

Bulletin

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weekly organ of the workers league

The SWP And Stalinist Attacks

VOLUME SEVEN, NUMBER THIRTY-THREE (193)

APRIL 26, 1971

FIFTEEN CENTS

End War, Inflation, Unemployment, Repression

CALL GENERAL STRIKE



What
we
think

Lessons Of The Defeat Of Newark Teachers Strike

The Newark teachers have now agreed to a contract which represents the most serious defeat any union has received in the recent period. It grants no wage increase for a year and takes away important provisions from last year's contract. The NTU barely remains as a union and it can be expected that new blows will now be dealt to the returned teachers.

The lessons of this defeat must now be learned by the whole labor movement. All those responsible for the defeat must be exposed.

It must be understood that these blows were delivered against the NTU because the crisis of capitalism requires the driving back of all labor to the conditions of the 1930s.

No sooner does the NTU "settle" than Mayor Lindsay, across the river in New York, announces layoffs which could lead to 50,000 people being thrown out of work! Mayor Gibson and the big business interests which stand behind him were out to break the NTU as the first step in a campaign against all city workers and all workers.

With an understanding of the meaning of the NTU strike the Workers League fought on the basis of a strategy which could have turned the strike from a defeat into an important victory for the whole labor movement.

We proposed that there be no compromise on the major union demands of money, smaller class size, a general improvement in working conditions and in the schools. Knowing that the NTU would face a union busting attempt we urged from the very beginning the fight for a general strike of the New Jersey labor movement to stop the union busters.

This strategy was reinforced with the understanding that Gib-
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Cabbies Chase Leaders Out

Repudiate Hooliganism

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE WORKERS LEAGUE

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Two weeks ago the petty bourgeois nationalist MPI made an armed attack on members of the Workers League to prevent the sale of the Bulletin. Three comrades were injured, one perhaps for life. The MPI found tremendous support from the Stalinist Communist Party at a CP forum attacking Trotskyism. At the same time the MPI brings forward all the historic slanders of Trotskyism from the annals of world Stalinism, including charges of being "CIA agents" and "counter-revolutionary pigs."

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Nixon-Mao Plan Deal

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The sharp right turn of China towards U.S. imperialism now endangers the future of the Vietnamese revolution.

The turn is being heralded by the capitalist class and its agents, from Nixon, to the *New York Times*, to Leonard Woodcock, President of the auto workers union.

Last week Chou En-lai speaking to the American ping pong players said that their trip had "opened a new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people." "I am confident," continued Chou, "that this beginning again of our friendship will certainly meet with the majority support of our two peoples."

Nixon quickly responded to China's overtures in a move which he has obviously been planning for some time by announcing relaxation of the twenty year old trade embargo and other moves to ease relations between imperialism and the Maoist bureaucracy.

These moves occur precisely at a time when imperialism has been routed in Indochina and Nixon faces a combative working class at home. The *New York Times* in its editorial of April 15th put it this way:

OBLIGING

"The Chinese have been most obliging in their timing, since Premier Chou's words about 'a new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people' comes just as the spring push has begun for marches on Washington by critics of Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy. Premier Chou has done Mr. Nixon a good turn."

And indeed he has!

Imperialism has not forgotten the "good turn" Mr. Chou did for it at Geneva in 1954. He in fact played the major role in achieving the Geneva Accords by convincing the Viet-Minh to agree to the division of Vietnam.

So now the Chinese bureaucracy joins its Stalinist brothers, joins Madame Binh, to

open the door to a new sellout in Indochina and a smashing of the revolution. The Soviet Union and the U.S. Communist Party have welcomed China's moves as a step to "world peace."

WARNING

The role of the Maoist bureaucracy in openly supporting the bloody massacre of the Bengali people and the crushing of their struggle for independence is a sharp warning for Vietnam.

Nixon will utilize all trade and technical aid to make China more dependent on capitalism, while at the same time using each step taken by China to drive a wedge between China and the liberation forces in Indochina.

The right turn of China exposes its left demagoguery and its counterrevolutionary roots in Stalinism.

The future of the working class and the struggle for socialism lies in the hands of the Trotskyist movement. It is this question that all those tendencies which have taken up the perspective of Chairman Mao must now confront.

Woodcock Denounces General Strike Move

BY JIM HAYES

ST. LOUIS, April 17—Leonard Woodcock, President of the UAW, spoke here today at a Labor-University Alliance Conference on peace and jobs at the Teamsters Plaza Headquarters.

The conference was sponsored by a coalition of academicians and trade union leaders such as Harold Gibbons, Vice President of the Teamsters.

Woodcock began his speech by praising the leaders of Chinese Stalinism for their willingness to allow a "political settlement" in Indochina.

The moves by the Chinese bureaucracy can only lead to the defeat of the Vietnamese revolution, aided by the labor



A body was found in the basement of the burned out offices of Panthers.

Panther Leader Murdered

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, April 19—Sam Napier, distribution and circulation manager of the Black Panther paper on the East Coast was brutally assassinated this weekend.

His body was discovered by firemen Saturday in the burning office of the Panthers on Northern Boulevard in Corona, Queens. His hands were bound and his eyes taped. He had three bullet holes in his head and three in his back.

Napier lived at the Corona headquarters, which was the East Coast distribution point for the paper, put out in Oakland by supporters of Huey Newton. He was sent by the Oakland Panthers to work on the circulation of *The Black Panther* here, where Cleaver supporters predominate.

Yesterday police arrested several Panthers, including members of the Corona branch and Elbert "Big Man" Howard, charging them with possession of dangerous weapons. Big Man is a Newton supporter, as was Napier and the Corona branch.

This murder of Napier opens the door wide for the police and their agents. It is not excluded that the police had their hand in this murder in order to open up fratricidal war between Cleaver and Newton supporters, and use this as an excuse to frame-up and wipe out the Panthers.

There is nothing the police and the government would like better than to have open armed warfare between Panthers. They would like nothing better than to assassinate whole sections of Panthers.

a "romantic illusion" since the unions are formed "for economic rather than political issues." Woodcock claimed that you cannot expect the American workers to strike against the government as the British working class has. Mass strikes, said Woodcock, are "politically ineffective."

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Young Lords Won't Take Sides

BY JUAN P. FARINAS

NEW YORK—The physical attacks launched by the leadership of the MPI in New York on the Workers League put every socialist, youth and minority organization to the test. What is involved is whether hooliganism and physical attacks are to be allowed as a means of resolving contradictions and differences among these organizations or whether this is to be done through ideological struggle, however sharp this struggle may be.

The Workers League believes that this must be done through a sharp theoretical struggle and not through hooligan attacks on other organizations. We say that the organizations that resort to hooliganism, like MPI in this case, in order to answer political attacks only reveal their own political bankruptcy, their total inability to deal politically with the criticisms raised.

It was with this understanding that we sent an Open Letter to all working class, minority and

youth organizations in which we proposed that all organizations reject and denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement; "that all tendencies reject the charges that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, are agents of the CIA or FBI"; and that the Workers League was prepared to come before an independent workers commission of inquiry in order to present all the necessary evidence in relation to MPI's attacks.

The Young Lords Party has refused to take an open stand on these attacks. This reflects an incorrect understanding not only of this specific question, but, what's more important, on the question of building a revolutionary movement. The conception put forth is that a revolutionary party can be built without a sharp and open theoretical struggle against all the other tendencies in the movement. This is expressed in their refusal to take an open stand against the MPI's attacks on us, a stand that would mean that they condemn and oppose hooli-

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Repudiate Hooliganism

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thrown into mortal crisis by the movement of the working class.

The Workers League calls upon all working class, minority and youth organizations to take a stand against any and all hooligan attacks within the movement. The Workers League proposes:

1) That all organizations reject and denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement; that we specifically affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature; that we oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights.

2) That all tendencies, whatever their political differences, reject the charges that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, are agents of the CIA or FBI. These slanders are rooted in the infamous Moscow Trials and were refuted not only by the Dewey Commission in 1937 but by history itself, in particular

by the speech of Krushchev to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956. These absolute fabrications are now being brought forward to justify physical assaults on working class tendencies.

3) The Workers League is prepared to come before an independent workers' commission of inquiry to present all the necessary evidence which will prove that its supporters have been the victim of vicious, murderous and unprovoked attacks on the part of MPI. It proposes that MPI affirm its willingness to testify before such a commission, composed of impartial representatives acceptable to both sides.

We call upon all organizations to communicate to us their agreement with the above two proposals, to publicize this attack and your opposition to it, and to help us defend ourselves and prevent similar attacks in the future.

bureaucracy in the United States. From there, Woodcock went on to support such reformist programs as the McGovern reconversion bill.

In the discussion period Woodcock was directly questioned by a member of the Workers League. The Workers League spokesman challenged Woodcock's perspective, saying that the only way to end the war is the fight to mobilize the working class in a general strike like the strikes by the British working class against the Tory government and to build a labor party.

Woodcock attacked this program by saying that it is

Resistencia Hits MPI Attacks

NEW YORK—After an investigation Resistencia Puertorriquena has stated its opposition to the attacks of MPI on Bulletin salesmen which resulted in three Workers League members being sent to the hospital. While this organization does not agree politically with the Workers League it has declared its willingness to sign a statement opposing hooligan attacks, opposing the slander that the WL is a CIA front, and in favor of an impartial investigation into the matter. Resistencia is a revolutionary organization devoted to the independence of Puerto Rico which publishes a weekly newsletter and is active in neighborhood work.

Nixon Says Lindsay Lays Off 2,800 No End To Threatens 90,000 More Viet War

BY DAVID NICHOLS

Through the voice of Nixon last Saturday, imperialism let it be known that it has no intentions of "setting the date" to remove American troops much less of ever leaving Indochina.

In fact Nixon has upped the ante for withdrawal and the US military commander in South Vietnam, General Abrams, has announced a new invasion of Laos. Behind all of Nixon's fraud of "Vietnamization" and his talk of withdrawal are preparations for a new offensive.

Speaking in Washington, D.C. April 17th in an interview with newspaper editors, Nixon said that "as long as the South Vietnamese have not yet developed the capacity to defend themselves, to take over from us the defense of their own country, a capacity they are rapidly developing, we will have forces there."

And later on in his speech Nixon also used the POW question to explain that American troops would remain in Indochina, "...as long as they do retain prisoners. No American President could simply remove our forces and remove the threat to them."

Nixon's statement coupled

with Nguyen Cao Ky's declaration that "...a military victory is impossible" in Vietnam, clearly illustrates the imperialist strategy.

American troops will be withdrawn only to a level deemed necessary by Abrams and his Pentagon cohorts to maintain all

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BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK, April 21—Mayor Lindsay has summarily dismissed 2800 city workers. "The cuts are permanent," said Lindsay and just the beginning of the massive layoffs which he now states could throw as many as 90,000 workers, one-quarter of the work force, out of work.

Lindsay ordered 800 full time and 2000 part-time city workers dropped as of May 1st, as well as drastic cutbacks in city services. The areas affected include the Urban Action Task Force, the city owned broadcasting system (WNYC), Department of Cultural Affairs, the Staten Island Ferries, the Division of Veteran Affairs, and the Summer Intern program.

At the same time Lindsay ordered a job freeze in the Sanitation Department and a halt to the scheduled hiring of 150 sanitationmen and 75 firemen.

According to Lindsay, all of this amounts to \$10 million saved for the City—off the backs of the working class. And this Lindsay said is just a drop in the bucket. The \$10 million only amounts to 1% of the City's budget deficit

for the next fiscal year.

BEGINNING

This is only the beginning of the City's attempt to solve its budget crisis at the workers' expense. These cutbacks "are not the end," Lindsay said. "More cuts are certain in the future." One City official added: "If you think today is bad, tomorrow is unbelievable."

Lindsay has followed up his dismissal of the 2,800 with a new threat to throw out of work 90,000 beginning next July, one-quarter of the work force. Already the Hospitals Corporation has advised it plans to do away with 18,000 jobs and the Board of Education is projecting the layoff of 11,250 teachers and other school employees.

The Municipal Labor Committee, composed of all city unions including Sanitation and the uniformed services, held an emergency meeting on April 20. This meeting issued a call for a mass demonstration at City Hall on Tuesday, April 27th to be followed by busses to Albany.

FOOTBALL

What is now required is that even this minimal beginning of a common struggle be turned into a real struggle for a general strike of all city and state labor against these attacks. It is critical that all militants turn out on strength and bring banners demanding a general strike as the only answer to the layoffs.

It is clear that Gotbaum and the rest of the union bureaucrats plan to go along with Lindsay in his attempt to turn this issue into a political football to be thrown back and forth with Rockefeller and the Democratic-controlled legislature until such time as the workers are demoralized and the layoffs implemented on a state as well as city level. Militants must have none of this and instead build a general strike movement against the city and the state and both of the bosses parties. In the course of this movement a labor party can be built which can replace these parties with a workers government committed to socialist policies of full employment, shorter work week and an improvement in the life of all those who live in this country and world.



The banners and posters of the CNL point the way forward at militant SSEU City Hall picketing.

Gotbaum Beats A Retreat In SSEU Fight

BY AN SSEU-371 MEMBER

NEW YORK—After a tremendous show of militancy, when over 1500 Social Service Employees Union-371 members turned out at City Hall last week to demand job security and a good contract, the SSEU leadership along with Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 beat a fantastic retreat.

At the request of the City, at a last minute negotiating session on April 15th, the union agreed to a "hiatus" in negotiations. This so-called "hiatus" was agreed to with full knowledge that within a few days, Lindsay would be announcing the layoff of thousands of City workers.

The City obviously wanted the time to get out from under the tremendous pressures posed by the recent aggressive forward movement of City labor. With the firemen's rejection of a contract offer, setting a precedent for both sanitation and police, and with the prospect of a strike referendum in the SSEU, the City was running scared.

Lindsay needed time to soften up the labor movement with some unemployment in order to push back their bids for decent contracts.

Rather than trying to bring the SSEU and the District Council into the fight being waged by the uniformed services, Gotbaum felt it necessary to keep the labor movement divided. He fears the movement of the working class just as much as Lind-

say. When members of the Committee for a New Leadership raised the question of the upsurge developing among city workers, and the possibility of strike action among the uniformed services at a recent negotiating committee meeting, Gotbaum launched into a vicious attack on the firemen, calling them racists and unworthy of the wage increases they were demanding.

GOTBAUM

He used the lowest form of

liberal demagoguery, claiming that the firemen were taking money out of the pockets of the poor. Such is the union bureaucracy's hatred and fear of the rank and file.

Gotbaum used the same reactionary arguments as Lindsay in pitting one section of the labor movement against another, in order to cover his own unwillingness to fight.

The only way Gotbaum and the union leadership were able to sell this "hiatus" to the membership at the April 15th meeting, however, was to make vague allu-

sions to some kind of citywide fight being prepared against the layoffs. Gotbaum stated that for the SSEU to vote to strike would be to wage a "two front war" against the City.

This is obviously sheer demagoguery, as Gotbaum did not outline any plans for his "front" in the war. Furthermore, even if he were planning general strike action against the layoffs, one local voting to go out could do nothing but spur on the fighting mood of the ranks citywide.

Newark Teachers Strike Ends In Defeat

BY BOB MICHAELSON

NEWARK, April 19—The defeat of the Newark Teachers Union in the eleven week strike that ended last night poses the gravest dangers for the trade union movement not only in Newark, but throughout the country.

The enormity of the defeat was expressed in the fact that the teachers will receive no pay increase the first school year—that is, not until July, 1972, at which time they will be granted a \$500 "cost of living" increase.

