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Take Forward Fight For A Labor Party!

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At New York City Community College in New York this movement was given its conscious expression and lead when the students at a mass rally on May 5th answered the government’s cuts in education, welfare, and city jobs by calling on the labor movement to call a general strike against these attacks and to break from the Democratic and Republican Parties and make immediate preparation for the building of a labor party.

This movement of the youth reflects the sharp confrontation that is developing between capitalism and the working class. Every attempt that Nixon and the capitalist class have made to solve the economic crisis has only failed as the working class continues its wage offensive.

Now this crisis is about to explode as the dollar is threatened with devaluation and the economy with collapse. Nixon must now prepare for open warfare with the working class, for the destruction of the trade unions and all the rights and gains the working class has won throughout its history.

But this is no easy matter, as Nixon fully realizes. Nixon’s attacks on the wages of the construction workers were met by general strike calls from New Jersey to New Mexico. Now the contradictions expressed in the monetary crisis and the wage offensive are coming to a head in the upcoming steel negotiations.

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New York City Community College student holds sign against budget cuts at rally which passed resolution demanding general strike and formation of labor party.

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(Continued On Page 6)
Crisis Deepens In Yugoslavia

BY FRED MUELLER

The tremendous problems facing the Tito regime in Yugoslavia are an expression of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Tito is faced with deeper divisions within the party leadership than at any time since the overthrow of capitalism in Yugoslavia at the end of the Second World War.

Separatist tendencies, especially in Croatia, are growing fast and openly challenge Marxism and the continued existence of the workers state itself.

At the same time economic difficulties are rapidly multiplying. The regime faced with a spiraling inflation, a growing gap between the incomes and living standards of the lowest and highest paid, and a wave of strikes from the working class which is determined not to be the ones to pay for the inflation.

The Communist League of Communists took power over 25 years ago over the objections of Stalin, who insisted throughout the world on the Communist parties maintaining coalition government with the capitalists.

Tito was forced to break from Stalin. It was necessary for a brief period to attack the Soviet bureaucracy from the left. By 1956, however, the Yugoslav had moved toward collaboration with the capitalists.

They refused to vote against a U.S.-led United Nations resolution branding China as an aggressor in Korea. They pursued a policy of “coexistence” internationally which meant a policy of including the capitalists as part of the international proletariat. As part of this move to the right, they received economic and even military aid from the U.S.

The Yugoslav CP was never able to pose a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism. It developed a line partially independent of Moscow but based upon the interests of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie and not the working class. It never broke from the Stalinist concept of building socialism in one country apart from and against the struggles of the working class internationally.

Today’s crisis is the fruit of the bankrupt policies of the Yugoslav bureaucracy. Tito, nearing 79 years of age, is now forced to face the question of the re-creation of the bureaucracy after two decades of relative imperialisit pressure is enormous.

Investment from the West and increased dependence on the world market have undermined the nationalist policies tabulated after the war. Whole sections of the party and state apparatus have moved shamefully to the right. Tito is now worried, much as Mao was several years ago, about capitalist restorationist trends nurtured by his own national policies.

On April 4th, Croatian nationalist students took over the Zagreb University. Students occupied all sections of the campus, attacking “centralism” and all forms of authority. The press in Yugoslavia is calling for direct links with Italy and other capitalist countries, by-passing the central government in Belgrade.

(Continued On Page 2)

Mitchell Lauds Arrests

BY PAT CONNOLLY

The mass arrests of over 12,000 demonstrators in Washington, D.C. last week is only the beginning, if the Nixon Administration and the capitalist class have their way.

California cops last Monday called for more such arrests:

Ceylon Moves Closer Towards Dictatorship

BY MELODY FARROW

The four day “amnesty” period announced by the Ceylon coalition government ended May 4th but the crisis facing the Bandaranaike regime is rapidly deepening.

The government reports that some 1700 guerrillas surrendered but the “hard core” are still in the hills. Those who gave themselves up are being sent to the universities to be “rehabilitated.”

Bandaranaike had promised that her troops would only fire in self defense during the surrender period but at least 40 were shot. One government spokesman admitted that the troops “were forced to go on the offensive” at one point.

Bandaranaike will not launch a bloody campaign of terror against the remaining forces of the JVP (Peoples Liberation Front) as she promised. It is reported that Soviet MICs’ are loading up with 500 pound bombs for the next onslaught. This offensive will drive the regime closer and closer to open dictatorship.

Steps in this direction have already developed. It was announced in the House of Representatives last week that Vasudeva Nanakkara, a member of the LSSP, one of the partners of the coalition, had been arrested in April. This announcement caused an uproar in the House.

Nanakkara, a frigidly driven to stamp out any opposition to her attacks on the working class, Bandaranaike is forced to turn on her own allies in the LSSP and the Communist Party. Despite the LSSP’s complete loyalty to Bandaranaike and its invaluable aid in helping wipe out the JVP, they will not be rewarded. Their past links with Paliolos and thus no matter how doubly with Trotskyism, will make them suspect in Bandaranaike’s eyes.

The United National Party, the right wing party, is moving to bolster the downfall of the coalition by hypocritically accusing the government of torturing captured guerrillas.

To cover for its methods of torture and summary execution which the government tries to deny, they accuse the rebels of “terrorist attacks on villages and public buildings.” This is a complete lie.

The government’s isolation is so great that the only people who have joined the vigilante committees (eagerly supported by the Stalinists) are old men. Step by step, Bandaranaike is preparing for the confrontation with the powerful Ceylonese working class. It is at this point that Bandaranaike will turn full force against all her coalition partners.

Hill Condemns MPI Attack

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Open Letter and the petition being circulated nationally by the Open Letter of the League in response to the attacks by the Puerto Rican People’s Liberation Movement (MPI) on April 9th have received important support both from AFL-CIO unions and from the labor movement.

The Open Letter calls upon all organizations and individuals to reject and denounce physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement and to reject the charge that Trotskyists, and the Workers League in particular, were agents of the Right.

The petition has been signed by Stanley Hill, President of the AFL-CIO, Local 71 in New York City. It has also been signed by ten vice presidents and fifteen delegates of that union as well as many rank and file members from all over the city.

Signers of the letter also include rank and file members of many unions including: MU Miami UAW, MU Milwaukee Local 16, Hospital Workers, Carpenters Local 2690, and a large number of workers from Brooklyn Union Gas Company, TWU Local 109.

Signers of the letter also include students from high schools including Charles Evans Hughes High School, Brooklyn, New York City, and from Minnesota a

Chicano student who states: "I have no more hope for MPI to attack the Workers League. I don’t even believe the Workers League are CIA or FBI agents."

Students from colleges all over New York have signed the petition. Among these schools are Brooklyn College, Hunter, City College, Cooper Union, New York University Law School, City University, Manhattan College, College, Mills and Parsons.

A Black student at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, active in the Angela Davis defense work, has pledged to help fight for adoption of the resolution, particularly by minority groups.

Members of the Workers’ UFP and Spartacists have endorsed the Open Letter.

It is extremely important that, although the SVA-SWP refuse to support our resolution or even meet with us to discuss it, 25 people attending the SVA education conference at NYU over the past weekend signed the petition condemning hooligan attacks in the working class movement.

Among other signers of the resolution is Donald Freed, author of the play Inquest, and a sponsor of the Juan Farnas Defense Committee.

We urge all readers and supporters of the Bulletin to report this petition. Please contact the New York Bulletin office or the people signing on the campaign in your area.

Over 100 attend Workers League meeting in New York on Ceylon, Pakistan and the Fourth International. A full report on Tom Walshforth’s speech will appear in next week’s Bulletin.

"I hope that Washington’s decision to kill fornicate will set an example for other communities."

SENTINEL

He then went on to say that his sentiments were "fully shared by the President of the United States," and criticized those who have been "stepping forward to sympathize with the lawmakers and fault the po- lice."

ARRESTS

The "example" which Mitchell wants held up to "other communities" is the mass arrest in Washington last week in which all standard arrest procedures were suspended and thousands of demonstrators were rounded up.

DRAGNET

No longer possible for specifying any charge or crime or even of taking responsibility as arresting officer, cops in a dragnet sweep of the streets of Washington, arrested anyone and everyone they could reach.

Over 12,000 were grabbed, put in buses and vans and carried to the city jails and to a make-shift concentration camp, a fenced in field where they were surrounded and maced and gassed to police.

No charges were filed, the "noms of bourgeois democra- tic rights—"probable cause" and "due process" were completely dropped as Nixon and Mitchell were determined to clear the streets.

The mass arrests and the suspension of all "noms of" bourgeois democracies reveal just a slice of what a desperate ruling class will do to preserve capitalism.

While imperialism carries out massacres in Vietnam, they pre- pare for equally vicious attacks.

(Continued On Page 2)
Dollar Crisis Means Class War

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The new upsurge in the crisis of the world capitalist monopoly crisis will mean the end of the whole offensive and counter offensive of the working class in the United States. The American capitalists will try to place as much of the blame for this crisis on the workers as they can. But to what extent will they do this? To what extent will the workers put on the offensive against the American working class?

• A tightening of credit restrictions and the resulting money shortage will paralyze industry and the economy. This will mean a growth of unemployment in all industries.

• Credit institutions make an attempt to break the trade union movement and the demands for living wages, like Nixon's attacks on construction, and the attacks of city and state administrations. This means that Nixon must do everything that he can to break the steel workers into line in the U.S. Central banks to halt all dollar transactions in the most severe crisis since World War II.

PRELUDE

It must be seen as the direct prelude to the total collapse of the Banco National and the 1944 and a new catastrophe for world capitalism, even more disastrous than the crash of 1929.

The immediate cause of the crisis, which forced the central banks of West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Austria to support the U.S. dollar on May 5th, was the huge deluge of speculative funds which flowed into their country to avoid the European rupees of an imminent revaluation of the Mark. In the case of the West German Bundesbank, the dollar was at the rate of one billion dollars on Tuesday and another one billion in the first hour of trading on Wednesday.

Confronted with the inevitability of this speculative avalanche, as much as 40 billion, which is the amount estimated to come from London, the banks simply shut their doors. After a wave of irresponsible speculation that followed, a floating of the Mark continued with which the banks could fluctuate. While technically a floating is a speculative and inevitably amounts to the same. Two other EEC members, Switzerland and Austria, have followed suit with 7% and 5% revaluations respectively. A wide range of controls on the Euro-dollar market are now also to be imposed.

