is cleared to building for a mass general city workers strike.

The lessons for the working class are extremely sharp, the only way forward is through an open break with the capitalist parties of corruption and strike-breaking and all those in the labor movement that prop them up and the launching of an independent labor party based on the unions.

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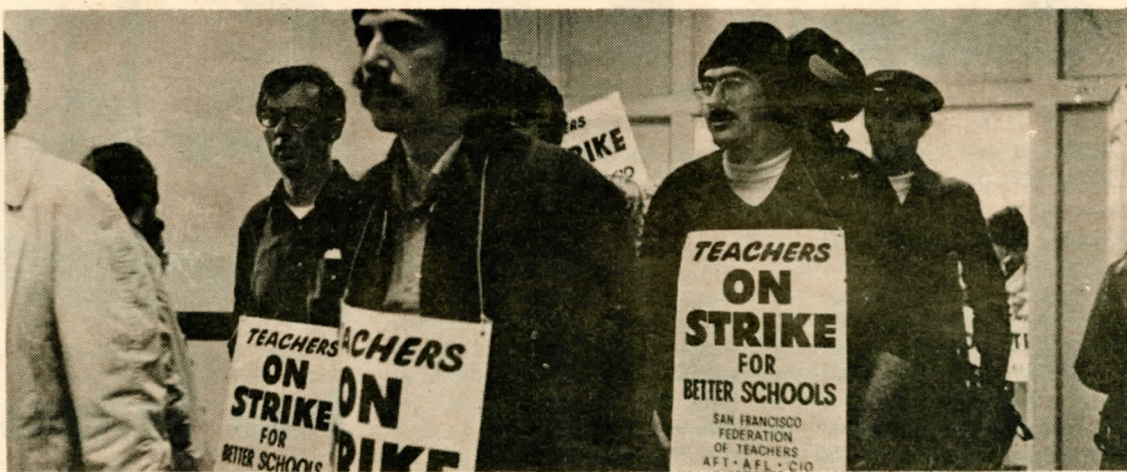
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BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The Stalinist chickens are coming home to roost in the ILWU. A very sharp struggle is developing between the Longshoremen's union head, Harry Bridges, and the Communist Party. The CP which only a few months before was the most uncritical admirer of the Bridges style of progressive unionism is suddenly devoting issue after issue of the *Peoples World* to polemics against Brother Bridges.

On the surface the differences began over some remarks that Bridges made in an editorial in the *Dispatcher*, the union paper, on the great struggles developing in the British working class. Basically Bridges' view is that the British working class brought the Heath anti-union legislation down on their own heads with an irresponsible policy of wildcat strike action.

Bridges is all too well aware of the implications of the British general strikes. He is openly forced to side with the trade union bureaucracy, recognizing that his own position with his rank and file places him in very similar peril to that of his bureaucratic Eng-

lish cousins. He concluded his editorial with some sharp warnings against the Stalinist led rank and file committees.

It is very important to note that during the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, Bridges came out strongly for the Soviet bureaucracy on the basis that the Czech workers were taking too much power into their own hands. The *Peoples World* of course did not think this was worth taking up. It is one thing when the Czech working class is strangled by the Stalinist bureaucracy and this is endorsed by "progressive" Harry. It is quite another case, however, when the Stalinists find themselves under

attack by the same methods.

The Communist Party does not, of course, give a damn for the interests of the British working class. They are sparing no effort to restrict the class struggles in England to impotent protest actions against the Industrial Relations Bill, rather than a massive movement to bring down the Tory government. Their break with Bridges is in no way a matter of principle.

The Communist Party built Harry Bridges. For years he has followed every twist and turn in the Stalinist line. The Communist Party supported the M & M agreements on productivity that now threaten the sharpest explosion on the docks.

The massive unemployment on the waterfront and the threats of containerization to decimate the work force now means big changes in the workers' consciousness. Bridges' sellout policies are detested by the rank and file. His hand-picked men are defeated in elections. For the first time the ranks voted him down for a dues increase.