The teachers will also be required to do nonprofessional chores and the Board now will also have the right to decide which other similar jobs are "necessary" for the teachers to perform.

The demand that the teachers do these chores was one of the "community control" demands of LeRoi Jones. Its true nature is now shown as the number of nonprofessional aides (who are predominantly Black) will be cut back through this form of speed-up, thus creating even more unemployment among Black workers.

Another important clause that the NTU retreated on was over binding arbitration. While the very nature of this is against the interests of the union, the compromise worked out by Gibson adds even more leverage to the Board than in the previous contract.

A common feeling among the teachers Sunday night as they studied their contract before voting on it was, "Sure, it's not

what we wanted, but what can we do? Marciante and the AFL-CIO left us out on the limb and we just had to go it alone and do the best we could."

But as the outcome of the strike showed, "going it alone" led to the defeat of the strike and the near-destruction of the union itself.

The NTU leadership not only did not fight against this kind of demoralization, but actually contributed to it. They let Marciante off the hook at a time when he was feeling the pressures from his ranks.

The Communist Party showed where it stands on these questions when in the April 20th issue of the Daily World they quote and accept a comment made by Archie Cole of the IUE who said the NTU "demonstrated

their concern for Newark and its financial plight by agreeing to go along with no raise whatsoever for the 1971-72 school year."

The Stalinists agree with that perspective and have backed Gibson all the way in his attacks on the NTU. In the same article, they state as much as they quote Gibson as saying that the contract "provides a firm basis for new and healthy relationships among the board, union and community, and a foundation on which we can rebuild education in Newark."

So the CP supports this betrayal of the teachers and Newark workers, and they look to Gibson and his capitalist masters to give political lead.

Only the Workers League has fought and will continue to fight consistently for the victory of the teachers.

Angry New York Taxi Ranks Rain Chairs On Van Arsdale

BY A LOCAL 3036 MEMBER
NEW YORK—City taxi drivers here exploded in fury at Manhattan Center, Wednesday evening, April 14th, 1971, and in one human wave literally drove Local 3036 President Harry Van

Arsdale and his retinue of bureaucrats, goons and thugs off the stage and out the back door.

Billed as a semi-annual union meeting, the evening turned into a head to head battle between the leadership and rank and filers,

a battle which had been brewing for weeks and culminated in the rotten sellout contract Van Arsdale has been trying to ram down the cabbies' throats.

Union goons attacked early, trying to deck several cabbies handing out leaflets on 34th Street, but were quickly driven inside by 20 men from the Taxi Drivers Coalition, an amalgam of young and older militant groups.

At 7:30 the goons and thugs tried to close the doors, but several hundred drivers already inside, marched to the rear of the hall shouting "Open the doors! Open the doors!" The drivers belted one goon, and the doors were opened.

Van Arsdale had hardly finished his opening remarks when a point of order was raised from the floor involving the suspension of business in order to fully discuss the new contract. When it took the form of a motion, was seconded, passed, and Van Arsdale refused to consider it, the battle was on.

Crowding to the front, young and old drivers alike demanded that open discussion take place. The sight of 3000 drivers waving dollar bills in Manhattan Center shouting "Where's the money, Harry," sent the union accountants scurrying into their briefcases for all the bosses rotten gibberish about fringe benefits.

ANGRY

When Van Arsdale squirmed and said "If you men know of anyone working for 42% of the meter, you should tell us about it," 3000 angry men roared "We're tellin' you!" and another battle broke out.

"Open mike, Open Mike!" yelled several young drivers, and the cry rolled across the floor, as hundred men surged forward. One militant was hoisted on the stage with the warning, "Touch him, Harry, and you boys are dead."

Then followed the first public presentation of opposition de-

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15 Million Workers Shutdown Italy With New General Strike

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER
Fifteen million Italian workers staged a one day general strike on April 7th. The strike was called by Italy's three major union federations.

The tremendous response to the strike call shows that none of the combativity of the Italian working class has diminished since the last general strike on November 1969.

SHACKS

The immediate issue in the strike was the continued shortage of housing. Unemployed workers and farmers who have come to Rome from the south seeking jobs have been forced to live in shacks. Recently thousands of these shanty dwellers stormed unfinished buildings on the outskirts of Rome in an attempt to take them over.

The strike has further deepened the crisis within Premier Colombo's government coalition. The coalition includes the Social Democrats, the Socialist Party and the Christian Democrats.

The Socialist Party which participated in the general strike has sought to bring the Communist Party into the government to form a Popular Front against the rising tide of militancy in the working class. This has been opposed by the right

wing of the Christian Democrats who oppose any alliance with the Communist Party and are leaning to the fascist forces in the country.

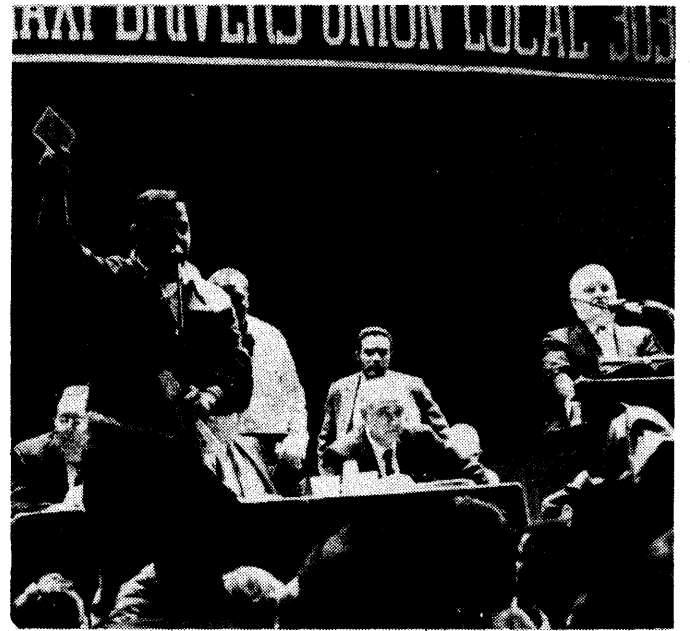
DANGER

The danger now facing the Italian workers is that the Communist Party will continue to try and influence the coalition rather than making a sharp break with the Christian Democrats who are preparing for civil war to crush the workers.

They have openly given the green light to the fascist party "New Order" which has staged provocative rallies throughout Italy. On March 16th a band of 3,000 rightists marched through Rome chanting "Communism Shall Not Pass" and "Il Duce" referring to Mussolini, the fascist leader of World War II.

In a series of demonstrations the Italian working class has shown its willingness to fight the fascists. Italy is rapidly approaching a state of civil war. There must be no repeat of the fascist victory of the 1920s.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party must break with the bourgeois party, the Christian Democrats, and build a workers government based on socialist policies. This is the mandate given these parties by the April 7th General Strike.



Young driver presents opposition demands after fight for open mike.

CEYLONESE ARMY MASSACRES REBELS

BY MELODY FARROW

The Army in Ceylon has opened a Mylai scale massacre of the youth who have been battling the so-called "United Left Front." The Army has ordered summary execution of prisoners. Ten have already been executed and the government is preparing to send 12 more to their death.

Lt. Col. Ranatunga outlined the army's bloody policy:

"We have learned too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia. We must destroy them completely. We have no choice."

Another officer said: "Once we are convinced prisoners are insurgents we take them to the cemetery and dispose of them." The justification for the murder of the guerillas organized around the group called the Che Guevarists has been created by Mrs. Bandaranaike, head of the government.

Bandaranaike has labelled the guerillas as "having ties to reactionary elements" and as a "criminal organization with big financial resources." These accusations are parroted by the U.S. Communist Party's Daily World without further comment. At the same time Bandaranaike has imposed censorship of news from Ceylon to cover her campaign of extermination against the guerillas.

The real nature of this so-called "leftist" government was

revealed by the military support it is now receiving from Britain, Pakistan, India and the United States. They have given Ceylon arms, ammunition, helicopters and spare parts.

CP

These are the "friendly countries" that Mrs. Bandaranaike effusively thanked for their help. The Daily World is careful to eliminate any mention of Britain and the United States and just state that Ceylon is being aided by India. How does the Communist Party explain that the biggest imperialist power in the world, the U.S., is providing arms against so-called "reactionaries?"

This is why the Daily World can only devote two paragraphs to the events in Ceylon. They cannot produce one bit of proof that the "Che Guevarists" are linked to any right wing or criminal organizations.

The real criminals, the capitalists of the U.S., Britain and India are supporting their class allies, the coalition government of Ceylon.

At the same time Mrs. Bandaranaike has expelled certain representatives of the North Korean government. The movement of the workers and peasants will now begin to break up the unity of the three parties of the government. Despite the collaboration of the Ceylonese Communist Party, Bandaranaike will be forced to move against them, to eliminate any party which claims to speak for the working class.

The Revolutionary Communist League, the Ceylonese section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, which has significant support among plantation workers poses the only alternative to the Bandaranaike government. The fight against Bandaranaike lies in the mobilization of the Ceylonese working class, the real target of the government's repression.

U.S. And Stalinists Join Hands Against Bangla Desh



Mike Banda, editor of the Workers Press, presents demand for Bengali Nation to packed audience of over 500 Bengalis in London called together by the Socialist Labour League.

BY TOM GORDON

Nothing has been resolved in the civil war raging in East Pakistan. Despite Nazi-style terror against the workers, including indiscriminate gunning and burning, along with executions, the workers and peasants of Bengal are digging in for a long fight.

They are counting on the approaching monsoon to help set

back the invading armies of Yahya Khan. A new government of Bangla Desh (Bengali Nation) with Sheikh Mujib, captured leader of the secessionist Awami League, as President, has been set up.

The war has virtually halted the jute mills in the East and has thrown the economy of West Pakistan deeper into crisis.

Trading in cotton has practically stopped. Tea plantations in the East have been abandoned or turned over to Bengali managers.

In this desperate situation for the Khan dictatorship, the support of international Stalinism is absolutely necessary if his regime is to survive.

Chester Bowles, ex-ambassador to India, in the April 18

New York Times speaks for a whole layer of the U.S. ruling class when he states that the Soviet Union and China will support U.S. calls for "peace" through arrangements in the U.N. and pressure on Khan.

The real fears of Stalinists and American imperialists alike is, as Bowles states, that "East Pakistan will become a political vacuum with 70 million embittered people convinced that the only hope for support is from the most extreme elements in India."

Stalinists in the U.S. have shown themselves utterly incapable of dealing with the situation and are evading all the central issues. The Communist Party's paper Daily World still maintains absolute silence on the Bengali revolts.

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FBI Spying Exposes Nixon's Plans

BY FRED MUELLER

The FBI furor is continuing. With each new charge and countercharge a little more of the truth is being exposed about the capitalist government's plans for stepped up repression.

Senator Muskie has now taken the FBI to task for its intelligence report on an Earth Day rally at which he spoke which took place on April 22, 1970. The intelligence report made public by Muskie was one of 40 to 60 Earth Day rallies which took place across the country. Appended to this report is a report on the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society.

Muskie, a likely future presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, is concerned about this report which he says may suggest that there is some connection between him and the Progressive Labor Party.

He is disturbed that so innocuous an affair as an Earth Day rally is spied upon by the FBI. And he suggests, therefore, the setting up of a "domestic intelligence review board" to supervise overall intelligence activities.

On the heels of Muskie's complaint and his proposal comes the revelation of the extent of

involvement of former President Johnson and his Attorney General Ramsey Clark in the surveillance of political dissidents. Documents reveal that a number of high government officials discussed means of increasing the flow of intelligence.

CLARK

Mr. Clark, now a leading liberal, denies that he knew of Army intelligence on civilians. He cannot deny his role in supervising and expanding many other aspects of domestic intelligence. Besides the FBI and the Army, other elements of the government, including the Justice Department's Civil Rights, Community Relations, Criminal and Internal Security Divisions, plus the 93 offices of the U.S. Attorney across the country, as well as the Secret Service, have all been engaged in intelligence gathering!

The New York Times reports that by January 1968, Mr. Clark had to plead with the Army to forward only the most important

items to the Justice Department, since he was being flooded with intelligence reports.

While the government claims that the Army has stopped political surveillance, all of the work under the Justice Department is proceeding.

The documents reported on by the Times also reveal that none other than Clark, then Attorney General, warned in the fall of 1967 that urban guerrilla warfare might break out. Numerous meetings of White House, Army and Justice Department officials took place in

1967 and 1968 to discuss the situation.

At one meeting, Clark told Deputy Defense Secretary Nitze that he might have to call upon the Defense Department for help if power generation and electrical transmission lines in the capital were blown up.

FEAR

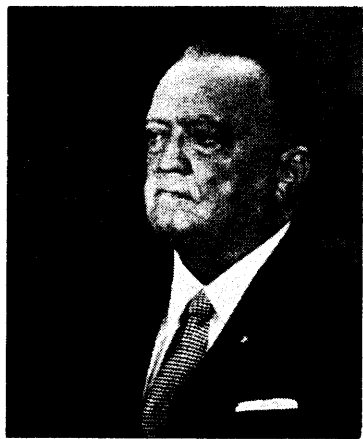
Ramsey Clark is now one of the lawyers for Philip Berrigan, one of those accused of the plot to kidnap Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger.

Muskie is disturbed that the FBI extends its operation from radicals to him. Clark is disturbed at the expansion of spying which he himself developed such a short time ago. What we see here is the division within the ruling class, the fear of a section of that class at the speed with which the crisis is developing, and what this means.

Nixon, however, is not concerned. He makes clear in an exclusive interview with some of his favored newspaper correspondents that he stands behind J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.

According to Nixon, "...I believe it would be most unfortunate to allow a man who has given 50 years, over 50 years, of dedicated service to his country to go out under a cloud, maligned unfairly by many critics."

And on the charge of "police (Continued On Page 14)



Nixon's man J. Edgar Hoover.

Curran Attacks Jobless

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK, April 19—After the 10 AM job call at the NMU hiring hall here today, a union spokesman announced new attacks on the ranks in the form of changes in union rules.

A seaman told this reporter that all severance pay for men and women thrown off laidup ships will be stopped. The union's unemployment security benefits amounting to \$28.50 per week will no longer be paid for family hardships and for job loss due to layoffs.

The shipping days required to maintain unbroken time for the pension are being increased from 50 days per quarter to 70 days (280 days per year). Beginning next year, hospital time will no longer count as sea time towards this pension requirement. These new cuts are to take effect June 30.

With mounting unemployment due to layoffs, it will be impossible for most seamen to maintain the sea-time requirements. Cuts in benefits will also force more men onto the beach.

These new attacks must be beaten back at the April port meetings.

1199 Must Strike Against Layoffs As Hospital Crisis Deepens

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—In the April 5 issue of the Bulletin, we warned about the deepening crisis in the hospitals and urged that hospital workers fight for a citywide demonstration against layoffs and health care cutbacks.

We said: "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."

Now the day of mass layoffs is coming closer. After some weeks of behind the scenes negotiations between Local 1199 and Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, the 1199 leadership has said that the hospital insists it will have to lay off about 60 union members.

As we go to press an emergency meeting of the workers at Maimonides Hospital has been held and the union has said that it will close down the hospital in case of any layoffs.

The crisis has been brewing and developing for many months now. There has been talk of layoffs but the 1199 leadership has persistently refused to make any preparation for a fight.

CAUTIOUS

The union officials' attitude was expressed at the last delegates meeting, which they turned into a little campaign kickoff for Senator McGovern, who addressed about a thousand delegates.

At this April 13th meeting, despite President Davis' introduction of McGovern as "our kind of Senator," the delegates were cautious and lukewarm towards his promises and talk of "peace."