DOOLAR

These measures can, however, resolve nothing. In fact with the opening of money markets Monday the dollar continued to weaken in the streets.

They can resolve nothing because they in no way touch upon the real source of the present crisis. This is the continuing and accelerating growth of huge stockpiles of U.S. dollars abroad as a result of huge U.S. balance of payments deficits. Not only was the deficit the largest ever in 1971, but for the first quarter of 1972 that it is the threat of growing to 30 billion for the current year.

There are in fact more U.S. dollars in the vaults of the Baku bank than there is gold to back them in Fort Knox.

This growing payment problems lies the crisis of capitalism itself which has its central expression in the U.S. economy here in the United States. The rapid growth and expansion of capital now threatens the profitability of the capitalist firms. These firms in turn must seek to drive down wages to restore profit. The issue of the American capitalism to do this so far has led to a deep inflationary situation in the United States combined with the failure of the major economic policy, the Nixon/Rolls Royse is finished and locked-lead in the rocks. Not only do the stabilization of European currencies represent an attempt to solve the basic problem of an oversvalued dollar, it reflects a conscious and deliberate attempt to shift the main burden of this crisis on to Europe while preserving the status quo against the American working class.

EUROPE

Europe is up against the hard fact that the problem of the U.S. deficit cannot be solved domestically of short civil war against American labor. He is forced to turn to England and to France to lie, try their hand at

(Continued on Page 17)

More Than 5 Million Jobless

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

Declaring that the economy must sound very hollow to the 5,085,000 unemployed, and even more to the 22,000,000 on the rolls, the U.S. unemployment rate rose slightly, from 6.0 to 6.1 percent. Just as significant, wholesale prices rose by a whopping 0.5 percent, the highest rise since last fall. The working class continues to face continued heavy unemployment and inflation.

Unemployment among black workers soared to 10 percent. In many cities this reaches as high as 25 percent, and even higher among youth.

A recent study calls the new figures "a disappointment." It is 11.6 minutes to the next job. It is a 10 percent drop to all sections of the working class: it is the better experience of workers with the vicious policies of the employers and their government. The sharpness of the situation is expressed by the events in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn last week. These workers and youth are asked by the capitalist system to accept an even more hopeless situation than the one they have faced for many years. Now they face massive layoffs and city and county budget cuts, lack of welfare, education and every other social service, the top of the continuing unemployment and discrimination.

If unemployment can fall in on the international monetary system and all of the pressures in existence in the time for the 1972 elections. But by the end of the year unemployment will be much more sharply than at any point since the end of the Second World War. The Social Security and Welfare lists in the labor movement are the result of a break from the capitalist parties and the building of a socialist one. But the movement must fight for a shorter work week and an increase in living standards, which are throwing workers on the scrapheap because profit cannot now be made from their labor.

Castro Launches Assaults on Dickens

BY ED SMITH

The Castro government in Cuba has opened a new chapter in its working class. Premier Fidel Castro chose a May Day national educational conference in Havana to denounce as "bourgeois-liberal" those who plotted behind the back of the people. He called out "untrue" to the "counter-revolutionaries" who collaborated with CIA agents like Karol and Doudina, France and other countries. He was accused of giving a "Nazism or Fascist role in life in Cuba when talking with Karol who was gathering material in Cuba for this book. Padilla was released early this month after seven years in prison and his "vicious character."

LAWS

At the same time the sugar harvest is again lagging behind and the peasants and workers are down and nickel are down. Castro can see the end of this situation but to demand even greater productivity from the working class. While the word "sugar loafing law" has been passed. Over 100,000 able-bodied men have registered for jobs who had managed to avoid work before. Some of these men from Cuba's labor force could avoid work if they were paid in sugar. The enthusiasm for Castro is not explained. Nor is the necessity for penal terms of up to twine years for "loafing" and "consistent opposition to the revolution. The labor courts that will be handing down sentences are now held by former members of the counter-revolutionary party both present, and those of the Ministry of Labor, which will have to register all the sympathizers, including the chairman.

BONAPARTISM

All this activity by Castro a- pparently the working class and the intellectuals does not come out of nowhere. Castro Bonapartism and all "left" nationalism is now in its biggest crisis. The working class is moving forward before and now a revolutionary alternative can find support among the working class, spelt the doom of these trends. The only way they can fight this development is to borrow the techniques of slander and physical attacks from Stalinists of Stalinism. This is why the MPI can only answer the Workers League's arguments with knives and pisces and why Castro cannot fight off the left. At the same time, petty bourgeois nationalism only maintain itself with the aid of Stalinism and revisionism. While Maestas and the Ceison murders thousands of workers the only thing that is coming warmest welcome in Havana. Could it be that Castro is preparing to use the same methods as Bandaranaike to crush all opposition in Ceylon.

Castro even suppressed the Pabliote Posadas group in Cuba and jailed its leaders, simply because the vestiges of Trotskyism in this group maintained. At the 1966 Tri-continental Congress Castro denounced Trotskyism as "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" and "an instrument which distorts, this anti-black, this fraudulent thing, which emanates from in- deed, it suits the imperialist enemy, the Transitional Program of the Cuban Workers' Party, the system is the conscious movement forward of the working class and its growth, and the door to the Castroism, nationalism, and Sta- linism.

INTENSIFY

Now Castro must intensify his attacks on critics of his regime in preparation for open attacks on the working class. In collaboration with such prominent literary parts of the Castro regime as Julio Cortazar of Ar- gentina and Mario Benedetti of Peru in denouncing Castro's framers of Padilla. Will the Workers' Party Workers Party do the same?

Aluminum Workers Take Lead In Wage Offensive

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

Leaders of the Aluminum Workers International began negotiations last week in New York City with Alcoa and Reynolds.

They raised demands for wage increases of $1.60 for the bot- tom graders to $4.10 for the high- est graders. Also demanded was a full time living class and a 54% increase in incentives.

What is significant about this wage demand is that it represents a partial break with the $0.75 to $1.10 wage limit that United Steelworkers leaders of W.L. Abel is trying to hold wage demands to in aluminum, copper and brass.

While still far from what is needed in wage increases in the metal industries, the aluminum workers' demand is a move be- yond the limits of the auto and can companies. It represents the willingness of the rank and file in those industries to fight for a living wage, despite the limitations im- posed upon them by the union bureaucracy.

Not only is the bureaucracy in the United Steelworkers nor their One U.S. Steel local 28 in Buffalo told this writer: "Abel doesn't even an- swer our letters anymore."

All the more imperative is the need to build a national rank and file movement in the United Steelworkers, which can take up this struggle for a wage hike of $2.25 the first year and for a four day week at five days pay.
Nationalize Steel To Stop Plant Closings

BY MICHAEL ROSS

In the past six months the leadership of the United Steelworkers has allowed the closure of two major plants and many smaller ones. This comes at a time when the union leadership has made a firm decision to avoid any further layoffs. The steel industry is in a state of decline and the union has been under pressure to take active steps to prevent the closure of more plants.

The Abell-Burke-Moloney leadership of the USWA has no policy to fight the plant closings and accepts the right of the employers to do this.

The most disgraceful of these actions was in Calumet, Michigan. There, after two and one-half year strike, with over a million dollars in benefits on the table, the Calumet plant was closed. The union leadership did not fight this decision and accepted the right of the employers to do so.

Back in Michigan, the United Steelworkers announced that they will close down the plant in Muskegon and will lay off 2,000 workers. The union has no plan to stop this decision and accepts the right of the employers to do this.

The Steelworkers have also been involved in the closure of plants in Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania.

Poland Strikes Aid To NLF

BY A REPORTER

All over the world the Stalinists are on the run in the face of the world class offensive.

U.S. News and World Report recently reported that the Polish regime in Poland has stopped all aid to North Vietnam.

The Polish regime, which has been one of the most active Stalinist regimes in the world, has cut off all aid to Vietnam.

The Stalinists praised the Yalta conference and the Yalta agreement as the beginning of a new world order.

The Kremiln and its supporters extend the hand of friendship not only to the major imperialist "democracies," but also to the Communist States, but to the most vicious military and fascist dictatorship.

The latest in the series of disastrous diplomatic moves is the agreement by Albania, China's finest East European ally but also a country with close relations with the Greek colonies.

The Albanians and Greeks have not had diplomatic relations for many years, for many years, for many years, for many years, for many years.

Brewery Workers Charge Racism

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEWARK—June 15, 1971, Annette Burgesch, Inc. of Newark, N.J., was brought before a public hearing by the New Jersey Civil Rights Commission to answer allegations of discrimination in the hiring of minority workers.

At the hearing a group of Black workers called the Brewery Workers Association (BWWA) accused Annette Burgesch of dis- criminating in hiring practices (about 6% of the workers are Black), systematic exclusion of Black workers from gaining permanent status (which means a guaranteed wage and benefits), and harassment and supervision of Black workers.

The BWWA also claimed that physical attacks by racist workers have occurred and have resulted in a polarization of Black and white workers' relations.

Regarding the public hearing, he said that this public hearing being held with the threat of the loss of his job.

Leroy Alexander, chairman of the BWWA, has stated that the public hearing has been called at his request.

The public hearing will be held on April 30 at 9:30 a.m.

Stalinists-Franco Line Up As Strikes Sweep Spain

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER

Strengthened by Franco's recent retreat in an attempt to end the civil war, Spanish communists and workers are stepping up their fight against the fascist dictatorship.

Franco, who has been at war for over ten years, has seen his position crumble. The Spanish workers and communists have been able to maintain their position and have been able to win a number of important victories.

The communists have won a number of important victories, including the nationalization of the mining industry and the nationalization of the meat industry.

The nationalization of the mining industry has given the workers a voice in the running of the mines and has helped to improve their working conditions.

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Brownsville Rebellion--Participants Speak Out

BY A BULLETIN REPORTING TEAM

BROOKLYN--On Wednesday May 5th a demonstration against draft cuts was held here in Brownsville. It was called by the Community Council, Brownsville is the second poorest section of New York after the South Bronx.

The Community Council held that this is an anti-war test but the anger of young and young workers exploded. It is reported that more than 2,000 people marched and demonstrated by sticking his guns in the mouth of some of his uncles to go to the front and his brother in the home. Facing this danger between the young and the police, direct hit most of the people in the streets.