The Stalinists are well aware that Harry's ship has sprung big leaks and is about to go under. It is pure opportunism and the instinct for self preservation that now forces them to pose a left wing stance. The British question is a cover for the fact that they have no policy for dockers independent of the bureaucracy.

FORWARD

The way forward on the docks to preserve jobs and beat back the government plans to smash the union with transport legislation will require a massive mobilization of the working class on a scale not seen since the San Francisco general strike. It requires a battle now to achieve united action with the East Coast longshoremen and a strategy for winning big support from the Teamsters in a fight to preserve all transport jobs.

On every one of these questions dockers will have to fight out not only with Bridges, but with the rotten policies of the CP and the Rank and File Committee that would restrict these struggles to support for "progressive" bureaucrats like Woodcock and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Alioto Indictment Exposes Capitalist Corruption

BY STEVE SELTZER

SAN FRANCISCO—Stench from City Hall is overpowering. Faced immediately with a teachers' strike, a general city workers' strike and the bankruptcy of the city treasury, Mayor Joseph Alioto was indicted last week by the Federal Grand Jury in Seattle.

He is charged with conspiracy, mail fraud and the use of the mails to promote the bribery of a public official.

The indictment stems from a fee sharing arrangement Alioto had with the former Attorney General of Washington State, John J. O'Connell. Under the agreement, Alioto, who represented Washington public utility districts agreed secretly to split any fees he received from a suit against 29 electrical manufacturers for price fixing with the then Attorney General.

O'Connell coordinated the suit and retained Alioto for the case with the stipulation that fees were not to go over one million dollars. Later, however, when the

anti-trust suit brought about 12 million dollars O'Connell amended the agreement to provide that any fees over a million dollars were to be split 50-50 between Alioto and O'Connell and his special assistant attorney general George K. Faler, an O'Connell appointee assigned to aid in the case.

Alioto now declares that there was nothing unusual about sharing these huge fees with O'Connell and that Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell are out to get him. Alioto is of course quite correct. In his circle of government officials, big businessmen and their legal attorneys, such arrangements are indeed the norm. We are quite sure that a pack of wolves would find nothing unusual in devouring a flock of sheep.

Perhaps the city workers who were informed by the mayor that he felt a 4% pay settlement was quite generous under the present circumstances will be pardoned for thinking that there is something not quite proper about sending a band of fee-sharing thieves off to do battle with a horde of greedy price fixers.

What becomes quite clear is not only the decay of bourgeois politics and the politicians but the rabid attacks they now mete out to each other as they prepare to come face to face with the working class. It is the extreme crisis of the entire system that now forces these disclosures out into the open.

One of the most disgraceful episodes in the whole affair was the performance of the labor bureaucrats who met their champion "Joe" at the airport with signs reading "Maritime workers welcome Joe" and "Transport workers support Joe." They are well aware that all their special arrangements with City Hall are now threatened and they fear the coming cataclysm.

Having done everything they could to prop up their good friend Joe, including a conscious sabotage of every attempt of city workers to defend themselves, they were rewarded the very next day when Alioto made it clear that there would be no compromises with the city workers because of the bankrupt city budget.

The only thing more degrading than the spectacle of the labor bureaucracy grovelling before Alioto is the incredible attitude of the Communist Party's *Peoples World* which sees the whole affair in terms of prospects for the Democratic Party in the mayoralty elections. The CP is speculating on the possibility of "popular young black legislator" Willie Brown, the Democratic assemblyman, stepping in if Alioto bows out.

The working class can only take pleasure in these disclosures. Indeed the striking teachers and the fight of all city workers can only be strengthened by the disarray in the capitalist ranks brought on by these developments. The way is cleared to building for a mass general city workers strike.

The lessons for the working class are extremely sharp, the only way forward is through an open break with the capitalist parties of corruption and strike-breaking and all those in the labor movement that prop them up and the launching of an independent labor party based on the unions.