Yet after McGovern had spoken and hastened off for another engagement, the leadership made a brief "informational" report

on the situation at Maimonides Hospital.

Instead of centering the meeting around the fight required to meet the attacks of which Maimonides is only the most immediate, McGovern was presented to the workers as the solution to the tremendous crisis they face—the same McGovern who supports wage freezing and layoffs, who "sympathized" with Nixon's intervention in the Calley case, who stands four square behind the capitalist system which can offer only war and unemployment to the entire working class.

At the same time the 1199 leadership continues to insist that in the matter of attacks on hospital workers, on retrenching and savage cutbacks in health care, it is prepared to meet the hospitals halfway.

Vice President Doris Turner said that the union had agreed that attrition was an acceptable substitute for layoffs. In addition to job cutting through freezes on filling vacancies, the leadership had suggested that the hospital use transfers, in which workers would be placed in other jobs in order to get rid of unwanted positions.

These transfers are part of a massive reorganization in which workers are placed in different job categories. Workers at Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital are being asked to take other jobs with a cut in pay!

The latest proposal from the union leaders has been that layoffs be held up until openings can be found for the workers at other hospitals run by the League of Voluntary Hospitals. Yet at these other hospitals there is also a job freeze and talk of shutdowns.

STRIKE

All the retreats of the leadership on the issue of job cuts, increased workload and all health

cutbacks have just encouraged more serious threats and finally actual layoffs.

The ranks of 1199 must now insist that the threat of strike action in case of layoffs be made good. The fight is not over and the retreat can be halted. If one worker at Maimonides is fired the union should respond with a city wide strike of the hospitals.

At the same time 1199 must fight together with the city hospital workers in District Council 37 and with all city labor against the vicious "austerity" plans of Lindsay and all the bosses.

The proposal for an immediate citywide demonstration against the health cutbacks and all lay-off threats is more urgent than ever. It should be linked to general strike action by all of city labor against the massive layoffs now being announced.

NYCCC Students Fight CUNY Budget Slashes

BY AN NYCCC STUDENT

NEW YORK—The deepening of the international crisis has been posed very sharply to all students in the City University system these last few weeks. At a meeting held at New York City Community College on Thursday, April 15, it was revealed to students enrolled in the College Discovery program that no funds would be supplied for their biweekly stipends.

CD, a program enrolling thousands of students who normally could not afford to go to college provides survival money to students who normally would have to work full time. At the meeting, the representa-

tives of City University showed the bankruptcy of the administration by calling on students to write the same congressman who had made the budget cuts to provide funds for CD and other programs.

The same budget cuts that may lay off 90,000 city workers now threaten to throw hundreds of students out of school. The only perspective that can win the students' demands against these educational cutbacks is the linking of these demands with the fight of city workers against layoffs and slave labor contracts. They must extend the strike to all schools and then call for a general strike of labor.



Workers League members and supporters prepare mammoth banner to be carried in the front of the socialist demonstration in Washington April 24th. San Francisco is also preparing.

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

The Way Forward-- Call General Strike!

There is only one way forward from April 24th to end the war in Vietnam, to end the attacks on the working people and the youth in the United States. The labor movement must be mobilized into a national general strike against the government.

This is the struggle that only the Workers League has taken up against Nixon, against all those "liberals" like McGovern and Muskie who are dominating the official platform on April 24th.

This program in fact reflects the massive movement of the working class against capitalism and all its representatives. This is why Leonard Woodcock opened an attack on the Workers League last week in St. Louis at an antiwar conference. This is why the capitalist press covered Woodcock's answer to the Workers League.

Woodcock said that the call for a general strike by American workers against the war is a "romantic illusion." But the general strike movement has already begun.

The general strike movement which shut down Britain for two days has touched the shores of the United States. The call has gone out from the New Jersey AFL-CIO to the California Trade Union Council against Nixon's attempts to slash wages.

This movement can only grow as the capitalist class seeks to drive back the working class to conditions of the 1930s. Nixon ordered a wage freeze in construction. Now he has opened his guns against the Steelworkers threatening that unless they cut their wage demands the steel bosses and the government will force massive unemployment. At the same time Mayor Lindsay is threatening to layoff one quarter of the city labor force.

This general strike movement raises directly the question of the political independence of the working class and the necessity to construct a labor party.

Woodcock says that the labor party will "not work" in the United States, that the labor movement is a minority. The working people are the majority and they are joined by the millions of students, of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano youth who have taken up the fight against repression, against the war and capitalism.

Woodcock calls for a "new coalition" of the working class, students and minorities with the capitalist class, with the McGoverns, the kind of coalition that "got us out of the depression."

This "new coalition" is the Stalinists' perspective of the popular front which is the very heart of the April 24th demonstration sponsored by the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

It is true as Woodcock says that the working class is at a political turning point and that the danger of fascism is raised. It is precisely the program of the Woodcocks, of the Communist Party now that opens the door to fascism. It is precisely the coalition he is advocating that led to the rise of fascism in the 1930s, that prepared the way for the imperialist slaughter of World War II.

Now we see the real relationship between the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism. As Woodcock welcomes China's moves towards US imperialism which can lay the basis for a sellout of the Vietnamese revolution, he works with the Communist Party and the revisionists in the US to deliver the working class up to its enemies.

We will not allow a repeat of the 1930s. We will not allow the working class to be smashed.

The Workers League will carry forward the fight from our platform on April 24th into the factories, onto the campuses and in the communities to mobilize the working class and youth in a battle for socialism.

At the center of this battle is the preparation for the General Strike. We call all workers and students and youth to rally with us on April 24th and to go forward to build this movement to shut down this country to put an end to war, repression and unemployment.

- SMASH IMPERIALISM!
- BUILD A LABOR PARTY!
- FORWARD TO A SOCIALIST AMERICA!



What we think

(Continued From Page 1)

son represented the capitalist class and must be exposed as an enemy of the labor movement and the Black masses in general. We also understood that the Newark uprising of 1967 was actually the first wave of a revolutionary struggle of the whole working class.

This wave had been temporarily derailed with a combination of nationalism and liberal reformism on the one hand and white racism through Imperiale on the other. We would give no quarter to either force—not a

the NTU's strike to polarize the racial situation in Newark and further his own reactionary aims. From the beginning we urged the union to recognize Gibson as its enemy, to fight independently for the union movement to call a general strike and not rely on the union bureaucracies.

When Carol Graves and other union leaders were dragged off to jail it was the Workers League which initiated the shouts for a general strike, taken up by hundreds of teachers, which forced Marcianite of the New Jersey AFL-CIO to call a general strike.

At this point the racists and

AFL-CIO. On the eve of the Gibson deal its trade union department declared:

"None...should be quick to blame the first Black mayor of a major Eastern city for the problems of Newark..."

The Labor Committee built a campaign of student support for the strike around a completely uncritical approach towards the leadership of the union. At the time when a sharp fight was needed to force Marcianite to go through with an actual general strike of the labor movement, the Labor Committee spoke of a "mass strike" separated from this fight. As such they were no more than junior partners with Stalinism in selling out the teachers strike.

The SWP spent the first few weeks of the strike seeking to work out a position. In the end they stood aside from the real struggle supporting the very "community control" Black nationalist garbage through which Jones and Gibson sought to break the strike though at the same time seeking to disassociate themselves from the results of this nationalism—the actual strike breaking.

The only solution for the schools or anything else in Newark is control of the "community," that is of the state, by the working people. A general strike and victory for the teachers would have been a step in that direction.

The central lessons of the Newark teachers strike is that in this period of sharpening attacks on the labor movement, in this period of actual preparation for civil war internationally, only those who fight guided by a revolutionary strategy organized in a revolutionary party can defend the working class. Only the Workers League is such a party.

What is now required above all is the development of the Workers League in the Newark area. This work has already begun. Its development will be critical to the defense of the teachers against further attacks, the defense of the labor movement as a whole which has been weakened but not decisively defeated by this settlement, and the defense of the Black masses which will now feel the full weight of the capitalist state through Gibson's Administration.



Carole Graves and Frank Fiorito leave jail after bitter defeated strike.

single inch.

A victory for the teachers under these circumstances would be a victory for all working people and poor in Newark, Black and white, while their defeat would open the Blacks as well as white workers to further attacks.

Such a victory could only be achieved through a general strike and a general strike could only be built through an implacable battle against racism, nationalism, liberalism, the labor bureaucracy including the leadership of the NTU, and for a labor party as the independent political expression of all working people.

We fought for this perspective during the very course of the strike. We were among the first to defend the union from violent physical attacks encouraged by LeRoi Jones' nationalism. At that time the Socialist Workers Party was completely mute.

We were the first to take on Imperiale when he sought to use

nationalists were forced into the background by the forward movement of the working class. It was at this point possible to reverse the situation and deliver a decisive blow against the capitalists in the interests of all working people.

Once this general strike call was sabotaged by the combination of the leadership of the NTU and the leadership of the AFL-CIO agreeing to sell-out terms the tide turned decisively against the union, racism rose and the poverty pimp nationalists moved in. As a result the union was actually pushed further back than the terms of the original sell-out.

The role of the political tendencies in this defeat must be assessed. From the beginning the position of the Communist Party was to prepare the way for the sellout by seeking to create the impression that Gibson was somehow neutral in the situation, and to urge full support to the leadership of the NTU and the



Ernest Mandel

The Fraud of Neo-Capitalism

by Dennis O'Casey

4 Europe & America

THERE IS STILL one further aspect of Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism which must be examined. This is Mandel's analysis of the relationship between Europe and America.

We have already seen how Mandel, beneath the facade of his theory of sharpening international contradictions of capitalism, spurred on by the colonial revolution, was really putting forth the opposite perspective. His real theory was that the problems of underdevelopment and imperialist exploitation of the colonies were automatically being overcome under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie.

Mandel plays a similar trick in his analysis of the relationship between Europe and America. Ostensibly, Mandel puts forward the thesis that America, under the pressure of a huge competitive threat from Europe may now be pushed on the road of revolution. Underneath this theory the very opposite theory is being developed. What Mandel is saying by posing the possibility of a competitive threat from Europe of this type is actually that a new flowering of Europe can take place.

Such a development, if it were actually taking place, would mean not a threat to America, but the buttressing of a continued expansionary development for the whole capitalist world. Thus under the guise of discovering a source of crisis within his neo-capitalist system Mandel is in reality simply further buttressing this theory of neo-capitalism.

COMPETITION

In an article which appears in the *New Left Review* (March-April, 1969) entitled "Where is America Going?" Mandel, in the course of listing various factors which are supposedly contributing to a growing radicalization in the United States, lays heavy stress upon the impact of foreign competition on American wage rates. Mandel's thesis is that European and Japanese industry has now reached the point of development where the U.S. productivity monopoly is threatened and therefore the ability of American corporations to pay their workers two to three times more than European workers.

"So far, the gradual disappearance of the productivity differential has created increased competition for American capitalism in its home market. Its foreign markets are seriously threatened or disappearing in certain fields like automobiles and steel. This of course is only the first phase. If the concentration of European and Japanese industry starts to create units which operate on the same scale as American units, with the same dimensions as the American corporations then American industry will ultimately find itself in an impossible position. It will then have to pay three times higher wages, with the same productivity as the Europeans or the Japanese. That would be an absolutely untenable situation and it would be the beginning of a huge structural crisis for American industry." (1)

Mandel then goes on to explain that because this would require American capitalism to launch a "ruthless attack on the real wage levels of American workers" that "the political radicalization of the working class, and therewith socialism, will become a practical proposition in the United States within the next 10-15 years."

What is wrong with this is not so much Mandel's pathetically timid prognostication of a 10-15 year lag to the point where revolution will become a practical question. What is wrong is that if the problem for U.S. capitalism that Mandel describes was really the problem, i.e., the resurgence of Europe, there would be no international capitalist crisis and no need or possibility for a revolution in America in 15 years or so.

What Mandel is doing is positing a crisis in the United States on the basis not of the decline of Europe but the flowering of European capitalism.

NICOLAUS

Again in the *New Left Review* (Jan.-Feb., 1970) there appears an article by Martin Nicolaus called the "Universal Contradiction" attacking Mandel's original article and a rejoinder by Mandel himself entitled "The Laws of Uneven Development."

While Nicolaus' new left standpoint as a whole is just as revisionist as Mandel's Nicolaus nevertheless comes far closer to a Marxist analysis in a number of particulars and really nails Mandel to the wall on several points.

In particular what Nicolaus notes and what is true about Mandel's U.S. Europe competition theory is that underneath it lies the perspective (the wishful thinking) of the European bourgeoisie, in particular, DeGaulle.

Nicolaus makes the point that Mandel's thesis really only makes sense on the basis of a deepening military and economic alliance between Western Europe and East-

ern Europe and the USSR. "Beneath the appearance of the 'competition' doctrine lies the very essence of 'peaceful coexistence'; beneath the appearance of Mandel's European 'internationalism' lies DeGaulle." (2)

Although Mandel responds to Nicolaus with outrage he can in no way disassociate himself from this perspective. What he tries to do is to separate out from this perspective DeGaulle, by suggesting that the unification of European capital and its rapprochement with Eastern Europe would be better pioneered under British or German leadership. Thus he says:

"The attempt to establish 'European independence' under the hegemony of one of its economically weakest imperialist powers, France, was condemned to fail.... His (DeGaulle's) attempt at a diplomatic and economic flirtation with Moscow was equally condemned to failure, because... (for among other reasons) German, British and Italian groups were often better equipped...." (3)

Clearly when Mandel says that he is no Gaullist he is only begging the question. He is simply saying that he is a better European nationalist than DeGaulle. His perspective is that of the development of greater European integration under the leadership of the stronger representatives of the European bourgeoisie.

EUROPE

The main thing is that Mandel is completely steeped in the illusion of a rising Europe to the point in fact where it is the rise of Europe that will supposedly now shake America. The whole historical development of the last fifty years, dominated first by the decline of Europe and the rise of America and now the decline of both is turned upside down and inside out.

The lengths to which Mandel persists in this theory are truly incredible.

Mandel states for example the following: "The fate of U.S. imperialism's supremacy will be decided neither on the battlefield nor in the 'Third World'—at least in the coming years. It will be decided by the capacity of Western European imperialists (and Japanese imperialists) to set up colossal corporations, equivalent in financial power and in industrial strength to that of their U.S. competitors." (4)

But this is not all. Not only does Mandel see in the EEC the economic unification of Europe but flowing from it in a completely objectivist fashion and in complete contradiction to the Marxist position that the political union of Europe is the task of the European proletariat Mandel projects the political union of Europe

under the European bourgeoisie.