The events in Brownsville point up the need for a revolutionary youth movement to take this fight forward.

A Bulletin reporting team recently interviewed several workers and youth in Brownsville. They describe the people in Brownsville as the see the cause of the rebellions in the living standards, economic status, jobs, welfare and unemployment. A Puerto Rican youth said:

"A lot of guys will be fighting because of the 10% cut in pay. They have no money. Poverty is the main problem around here. 90% of the people are on welfare. We need someone to speak for us and tell us who's going to run this country."

A mother of three children who works in a laundry said in reaction to the events last week:

"We have to take care of these kids. They have to eat and they have to have somewhere to live."

FIGHT BACK

"They took away our savings, which are people like Lindsay, who has been working for months. We have no jobs, no money. We are living in the streets."

"People are tired of fighting. They have had enough."

"People are fighting for their rights. They are not going to give up."

In relation to the fight for a general strike to stop the government's attacks, she said:

"Everything should stop at one time. This is the only way the working people will get anything. The Democrats and the Republicans are the same. They are working against us."

Two Thousand Youth Battle Cops In Madison

BY WILL LONG AND DAN LAZARE

MADISON--The University of Wisconsin was ripped by a rebellion on May 4 and 5 of a size and intensity not seen since the huge anti-Cambodia upsurge of exactly a year ago. Over two thousand students took part in these struggles.

The series of student-police battles climaxed five days of activities led by the local May Action Coalition who called the rebellion. According to the coalition it was, "If the government won't stop the war then we'll stop the government."

The May Action Coalition was an anti-war, student-led organization; support of the so-called People's Peace Treaty and against the Vietnam war. The coalition called for a city-wide UAW Black Caucus and "We are the only way to implement these demands."

The Workers League was the only group which offered an alternative to the tactics of the May Action Coalition. In contrast to the coalition's plan of bring the state government to a halt by blocking the office building, the Workers League called for a student strike to begin on May 5 with the purpose to "fight for a general strike of labor."

When the May Action Coalition called for the coming of spring pot smoking party for May 1, Worker's League issued a call for a rally for that same date which would be a commemoration of the struggle against the Vietnam war and solidarity of the struggle with the working class around the world.

TREASON

The Workers League conducted a battle against the latest Skagit anti-war demonstration, the situation in Vietnam, struggle, this time in the guise of the People's Peace Treaty. The Young Socialist Alliance, on the other hand, put up only a token opposition to the treaty--and then on the grounds that it violated the rights of Vietnam. A member of the Socialist Workers Party, before several hundred members of the May Action Coalition, could only say, "We have no political beliefs."

"We want the students to be engaged in struggle against the Vietnam war, the growing unemployment rate, and increased budget cuts."

The struggle must now be taken into the working class on the basis of a Marxist program.

Sirabella Put To The Test In Yale Strike

BY KLAUS KNIGHT AND LISA SYDNEY

NEW HAVEN--Senator Sirabella, president of striking Local 35 of Yale University employees, has been put to the test of his liberalism to the question of whether the strikers will probably lose.

Since the beginning of the walkout, the most dynamic thing he has proposed has been to take hundreds of workers to New York to picket the Yale Club, "If we lose this strike, I have to continue to operate and the students have continued attending classes. In the midst of this dangerous situation, Sirabella spoke here on May 5th at an anti-war demonstration sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Peace Treaty attended by over 1,000 students, workers, and youth. The militancy of the crowd was a sharp contrast to the perspective which is liberal and the trade union bureaucracy with the help of the Skagit anti-war demonstration, put forward on the platform.

In speaking to the rally Sirabella cautioned the students to abide by the union leadership and not to mass picket with the workers. His speech was interrupted by calls from the Workers League for a general strike. Sirabella said: "That's exactly what I warn you not to listen to. They're a bunch of kooky students who go off in a half-cocked way under the guise of helping workers, only to put forward a political ideology."

Sirabella, the like of the rest of the trade union bureaucracy, has an ideology, and that is to support the capitalist policies. At the same time that his union is engaged in a strike against Yale, Sirabella is running for mayor on the Democratic ticket--a party which is backed and controlled by Yale. Sirabella is president of the New Haven Central Labor Council, but he has not once tried to get an ounce of support for the Yale workers from other sources besides the New Haven labor.

Now that Yale has come out with a miserly 30-40% wage increase offer, Sirabella will be put to the test in front of his ranks of the fight he wages against that result. Now more urgent than ever is that Local 35 be organized around a fighting program: 1) $0.00 an hour minimum wage increase over 18 months; full cost of living escalator clause; an end to layoffs with a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; for a student strike at Yale against tuition increases and cuts in education; and in solidarity with Local 35, Shut Yale Down!"
The struggles of the youth and the students against the war, against the repression, unemployment and cutbacks joins with the powerful offensive of the American working class. It is only through the independent political struggle of the working class that this movement can go forward.

This is the question that was raised a week before April 24th by the May Day Struggle Committee, co-sponsored by unions and university groups. The Communist Party is correct when it says that this was an essential stage. It was historic to think of the basic strategy and future of the working class was sharply fought out.

Right after the conference the CP launched a vicious attack on the Workers League, calling those who raised the question of the general strike and the labor party at this conference "nuts." Now the CP in its article on this conference in the May 6th issue of the Daily World is forced to admit: "In the next few weeks a young, black worker (who not coincidentally was a steel worker—editor) asked, 'Why doesn't the labor movement organize a strike?' An hour or so later we have a mass time to vote for candidates who are not for us or against us? We are being forced to elect candidates who are craven on our side?"

And how does the CP answer this? It proposes to "build political strength out of the coalition (of labor, union and student groups), to organize for local offices, similar to the pattern developed at Berkeley."

To the words the Stalinists are preparing to meet Nixon's and Mitchell's preparations for concentration camps with precisely the perspective that led the workers into fascism and concentration camps in the 1930's—the popular front.

We say that Mitchell's talk about "Brown Shirts" is not exactly up in Washington. There are not temporary fixtures. The ruling class is preparing for civil war against the working class. In the actions of the youth last week the capitalist class saw the powerful American working class coming into battle against it.

The students of Community College last week showed the way forward. The fight for the general strike and the labor party must now be taken into every campus, among the minority youth and deep into the trade unions.

Protest Politics Bankrupt

The bankrupt and dangerous character of middle class protest politics was sharply revealed in Washington this week. Many campuses throughout the country, the Communist Party and its friends in the "May Day Tribe" must take major responsibility for creating a situation which could well lead to a Kent State massacre on a massive scale.

The Stalinists in particular approached the movement of the youth with complete cynicism, praying on their frustration with reformism to lead them into futile protests and adventures. In this way the Stalinists seek to divert the movement away from the working class, and an independent struggle against capitalism.

While the Socialist Workers Party retreats from the what they term "deliberate violations of law" by the May Day Tribe, the actions organized by this group and its friends in the ST are merely the latest in a series of protest politics, of the conception that the middle class whether continuously marching or lying down in front of the White House can put enough "pressure" on the capitalists to make them give up their vital interests.

The Stalinists and revisionists brought youth and workers down to April 24th to hear the very capitalist politicians who are not only responsible for the war but who are the loudest in the battle cry for attacks on the working class. The CP, followed all along, made the outcome of their betrayal, as thousands of youth sought to vent their frustration in militant adventures, such as in Baltimore and Madison.

Nixon's arrests showed that the government, war, inflation and unemployment will not be stopped by protest. Only a labor strike can halt the struggle of the working class for power. This is what places number one on the agenda of the struggles today the fight for the labor party.

Stalinism is behind attack on John Holmes (left) and Ernie McIntyre. These politics have a class base—that of the defense of capitalism. These same policies led to hooligan attacks on strikers. Valiant efforts are being made to build the movement out of the SLL at the International Conference in January. The SLL are indeed "hooligans" who must they reach back five years to dig up a supposed example of it?

We urge the national committeemen to get out, organize, build a strong SLL and mobilize the masses of workers against the Stalinists. We say that bringing up the "Tate Affair" again is a sign that the SWP is planning a further move to the right and more cover-ups of the SLL. We warn SWP and SLL members that more slanders are to come. What is required at this point is a clear and unambiguous position against the Stalinists. We urge that the SLL be given a chance to build a strong and united organization out of the Stalinists. We say that bringing up the "Tate Affair" again is a sign that the SWP is planning a further move to the right and more cover-ups of the SLL. We warn SWP and SLL members that more slanders are to come. What is required at this point is a clear and unambiguous position against the Stalinists.
THE HALLMARK OF all Mandel's theories like all Pablote revisionism is liquidationism. Those theories have been reponsible for the liquidation of Trotskyist cadres and parties all over the world into Stalinist, Social Democratic and bourgeois nationalist movements.

To see how Mandel's neo-capitalist theories result in liquidationism it is necessary to put Mandel's particular theories within the framework of Pablote revisionism as a whole.

Reacting in an empirical and impressionistic manner to world developments after 1945, Mandel and Pablo developed, or more accurately took over from the Stalinists, the theory that a "new world reality" had opened up.

According to the Pabloites, what fundamentally constitutes "new world reality," was the supposed change that had taken place since 1945, and particularly since the Chinese revolution, in the relationship of forces internationally between socialism and imperialism. Pablo claimed that the forces of socialism, which had in fact defeated both the workers states and the bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonies and their leaderships, had emerged after the war in a stronger position than imperialism. This was seen as part of an irreversible process.

EPICENTERS

In elaborating this theory Pablo then divided the world in the manner of the Stalinists into three epicenters—the advanced countries, the colonial countries and the worker states. This division obliterated the real conflict between capital and labor internationally. It laid the basis for a completely false world perspective based on impressionistic and empirical conclusions drawn from developments in each sector. In every case the analysis led to liquidationism.

In the advanced countries, the prosperity of neo-capitalism and the "permanent" quotients of the working class in this sector supposedly ruled out the possibility of the development of revolutionary demands.

At first sight it might seem contradictory that Mandel's theory of neo-capitalism should be part of a theory of a "new world reality" in which the forces of socialism are seen as irreversibly over-taking the forces of capitalism. But this only reflected the Pabloites that the victory of socialism was not to come through the fight of the working class against the onslaught of capitalist crisis. On the contrary it would develop out of the very forces which rest upon the capitalist prosperity and the reformist illusions of "socialist" and "anti-fascist" Social Democratic bureaucracies and the bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonies.

