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BOOK REVIEW

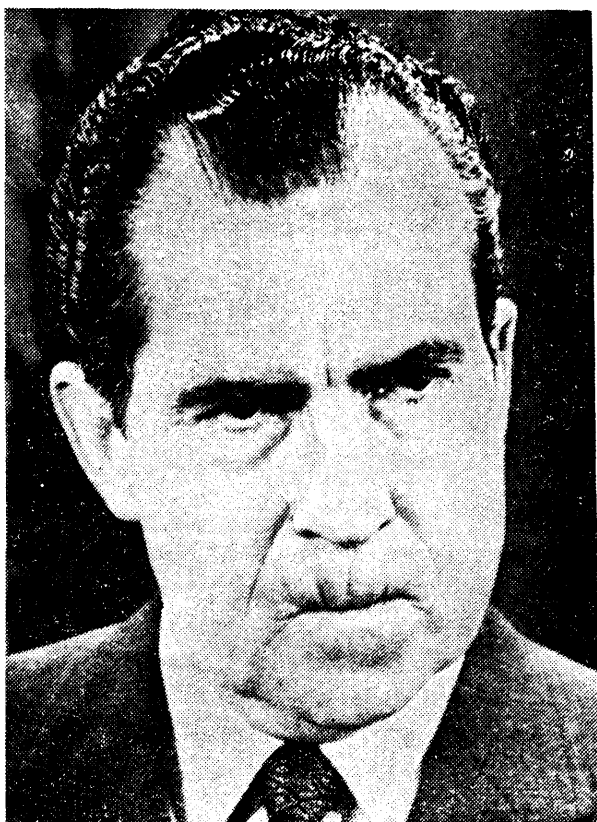
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And An Elite Army



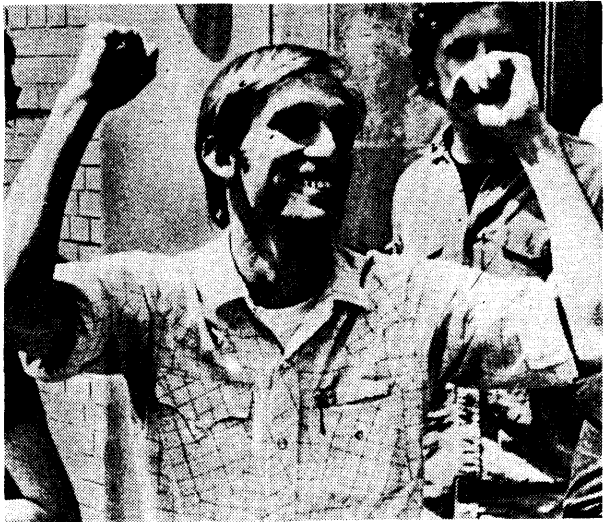
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sds turns to stalinism



SDS LEADER MICHAEL KLONSKY TURNS TO STALINISM

The recent Chicago Convention of SDS represents an important turn in the development of the student radical movement in the United States. As the Guardian summed it up in its July 5th Editorial: "The new left as it has been known during this decade disappeared during the Chicago SDS convention. It is being replaced by Marxism-Leninism." The editorial also notes "the resurrection by some of 'comrade Stalin' as a positive figure in communist history". In truth SDS is turning from new leftism towards Stalinism. Thus SDS, in all its actions, has not moved one millimeter closer to the real needs of the working class.

The spectacle in Chicago was itself a blow against the working class and the construction of a serious Marxist movement in the United States. A serious revolutionary party will not be built by chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" nor by wars of factions throwing quotes from Mao Tse Tung at each other. The factional maneuverings were devoid of any serious political content and meaning for on all fundamentals the factions stood together. The main question which divided them was who would run SDS.

MESS

The maneuvers of the RYM factions to prevent a takeover by Progressive Labor are the best example of this unprincipled mess. Discovering that Progressive Labor had a majority of the delegates present, the RYM factions simply walked out of the SDS convention covering the split with the claim they had expelled PLP. The Guardian then has the nerve to headline the RYM walk-out as "SDS Ousts PLP" and in the very next issue print a quote from Lenin: "The duty and the highest obligation of every honest journalist, and double for a communist one, is unconditional truth--nothing but the truth."

The Rud and Klonsky factions sought to politically justify their split with Progressive Labor by bringing in the Panthers to attack them as racist and to even call Progressive Labor "anti-

editorial

SDS TAKES A TURN TOWARDS STALINISM

communist" for its criticisms of the NLF leadership. But while these accusations reflected shades of differences they were raised as a cover for a split so that non PLP people could maintain the name and organizational apparatus of SDS.

STALINISM

The most important lesson of the SDS Convention is the inability of any section of SDS, PLP included, to develop a serious perspective and strategy to build a working class revolutionary movement in the United States and internationally. Thus, to the extent that students break from new leftism, they turn toward Maoism and Stalinism. But Stalinism must bear the major responsibility for the defeats of the working class since the 1930s. Under the slogan of the "Popular Front", Stalin led the workers into coalition governments with the capitalist class which broke the revolutionary movement in France, in Spain, and held back the American working class from taking up the struggle for a labor party in the 1930s.

Mao Tse Tung and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party have never confronted the roots of Stalinism and therefore continued to be a part of Stalinism. This can be seen most clearly in the contradiction between the actual policies which led to Mao's victory in 1949 and the position he put forward for others to follow after 1949. Mao was forced into a break with the native capitalist forces in China and into a war to the death with these forces. The result was his victory and the establishment of a workers state in China.