"The growth of capital interpenetration inside the Common Market, the appearance of large amalgamated banking and industrial units which are not mainly the property of any national capitalist class, represent the material infra-structure for the emergence of supra-national state-power organs in the Common Market." (5)

Further on Mandel offers the following unbelievable theoretical justification for this phenomena:

"This would be a typical demonstration of the tendency, well-known to Marxists, of the legal superstructure adapting itself to changed property relations, i.e., the appearance of a type of capitalist property having outgrown the limits of the old national state on the European continent." (6)

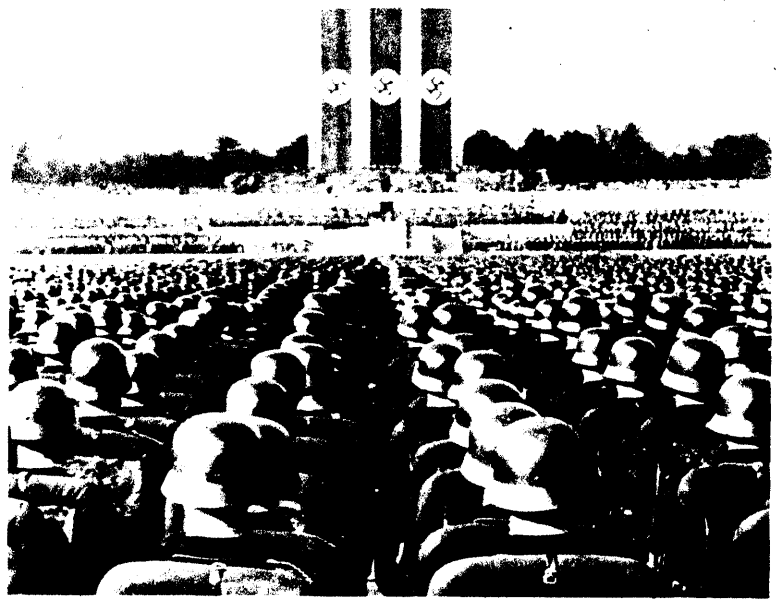
This is all completely and totally wrong. Not only is Mandel's thesis in head-on collision with the actual development of the relationship between Europe and America today, it is likewise in head-on collision with the thinking of the Marxist movement on this question for the past 50 years.

DECLINE

World development has been characterized since the First World War not by the rise but by the decline of Europe. In his presentation to the Third World Congress of the C.I. Trotsky describes the decline of Europe, together with the spasmodic development of American capitalism and the proletarian revolution in the colonies as one of the "three channels" along which the world revolution must inevitably flow. When Trotsky speaks of the decline of Europe furthermore, he is describing a tendency bound up with the whole epoch of imperialist decline not simply an episodic or conjunctural phenomenon.

Side by side and bound up with the decline of Europe, Trotsky noted, though still within the framework of the decline of world capitalism as a whole, there took place the relative rise of America. America rose on the ashes of Europe. It exploited Europe's war market in the First World War, stole her colonies and emerged as the unchallenged center of world capitalist wealth and power. The threat to America that could be posed by Europe once America had risen to this point did not lay in Europe's ability to catch up, surpass and drive America down once again in a new competitive struggle.

On the contrary the new contradiction that arose between Europe and America was the contradiction between America's wealth and Europe's poverty. America having risen at the expense of Europe was now confronted with the impossible situation of having destroyed and pushed into poverty the very market upon whose ex-



Trotsky (left) writing in period after World War I (below) saw contradiction between Europe and America in the decline of Europe. The decay of European capitalism was sharply expressed in the rise of Hitler (above) and World War II (below, center).

ploitation she had risen. Flowing from this, America likewise became directly threatened by the European proletariat whom she had pushed onto the road of revolution.

TROTSKY

What Trotsky says of this relationship in his writings of 1922 and 1926, which we will quote below, remains essentially true today in spite of the further growth and development of this relationship since and its temporary and superficial reversal during the period of the boom.

In his report on the World Economic Crisis to the Third Congress of the C.I. Trotsky says the following:

"For four odd years Europe became converted into a sheet of fire fed not only by Europe's income but also by her basic capital while the American bourgeoisie warmed its hands at the flames. America's productive capacity has grown extraordinarily but her market has vanished because Europe is impoverished and can no longer buy American goods. It is as if Europe had first done everything in her power to help America climb to the top-most rung and then pulled the ladder out." (7)

Trotsky develops this conception in the same vein in his 1926 speech "Whither Europe."

"In military art there is a saying that whoever moves into the enemy's rear in order to cut off is often cut off himself. In economy something analogous takes place; the more the United States puts the whole world under its dependence, all the more does it become dependent upon the whole world with all its contradictions and threatening upheavals." (8)

And further on in the same speech: "I spoke previously of the power of the U.S. viz, to weakened Europe and the economically backward colonial peoples. But precisely this power of the United States is its Achilles heel; in this power lies its growing dependence upon countries and continents economically and politically unstable. The United States is compelled to base its power on tomorrow's revolutions of Europe and on the national revolutionary movement of Asia and Africa." (9)

As far as the opposite kind of development, the resurrection and political and economic unification of Europe under the European bourgeoisie is concerned (i.e., Mandel's central thesis), the verdict of Trotsky and the Communist International is clear. On this subject Trotsky says the following:

"Bourgeois economists, pacifists and business sharpers, daydreamers and mere bourgeois babblers are not averse nowadays to talk about a United States of Europe. But this task is beyond the strength of the European bourgeoisie which is utterly corroded by contradictions. Europe can be unified only by the victorious European proletariat...Back in 1923 the Communist International proclaimed that it is necessary to drive out those who have partitioned Europe, take power in partitioned Europe in order to unify it, in order to create the Socialist United States of Europe." (10)

TODAY

If we take the analysis and prognosis made by Trotsky and the C.I. in relation to the present relationship between Europe and America we can see that although this relationship has undergone an important modification and was also masked over in a superficial way during the boom that it is now once again asserting itself and in a much more formidable way now that the boom is collapsing.

In the 1930s the contradiction described by Trotsky between America's strength and the devastation of Europe, combined with America's failure to use this strength to revive Europe played no small role in producing a decade of severe depression in the United States.

At the end of the Second World War the United States having enriched itself even further at Europe's expense and having moved even more decisively to the position of unchallenged supremacy in the capitalist world was confronted with the danger of a disastrous repetition of the thirties. Given the betrayal of the proletarian revolution by Stalinism, the fundamental condition of the postwar boom, what could still then be described as the historical relative rise of America became therefore, unlike in the twenties and thirties, the basis for a massive rescue project aimed at regenerating and rebuilding European capitalism. America undertook, so to speak to halt temporarily the historical decline of Europe. Through massive aid and investment programs based upon the inflation of the dollar America rebuilt Europe. In so doing however it took into itself or absorbed the historical sickness and decline of Europe and in this way prepared the basis for its own decline.

DOLLAR

We have already discussed in an earlier article how the inflation of the dollar having hit up against the law of value has exhausted the possibility for the further advance of America and particularly since 1968 has thrown America into sharp reverse. This has meant above all the end of the period in which America could any longer shoulder the burden of Europe's decline.

On the contrary, whereas the relative advance of America had up until the present period meant the existence of a considerable reserve which could be and in fact was tapped after 1945 to arrest the absolute decline of Europe this relationship is now superceded by the exhaustion of all reserves and the absolute decline of both Europe and America. Thus the outbreak of world crisis today occurs on a more desperate level than ever before. The sickness and decline of world imperialism as a whole is much more advanced even than in the thirties.

REVERSE

In this new situation America which in 1947 threw its resources into the revival of Europe now actually reverses this process and in a struggle to preserve itself undertakes to push Europe not only back to 1945 but in fact inexorably towards the position of one vast colony.

Though there is an inevitable barrier to this process, which we will discuss shortly, it is not the competitive strength of Europe, its multinational corporations or supra-national institutions. On the contrary, whatever the revival of Europe during the boom the fact is that the gap between Europe and America remains unbridgeable. America as it now goes into collapse still stands higher in relation to Europe than Britain at the peak of its world supremacy.

This relationship of forces will not be reversed. As America is drawn inexorably into the abyss it will make certain to push Europe into the same abyss in front of it. It will use Europe at every point as it is doing now to cushion its own fall.

The very conditions, in fact, which Mandel seizes to explain why this will not occur, the growing economic and political union of Europe, must now be what



is first to be torn apart. The EEC and all that has gone with it has been the product of the boom and with the collapse of the boom the modicum of peaceful cooperation among the European bourgeoisie must inevitably be transformed into its opposite.

REVISIONIST

Mandel on the other hand has reached the grossly revisionist position that European economic and political union must simply continue to develop because as we have quoted above they are the automatic outgrowth of "capitalist property having outgrown the limits of the old national state on the European continent." (11) Such is the objectivist, impressionistic Kautskyite, "ultra-imperialist" conclusion that Mandel draws from the EEC and the boom.

The revolt of the productive forces against national boundaries expresses itself however, not in the peaceful transition to supra-nationalist state and economic institutions, but in bloody imperialist slaughter and the partition and repartition of the globe on the bones of millions of workers.

There can be no talk of the unification of Europe under the European bourgeoisie except in the sense that it was undertaken by Hitler after 1933, that is, on the basis of fascism, and the preparation for new imperialist war.

WORKERS

What this means is that there cannot be any talk about the unification of Europe by the European bourgeoisie outside of the historic defeat of the European working class. The period is one however which is far more favorable to the defeat of the European bourgeoisie. Already the efforts of the European bourgeoisie to impose the requirement of EEC membership upon the British working class has met with complete disaster; it is answered with the first general strike in Britain since 1926.

Under these conditions Europe is powerless to develop the unity required to resist America's determination to impose the brunt of the world crisis upon it. The debacle of Concorde, Europe's key internationalist venture, described recently by

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber as Europe's "industrial Vietnam" summarizes the hopelessness of European supra-nationalism and the bankruptcy of Mandel's thesis. While there is now the development of a deepening trade war between Europe and America this war proceeds within the framework of the supremacy of the United States.

BARRIER

The barrier to the American assault on Europe and thus the threat posed by Europe to America is consequently not the competitive strength of Europe; it is Europe's weakness as Trotsky posed 50 years ago. The danger before American capitalism is that long before Europe can be reduced to a colony the destruction of the European economy will create impossible convulsions in the American economy and that furthermore the European working class will be driven to revolution.

Already the way in which American capitalism stands to be "cut off" by its drive to "cut off" Europe is shown in the striking example of the recent Rolls Royce bankruptcy. This bankruptcy is itself the product of the increasing pressure exerted by Nixon on Europe as he seeks to push the American crisis abroad. But no sooner had Rolls Royce gone bankrupt than as a direct result America's Lockheed itself verged close to the edge of bankruptcy and may go under yet. Similarly the huge pressure placed by American capitalism on Europe over the past three years has been directly responsible for bringing forward the May-June Events, the Italian strike waves and now as we have mentioned the first British general strike since 1926.

America is therefore directly confronted with the prospect of the complete elimination of Europe as an area for exploitation by the revolutionary intervention of the European proletariat, not to mention the lead in the class struggle in America given to the American working class by the European proletariat. Already the question of general strike and of Marxist dialectics which has been raised by the



Mandel (above) sees rebirth of Europe under bourgeoisie. Peaceful coexistence (above, center) as German-Soviet pact is signed, follows Stalinist policies of Yalta, (below, center) Churchill, Stalin. Only Stalinism prevented a Europe united by proletarian revolution.

the revolutionary working class in October 1917 was the premise for the creation of the Communist International and for the growth of the Communist parties in Europe, so, in all probability the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe will be the premise for swift revolutionary developments in America. The difference between these two areas lies in this, that in Europe the economy decays and declines with the proletariat no longer growing productively (because there is not room for growth) but awaiting the development of the Communist Party; while in America, which exploits the disintegration of Europe, the economic advancement is still proceeding."(12)

for the first time under conditions when America is in a mortal decline of her own provides precisely the situation or combination of forces of which Trotsky speaks. They open up the possibility of a more immediate revolutionary prognosis for America, a far closer proximity of revolution on both sides of the Atlantic if not a reversal in the order itself.

Mandel's theory seems to end up as well with the conclusion of a coming revolution in America. But because it eliminates the revolution in Europe, it breaks entirely with Trotsky's perspective. It has nothing in common with Marxism and in fact nothing to do with revolution either in Europe or America at all.

As we said at the outset the real meaning of Mandel's theory is to be found underneath its facade. Underneath the theory of European competition which pretends to analyze the possibility for crisis and the potential for revolutionary struggle in America is the theory of a resurgent Europe. The theory of resurgent Europe is nothing more than an assertion of the viability of the counterrevolutionary hopes and aims of the European and for that matter the American, bourgeoisie.

The real corollary of a resurgent Europe, which would imply a transformation of the whole epoch of imperialist decline into its opposite would not be an America threatened by Europe but a resurgent America as well. Thus the whole theory emerges not as a defense of the revolutionary future of America at all. On the contrary, under the guise of a theory of crisis we have nothing more than an assertion of the strength and stability of capitalism, in other words, nothing more than a further exposition of the fraudulent, counterrevolutionary, no crisis, theory of neo-capitalism.

American Black Panthers both of which have historically been the preserve of the European working class are now taken up by the American proletariat in the struggle against the American bourgeoisie. The Americanization of Europe which characterized the boom is now superseded by the Europeanization of America.

Here lies the European threat to America not the competitive threat coming on a European revival as posed by Mandel.

REVOLUTIONS

Mandel's theory likewise flies directly in the face of Trotsky's prognosis on the question of the American and European revolutions. Trotsky held that in general for the historical reasons already discussed the European revolution would precede the American revolution while at the same time giving it a huge impetus. While as we will show the first part of this prognosis, the priority of the European revolution is now subject to revision the latter part the impetus which the European revolution must give to the American proletariat, is key and remains absolutely valid.

On this Trotsky says:
"I would venture to say that there are far more chances that the proletariat will conquer in Europe before a powerful Communist Party rises and develops in America. In other words just as the victory of

The difference between these two continents upon which Trotsky based this prognosis, however, has undergone an important change, a development. The relationship between Europe and America is still that of a powerful capitalist America standing against a far weaker Europe. It is no longer correct to counterpose to the decline of Europe, however, the rise of America. We are now in the period of the decline of both.

Thus the one aspect of Trotsky's prognosis which he himself sees to be conditional, namely the order of precedence of revolution can be posed in a more immediate way for the United States today. We can say with Trotsky as he wrote in the Militant in 1930:

"It is not at all permanently established that the United States will be last in the order of revolutionary primacy, condemned to reach its proletarian revolution only after the countries of Europe and Asia. A situation, a combination of forces is possible in which the order is changed and the tempo of development in the United States enormously accelerated. But that means it is necessary to prepare."(13)

The fact that the center of gravity of the world crisis of capitalism has shifted in the 1970s to America and therefore the tremendous body blows posed to American capitalism by the decline of Europe occur



Mandel shares vision of DeGaulle (above) of united capitalist Europe.



FOOTNOTES

1. Mandel, Ernest, "Where is America Going," New Left Review, No. 54, March-April, 1969, p. 13
2. Nicolaus, Martin, "The Universal Contradiction," New Left Review, No. 59, January-February, 1970, p. 12
3. Mandel, Ernest, "The Laws of Uneven Development," New Left Review, No. 59, January-February, 1970, p. 35
4. Ibid., p. 33
5. Mandel, Ernest, "International Capitalism and Supra Nationality," The Socialist Register, 1967, p. 31
6. Ibid., p. 35
7. Trotsky, Leon, The First Five Years of the Communist International, Vol. 1, p. 196
8. Trotsky, Leon, "Whither Europe" in the Bulletin, Sept. 7, 1970
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Mandel, Ernest, "International Capitalism and Supra Nationality," The Socialist Register, 1967, p. 35
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LeRoi Jones : Evolution Of A Black Nationalist

BY ERNIE LEWIS

With the deepening of the international crisis in capitalism and the world wide movement forward of the working class as a whole we find the bourgeoisie (aided by the Stalinists and revisionists) heavily relying on forces who divert the youth and working class from a conscious class battle to weaken the struggle for socialism.

It is with this in mind that we view the philosophy of Black nationalism and the support it receives from tendencies such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party during this period.

One of the foremost recognized proponents of nationalism today is the playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) who in his support of Mayor Gibson, his bloody attacks on the teachers' union and his well earned reputation as a poverty pimp has been in the forefront in the efforts to divide and break up the workers' struggle in Newark.