WORKERS STATES

In the second sector, the workers states and, by extension, the Stalinist parties in the advanced countries, Pabloism's reaction to the expansion of the property relations in the USSR into Eastern Europe was to assert that Stalinism could now play a revolutionary role.

In fact the perspective was held out at one point of centuries of defeated workers states. The question before the Soviet Union and the workers states created after the war was no longer political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution but one of a protracted period of "destalinization." This would involve a struggle between two wings of the Stalinist bureaucracy, between a "liberal" and a "Stalinist" wing, culminating in the bureaucrat's self-reform.

Given the possibility for spontaneous development of this sort, the task before the Trotskyists was to liquidate into the Stalinist and Social Democratic movements and to prepare for this kind of leftward development.

The purely temporary and superficial characteristic of these developments were grasped by neither Mandel nor Pablo. Without the dialectic it was impossible for them to grasp what had actually taken place in Eastern Europe. What developed was part of a fundamentally counter-revolutionary process of re-establishment of world capitalism and Stalinism's peaceful coexistence with it against the world proletariat.

Furthermore, unable to grasp the connection between the development of the crisis in the Stalinist bureaucracy with the development of the crisis of world imperialism, they were even less able to anticipate the return to open counter-revolution that broke out in 1956 in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and more recently in Poland, Ceylon and Pakistan.

COLONIAL

The outbreak in the late 1950s and the 1960s of a crisis in the colonial world led by the bourgeois nationalist movement, a similar adaptation to surface reality took place. The Pabloites now asserted that the epicenter of world revolution had switched to the colonial sector. There was a "new world reality," and specifically the alleged weakness of the enemy, was cited. It was pointed out why it was now possible to make the revolution in the colonial countries with a "blunted instrument," i.e. under the leadership of bourgeois nationalists like Castro and Ben Bella.

Obviously if "blunted instruments" could do the job, the conclusion here just as in the advanced countries and the worker states was to liquidate the Trotskyist movement.

This conclusion was reinforced by the idealist theory of "unconscious Marxism." According to this theory supposedly unconscious Marxists like Castro could under the pressure of the masses and in the course of the struggle itself become conscious Marxists and create Marxist (albeit blunted) parties.

STUDENTS

With the upsurge in France in May-June 1968 the Pabloites were forced once again to shift the main epicenter to the advanced countries. However, in no doing Pabloism by no means concluded that it was now possible to build mass revolutionary parties based on the struggle of the working class. On the contrary, proceeding still from a neo-capitalist theory and from the impressions of superficial phenomena, the Pabloites and Mandel in particular, saw the essence of this upsurge in the spontaneous explosions of the student movement.

Just as in the colonial world, the Pabloites' orientation to this youth radicalization is one of liquidation into the current leadership. The Rudi Dutschke and Cohn-Bendit's were seen as developing towards Marxism under the pressure of objective events and on the basis of their experiences on the barricades.

The method of empiricism that Pabloism employed limited it at any particular time to a mere note of what sector of the world the main struggle was taking place. It likewise was forced to accept its current leadership which in every case meant liquidation into that leadership.

This is all empiricism can do. It cannot get to the fundamental underlying processes, at the level of abstraction or essence, which not only determine but lay the basis for changes in what appears on the surface and at any given time.

The Pabloites were therefore unable to prepare in the 1960s and 1970s for the development of the movement of the working class which has now broken out in Europe and America as well as the colonial countries.

Everything was reduced to the worship of the accomplished fact. This is reflected in the following in his document Cuba, The Acid Test:

"But even revolutionary socialists 'choose' what shall be regarded as the essential and what shall be regarded as the accidental. How is this done by much bigger forces; namely classes in conflict. Cuba and Algeria happen to be two areas in the world where this conflict has reached revolutionary proportions at the moment...Nay did we choose the current leaderships of the colonial revolution. They are the result of objective conditions of vast sweep. What we did was to study the facts and in these facts seek openings for effective application of our program." (1)

Here is the essence of Pabloism's whole empirical and pragmatic approach.

Mandel's gift in the fact that the apparent epicenter of revolution has shifted to the colonial sector, nor the fact that a Castro or a Ben Bella, or a Cohn-Bendit is currently in leadership of the movement of the opposition is seen dialectically. In the latter case these leaderships are not seen as the expression of a temporary unity of opposites between a leadership that reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie in the working class and a working class seeking to fight that bourgeoisie.

Consequently the task of Marxists is not grasped. Marxists must give a conscious expression to the struggle of the working class, to break up the unity of these opposites to clear out the existing leadership and thereby clear the way for the defeat of the bourgeoisie.

Instead the "fact" of the existing leadership is taken as an unchangeable fact. The Trotskyist program rather than a weapon to change this fact is seen as something to be advanced within its frame-work, i.e. the framework of the existing leadership.

Not only is the party thus reduced to the narrowest of pragmatic tasks, but inevitably is forced on the road of liquidationism. After all it is the Stalinists, the Social Democratic, the Castro's, the Malcolm X's on the Cohn-Bendits who are to lead the struggle against capitalism: the only task before Marxism is to pressure them to the left.

FRUIT

The liquidationist theories of Pablo and Mandel did no take long to bear their rotten fruit.

In 1953 the Cochran-Clarke group in the Socialist Workers Party set out bold of these theories to turn back on the fight for the party and simply retired into private life. In the summer of 1954 after the split between the International
Committee and Pablo, the Lawrence group in England and the national group led by Pablo for the Socialists.

The class struggle is fundamentally to carry out the logic of his position by liquidating entirely and without exception the Social Democratic Front. Though Mendel to this day remains connected with the Secretariat, his role was less. The anti-Imperialist League (entry supergresia) which Pablo had elevated to a question of principle, Mendel liquidated without exception by the national group of the Belgian Socialist Party. There for a number of months ending itself to a more centrist existence publishing together with the socialist group the central journal called La Guerre. Thus the national group refused to fight the right wing and in any way to prejudice the work in the Socialist Party a Trotskyist cadre against the day when expulsions will inevitably come.

SIL.

Thus Mendel’s expulsion from the Belgian Socialist Party which came in 1964 and in the way in which he reacted to it contrasts sharply with the struggle of the Socialist Labour League, British section of the International Communist Group. From 1964 all the way the SLL has opposed the active role within the British Labour Party of Socialist Young Socialists, starting from 1965. In the course of this struggle against the policies of the right wings of the Labour Party and all the centrist elements that were holding back the SLS won the leadership of the Young Socialists and maintained this leadership in two successful congresses. At no point did the SLL harbor any illusions about the role of the Labour Party as a revolutionary party. It saw its struggle within the Labour Party in the context of the struggle of a small group, as a central part of the process of consciousness which has had as its alternative the leadership of the working class. Understanding that the crisis of capitalist society necessitated that the Labour Party leadership proceed on an ever descending right wing trajectory, the SLL thus expelled revolutionary elements from its ranks as a condition for the expulsions that came. The SLS, while engaged in the struggle to build a mass revolutionary party in England,

Mendel understood none of this. In no way did he have any sense that what came was not to have any perspective of what to do following the expulsions. Thus he found himself outside the Socialist Party with a small group of centrists. From 1964 to this day Mendel functioned as a centrist in a small centrist group, always and everywhere fighting against the attempt and instead of a centrist in a larger Socialist Party. The SLS followed the line of operation but the policies were completely different. The SLS fought in the class struggle with a decisive blow to Mendel, for the SLS it was a step forward in the development of

CEYLON.

Ceylon in the theory that in the new situation the fight against the existing trade union, Social Democratic, Stalinist, and bourgeois nationalist leaderships could be transformed in a revolutionary direction through left pressure from below, bound the most criminal results.

In Belgium, the liquidationist policies resulted only in the defeat of the Belgian Socialist group. Ceylon the liquidationist theories of Mendel and Pablo have soon realized their ruin for thousands of Ceylonese workers and youth whose blood has been shed down rivers all over the country.

Mendel stands entirely responsible for the bloody atrocity of the trade union and its not only advanced the political line that led to the liquidation of the trade union but who indirectly advocated the liquidationist movement into this coalition in 1964. However, the liquidationist liquidationist responsibility in this, it is he who in advance is in the direction of his party’s accusations that he and the United Secretariat were responsible for the Ceylonese bloodshed. The Ceylonese Soviets liquidationist forced the United Secretariat to the LSPP dated April 1966.

This letter states the United Secretariat resolution that the Bundanakara SLPF Party was a bourgeois party and that it was not fit to represent the independent movement of the working class. Then it makes the following statement:

“Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the domi-

Ernest Mandel and the SWP supported the liquidationist supported Ben Bells (Abonne), the Belgian Socialist Party, against a major majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the left in advance and becoming itself a target for the growing resentment of the masses.” (My emphasis, D.B.)

This formulation not only fails to entirely exclude coalitions with bourgeois forces but also accurately demands that certain circumstances such a coalition be undertaken. This is exactly all that the Liquidationist needed to bring to it where it is today.

PRELUDE.

The developments in Ceylon are only a prelude to the far more gigantic betrayal which Pabloite revisionism and liquidationism is preparing. It is well known that the bulk of the Latin American sections of the United Secretariat, supported by Mendel, have advanced the perspective of liquidating their organizations into Castrista’s OLA.

What is Castrismo and what is OLA? They are both nothing more than bourgeois nationalism in alliance with Stalinism. In so much as the United Secretariat liquidates its forces into OLAS it will be repeating on a much broader scale the betrayal of the LSPP in 1964 and at the same time will be preparing its participation in both Latin America.

Every bourgeois nationalist today, particularly Castro, is in a potential Mame Bandanakara. Every Pabloite is a potential M. N. Ferera or Colvin Delihia.

Pabloism saw in the development of Cushchev (shown above right behind Stalin) a ‘destabilization process’ rather than necessary to carry the weight of the terror liquidation.

Because it restrains itself to seeking improvements in the terms and conditions of its sale of labor power within the framework of the capitalist system, that is, the capitalist system, it is never revolutionary. On the other hand a period of capitalist boom it plays no such a reactionary role as the liquidationist one, in a period of crisis it plays not a revolutionary role as the castrismo role, but an openly reactionary role. In such a period those who restrict themselves to the workers’ vanguard are restricted to the role of negotiating the terms of their own destruction.