This is why the *New York Times* (April 16th) recently opened its editorial page to Jones. Jones in his article "Crisis in Newark" makes absolutely clear his stand with the capitalist class and its representative, Kenneth Gibson. This article and Jones' whole role show how nationalism is used to tie the Black working class and youth to capitalism, to its enemies.

"REPRESENTATIVE"

According to Jones, "it was the evolution of Blacks and Puerto Ricans from out of our 'minority mentality' to grasp the fact that we were the majority here, which brought about the election of Mayor Kenneth Gibson last June, and the beginnings of representative government and political equality (still not complete). It was also part of the continuing movement by that majority community, in the spirit of 'operational unity,' to achieve real economic and institutional self-determination, self-respect and self-defense."

Jones goes on to say that the Newark Teachers Union "is largely white and suburban, the neighbors of the absentee landlords. The union's salary demands are completely out of line with the community's economic life and style."

The government of Newark is in fact "representative" of a class, that is the capitalist class. This is what all of Jones' demagoguery consciously seeks to conceal. The union's salary demands, its demands for basic union rights in fact challenge the existence of this class. Gibson is out to bust the NTU precisely for this reason. His attack on the union, which is an attack on the working class, Black and white, is a prelude to further attacks on the Black workers and youth. Jones is in fact doing the bidding for Gibson, disarming the Black workers and youth.

The question that comes to mind in viewing Jones' methods is how did they develop? Was it the desertion of the goals of nationalism that tied Jones to the ruling class? Was it his abandonment of community control? We say it was the logic of nationalism and community control that placed Jones where he is today. The development of LeRoi Jones is a testimony to that fact.

At the outset of his career in the mid-1950s, we find Jones a devotee of avant-garde expression and drama. A Black beatnik, he absorbed much of the middle class liberalism that dominated Greenwich Village at that time. Jones remained, however, more concerned with his art forms than with any kind of political activity.

It wasn't until 1961 that Jones made his first stab at politicalization, taking a trip to Cuba to investigate "Castro's Revolution." Once in Cuba, however, we see no serious grappling by Jones with Marxism or any real development of class consciousness on his part with regard to the struggle of workers, Black and white in the United States.

It is important to note that in spite of this fact, Jones and the Cuban leadership were very much impressed with each other which says something about the "socialist revolution" in Cuba.

REBELLIONS

The rebellions of 1964 that erupted in New York and spread across the country into practically every large urban city in the US expressed very sharply the rebellion of the most oppressed section of the working class in America—namely, the Black working class youth. These rebellions though on the surface may have appeared to be racial were merely a precursor to the forward movement of workers as a whole on an international scale.

What is also important to remember is that the insurrections in the ghettos also marked what was to be the death knell of the civil rights movement. As pointed out by Tim Wohlforth in the pamphlet, "Black Nationalism and Marxist Theory," it is at this point we

LeRoi Jones (right) joins Mayor Gibson in mourning Whitney Young. Below: government funded "Africa Free School."



Black community. The theatre ended in total collapse. But Jones at this point using the same method he used in building the Black Arts went on to greener pastures in Newark.

Once in Newark Jones developed almost to a professional level the tying of Black people to capitalism under the cover of Black nationalism. Receiving funds from the City of Newark, the federal government and various corporations his apparatus grew to almost mafia proportions.

In spite of his surface contempt for the Addonizio administration the fact is that during this period there was a hotline between Jones, Addonizio and Imperiale to maintain "peace" in Newark. The fact that Jones was on a

organization.

The relationship between Jones and Karenga has force. The beating up of striking Newark teachers was merely a correlation of those forces acting in defense of capitalism.

The dispersion of Blacks throughout America, their congestion in the ghettos of large urban areas, left Jones (as it does all nationalists) with the task of showing Black people, concretely, how the concept of "nationhood" (to whom it does not apply) could in some way materially aid them.

Jones has pushed this with his campaign for community control. Starting from surface level impressions of the oppression perpetuated by capitalism upon the Blacks, Jones, rather than taking up the fight to heighten the major contradiction between capitalism and the working class, instead took up a battle against racist teachers, police brutality apart from the struggle against capitalism. Jones sought to pit race against race, not class against class.

Having followed a philosophy that never broke him from the bourgeoisie, he aligned himself with forces such as the federal government and Prudential Life Insurance in an effort to gain control of the ghettos.

RELIGION

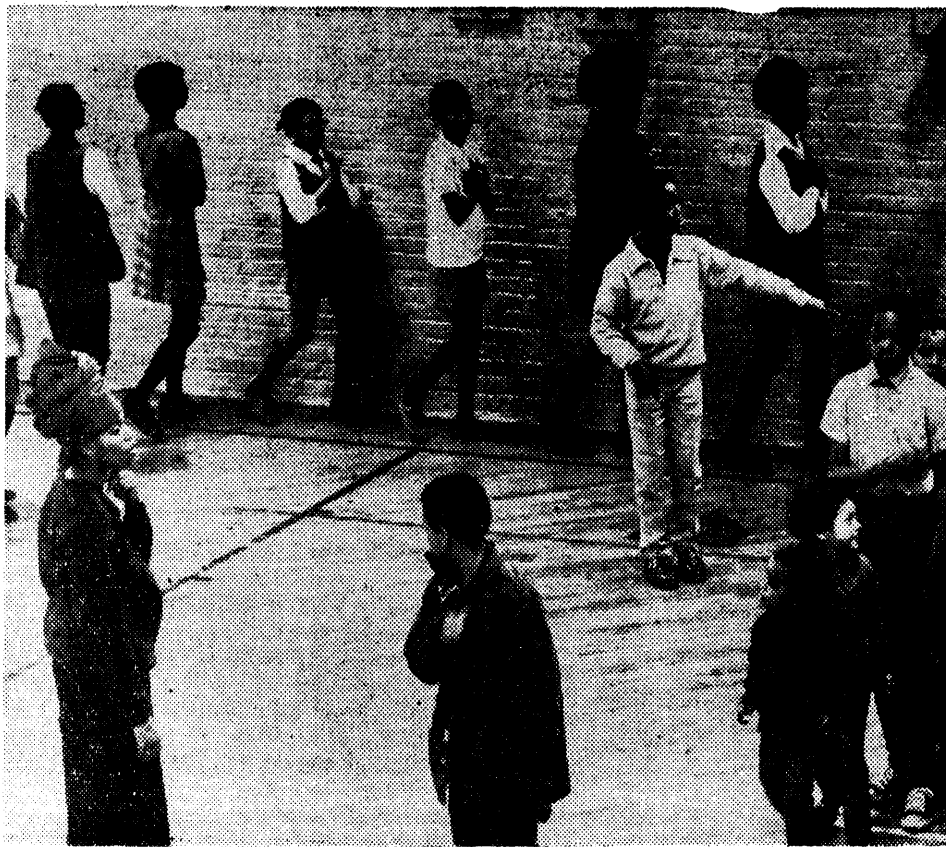
The reactionary character of black nationalism and Jones' movement is exposed sharply in the movement Jones is building, particularly among the black youth in Newark. Not only does Jones seek to tie the youth to their oppressors through support to Gibson but through idealism and mysticism. Jones in his African Free School (which is funded by the federal government, the government which today is hounding and murdering the militants in the Black Panther Party) and Spirit House is developing a religion. Jones writes in the *Times* of "New Ark", drawing on biblical references, as if within capitalism an ideal community can be created.

It is nationalism and the concept of community control that has placed LeRoi Jones where he is today—against the fight of the striking Newark teachers, and overtly on the side of the capitalist class. With his continued efforts to enforce "community control," there developed an entanglement of anti-poverty payrolls and "black capitalist" enterprises which have turned Jones into a dashikied Whitney Young, and open agent for the bourgeoisie. Jones, incidentally, joined Gibson in shedding tears when Young died.

It might be said that Jones is a cultural nationalist and not a revolutionary nationalist and therefore had to fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie. We say as Marxists that the two (Marxism and nationalism) are irreconcilably opposed to each other.

We also say that to fight capitalism there must be a consistent struggle waged for the development of Marxist theory against idealism and its exponents. This cannot be done without the understanding of the lessons drawn from the history of the entire Marxist movement.

The dangers of nationalism are being laid bare in Newark today. As the capitalist class goes on the offensive to destroy the working class, the nationalists intervene to prop it up to divide the class and to try to tie the Black workers and youth to their enemies to open the door to fascism. The revolutionary struggles in the US can only go forward with the most bitter battles against Jones and his revisionist supporters.



see the growth of nationalism:

"With reformism exposed there was no other road open to the Black masses than a revolutionary struggle against capitalism itself. This required the building of a revolutionary working class leadership not only of the Black masses, but of the class as a whole.

"It was precisely at this point when the need for revolutionary class struggle was posed that Black nationalism enters the scene."

LeRoi Jones having come from a middle class background and more important having never attempted to wage a serious struggle for Marxism became the spokesman of an ideology that tied rather than broke him from the ruling class.

PRAGMATICALLY

In 1965 we see Jones' first real plunge into nationalist activity, with the creation of the Black Arts Theatre. Seeing racism as the major contradiction in society and viewing it apart from any form of class struggle, it was only logical that Jones would see the development of an all Black theatre as being a first step toward building the nation that would bring an end to racism.

Viewing it pragmatically it was just as logical for Jones to accept anti-poverty funds to help build this theatre within the

number of payrolls probably had quite a lot to do with the conditions of that peace.

With the help of the Chamber of Commerce, Prudential, and LeRoi Jones, Mayor Kenneth Gibson was able to take Addonizio's office away from him. It was because of Newark's 90% black working class population and the deepening crisis in capitalism that the forces of the bourgeoisie found it necessary to back a Black mayor in Newark. With the arrest of Addonizio by the FBI, the backing given Gibson by large corporations, and the left cover supplied by LeRoi Jones, Gibson's victory was assured.

KARENGA

With the election of Mayor Gibson and the placing of a number of his lackeys on the Board of Education, the gangster style character of Imamu Baraka's operation is exposed. It is at this point that the muscling in of Malauna Ron Karenga and his group of thugs from US develops.

Karenga and his men have received nationwide recognition as a group of cutthroats functioning under the guise of Black nationalism.

The murder of Black Panther leader Bunchy Carter and their total support for the concept of black capitalism just about characterizes the nature of that

FILMS

LOU BELKIN

Investigation Of A Citizen Above Suspicion

INVESTIGATION OF A CITIZEN ABOVE SUSPICION. Starring Gian Maria Volonte and Florinda Bolkan. Directed by Elio Petri.

Over the past three years the profound economic crisis in Italy has reflected itself not only in the disintegration of the historically mass based parties, which lies behind the crisis of the Italian left-center government, but by the steady and significant growth of neo-fascist and para-military organizations. Increasingly they are supported and protected by the police and the army. They reflect the graphic polarization of class forces.

Not only have these semi-fascist forces broken into offices of left-wing and social democratic organizations, but as this review is being written Premier Colombo has announced the details of a rightist plot against the government last December to coincide with Tito's visit to Rome. We therefore should view with the greatest concern the growth of these forces, not only in Italy but throughout Western Europe as the Common Market goes into depression as well. The grave dangers in Italy and Germany, immediately emphasize the historic role of these right wing forces, paving the way for fascism and barbarism.

The film *Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion* was made in Italy in 1969. It was directed by Elio Petri who formerly was film critic for the Italian CP newspaper *L'Unita* and is still a Stalinist fellow traveller. The fact that he lives in a penthouse is nothing new for Italian leftist filmmakers. Antonioni and Visconti live like patricians and yet express leftist opinions. In that sense, Petri reflects this left-liberal position and it flaws an otherwise extraordinary characterization of the Police Chief who plays the movie's protagonist.

Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion is a tragi-comedy and depicts an aspect of the political and social timebomb upon which Italy now sits. The very limitations of the film rest with Petri's Stalinism and liberalism.

Investigation treats the murder by will of a young debauched courtesan by a Police Inspector. He kills partly out of jealousy, partly out of vindictiveness, but generally because he can get away with killing and sets out to prove same.

The police inspector is played by Gian Maria Volonte with Chaplinesque finesse. He is the core of the movie itself and the most extraordinary performer out of several other excellent performers. He has been promoted from Police Chief of Homicide to Police Head of Political Intelligence. His new task is to sort out subversion and violations of the cherished law of the Democratic order. As he so succinctly puts it: "Subversion is like all crime. We treat the subversive like we would a bank robber or murderer. The subversive is like plague." Conversely: "Repression is vaccine, repression is civilization." Exactly the remarks made by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

DEGENERATE

However, director Petri tends to become caught up in the Police Inspector psychologically and equate fascistic sympathies with sexual degeneration. In that sense Petri treats political questions the way Visconti in *The Damned* or Bertolucci in *The Conformist* (to be reviewed shortly) treats them—very much divorced from class relations and the economic collapse.

However, Petri is so thorough in dealing with the police mentality, so perspicacious in pointing out to us the very direction Italy at present moves, that the viewer is taken aback, very much startled.

It needn't matter terribly much that the police inspector is a degenerate, a physically immature symbol of authority, power and all manner of sexual and psychotic deviation wrapped up in one semi-fascistic package. We glimpse the goings on of police intelligence, both its connection with and semi-autonomy from the direct con-

trol of the government.

The Inspector mocks democracy as he rounds up a group of Maoist students and confronts the ringleader, the very one who previously saw the Inspector leave the slain girl's house. He says to the youthful radical: "We must get all subversive elements—they are ruining democracy, the established order. But the established order doesn't deal successfully enough with your kind." Obviously for the Inspector other forms of rule are necessary—the most repressive forms alluded to earlier.

The now promoted head of Political Intelligence goes over in his mind the sordid details of the murder and yet his very aberrations cause him to want to be caught. He leaves behind all manner of clues, but his peers and subordinates refuse to believe that he could have had anything to do with the sexual crime. We were particularly impressed not only with the superb sets and rooms with wiretapping and computer devices, designed by Carlo Egidi, but by the extraordinary lush color photography by Luigi Kuveiller and Ubaldo Terzani, and the editing by Ruggiero Mastroanni.

SUPERB

We recommend this film. It is superbly played by Gian Maria Volonte who with



gesture and expression depicts the neo-fascist mentality to perfection.

We can only remark that the dangers have been posed and are being posed each day within Italy. The Stalinists command millions of workers and youth and seek to enter the tottering Colombo government. The Stalinists as in the past consciously prepare the massive betrayals of the working class. For side by side with the growth of fascist forces like the MSI

and the New Order the Stalinists and reformist leaders of the labor movement do absolutely nothing to prepare the working class to resist.

The massive strike movement, unabated in the last three years has been turned into ineffectual protest. This critical situation requires now, more than ever the construction of a Trotskyist leadership to smash Stalinism and fascism and lead the working class to power.

The State In Capitalist Society

ELBERT BRADBURY BOOKS

THE STATE IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY. By Ralph Miliband. New York, 1969.

In the absence of a work by Marx or Engels specifically devoted to the state, one has recourse to the 18th Brumaire for analysis of the problem of the "relative independence" of the state from economic determination, or to the Origin of the Family for a more formal statement.

Engels writes, in the latter, that:

"The state is thus by no means a power which is imposed externally upon society; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea' or the 'image and reality of reason' as Hegel maintained. It is, rather, a product of society at a particular level of development.

"It is the admission that this society is entangling itself in an irresolvable contradiction with itself, and has split into irreconcilable opposites which it is impotent to exorcise. In order that these opposites, classes with contradicting economic interests, not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, a power which apparently stands above society has become necessary, which is to muffle the struggle and retain it within the limits of "order." This power, which has come out of society, but which poses itself above it and alienates itself more and more from it, is the state."

"Since the state has arisen out of the need to hold class-oppositions in rein, but has arisen right in the midst of the conflict of these classes, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful, economically-ruling class, which by means of it (the state) becomes the class which is politically-ruling, and thus achieves new means for the repression and exploitation of the oppressed class."

DEVELOPMENT

It is clear that Engels grasps the state as something in constant development as the class struggle develops, and that there is every reason to fear that a mere description of the institutional structure and decision-making procedures would fundamentally mislead, by concealing the dialectical character of the developments which are the "essence" of the state. Lenin's early work on the *Development of Capitalism in Russia* is still a model

of the methodology requisite in order to avoid the empiricism and futurology of New Left revisionism. From this perspective, certain questions are posed by the recent work of Ralph Miliband.

Although the book is dedicated to C. Wright Mills, the author distances himself from such properly Millsian theses such as *Pentagonism* (p. 136), and does, in fact, "make a contribution to remedying" (p. 7) the hitherto deficient Marxist explanations of the "inter-relationships between civil society and the state." (p. 6). The author notes that Lenin's view in *State and Revolution* was a "fierce assertion" of the validity of Marx and Engels' conception of the state in the era of imperialism, and one might add for future reference that in his lecture of *The State*, Lenin observes of America that "every attempt of the workers to achieve the slightest real improvement in their condition is immediately met by civil war." The state is a "machine" or "bludgeon."

Lenin was not, however, unaware that the bourgeoisie does not simply use this weapon just as it chooses, but that there exist contradictions permeating the ruling class right down to the level of individual companies—where the international interests of Standard Oil may conflict with the interests of a national branch, as Sweezy notes, for example. It may be true that "in fact the more democratic it is, the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism." (*The State*)

Nevertheless, the fact of the bourgeoisie's accession to power under the banner of liberty-equality-fraternity has laden it with certain ideological obligations. And, "imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class. No Chinese Wall separates it from the other classes." (*Imperialism*) Such factors, along with the day-by-day exertions of the mass media to undermine the moral self-confidence of the proletariat, dispense the bourgeoisie from the necessity of trying to legitimize its rule, while standing forth as "bands of armed men."

REVISIONISM

The book, in sum, is sound as a description, although it excludes all concern with economic dynamics. But it is precisely because it is such a book that it is not ultimately a Marxist book; i.e., it does not purge itself of New-Left revisionism, which says, "because the

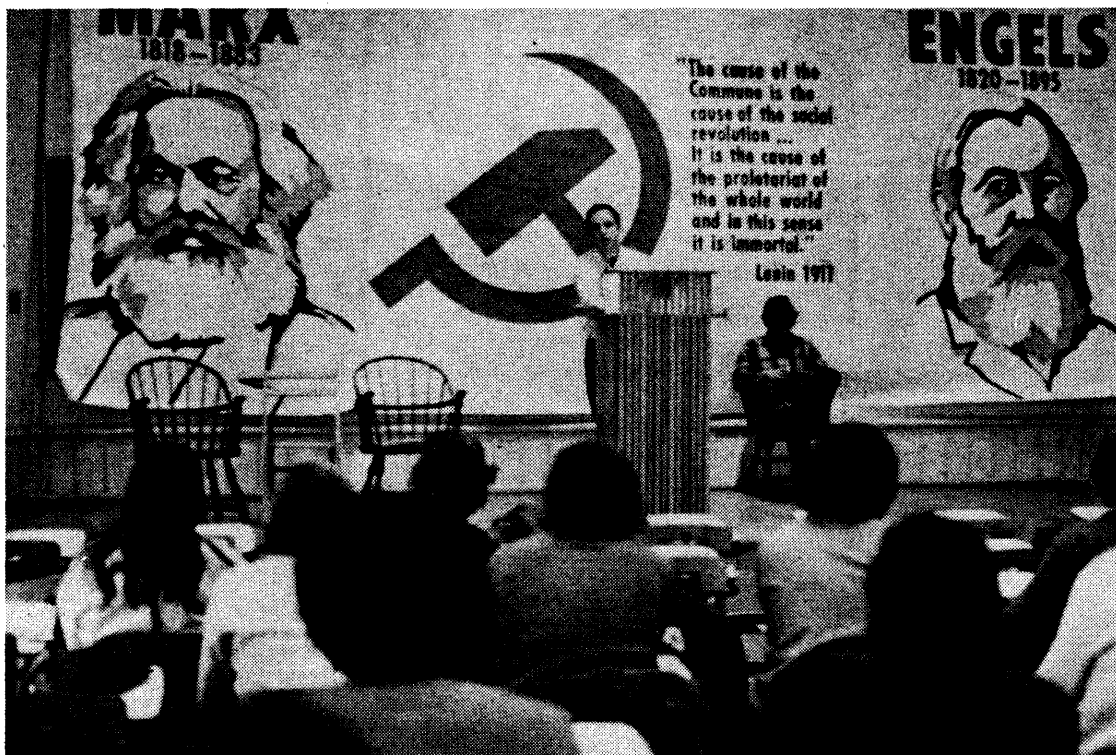
social manifestations of Capitalism have changed, hence Capitalism has changed, and hence, the program of struggle must change."

Thus, despite some patronizing acknowledgement of the importance of the party, he comes to reveal the short-comings of the party-less intellectual at the end of the book. He is certain about the failure of social democracy, but Communist parties ("with hardly any exception") suffer from profound weaknesses "of which the gravest is their lack of genuine internal democracy." (p. 274) It is always possible to score this point against any organization which ever has anything to do other than talk, and a democratic-centralist organization will always fail to live up to any abstract ideals, unless it deteriorates into an undialectical propaganda group with only puristic relationships to class movement: it is always possible that the time will come when acting to provide class leadership may take precedence over the production of witty and profound insights. Miliband will always find this "grave."

SUSPICION

Well, to what level of insight does this (so suspect) suspicion of praxis lead him? He ends with impressions which he has gathered from the future: "For the foreseeable future at any rate, no formation of the left will be in a position seriously to place the question of socialism on the agenda of most advanced capitalist societies.... It is the absence, for the present and for a long time to come, of such appropriate political agencies, paralleled by the existence of deep troubles and discontents, which makes the movement of 'bourgeois democracy' towards authoritarianism more rather than less likely.... Sooner or later...the working class and its allies in other classes will acquire that faculty (viz., of ruling the nation)." (pp. 275f.)

Our author is prepared to tabulate and graph the convulsions of the future and this may seem somewhat complacent; but then, the economic stability of Capitalism is unquestioned for the near future. It isn't that the ruling class may come to face certain problems that it will have to solve with "authoritarianism," but we are left to suppose that this is a function of their authoritarian personalities.



Fred Mueller addresses Yale audience on the "Lessons of the Paris Commune." He stressed that today we are entering a period of civil war and new communes and must absorb lessons of past victories and defeats. He also spoke in Hartford, Connecticut and Montreal, Canada.

Behind The YLP's Refusal To Take Stand

(Continued From Page 2)

gan attacks as means of resolving ideological differences.

This stand should be the first step in an ideological struggle against those, like the MPI and the Stalinists, that are trying to channel off into reformist policies the militancy and movement

Woodcock Fights General Strike

(Continued From Page 2)

What is effective is working with senators like McGovern.

According to Woodcock a labor party "will not work" in the US because the labor movement is a minority. What we need, said Woodcock is a "new creative coalition."

A Black worker also attacked the UAW leadership for doing nothing about the firings and racist attacks on Black workers at the Chevrolet Plant in St. Louis. Woodcock's only answer was that this could not be true since the UAW's Public Review Board had not received any complaints from Local 25 members. Nat Mosely of the UAW Black Caucus told a Bulletin reporter that Woodcock was lying since he had personally sent at least three letters on this matter.

Porter Thompson, a shop steward from Local 688 of the Teamsters said he was fed up with the current political system and asked Gibbons and Woodcock "When will we start supporting labor candidates?"

COALITION

Woodcock responded by referring to a recent article in Play-boy magazine which stated that

of the working class and youth. This attempt to avoid ideological struggle at any cost is also reflected in their refusal to take a side in the split in the Black Panther Party, a split which raises fundamental questions of theory and Marxism and their relation to the construction of the revolutionary party.

blue collar workers would either move sharply to the right or left. If they move to the right, said Woodcock, it will lay the "political basis for the creation of fascism in the United States." Woodcock advocated a "new coalition" to "pull workers to the left," like the one that "got us out of the depression."

Rank and file trade unionists at the conference responded to the Workers League intervention, buying subscriptions to the paper and discussing the alternative demonstrations the Workers League will be holding in Washington on April 24th.

Nixon Refuses To End War In Indochina

(Continued From Page 3)

of the bases presently in the hands of the imperialist forces as well as the B-52 bombers which are based not only in Vietnam but in Thailand and Guam.

In his remarks on Saturday Nixon also made it clear that he had no intentions of removing those bases, by saying: "As you know, we have a treaty with Thailand and those air forces are maintained there in part in order to sustain that treaty."

It is also expressed in their recent statement on the MPI attack on the Lords which refuses to deal openly on the political differences between the two organizations. The statement on the one hand says that the contradictions between the different organizations are to be resolved by ideological struggle (which means the struggle of ideas), and also by checking out the way that idea is put into practice," and on the other that the differences between the Young Lords and the MPI should not be expressed openly in their newspapers. This is itself a contradiction and expresses the attempt to avoid to struggle openly and ideologically against the reformist policies of the MPI.

THEORY

But the movement of the working class and the youth, including the Puerto Rican working class youth whose motion is expressed in this particular time in the Young Lords Party, cannot

Angry Cabbies Attack Van Arsdale

(Continued From Page 4)

mands in the history of Local 3036 union meetings. The Taxi Drivers Coalition demanded immediate return of the 10 cents off the top of the meter, restoration of 49% to new drivers, no productivity clauses, and no acceptance of a contract no one has seen.

Van Arsdale was allowed two minutes to speak on these demands, and when he spoke for five minutes without mentioning them, an unidentified driver from the Bronx leaped on the stage grabbed the open mike, and began screaming at Van Arsdale in full view of the rank and file.

"We want answers, Mr. Van Arsdale, not double talk! Where's the dime? What about 42%? Why are these provisions already in effect, and we haven't voted on them?"

One union thug ripped the microphone cord out, and the militant's voice went dead.

go forward as much as an inch without the construction of the Marxist revolutionary party as the leadership of the working class. The construction of the party can only be based in the struggle for revolutionary theory, for revolutionary socialism, as developed in the course of the international class struggle by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. This means that there has to be a ruthless and savage fight against all those tendencies whose conceptions and policies translate themselves in practice in the defeat of the working class and youth. To avoid this struggle is not to prepare the working class and youth for the fight against capitalism.

The Young Lords Party, whether it wants it or not, is going to have to deal with the questions raised by the attacks of the MPI on the Workers League, that is the question of Stalinism versus Trotskyism. This question cannot be avoided if the movement of the Puerto Rican youth in the U.S. is to go forward.

sensing the defeat of imperialism, come crawling out of their holes offering Nixon a way out of his dilemma. Nixon can now brazenly state that the time for negotiations "is rapidly drawing to a close."

But the workers and peasants of Asia live in a different period from the one that led to the sell-out of 1954. From Ceylon to Pakistan to Laos they are on the move and are joined by the working class in the US and Europe.

The workers and peasants have repelled the invasion of Laos. Any new invasion will meet with the same disastrous results.

Gen. Abrams' plans to use American troops on a new invasion of Laos will not change the outcome. It is quite possible that an insurrection will occur in the entire invading force.

The Ashau valley from which imperialism plans to launch its new offensive is a land of thousands of canals each one a perfect area for defeat and a thousand hills. Here in 1968 American troops rebelled saying they were not going up one of the hills. Here in 1969 American airborne troops were mutilated on a hill known as Hamburger. It is into this that Abrams is sending a force of 10,000 men.

Another bureaucrat pushed a table off the stage onto the ranks surrounding the podium, who by this time numbered close to a thousand.

Another Manhattan driver vaulted on to the stage, grabbed for Van Arsdale's mike, and when he said "You're out of order, brother" someone from the back yelled, "No, you are Harry," and he threw a chair.

A goon on the stage made the mistake of throwing the chair back at the audience. The return salvo from the floor numbered close to 20 chairs.

RAINED

One cabbie threw an ashtray, slicing open the jaw of a particularly vicious goon, and then literally hundreds of chairs, wastebaskets, ashtrays—whatever the men could pick up—rained down on the stage. The side sections and balconies thundered with the sound of hundreds of chairs being continually slammed to the floor. Chants of "Goodbye, Harry" echoed from the mezzanine.

Spittle covered President Van Arsdale's face, as the men surged forward, throwing more chairs. A group stormed one side of the stage, and someone tried to pull the curtains. The podium came crashing down, and 3000 men roared. One driver soaked a vice-president with water, and then nailed him in the back with the silver water pitcher as the bureaucrat ran off the stage.

One driver picked up the gavel and started after Van Arsdale. Suddenly sirens and the Tactical Police Force came roaring into Manhattan Center. Thousands of drivers jumped up and down, yelling, screaming, hugging, slapping each other on the back, and watched as the entire Local 3036 leadership and its private army of goons ran out the back door.

"Beautiful, just beautiful!" yelled one older driver from Queens. "This is the most democratic union meeting we've ever had."

The causes of the rank and file rebellion are clear. The taxi driver's contract says he must stay out at least 9 hours. He usually works 10, 11, sometimes 12 hours a day in order to make it. He averaged, if he hustled, about 150 dollars for a 45-50 hour week up until last fall. His income has absolutely diminished under the new rate structure.

IMMEDIATE

Van Arsdale negotiated absolutely the worst contract imaginable, stood by while his men were attacked in the press, and then allowed provisions of the contract to be enacted without ratification.

This poses an immediate task for the rank and file of Local 3036. A ratification meeting must be called immediately, and the whole smelly contract voted down and thrown out!

At the same meeting, a new negotiating committee must be elected, including none of the present union leadership.

A campaign must be waged in the garages to build garage committees made up of the ranks, to formulate new demands, and to prepare to re-elect an entire new leadership, from president on down, in the upcoming November election.

And any new contract must include these demands:

- Parity with transit!
- No productivity clauses!
- Half pension at 20, full pension at 30 years!

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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Cleaver Reveals Anti-Marxist Stand

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The split in the Black Panther Party is more and more clearly exposed as a division based on the extreme anti-working class and anti-Marxist position of the so-called "international section" now based in Algeria.

In an interview in Algiers, printed in the current (April 17) issue of the Guardian with Jack Smith, Kathleen Cleaver elaborates on the completely bankrupt and petty bourgeois policies of the Cleaver faction.

The substance of the interview is an extremely hostile and bitter attack on the working class, and on Marxism, and on those in the Panther Party who have raised the question of Marxism:

"The Black people want to move, they wanted armed action, but Hilliard is a coward. All he wanted people to do was sell copies of the paper and read Marxism-Leninism."

Kathleen Cleaver also attacks Hilliard for changing the party's perspective from "organizing armed violence against the pigs" to "taking the defensive" and "concentrating on legal action and defending people in court."

Cleaver's perspective is one of petty bourgeois desperation and panic under the guise of militancy. Kathleen Cleaver says: "Now we have to break them all out." But what is she posing for the future of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, now in prison, or for the masses of workers and youth?

LOGIC

The logic of this perspective is a long exile at the pleasure of a bourgeois military dictatorship in Algeria, or a courageous but futile death like Jonathan Jackson's.

It is no accident that Cleaver is now living in Algeria, in a government-donated "embassy," enjoying the closest relationships with the counterrevolutionary military dictatorship which came to power out of the defeat of the Algerian Revolution.