IDEALIZATION.

Mendel, however, understands none of this. He attacks Pablo with the most class idealization imaginable of trade union consciousness. He accomplishes this by presenting trade union consciousness and trade unionism as being a separate and distinct class conscious alternative to the rest of society. He is an individualist consciousness that than existing prior to the proletariat, a demand for the need for ongoing, collective organization of individualists. Mendel then differentiates between a so-called ‘workers vanguard’ elsewhere Mendel calls them ‘natural leaders of the working class’ and the mass of

What distinguishes the workers vanguard from this mass is that even during a capitalist rise and not yet at the front lines of the class struggle, the vanguard will be able to speak, ‘by other means’. It attempts to solidify the resistance of the masses to the struggle in ongoing resistance funds—I.e. the weekly contributions to newspapers and organizing educational groups for workers, it attempts by crystalline and heightened consciousness class consciousness generated in the struggle. This consciousness is not an idealization of continuity, as opposed to the necessarily limited and tactical consciousness, as opposed to the ‘natural leaders of the working class’ and the mass of

Those liquidate the party of the working class today inevitably become involved with the political liquidation, i.e. the liquidation of the working class itself.

SWP.

The same liquidationist pressure mounting within the Latin American sections is likewise building up enormous pressure within the Socialist Workers Party. To the extent that this party has already es-

ulated a class alliance with the Latin American bourgeoisie in the anti-war movement. It is clearly preparing to go over to the Democratic Party of the back door. Already its refusal to oppose Democratic Mayor Gibson during his election campaign makes it clear that any liquidation and the movement. The chief ideologist and theorist of this liquidationist drive is permanently remains as ever Ernest Thackeray.

LENINISM.

Last December there appeared in the International Socialist Review a major article by Mendel entitled, “The Leninist Theory of Organization.” This article is worthy of detailed analysis and refutation because of the sophistication of its theoretical justification of liquidationism and its wholesale revision of Leninism. This article must be seen, in fact, as a step on the road to Mendel’s open renunciation of all party and organizational line.

From beginning to end, under the guise of defending Lenin’s theory of organization, itigmatizes itself before the opinion of the masses and demagogy the conscious element.

Mendel, in an earlier article, had already begun his attack on Lenin in stating that trade union consciousness was socially neutral. He had said:

“Trade union consciousness is not only negative; to, for this kind of dialectically, trade union consciousness can be and by itself socially neutral. It is neither reactionary nor revolutionary. If it becomes reactionary when the system is incapable of satisfying trade union demands, it creates a major revolution, potential once the system is no longer capable of satisfying basic trade union demands.”

This is completely wrong. Trade union consciousness, as Lenin repeatedly and over again in What Is To Be Done is not neutral but bourgeois consciousness.

Because of this, Mendel consequently means that it restrains itself to seeking improvements in the terms and conditions of its sale of labor power within the framework of the capitalist system, that is, the capitalist system, it is never revolutionary. On the other hand a period of capitalist boom it plays no such a reactionary role as the liquidationist one, in a period of crisis it plays not a revolutionary role as the castrismo role, but an openly reactionary role. In such a period those who restrict themselves to the workers’ vanguard are restricted to the role of negotiating the terms of their own destruction.

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Mendel is careful enough to avoid explicitly discrediting the conception that trade union consciousness which can exist outside of the trade union, does not necessarily lead to being brought into the working class from outside the trade union but will stipulate the way in which Mendel conceives of this consciousness and then the question of the relationship between trade union consciousness and class consciousness, are conscious, we can see that he is concerned with consciousness from within in large part superficial.

On the question of this relation, Mendel says the following:

“Consciousness arising directly out of the practical experience of the workers is empirical and pragmatic consciousness which can exist without any reference to the trade union, but which is far inferior to the empirically abstract party consciousness, i.e. of theoretical understanding.”

But this is all wrong. Again Mendel obfuscates the issues by his ahistorical or abstract rather than historical presentation of the question.

In the Nineteenth Century one could say that empiricism and pragmatism ‘enriched action’ and therefore that it led the proletariat to combine in trade unions in order to organize collective power with the employers. But today, and this has been true of the whole period of the bourgeoisie, that it has been possible to control the bourgeoisie, pragmatism and empiricism are obsolete, but they can only lead to defeat.

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Mandela and SWP saw in Castro, shown here with Khrushchev, a new road to socialism not requiring construction of Leninist party, the bourgeoisie is completely inadequate. It is suited only to making superficial changes in what exists, improving things a little here, fixing things up there. In fact, this method ties the proletariat to capitalism and far from activating actions transmutes all action of the proletariat into a retreat before the drive of the bourgeoisie to smash it.

Pablo saw the formation of workers states in Europe (though not in Hungary) above the beginning of centuries of deformed workers states under Stalinism.

Therefore, in no sense can trade union or trade union consciousness of the working class be looked upon as consciousness of the working class. In theoretical understanding, capable nonetheless of "enriching activity," Pablo's view leads to one and only one conclusion—that even without theory the working class on the basis of its own spontaneous movement can still get along pretty well. While Mandela admits that the introduction of theory from without makes for much more effective action, he does not see it as indispensable. Above all, Marxist theory is not seen as something in conflict with trade union consciousness.

Thus immediately following the passage quoted above, Mandela says:

"Based on its general theoretical understanding, the revolutionary vanguard organization can consolidate and enrich this higher consciousness (i.e. trade union consciousness) provided it is able to establish ties to the class struggle." (9)

Theory is seen as "consolidating" and "enriching" trade union consciousness, rather than smashing it. From this flows Mandela's whole position in relation to the revolutionary party, or more exactly, the "revolutionary vanguard" or "organization" which he advocates.

Let us recall that Mandela holds that workers in the world do revolutionary parties exist. In answer to the question whether or not Leninist parties exist, Mandela said in 1968:

"Here we must introduce another distinction. If you advance a theoretically pure definition of a party, which is not only a body of people holding a certain number of ideas with a program, structure, statutes and so on, but which also has a certain concrete impact on its own class and on the whole society, I would answer that in no place today have revolutionaries Marxists already achieved such an influence. That is to say, they cannot yet do that under the new situation, it's an important section of their own class." (7)

"What we do have today are nuclei of such parties..." (7)

**NUCLEI**

Mandela claims that the nuclei of these parties, among which he includes the Socialist Workers Party, are trying to build such parties up. But under the new situation this theory leads to a complete revision of Leninism in relation to the fight for the revolutionary party and a completely liquidated conception.

The corollary of Mandela's theory is that the role of Marxism theory is to enrich and consolidate trade union consciousness is the task of the revolutionary Marxists. "Nuclei" is to enrich or induce the trade union bureaucracy with revolutionary consciousness. The trade union leaders are "natural leaders" who through this process will be propelled onto a revolutionary course. It is through this process that Mandela envisions the revolutionary party being built.

Thus he said:

"The building of the revolutionary class party in the merging of the consciousness of the revolutionary nuclei with that of the advanced workers." (8)

In other words the revolutionary party is not built by the struggle against the bureaucracy to win workers to the revolutionary party which in turn is seen as the social force to an advanced leadership in the labor movement. On the contrary, it is a question of the merging of the consciousness of the revolutionary nuclei with the existing leaders, and an influence simplifying the existing organizations of the class.

Because lies the rationale for the liquidation of the nuclei into the Stalinist, Social Democratic or bourgeois nationalist movements.

Mandela's advice on how to over the trade union bureaucracy is the epiphany of Stalinism. He says:

"...the advanced workers' (i.e. trade union bureaucrats—D.O.) experience of life, work and struggle leads them to the threshold of understanding the inadequacy of activity which seeks merely to reform the existing society rather than abolish it.

The activity of the militant guard can make it possible for the class consciousness of the advanced workers to cross over the threshold. It can fulfill this role of catalyst neither automatically nor without regard for objective conditions. It can only fulfill it: what it itself is equal to the task, i.e. if the content of its theoretical, propagandistic and literary activities is seen to be helpful to the advanced workers and if the form of this activity does not fall short of the necessary laws of propaganda (avoiding utilitarian and Jacobin slogans)." (9)

In other words the party is reduced to nothing more than a catalyst which if it adapts itself to the needs of the bureaucracy—actually gives it a left cover and reflects to it and adds to its exaggerations and utilitarian slogans—like raising the need for workers to join the Trotskyist movement—may even get a few of them to raise a transitional slogan or two.

Here is how Mandela envisions it:

"The patient, persistent preparation carried out, with constant attention to detail, by the revolutionary vanguard organization, sometimes over a period of years, pays off in rich dividends the day the 'natural leaders of the class' are beating at and not yet completely free from hostile influence, suddenly, during a big strike or demonstration, take the demand for workers' control and smash it to the forefront of the struggle." (10)

In order to defend this completely liquidationist theory of organization, of the revolutionary nuclei pressuring mass reformist or centrist parties in a left direction, Mandela undertakes a wholesale revision of Lenin on the question of the Leninist party.

What Mandela tries to do is separate Lenin's insistance on bringing revolutionary theory into the class-struggle from the outside from Lenin's insistence upon a party organization of the Bolshevik type—He says:

"When we turn to the Leninist theory of organization as developed by himself, however, we see that the emphasis is on means upon the formal, organizational side of centralization but upon the political and social function. At the heart of what Is To Be Done is the concept of the transformation of the proletariat class consciousness into political class consciousness by means of a comprehensive political activity." (11)

Further he says:

"The central strategic plan advanced by Lenin in Is To Be Done is therefore one of party agitation that unites all elementary, spontaneous elements into a single, unified body and organizes them for prolonged and sustained battles, as distinct from the efforts to organize a mass movement, a political mass organization. It is only with the aim of formal organizational centralization is only to make possible the realization of the revolutionary situation..."

What Mandela is really getting at is expressed in a footnote appended to the paragraph just quoted where he goes so as to explain what is to be done to build the revolutionary party taken up in What Is To Be Done, a purely Russian question arising only out of the exigencies of illegality. Mandela says:

"It is true that there are also organizational rules for centralization in What Is To Be Done, but they are exclusively by the conditions imposed by illegality." (12)

**MENSHEVISM**

Thus Lenin's whole fight for an all Russian organization of professional revolutionaries, his fight to establish a revolutionary party against the circle functioning that prevailed up to this point is thrown out the window as a purely Russian question and the potential of national implications. It was a fight against Bolshevism that were not trigged in the circle functioning.