What is expressed by Cleaver's per-

spective is a complete lack of confidence in or objective understanding of, the massive movement of the working class and youth.

Rather than the massive mobilization of the working class, the likes of which have been seen in France in May-June 1968, and in Britain in an unprecedented wave of general strikes against the government, or in the U.S. in the movement of the working class and massive sections of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano youth in particular, Cleaver sees only the rage and frustration of



Kathleen Cleaver attacks labor.

Weatherman-like underground.

This complete hostility to the working class is openly expressed by Kathleen Cleaver:

"The working class in Babylon is not going to revolutionize anything. The working class in Babylon is not really oppressed; it's in coalition with the capitalists. We'll organize the working class by bombing the factories and the war manufacturers."

This is what lies behind all the attacks on Newton and Hilliard—a fear and hatred of the working class and most especially of the conscious philosophy of the working class, Marxism.

This is why she attacks Hilliard for urging the Panthers to read "Marxism-Leninism." This is why they say Newton must be on drugs to be speaking of dialectics.

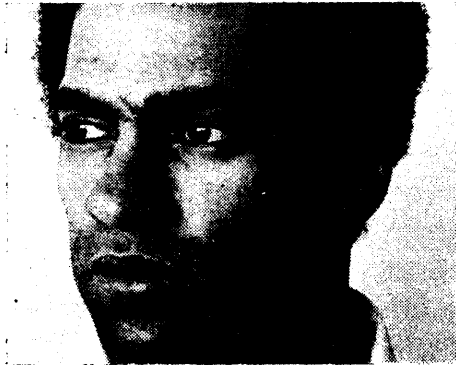
Kathleen Cleaver claimed in the interview that Hilliard got Newton's support when he came out of prison on the basis of "lies, flattery and drugs."

This is how they explain the present Panther leadership's emphasis on dialectics.

DIALECTICS

Newton opens an article in the current issue of *The Black Panther* by going back again to the question of dialectics and contradiction:

"The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we



Huey Newton hits adventurism.

recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party."

Of Cleaver's position, Newton says:

"So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver and he has defected from the party, because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectics or ideology, our concrete analysis of concrete conditions say that it is a fantasy because the people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process."

This contradiction is the contradiction, or gap, between the present consciousness of the masses, and the objective necessity for a revolution to overthrow

capitalism.

And it is true that it is not simply "unfortunate," but it poses the necessity for a strategy before the revolutionary movement. While Cleaver says there is no gap, take up arms and the people will follow, this is not simply fantasy, but a dangerous diversion, as the murder of Sam Napier shows. The question facing us is how to overcome that gap.

GAP

Newton recognizes the gap between the consciousness of the masses and objective necessity, but he has no dialectical, that is revolutionary, strategy. His answer of survival programs is in essence an evolutionary, non-dialectical conception.

Newton recognizes the necessity for revolution, but this conception of survival programs is a reformist conception that sees it as a matter of "surviving" until some other period when a revolution is possible.

But the survival of the working class IS revolution. It is the fight of the working class to preserve and defend its standard of living, its right to employment, its right to survive that throws it into basic and fundamental conflict with a capitalism in intense crisis, and puts revolution onto the agenda.

But to understand this and take it forward requires the development of Marxist theory, the understanding of the sharp conflict between the working class and the capitalist class which lies beneath the surface but breaks out.

This is what is being expressed within the Black Panther Party between Newton and Cleaver, who represent different and antagonistic class outlooks.

This is the meaning of dialectics—the understanding that what may appear "concretely" "fantastic" today is developing beneath the surface in preparation for a leap which can transform all the class relationships and the very face of the earth.

For this dialectical leap, revolution, to take place, requires the conscious leadership of a party with dialectics as its mainspring with its roots in the struggle of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

SWP Cannot Evade Stalinist Attacks

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The Communist Party formed an alliance with the Socialist Workers Party around April 24th for one purpose only. Its aim is to strengthen the politics of the popular front—coalitions with the "liberal" capitalists—while at the same time preparing blows against the Trotskyist movement.

What the Communist Party does is to conduct a political attack on the reformism of the SWP which flows from its revision of Trotsky as a cover to make palatable to the youth an attack on Trotskyism itself.

The SWP's approach is to defend its own reformism attacking the CP largely from the right, make a few formal criticisms of the CP's support to the Democratic Party, but refuse at all costs to take up the Communist Party as the representative of Stalinism in America.

Thus it facilitates the development of Stalinism by openly collaborating with it in the peace movement, by its own revision of Trotskyism, and by refusing to fight the Communist Party as part of a fight against Stalinism.

WEINSTONE

W.W. Weinstone, writing in the April 17th *World Magazine*, continues the CP's attack on the SWP and YSA begun by Tony Monteiro at the Young Workers Liberation League forum the preceding week. He defends the "Set the Date" People's Peace Treaty line on two grounds. First he holds that it "is intended to catch the slippery eel—Tricky Dick." He holds up as an example of such eel catching the very Geneva Accords which the United States flagrantly violated and which set the stage for the current war in Vietnam!

Next he maintains that the peace treaty

is, after all, the official policy of the National Liberation Front "which represents the legitimate aspirations of the Vietnamese people." At this point he throws right back at the SWP, the SWP's position that the central issue in Vietnam is "self-determination" and that therefore the future of Vietnam "is to be decided by the Vietnamese and by nobody else."

But the issue here is clearly that the right of self-determination of a people is a democratic principle which like all other democratic principles can only be implemented through a socialist revolution led by a Marxist party. In Vietnam this means to side openly and completely with the National Liberation Front in its struggle against U.S. imperialism, to favor giving it the fullest military support, but at the same time to remain independent of it politically and fight independently for the construction of a Marxist leadership, that is a Trotskyist leadership, and the socialist revolution. It means recognizing a contradiction between the movement of the masses in the war and the leadership of these masses, the same Stalinist leadership which supported the Geneva Accords.

COVER

Tony Thomas' answer to Tony Monteiro of the YWLL who recently spoke on "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left,"

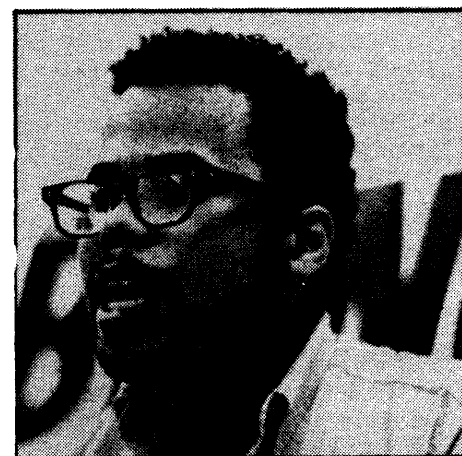
is of the same character. Thomas devotes the bulk of his article in the April 23rd *Militant* to a defense of the reformist and reactionary positions of the SWP on the Black question, positions never held by either Lenin or Trotsky.

That the whole question is a cover for both sides is illustrated by the situation in the recent Berkeley election where both the SWP and the "April Alliance," a bourgeois formation supported by the CP, supported community control of the cops. This idea, rooted in the reactionary character of Black nationalism, denies that the capitalist state is a "body of armed men" and as such must be destroyed proposing instead to "control" that state.

Thomas accuses Monteiro of "employing the time-honored device of political slander" in calling the YSA and SWP "racist." The question is not that time has "honored" this device but that it flows from the very character of Stalinism. The American Communist Party still stands on the basis of the Moscow Trials and it is the slanders of these trials that it revives today.

POPULAR FRONTS

In the period of the Moscow Trials the Stalinist movement broke the back of the revolutionary tide of the working class by bringing the working class into popular fronts with the bourgeoisie and thus prepared the way for fascism and war. At the same time it launched a murderous campaign against Trotskyism and the whole old leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The slander and the reformism go hand in hand and lead—



Tony Thomas evades Stalinism.

unless fought openly with the whole historical experience of the working class—to bloody defeat for millions.

CONDEMN

During the very meeting at which Monteiro spoke, a spokesman from the MPI, a Puerto Rican nationalist group, took the platform, and was introduced by a leading Communist Party member Dennis Mora, to attack the Workers League as "Trotskyite CIA agents" and to defend its violent attack on *Bulletin* salesmen in which three comrades were sent to the hospital. Tony Thomas was present at the meeting and observed the development.

What is in order now is for a clear statement on the part of the SWP condemning hooligan attacks, condemning all attempts to revive the accusations of the Moscow Trials period, and declaring a willingness to participate in an impartial commission of inquiry into the attack.

Detroit Budget: Gribbs Declares War On Workers

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Mayor Gribbs recently announced the city budget. This budget is an open declaration of war on the working class in this city.

Gribbs referred to the budget of \$621.8 million as one that was pared to the bone to provide only basic municipal services. What is one of the most important aspects of this budget is that part of this money, \$26.2 million, is dependent on hikes in resident and non-resident taxes of 0.5% and 0.75% respectively.

First of all if the tax is raised it will be the workers who will bear the brunt of the burden. If the tax is not raised then massive social services will be cut. Garbage collection and street cleaning will be slashed to the point that it is hazardous to health. Just as important many of the recreation centers will almost be eliminated. There will be more cutbacks in jobs of city employees in all departments.

MINIMAL

Education will be cut. Several weeks ago it was reported in the *Bulletin* that layoffs in teaching staff were hitting the area. The school budget is largely a deficit budget, in debt \$18 million. It is referred to as a minimal budget. Not only will this budget barely maintain the school system that is rotten to the core and ready to explode, but there will be no improvement in facilities.

All these cutbacks are attacks on the working class. All the social services were gotten by the workers through years of struggle. Gribbs, an ex-police chief, more than anyone else understands what this budget means. He has made cutbacks in every section but the police.

But Gribbs also told the police force that if they do not keep their wage demands at a minimal level, then there would be layoffs on the force.

This budget will have real significance in the next couple of months. First of all there is every indication that there will be no social peace in the city. There is every sign that every section of labor from the white collar worker like the teachers to various UAW locals will be striking unofficially.

These strikes will be very crucial for labor's defense of its living standards. What is necessary is to take up the fight for a general strike against these cut backs.

FBI Spying Exposes Nixon's Plans

(Continued From Page 5)

state," Nixon is even more forthright in his reply:

"You talk about a police state. Let me tell you what happens when you go to what is really a police state. You can't talk in your bedroom. You can't talk in your sitting room. You don't talk on the telephone. You don't talk in the bathroom.... That's the way it works."

And Nixon solemnly affirms that he does not want that to happen in this country. We think that he is really saying something else when he says these things, however. He is also warning. He is saying, this is very well how

Leaders Sell Out Canadian Rail Pact

BY STEVE FINNEY

MONTREAL—After year long negotiations between the Canadian Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways on a new two year contract, the three man conciliation board decided that it was unable to reach agreement on a wage settlement.

Since January of this year, engineers throughout the country had been "booking off" to protest against the slow negotiations. The rank and file members had been complaining that they had not been kept informed by their leadership of the progress of the negotiations.

As the pressure of the rank and file members mounted

with work stoppages in the western provinces, in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, the union leaders were forced to call a nation-wide strike for noon on April 5. As the day of the strike grew nearer, CPR and CNR began to shut down services.

SELLOUT

But again, as the UAW strike settlement before it, the workers were completely sold out. The wage increases that the companies gave the engineers hardly even make up for the cost of living. The workers were demanding a 22% increase on a 2 year contract. The union leadership totally compromised, settling for 23% for 3 years.

As rail service all across Canada was virtually halted,

Labor Minister Bryce McCasey met in all night sessions with union and CPR-CNR representatives in order to hammer out a deal which effectively gave the workers nothing, but gave the union bureaucrats the excuse of the threat of government intervention so that they could get this contract through.

The union bureaucracy, which does not even allow the rank and file workers to vote on acceptance or rejection of the contracts, has consistently given in to government pressure.

But the rank and file members of the union do not agree. The majority of the engineers are working under protest.

On the same day that the contract was agreed to, the New Democratic Party government in Manitoba won two important by-

elections to give it a clear majority in Parliament for the first time since taking power 21 months ago.

PROTEST

In Thunder Bay, Ontario, militant workers stayed out to protest against the union bureaucracy's accepting the sellout. In Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver and several other major rail centers, rank and file workers, as well as shop stewards, are attacking the contract and the fact that they have no right to accept or reject it. Many locals of Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Engineers are demanding the immediate resignation of the union negotiating committee.

SOCIALISM

The working class must continue to fight against the attacks on their jobs and salaries by the capitalist class. This can only be done by the fight for a new leadership in the trade unions, based on a program of socialist demands:

- Nationalization of the Railroads
- 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to eliminate unemployment and layoffs
- Full cost of living escalator to keep the workers' salaries in line with staggering inflation
- A 22% wage increase over 2 years as the workers fought for.

POLITICAL

A union leadership, such as the present one, that acquiesces to the government at every key point, can only prepare further betrayals and sellouts for the railwaymen.

The government must be fought on two fronts—an all out national railway strike until all the union's demands are met, and, on the political front, workers must take up the fight started by the workers in Manitoba. This political fight must be taken forward by workers all across Canada to throw McCasey and the Liberals out of power and to put in an NDP government based on a socialist program.

UAW Must Support Local 285

BY KEVIN HAZLETT

DETROIT, April 15—The ranks of Teamster Local 285, linen drivers on strike for six months, are being threatened on all sides.

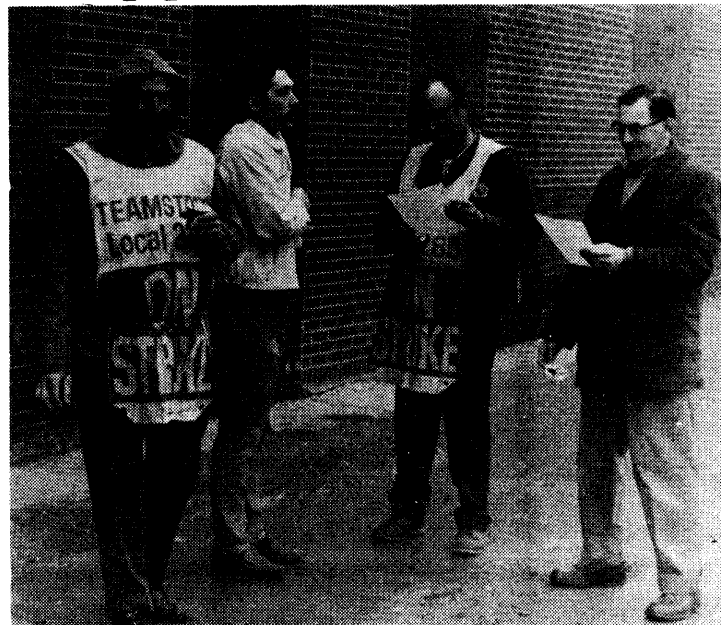
The employers are trying to smash the union by attempting to impose wage cuts of \$3,400 a year per man. The local leadership is doing very little in the direction of a real fight to mobilize the ranks of labor for massive picketing to shut all the plants down, particularly the auto workers at plants which use scab linen.

The Fitzsimmons international leadership is doing everything possible to keep Local 285's fight away from the Teamster ranks as a whole, which amounts to the most treacherous betrayal.

The seriousness with which management takes this strike is shown by the physical assault on pickets at Economy Linen at the beginning of the strike.

But even after this attack it was the leadership's position that the men could "go it alone" and on this basis refused the assistance of Teamster Local 299. The Workers League intervened in the strike, pointing out that it is impossible for the men to win the strike by "going it alone." The leaflet said that the men must broaden the strike and seek the assistance of the entire Detroit working class by speaking at Teamster, auto, and steel local meetings and by mass leafleting at the auto plants.