Menshevik was seen as "Russian Bernsteinian" and Trotsky's program and the Menshevik's program and the Mensheviks, the conclusions of this fight were and have been conclusions that apply to the international movement. But Mandela's book.

Mandela also rejects the whole fight against the Mensheviks in Step by Step and as campaign back. Contrary to Mandela's cavalier dismissal of the party as a "mere" vehicle to make possible the realization of the Leninist strategy, with the implication that it can be carried forward by other means, the Leninist party is inseparably bound to and part of the key part of that strategy.

Furthermore, at the 1903 conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party at which the split with Menshevik took place and in the whole fight with it beforehand it there was absolutely conclusively on the question of organization was precisely a matter of capitalism to the bourgeoisie, that it was an expression of voluntarism, of love and pressure within the proletarian movement. It is only in the form of a change of party which will take away Lenin's strategy with the Leninist party the content without form as if there could be a political and theoretical development, or a unity of theory and practice outside the construction of a Leninist party.

Mandela just not stop at turning his back on Bolshevism. In his hostility to it he now loses the length of adapting to the filthy slanderers against Bolshevism, any, that their organizational methods are the source of Stalinism long hinted at it by petty bourgeois philistines, in fact Mandela very much places the blame for the rise of Stalinism on Lenin and his organizational methods.

Mandela having just repeated the analogy between the pistol and steam in explaining the need for a revolutionary "organization" to channel the spontaneous movement of the working class says the following:

"There is a difficulty in this connection, however, which Lenin, during the years of the most heated disputes with the Mensheviks, recognized even not all (1903-1905) or only to an insufficient degree (1908). And if is that the ill value of the historic role of Trotsky (i.e. his Menshevik work) and his role in the Mensheviks own party and in the Mensheviks own party and the idea of the party as a working advanced workers' party.

In course of French May-June Days Mandela adapted to spontaneity of Cohn-Bendit.

**STALINISM**

Mandela then goes on to explain what this supposed difficulty is in a completely abstract and one-sided and therefore wrong way. He manages to turn a certain separation between the party and the masses in and other the mass in the Second and the Third International on the latter that:

"The building of a party apparatus separated from the working masses is inevitable due to the nature of the apparatus becoming automatic. When this danger becomes beyond an embryo stage, the tendency arises for self-preservation of the apparatus to become an end in itself, rather than a means to an end."

"This is the root of the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals..." (15)

Everything is laid at the doorstep of organizational forms. The struggle of the party on the mass line, Trotsky's slogan. One night just as well explain the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals on the basis of the general
imperfection of the human species or as Mandel correctly recognizes elsewhere in the article, the need for a medical science on whose grounds that doctors have killed more in the name of science.

"Lenin," says Mandel, "in his first debate with the Mensheviks, both of which undermined the danger of the apparatus becoming inert and to the bureaucratization of the workers partis." (16)

"Trotsky and Luxemburg recognized this danger (i.e. of bureaucratization) more accurately than Lenin in 1914 and 1915, and in the case of Luxemburg the danger of the bureaucratic "real break with communism is now being forced by the sharpening class struggle throughout the world.

SWP Socialist Workers Party today stands on the basis of Mandel's method and theories. They deny that capitalism is a social system and that the problem of the working class is to overthrow and dispel of capitalism and that it is based on the foundations of the superstructure. The SWP see the "radicalization" of the SWP and the increasing number of middle classes around issues like work, and in the new era of the Third Industrial Revolution.

The SWP sees the movement of the socialist movement as a wave, and this movement as a wave that will bring this into the working class. The working class will be brought into this movement and its "social weight" will grow.

In SWP, like in Mandel's article, the conclusion that the party also needs is unnecessary and that the period of "radicalization" is over. This, too, will be "based on" in the mass of people's...the exception time as the 1950's, and...Third Industrial Revolution. How can a party be maintained when its core necessary workers?...New capitalism is no longer seen...How can a party be maintained when the core necessary workers?...New capitalism is no longer seen...

Bernardo Bertolucci's The Conformist which has been playing to capacity houses is a pellucidly intellectual, richly decorate, meticulously photographed fraud. What purports to be a "penetrating insight" into the fascist mentality never goes beyond the sexual-psychological level and proves a perfect expression of fascist politics, so beloved by the liberals, the radicals and the Stalinists.

For Bertolucci himself, like Petri, Visconti, Antonioni and Pasolini, is a member of the Italian Communist Party. For him fascism is decadent and horrendous and indeed, he completely avoids the economic, political and social forces behind it. In that sense his film is a mini-version of Visconti's 'The Damned'. A film which, despite the flaws at least presents the virulent aspects of the Fascist regime. The Conformist, as Bertolucci himself puts it, dehumanizes the Fascists, and it is the emotional impact of these aspects which makes for the film to be an effective propaganda tool. The Tarquinio, a member of the fascist secret police, who is the central character of the film is represented as a conformist, but his conformism is not complete, he is capable of acting on his own initiative, and this makes the film more plausible and more realistic.

THE CONFORMIST is the story of Marcello, son of decent, fallen bourgeoisie. Mother suffers from mental illness and is infatuated with her chauffeur. The father is a phallic pervert who participated in the German fascist movement in its early days. Marcello is a blank slate, a serious student of Italian literature, who climbs aboard the Mussolini bandwagon only to desert it with the triumph of the partisan forces and the razing of Il Duce's statues and monuments to the ground.
Ulbricht Resigns; Protege Takes Over

BY V. BARAT

The resignation on May 3rd of Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the German Socialist Unity Party, is a man most closely associated with the crimes of Stalinism, is officially attributed to "failing health and age." It is a certainty that the Polish events of the past few months with their direct repercussions on the workers of the German Democratic Republic will not improve his physical or mental state.

Now that the East German workers are once again on the move, the bureaucracy must have high on its agenda the question of where Ulbricht is in the crisis. This is the most faithful servant of Stalinism ruthlessly purging any elements that showed the least signs of opposition to his hard-line policies.

Ulbricht was the man responsible for calling in Soviet tanks to quiet the Potsdam protests in 1953, demonstrating against the institutional collapse of the working class movement. Ulbricht became head of the immigrant KPD returned from Paris, from 1945, Ulbricht was the sharpest recessionary conditions in Europe, forcing the German bourgeoisie into the sharpest conflict with the working class.

It is precisely because the French bourgeoisie sees in the present Greek situation abroad the threat for a new May 6th, that it is resuming those experiments in spite of the fact that the monetary disequilibrium that sets in Europe abroad, among other things, the delicate EEC agricultural policies.

Severities

The severity of the crisis in the United States, an eminent defeat in Vietnam, together with the huge offensive of the American military, threatens the Soviet Union. The threat of major bankruptcies leaves USSR no other choice but to try to push as much of the crisis as possible onto the back of Europe.

The real position of Nixon was summed up in a statement by A. Beilenson, financial advisor George Schultz who stated last week that the Nixon administration did not intend to save the collapsing economy from the ruin it faced, mainly because of the American business interests who control the bulk of the economic output.

The central characteristic of the relationship of Europe to America in the post World War II period as contrasted to the post World War I period is that the economies are too interdependent to allow the United States to shift the burden to Europe for long without bringing down the American economic recovery.

Dictatorship

So Nixon must, if he is to increase his grip on power, be forced to shift the burden of the crisis onto Europe. This does not mean that he will not be able to win some concessions from the European nations, but the tremendous mili

MITCHELL Arrests

Mitchell tried to compare the Working Class to a group of civilians who rioted the streets of Germany in the 1930's and shouting down those who dis

Mitchell Meets Stalin

Stalinism is in favor of virtual martial law to deal with "counter-revolution," while Agnew tackles the press. The trend toward a dic
tcratization grows not only in Europe and colonial countries, but in the United States as well.

In order to preserve the existence of the State, the capitalist class, and the capitalist class representation, the working class must work for the creation of a new economic system, against the massive and growing accumulation of capital, leading to a breakdown of the state and the state's control of the economy.

These are the ones who complain...
NDP Convention: Road To Betrayal

BY SIMON NELSON

The Canadian capitalist class today has created massive unemployment, inflation and has introduced wage controls. It has tried to break with its former rival, the successor to the Public Works and Government Services Canada. Now Canadian capitalism has gone further, openly declaring war on the trade unions. First in British Columbia, then in Saskatchewan, two provincial governments have broken strikes throughout the province. Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia’s Bill 33 gives the provincial government the power to order a strike, as the government did during the Teamsters strike.

This is the situation that faced the New Democratic Party when it called its 3rd convention from April 21st to 24th. What was required from the NDP was a program to take up the attacks of the capitalists and to defeat them.

In Saskatchewan the NDP declared support for the Liberals call for compulsory arbitration in the railway engineers strike. In British Columbia, the NDP caucus carried on no fight whatsoever to oppose Bill 33 and the consequent smashing of the Teamsters strike.

At the 3rd convention the NDP leadership chose to completely ignore the attacks and to further its capitalist class aims. It is up to its perspective is that capitalism can be reformed through their policies and can thus satisfy the workers’ needs.

"IMPORTED"

The NDP Federal Council’s resolution on unemployment and inflation states: “The NDP is aware that the full cost of unemployment will be met only by the worker as an element in his wage. That is the cost of unemployment, it has demonstrated its total bankruptcy in economic policy by following outdated, fiscal and monetary policies to meet an inflation which is largely imported. For the NDP leadership the capitalist crisis does not have an objective basis. It is simply, according to the NDP, that Treasury has “outdated fiscal and monetary policies” which the NDP would quickly correct.

The solution they offer is to “expand the economy” at a time when capitalism

NDP Convention: Road To Betrayal

Waffle Caucus embraces Canadian nationalism rather than class struggle. Demonstration above is against selling energy to U.S.

Ceylon-JVP Avoids Working Class

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE TROTSKYSTS in Ceylon launched a theoretical struggle against all reformist and revisionist tendencies within the working class devoting themselves to build the revolutionary leadership.