The betrayal of the international leadership is the most pernicious and open of all. In a letter to Local 285, the International stated that news on the struggle of Local 285 would have no place in the international publication, and that they "could not understand the situation," which



Pickets read Workers League leaflet demanding labor support.

meant that assistance to the Local could not go farther than strike pay. Many of the men are afraid that the International will revoke strike pay if the ranks struggle to broaden the strike.

But the situation facing the ranks of Local 285 can be reversed. Detroit is the heart of

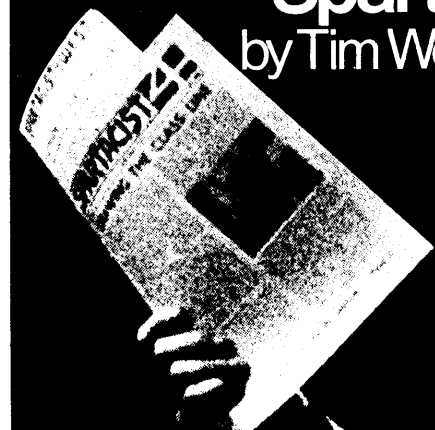
the trade union movement. If 285 is broken it will endanger the entire labor movement. The ranks of Local 285 must demand that their fight be taken directly into the UAW, that delivery of scab linen be stopped at the auto plants and that the unions mobilize to defend Local 285.

Latest Bulletin Pamphlet

Spartacist typifies the propagandist method and the subjective clique existence of middle class radicalism in its sickest form. Today when this strata is thrown into its deepest crisis by the impending storm a study of Spartacist can be of the greatest value to the political hygiene of radical youth. For this reason this pamphlet may well be the most important of the whole Bulletin Pamphlet Series.

50¢

What Is Spartacist? by Tim Wohlforth



Bulletin Pamphlet Series

Peoples Peace Holds Circus

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SANTA BARBARA—All the rotten politics of the Communist Party and its middle class allies like the New University Conference surfaced at a recent state-wide People's Peace Treaty conference held here.

The avowed purpose of the conference was to gather all forces who supported the People's Peace Treaty to talk about "tactics for implementation."

The organizers of the conference were determined to discourage all political discussion. Every tried and true Stalinist method was used to this end. The first Workers League speaker was greeted by a chorus of organized jeers. The chair later had to apologize for this, since the conference was not as securely in the hands of the Stalinists as they had thought. Later physical threats, rumor mongering and red-baiting were attempted.

One member of the Young Workers Liberation League claimed that 40 disciplined members of the Workers League were sent to "wreck" the conference. His proof of this was that he

had seen a caucus meeting held under a tree on the front lawn.

But no matter how hard the leadership twisted and turned, they could not keep class politics and the call for an independent demonstration on April 24th away from the conference. Political discussion broke through at every point. Rather than vote on proposals (which would have meant a floor fight over the Workers League proposal based on a criticism of the People's Peace Treaty), workshops, caucuses, etc. merely read their proposals, some 33 in all.

The role of the YSA was a case study of Pabloism. In one workshop a YSAer said that while he had "private reservations" about the Treaty, it seemed to him that April 24th would be a great time to gather signatures.

The rage and hatred of the Stalinists for Trotskyism was expressed when one of them went over and chanted "Smash Workers League" on a blackboard. Even this did not work when another participant publicly changed this to "Smash Imperialism." Several people were signed up for buses for the Workers League 24th demonstration in San Francisco, and sales of literature and *Bulletins* was brisk.

PLP Friends Turn To Trotskyism

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

PORTLAND, ORE.—A crisis in the local "friends of the Progressive Labor Party" group here has been expressed in a series of expulsions and splits over the past several months.

This has resulted in the formation of an organizing committee with the perspective of constructing a Workers League branch in Portland. The organizing committee is composed of former "friends of PLP" who were expelled or left the group after beginning to question the Stalinist character of PLP.

The contradiction that is pulling apart the "friends of PLP" group here reflects the struggle inside the national PLP between the Stalinist political line the party is putting forth and the movement by many members and friends towards Trotskyism, the program of the world working class.

The breach in the local group began when some members raised questions about the PLP line with regard to the movement in the U.S. against the U.S. imperialist war in Southeast Asia and the right of nations to self-determination.

PLP has pulled back from the struggle in the U.S. against the war and, by relegating self-determination to the "long range" under socialism, in effect denies that right.

QUESTIONS

Indeed, as the international class struggle sharpens and the U.S. working class begins to move forward, PLP, behind "revolutionary communist" phrasemongering, is retreating into a national-chauvinist American exceptionalism while attempting to divert the U.S. working class movement into deadend, middle class reformist politics.

Other questions also began to develop in the group about such matters as the PLP theory that "a revisionist is a boss who calls himself a communist," the refusal in practice to defend the working class movement from

attacks by the capitalist state, the reformism of the left-center coalition and worker-student alliance perspective.

Some members of the group also saw the empirical method of PLP that makes "facts" fit the position that capitalism is restored in the Soviet Union, the absence of international and national political news and analysis in *Challenge*, the attack on the trade unions as arms of the state and the bourgeois "self-criticism" psychology. Acceptable answers to these questions were not forthcoming from the party. When friends of the party began to pose some of these questions, the answers were expulsion and intimidation.

The few remaining "friends of PLP" here sponsored a party representative from the Bay Area as a speaker at a recent Portland State University forum. At that forum supporters of the Workers League questioned the party spokesman about PLP, Stalinism and Trotskyism.

"DEBATES"

But, despite the fact that the local "friends of PLP" group continues to be split apart by the question of Trotskyism as posed by the Workers League, he answered that he did not want to be "sectarian" and talk about these "little debates." Rather he wanted to discuss whether "communism is a good thing" and what PLP is "doing in practice." He was willing to refer to the "many good things" that Stalin did and his "few mistakes."

The organizing committee, understanding that the question of philosophy is the question of the party, has taken up the study of dialectical materialism and the history of the struggle for Marx-



Police sought to repress this picture of police searching Stanford Daily offices for photos.

Repression Hits Stanford

BY BARRY PORSTER

STANFORD—Twenty two demonstrators who held a sit-in to demand the rehiring of Sam Bridges, Stanford Hospital employee, are being charged with felonious assault on a police officer and assault with a deadly weapon.

ism in the U.S.

The group further is taking the struggle for dialectical materialism into a Radical Social Science Union class at Portland State University in which more than 25 students at the present time are reading and discussing the *Bulletin* pamphlet "Marxism and American Pragmatism" by Tim Wohlforth.

SWP Covers For Labor Bureaucrats At Berkeley

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BERKELEY—The large-scale entry of labor into the anti-war movement posed some serious problems for the Socialist Workers Party at a "student-labor" anti-war forum held in Berkeley this week.

This meeting, organized by the Student Mobilization Committee in preparation for April 24, was attended by a large number of trade union leaders, and a very small audience.

The SWP planned this meeting in an attempt to cut off mounting criticism that its approach to the anti-war movement is middle class in character.

After two boring and irrelevant speeches by some political science professors, the meeting turned into a battle between Stalinism, reflected in the politics of the union bureaucrats, and Trotskyism, expressed by the Workers League. In this fight the role of the SWP was revealed.

Paralyzed by its inability to fight the reformist proposals put forth by the labor leaders but forced by its own history to pose itself as a left alternative to these betrayals, the SWP-SMC members could only play master of ceremonies. They could not say a word in criticism of endorsements of Demo-

The administration is so intent on smashing militants that a raid was made on the offices of the campus paper, the *Stanford Daily*, to obtain incriminating photos for use in prosecution.

Widespread student and worker support has rallied around the victims of the administration's police attack and in support of the demands put forward by the Black United Front and the Alianza Latina for fair employment practices at the university and the hospital.

Black and Chicano committees have worked out a set of eleven demands and set Monday, April 19 as the deadline for a reply by the hospital administration. The demands include dropping all charges against the twenty two demonstrators, the reinstatement of Sam Bridges, tenure for Dr.

Jose Aguilar, a Chicano neurosurgeon recently denied tenure by the hospital, the dismissal of certain hospital administrators, and representation of Blacks and Chicanos in the administration of the hospital.

A surge of liberal support for the demonstrators has obtained pitiful concessions from the hospital administration, such as grievance rights for all workers from the day of hiring. It is likely that the administration will offer a few more sops but unless the situation is changed, the struggle of the hospital workers will fall into a reformist betrayal. At a time when the university is laying off large numbers of workers and attempting to eliminate militants, structural reforms are not only inadequate, but illusory.

At the heart of the problem is the failure of the Black United Front, the Alianza Latina, and Venceremos to understand the events at Stanford within the context of the deepening crisis of capitalism internationally.

Because they lack a revolutionary perspective and strategy, because they deal with Stanford as though it were isolated from the international class struggle, Venceremos moves back and forth from ultra-left tactics of confrontation and terrorism to reformism. At the present time liberal professors and doctors are setting the tone for the struggle around the hospital, calling it a problem of white racism and endorsing structural reforms as the solution.

But the root of the problem at Stanford is not racism but capitalism, which fosters racism and uses it as its most vicious tool for dividing the working class.

POWER

The layoffs, cutbacks in education and attacks on militants will continue at Stanford and across the country until the power of the working class is brought to bear against the ruling class. In this the students and youth can take the lead.

It is on this basis that the Stanford Workers League club attacked the confrontation tactics of Venceremos, of which the hospital sit-in was one example. We call for the immediate formation of a strike committee to shut down the campus in defense of the twenty two demonstrators and all other political victims.

It is apparent that the growing sharpness of the class struggle now forces these groups to cover up for the labor bureaucracy and line up with the Stalinists for "peaceful coexistence."

West Coast News

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Right Marches In San Diego To 'Free Calley'

BY JAMES DUNN

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In San Diego, this march is part of an area-wide campaign to rally forces in support of Calley and to collect petition signatures demanding his release.

While this march was numerically small, it is significant because it shows how the enemies of the working class are attempting to unite broad sections of the middle class in a "patriotic" movement. Such a movement is exactly what will be thrown against the forward moving working class in the near future.

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While that may be so, the point is that the leaders of the Calley movement are not those "people in the street," but the sworn enemies of the working class like Nixon, Wallace, McGovern and company.

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Strike Against Job Cuts

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John Gibson is deadly serious. He is firing the opening shots for Reagan and for every city council in the state. The ruling class is announcing its intentions to smash every union, every association of state and municipal workers and to tear to shreds every right to tenure, security and decent living standards. Reagan and his stalking horses are calling for a return to the 1930s.

All across the state the story is the same. Reagan declares that there will be no raises at all this year for state workers and moves to institute layoffs. New proposals for welfare will mean all out attacks on welfare recipients and the elimination of 6500 welfare jobs.

The tenure system is under vicious attack with the State Board of Education moving to provide authority to dismiss a tenured teacher in a "State Hearing Officer" rather than in the courts.

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In San Diego, city workers are informed that they will receive no new fringe benefits and raises to range from 2.5% to 5%.

Every city is determined to balance its budget by a freeze on hiring and by refusing to replace workers who leave or retire. Reagan and Nixon are determined to help them along by providing the legislation and doing their own prodding by squeezing the funds even tighter.

The Stalinists and the revisionist SWP are playing an absolutely criminal role. Faced with these developments they are fighting tooth and nail to come to the aid of the ruling class by polarizing the racial struggle around popular front coalitions for community control. The Stalinists openly and the SWP with all sorts of "left" chatter are determined to bring in the strike-breaking Stokes and Gibsons. Berkeley becomes their rallying cry.

The Stalinists in particular are doing everything in their power to prop up the precarious positions of the labor bureaucracy. Thus they hail the San Francisco teachers strike as a victory and cheer on the maids in Berkeley when they settle for an agreement that will guarantee nothing on layoffs.

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This conference must take up the fight to rally the entire labor movement to break from the Democratic and Republican strike breakers and begin the construction of a labor party.

ILWU Ranks Watch Convention For Lead

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In essence this action solved nothing. A vague promise for implementation of the CFS agreement combined with a proposal to set up another fact-finding committee was all that resulted. In a few months longshoremen may very well blow all agreements sky high.

Dockers will now be watching this convention very carefully for a lead in their struggle. A major new development is the participation of Thomas Gleason of the ILA as featured speaker. The *Peoples World* sees fit to refer to him as an ultra conservative and to dismiss the whole thing by commenting that the ILWU ranks are opposed to any link up between the two unions.

In this way the Stalinists seek to ignore the 60,000 East and Gulf coast longshoremen with a long history of wildcats and militant strikes, often in defiance of Mr. Gleason. Plagued with unemployment and growing containerization, the ILA is facing the same explosions that now begin to develop in the ILWU.

It will be absolutely criminal if an all out fight is not made for joint action and a fighting unity with the ILA ranks despite the leadership.

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Dockers will also be watching this convention for a strategy towards the Teamsters. Civil war still looms in the fight for jobs particularly around the CFS agreement. This convention must take up the fight for joint action with the IBT to see to it that not a single transport job is eliminated, with full pay guaranteed all transport workers. Once again it is extremely significant that the Communist Party sees fit in the latest *Peoples World* to write two articles and publish two letters on the ILWU without a single mention of the Teamsters.

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In the face of these threats Communist Party docker Archie Brown sees fit to devote a full page letter in the *Peoples World* to ignoring every fundamental question. Not once in this letter does he so much as criticize the ILWU leadership. He goes to great pains to explain that this leadership is not always "soft." He compliments the *Dispatcher* and reports without comment that Local 10 has gone on record supporting the reelection of Bridges.

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The Workers League says that Bridges is committed to a betrayal. He is determined to accept attrition and erosion of conditions. His leadership is responsible for M & M, CFS and every other sellout rammed down the throats of dockers. A new leadership must be built determined to scrap CFS and M & M and pledged to fight tooth and nail for unity of every docker in the country and for joint action with the Teamsters to see to it that not a single job is lost or given up. The Henry Seyfarths and their strike-breaking government will only be defeated in a fight for mass strike action and a political struggle for an independent party of labor.

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West Coast News

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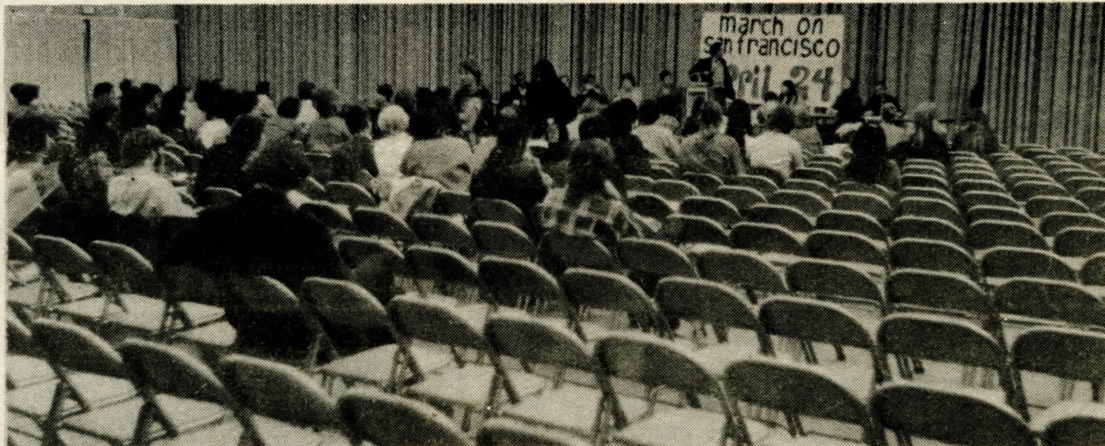
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