However much the sacrifices of the youth may be they can be nothing by themselves. The system is that if they are not disciplined and led by the revolutionary marxist leadership. The Trotskysts always admitted the very decisive role the youth are going to play in the coming revolution. In Ceylon the Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCCY) decided to build a mass youth organization, to be led by the revolutionary party, to combat and replace the currently existing youth system in the same time they always stress the necessity of the leadership of the RCCY in guiding the force of social revolution.

The People’s Liberation Front (JVP) was moving along a path which was very much contrary to this. They never accepted the working class as the vanguard of the Revolution.

CONDEMNED

It is true that sometimes they talked about the workers’ struggles. But their main strategy was to condemn the working class and its organizations as capitalist instruments.

What they said after the coalition government came to power was that there was an astonishing silence and demoralization within the working class because of the desperate situation they faced.

The JVP further claimed that the working class was in a crippled position; whatever efforts of workers in the private sector moved forward immediately to form their own trade union. Both of which they had been deprived for many years.

Although in some places the Lanka Sipahi socialist trade union, the People’s Front (PF) and Communist Party (CP) leaders could sell out the workers, it was clear that some of the workers did not give up their struggle even when they were openly betrayed by the leaders.

In one of the pre-coalition daily papers called Davva workers continued their hunger strike in support of their comrades to organize open treachery on the part of the PF leaders.

In the estate area at Keena Kele, a strike which started during the period of the previous government still continues, even after two workers had been shot dead by the police after the coalition came to power.

The Ceylon Transport Board workers spontaneously came out on strike against the government’s decision not to give them annual bonus in the guise of promoting “national austerity.”

These workers won their demand through the support of thousands of workers by making the government reverse a cabinet decision within 24 hours.

FORWARD

These are not the signs of demoralization or a retreat. The working class in spite of their leaders’ treacherous attempts to sell out and contain the struggles was moving forward with unprecedented determination to defend their rights through the corporate revolutionary alliance of the bourgeoisie and the reformist leaders.

The JVP deliberately attempted to turn their backs on these most decisive developments of revolutionaries. They had to hide these objective factors in order to defend their petty-bourgeois policies.

They were expected to exploit the rhetoric of the workers, and find out a way to secure some stability within the capitalist order, as every other middle-class radical wants to.

They were talking about a peasant revolution. In this they sought the help of the so-called theories of Mao which speak about a revolution from village to town. According to these theories the very base of the revolutionary strategy, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, must be the villages. Therefore every revolutionary was to withdraw into the villages to work within the peasantry.

ALLIANCE

Workers must give up their trade unions and work places and must join hands with the peasants. This is the way they were going to “build the revolutionary alliance” between the workers and the peasants.

Within the specific situation faced by the working class in Ceylon, this was the only correct-revolutionary policy. Today the capitalist class wants to get rid of the labor force to cut down labor costs and increase productivity.

This is a policy deliberately aimed at the liquidation of the program of the working class. The word Alliance is used in order to make the workers remove from the unions the capitalists face no obstacle in making the unions a slave apparatus.

To Be Continued
Postal Workers Must Fight Ban On Strikes

BY A UNITED FEDERATION OF POSTAL

THE LEEKERS MEMORIAL LOCAL 3276

contract negotiations between the US Post Office and seven postal unions—the first test of collective bargaining by government employees—have already bogged down.

The 90 day collective bargaining period called for by the 1970 Postal Reform Act came to an end at midnight, July 9th. A 45 day "fact-finding" period began, to be followed by another 45 days of negotiations, or binding arbitration on July 20th.

Under this act the Post Office Department will be transformed into a semi-autonomous US Postal Service. This is expected to occur on July 1st. About 640,000 postal workers whose pay rates have been set by Congress have the right to bargain with the new postal service for wages and working conditions. But the postal workers have been denied the right to strike and this has upset the federal courts.

The postal clerks leadership is asking for a $1,000 year increase for all workers. It seeks an additional $1,000 increase for 1973. Salaries presently range from $7,000 to $15,657.

The government negotiators have not replied to the wage demand but have insisted that the 40 hour week must be the basis for any future negotiations.

The union bureaucracy has not challenged this despite the importance of the demand for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

This demand together with demands for wages and a cost of living escalator clause becomes of central importance as the government seeks to cut the work force with unemployment.

The postal workers must prepare for a strike this summer.

The ranks of the postal unions are down seriously and the post office is a tremendous threat to the rest of the working class with its attack on the strike last year. The present struggle now challenges all the plans the employers and the government have not only for the postal unions but all unions—the buming of the strike to victory and compulsory arbitration.

In the face of this attack,

Local Bans Overtime

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Local 26 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in Detroit have barred overtime since April 21st in a fight for more sanitation workers.

The local is also currently negotiating a 1972-1973 contract with the Gribsch workers.

The city labor relations director sent a letter to AFSCME asking that the national leadership force the local rank and file to work overtime picking up garbage.

The city warned that if national AFSCME officials do not intervene by May 7th, city attorneys will take legal action. The city claims that the work action is in violation of the contract.

A city spokesman said: "We've tried all reasonable channels to no avail and are now doing this at this point." The city has the obvious alternative of hiring more men but clearly this is not considered "reasonable." Rather than hiring more men to alleviate the problem, the city is letting garbage pile up, something that are a very serious health hazard to health.

It is obvious that workers in classes of town are feeling the brunt of the city's attacks, not the area that Gribsch lives in.

NYC Gas Strike Faces Flanker

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—600 fuel tank truck drivers in the New York area continue their strike which began May 1st.

Since the beginning of the strike Mobil and other big oil companies have been using armed guards to hurl truck drivers through picket lines. Police have arrested strikers for defending cargoes.

In the face of this attack,

204 Laid Off

BY KELLY HAZZLET

DETROIT—Ex-Cel-O Corporation has decided to shut down its Detroit Micromatic Industries, Inc. plant at the end of May. This will destroy the jobs of 204 members of UAW Local 155.

A spokesman for the company said last week that the plant has been "heavily oriented" toward the aircraft industry but that business in that industry is "at a very low level and still declining." The Micromatic division is the parent company of Ex-Cel-O.

Ex-Cel-O was engaged in the manufacture of prototype components for the 1707 SST, and with the death of the plane the company lost $2 million in orders. Ex-Cel-O has cut its Detroit area employment by 385 in the last three years.

Since earnings of Ex-Cel-O in 1972 were down 34% from 1969.

First quarter earnings this year are 460% less than the first quarter last year. Gilbin listed the causes as business recess-

ion, increased competition and costs, and inflation.

Because of the refusal of the Local 49 leadership to go to the UAW ranks as a whole in Detroit for support against Ex-Cel-O, management was able to force a soft contract this year which does not even match the Big Three pattern, using the threat of more shut downs and layoffs. The local leadership did not even call a strike against this vicious attack.

The fact that the leadership of Local 49 and 155 have refused to fight management on these issues in any serious way is a go-ahead signal for the company on more attempts to make the workers suffer for the company's deep crisis.

This situation must be reversed by the ranks of Local 155 and 49 through going to the UAW ranks as a whole in a fight for nationalization of this bankrupt industry under workers' control.

Brutal Plant Conditions

To Blame in Johnson Case

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

DETROIT—Johnnie Johnson is on trial before Detroit Recorder's Court for the shooting of two foremen and a worker after being fired for refusing to unload two conveyer belts.

Johnson has said that he returned to the plant with a gun after being fired, "looking for men in white shirts." The in-

cident occurred at Chrysler's Edson Avenue Gear and Axle plant.

The Detroit News carried an article May 5th constructed around an interview with plant foreman who said that he did "not think that unloading two conveyers at once (two conveyers at the shoe ovens) was a hard job."

Defense attorneys Kenneth Cockrell and Justin Ravitz con-

cede that the conditions in the plant drove Johnson temporarily insane. As a result, union repre-

sentation, working conditions, and treatment of workers by management have been at the center of the issues of the trial.

Johnson is a ship's steward who led a wildcat strike last spring to protest working con-

ditions, which included three unprotected conveyers, and a gang of aides in testomies May 5th.

Don Thomas, a quality control up who was a friend of the three dead men, said that "un-

loading the conveyers is the worst job in the plant." He told the courtroom audience that "you ought to get into the conveyer plant and watch those men unload those ovens and see what it is they have to put up with."

Thomas said he has frequently seen day to day on workers who were doing the best they could. He said that wok-

ers in Johnson's department were suspended often for refus-

ing to work on the ovens.
San Francisco SWP Conference Abandonment Party

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Educational Conference called by the SWP at S.F. State College was indeed conducted and, as a man had written, very little to do with socialism.

This conference marked the fur- ther development of the SWP’s rapid abandonment of its Stalin- ist history towards total liquidation into the middle class. The SWP spokes-

man for Black nationalism, pro-
vocative and risible, was thrown sizable panic by the circulation of a petition calling on partic-

ipants at the conference to denounce bolshevism on the left and to refuse the charges of the MPI that the Workers Middle and Trotskyists were the crea-
tures of the CIA as slanders dredged up from the Moscow Trials.

These “Marxists” were forced to drag up slanders against the worst slanders of the Moscow “Tate affair” as well as alle-

gations that the Workers League supported the police because of our support to the N.Y. police and to explain their refusal to sign.

DISCOURSE

Despite these attacks a number of YSA members signed our petition. This is a firm indication that many of us want to make a stand and not present discussion from going forward on all the principles of the Trotskyist political movement.

The SWP-YSA is less than less than a section of Stalinism from Marxism before its own membership.

Stalinists ‘Make Fun of’ ROTC Drill

BY ALEX CRAIG

San Jose—In connection with the national “May Day”

adventures sponsored by the county’s Trotskyist and revisionist parties, the local Stalinists held a photo op of their own last week at the State College.

The San Jose Labor Front of the People’s Union, a committee supported by members of the Revolutionary Workers Com-

mittee and the American Federation of Student Unions, held a noon rally last Tuesday which culminated in a march to the nearby ROTC- drill field where the Army ROTC was holding its annual “Presiden-
tial Review and Awards Cer-

emony.”

There, in accordance with their stated objective of “making fun of ROTC,” the group clung to the cyclone fence, surreptitiously picking the field and proceeded for the dura-

tion of the hour-long ceremony to answer every move of the cadets with war whoops, catcalls, chants of “know your blast- wavers and waving of VV flags. The whole air was the air of a media-

num event.

On the surface the “party” seemed innocuous enough. But, behind this façade lies mor-

nous political undertones.

Peoples’ World Backs Khan, Mrs. B.

(Continued From Page 16)

ces.

Indeed while tortures and nego trials “are a logical, essential part of a collapsing capitalist order,” they are the regrettably exceptions to the creation of a socialist society.

Thus the hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants being beaten by the Chinese army’s troops, Mao’s tanks while the Soviet Union stands by, the youth shot down in Ceylon the recent Vyckyai Council in Soviet Union and all the past, present and future victims of Stalinist purges are to be consoled with the knowledge that they are simply not as numerous, in one of the more regrettable aspects of the ever-lasting of war.

This is the logic of “Socialism in One Country.” The Peoples’ World backs Mrs. B., and turn of this counterrevolutionary logic as the Stalinist bu-}

necracies are thrown into mortal crisis. They must soli-

darize with Stalinist butchers throughout the world and defend and support the People’s World in order to prepare for new Pakistan and the Ceylon here in the coming nucleic war.

It is this crisis that forces the Stalinists into a desperate Union and the Antiatomic Pan Unity and all the past, present and future victims of Stalinist purges are to be consoled with the knowledge that they are simply not as numerous, in one of the more regrettable aspects of the ever-lasting of war.

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County Labor Plans Strike

BY CATHY HUNT
SAN DIEGO—San Diego county labor leaders have joined in a strike of county employees in its history. The largest section of the County Federation of Labor, representing maintenance men, construction workers, clerical workers, and others, will receive a final offer from the Board of Supervisors, and the result of the vote could be immediate strike action.

There is tremendous militancy among the construction and maintenance men, who are convinced that the supervisors will offer nothing. Acutely aware of what inflation is doing to the wages in the past years, they are particularly adamant in their demand for an escalator clause in the contract and a chance to fight it for. As many of the workers put it, "if you are waiting to hear an increase and more 'offers' from the county, 'There will be a strike of county employees this year."

Association members have come in conflict with their leadership who are trying hard to keep the ranks in the dark out. As the battle line becomes clearer that they are engineering a sellout. Not only are they maintaining a penniless black market, so as not to compromise any "deals," but they also refuse to disclose the content of negotiations to the ranks.

However, under close question,
toning in the latest meeting several things did emerge. The leadership is in the middle of giving away original demands for an across-the-board pay hike for all employees and lowering the percentage-increase demand to a figure more acceptable to the county bosses. Further, they are dumping the escalator clause by refusing even to discuss it in negotiating sessions.

In an amazing outburst during a membership meeting, the leadership made its feeling quite clear, and said, "The cost-of-living clause is a 'dirty word.' Binding arbitration so no right to strike puts the cap on what the leadership wants.

Faced with ranks that are ready to strike for that "dirty word" alone, not to mention other demands that are being sold out, these "leaders" are telling clerical workers not to strike. "If policemen and firemen are not allowed to strike, then don't think we should be allowed to strike either." With demagogic appeals of "loyalty to the county" and "duties of a civil servant," they are trying to divide the ranks, and destroy the strike movement.

The financial crisis hitting urban areas from coast to coast through job losses of private employees into a struggle for survival. Without a strike, county workers will be totally disarmed when the bosses try to lose 200 pay cuts, as proposed in Los Angeles, or massive lay-offs, as in New York.

More Of The Same Attacks From April Coalition

BY TOD ZWER
BERKELEY—The plans of Berkeley city council members, Mayor Warren Widener and the city's professional labor leaders of the April Coalition, become clearer by the day. It is an open secret that the city's labor men are trying to camouflage the actual Class War. The plans of the city council members, Mayor Warren Widener, and the city's professional labor leaders, are being implemented. The city council is trying to weaken the economic strength of the people of Berkeley.

As the people of Berkeley begin to see the class war emerging in their city, the city's labor men are trying to camouflage the actual Class War. The plans of the city council members, Mayor Warren Widener, and the city's professional labor leaders, are being implemented. The city council is trying to weaken the economic strength of the people of Berkeley.

The Budget of the People's World

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

The May 8th edition of The People's World is virtually a case study in the single issue the Communist Party up all the questions it has months.

Thus an article on Pakistan seeks to portray the struggle there as basically involving autonomy rather than the right of self-determination, while another seeking to portray the struggle in the People's World as basically involving autonomy rather than the right of self-determination, while another seeking to portray the struggle in the People's World as basic.

In both cases, the People's World does not mention a Chinese support to Khan.

On the People's World, the People's World chooses to ignore the news of the Bandaranaike government that the youth rebellion is flaring up in the Soviet Union and in the United National Party.

They stand in absolute solidarity with the Ceylonese Stalinists who participate in this bloodstained government. They are not the same council, and for Marist theory.

MOVED

Here the reader goes to great pains to assure us that the "was deeply moved by the plight of the Deputy Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia caught up in the 1972 purge trials." What disturbed the writer however is that although the facts in the film are true, the viewer might get the idea that purges trials and torture are an inevitable outgrowth of Stalinism. Perish the thought. They are "a regrettable part of the evolution of war." (Continued On Page 15)
County Labor Plans Strike

BY CATHY HUNT
SAN DIEGO—San Diego county employees could be facing a strike of county employees in its history. The largest section of the County Labor Coalition, representing maintenance men, construction workers, clerical workers, and others, will receive a final offer from the Board of Supervisors, and the result of the vote could be immediate strike action.

There is tremendous militancy among the construction and maintenance men, who are convinced that the supervisors will not listen. "We are aware of what inflation has done to their wages in the past years," said one of the workers.

"Many of the workers have not been able to buy the "oilers" for the escalator clause in the contract and are ready to fight for it. As many of the workers put it, "If we can't buy the "oiler" we can't afford to live." The union is definitely committed to the fight.

Association members have come to an open conflict with the leadership who are trying hard to keep the ranks in the dark about their plans and actions. The union leadership is not being clear that they are engineering a sellout. Not only are they maintaining a press blackout, but also to not compromise any "deal," they are also refusing to discuss the content of negotiations with the leadership.

However, under close questioning, some workers are finding the clauses in the last meeting several things did emerge. The leadership is in the process of giving away original demands for an across-the-board raise and pay hike for all employees and lowering the percentage-increase demand to a figure more acceptable to the county boards. Further, they are dumping the escalator clause by refusing even to discuss it in negotiation sessions.

In an amazing outburst during a membership meeting, the leadership made its feeling quite clear, and said, "The cost-of-living clause is a dirty word." Binding arbitration with no right to strike puts the capon on what the leadership wants.

Faced with ranks that are ready to strike for that "dirty word" alone, not to mention the other demands that are being sold out, these "leaders" are telling clerical workers not to strike. "If policemen and firemen are not allowed to strike, then don't think we should be allowed to strike either." With demagogic appeals of "loyalty to the county" and "the duties of a civil servant," they are trying to divide the ranks, and destroy the strike movement.

The financial crisis hitting the cities across the country has thrown this civil service employees into a struggle for survival. Without a strike, the city workers will be totally disarmed when the bosses try to force 20% pay cuts, as proposed in Los Angeles, or massive lay-offs, as in New York.

More of The Same Attacks From April Coalition

BY TOD ZWER
BERKELEY—The plans of Berkeley's popular city council members, Mayor Warren Widener and the five city council members elected by the April Coalition, become clearer by the day. It is then that the new council's budget, which culminated in the election of Widener and friends, every effort was made to avoid mentioning the vital issues which face the working class today. Instead a grab bag of old reforms and the reactionary community control of police measure, liberally coated with the suave of "serving the people," "the people," was foisted on the people of Berkeley.

As Richard Koren observes the odor of this garbage is beginning to find its way to people's noses.

The rest was particularly strong in an article in last week's People's World entitled "What to Expect from the New Berkeley Council."

The article devotes a column to a half-inch of Widener's brand of police reform, and then in passing notes that the city is going to have a little trouble with its budget and is "not going to be able to do a lot" about "false arrests." Somehow the cut gets out of the bag. Police reforms are not going to stop false (read police) arrests.

From this admission Widener goes on to describe the city's budget as a "conflict between needed services and the ability of the taxpayers to pay for them," which sounds astoundingly like the words of Gibson, Lindsay and Aalto as they prepared to attack city employees.

POPULAR FRONT
It is obvious, that in the fight of class against class, Widener, the April Coalition, and their supporter, the Communist Party, stand on the same side as Aalto, Reagan and Nixon. All militants who recognize the threat posed by popular fronts like the April Coalition are faced with the choice of class collaboration, like the April Coalition, or revolutionary socialism, Stalinism or Trotskyism.

Significantly, the latest statement of Harry Newton in the May 1st edition of the Black Panther includes the following line: "Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black Caucus but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have merely served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates into political office. Once elected the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective, instead of serving the true interests of the Black oppressed people."

PANTHERS
Now more than ever before it is necessary for the Panthers to understand the implications of these words and to take up the fight against Stalinism, class collaboration, and for Marxist theory.

Peoples' World Backs Khan, Mrs. B.

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN
The May 8th edition of the People's World is virtually a case study in the crisis of Stalinism. In a single issue the Communist Party is forced to take up all the questions it has months.

Thus an article on Pakistan stresses the struggle as basically involving autonomy rather than the right of self-determination. The Party is also claiming that the Communist Party of East Pakistan is well to the left in comparison to the Socialists, and the Pakistan government, and has also criticized the national groups for their failure to support the national movement.

On Cyprus the People's World chooses to repeat the slanders of the Bandaranaike government that the youth rebellion is financed and supported by the CIA, and the United National Party. They stand in absolute solidarity with the Ceylonese Stalinists who participate in this bloodstained government, armed and financed by the Soviet Union and the imperialists.

If the reader is upset by this counterrevolutionary filth and perhaps notices a similarity between the charges against the Ceylonese youth and those of the all-too-familiar Stalinist parties, he need only turn to a review of the film "The Confession."" MOVE

Here the writer goes to great pains to assure us that he was deeply moved by the plight of the Deputy Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia caught up in the 1952 purge trials. "What disturbed the writer however, is that although the facts in the film are absolutely true, the viewer might get the idea that purges trials and torture are an inevitable outgrowth of Stalinism. Perish the thought. They are "a regrettable part of the evolution of society."

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