MAO

But since his coming to power Mao has failed to fight for such a course on an international level. Not only did Mao support the collaboration with bourgeois nationalist Sukarno which opened the way for the complete massacre of the Indonesian Communist Party, but Mao learned nothing from this experience. He supported the Pakistani military dictatorship right up to the moment of the recent mass struggles to overthrow that dictatorship.

This question of Stalinism is of the greatest importance to developing a revolutionary strategy for the American working class as well. The best example of this is the current call of the Black Panthers for a "United Front Against Fascism". This united front is actually modeled after the popular front of the 1930s and means a bloc with "liberal" democrats against the fascists. On this basis, despite all the quotations from Mao, the Panthers are establishing a close working relationship with the Communist Party which openly

supports bourgeois politics.

For years the New Left built its movement on the basis of hostility toward all the "sterile", "talmudic" discussions over Russia, Stalin vs. Trotsky, etc. Now the political fruits of this refusal to confront these historical questions are there for everyone to see in the quotations from Chairman Mao, and even from Comrade Stalin. These questions cannot be ignored. If one does not consciously struggle to understand Stalinism, Stalinist politics reasserts itself in one's movement.

TROTSKY

The only revolutionary alternative to Stalinism is Trotskyism. Stalinism can only be understood through a study of Trotsky's works and struggles. That, Messrs. Milton Rosen, Klonsky, Rudd and Guardian editors, is what Lenin would call "unconditional truth--nothing but the truth" and we challenge you to prove otherwise.

Just as Lenin carried forth the continuity of the Marxist movement after the degeneration of the Second International, so Trotsky carried forward the continuity of the Third International after Stalin destroyed it. Today the Fourth International lives in the International Committee and its sections such as the Socialist Labour League of England, and the Workers League in the United States.

It is because the Workers League bases itself on this tradition and develops its theory as a continuation of Lenin's and Trotsky's writings, that we are able to put forth both an objective Marxist understanding of the development of the world capitalist crisis and the tasks this poses to the revolutionary party. The penetration of the trade unions through a fight around a series of transitional demands aimed at developing the consciousness of the working class to an understanding of the need to struggle for state power.

THEORY

The Workers League is proud of the role it has played in relationship to SDS. We have had absolutely nothing to do with that mess. Instead we have and will continue to pose an independent alternative to all factions of SDS and fight every manifestation of Stalinism and reformism wherever it rears its head. Slogans are no substitute for revolutionary theory. Revolutionary theory must be understood in its historical development which means a return to the struggle between Trotsky and Stalin in the 1930s.

There is no middle ground between Stalinism and Trotskyism. SDS is now finding that out. So, in another way, is the SWP.

workload crisis hits welfare union

BY FRED CALHOUN

NEW YORK--Twenty two of the 26 candidates who ran on the program of the Committee for a New Leadership won positions in the recent delegates and alternates election in SSEU-371. The nucleus of this caucus is the Committee for a Decent Contract which waged an aggressive campaign against the Morgenstern-Rogoff sell-out of some 9,000 jobs and virtually every workload protection previously obtained.

The candidates ran on a program calling for an all-out fight centering around the first meeting of the Joint

Reorganization Committee to take forward the struggle against attacks on working conditions; unity between the newly merged SSEU-371 and the local 1549 Clerks in the department--both members of the District Council but in separate locals; a labor day rally centering on the struggle against the Taylor Law and for a labor party; and elections this fall of a new leadership for the local.

DELEGATES

When the first delegates assembly of the newly merged union met after the delegates election, it was forced to confront the chaotic situation in the welfare centers which resulted from this new contract. The working conditions have so deteriorated that attrition has proceeded so fast that many centers are completely swamped with cases, throwing astronomical caseloads on workers and leaving large numbers of cases without any caseworker.

A spokesman for the CNL put upon the floor a motion to call a demonstration on July 10 at the next meeting of the Joint Reorganization Committee, focusing on the demand for rehiring to fill all vacant caseloads and the other demands presented in their program, as well as taking up the campaign against the budget cuts.

While there was widespread support for such a demonstration, many delegates felt that more time would be required to prepare for a mass demonstration of workers and clients. Realizing that many CNL supporters and other delegates were prepared to amend the main motion to change the date until later in July, Morgenstern refused to recognize these delegates, and instead signalled to one of his old reliables to call the question, and was able to defeat the motion.

But Morgenstern will need more than fast floor work and bureaucratic maneuvers to



SSEU MEMBERS IN MILITANT 1968 DEMONSTRATION AT GRACIE MANSION

save himself. Every day the workers are facing the consequences of his sell-out contract. A movement is growing to dump Morgenstern, Rogoff and the rotten crew of professional radicals who do his dirty work. The Committee for a New Leadership plans to carry forward this struggle with all the greater determination in the coming period.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
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SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND REVISIONISM.
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nixon on warpath against workers

BY THE EDITOR

More and more the Nixon Administration is coming out in the open as the reactionary anti-working class representative of the big corporations and banks that it is. Behind the so-called tug of war between the 'liberals' and the 'conservatives' in Mr. Nixon's cabinet and staff, the 'liberal' mask is coming off. As Big business and the Wall Street financiers prepare to hit the working class with a dose of unemployment, the so-called liberal wing of the Administration, including H.E.W. Secretary Finch and his assistant James Farmer is in retreat.

First there was the dumping of Dr. Knowles, the advocate of mild reforms in the area of public health who was bitterly opposed by the AMA. Then there was the postponement of the mine-safety bill at the behest of the coal bosses. Next was Nixon's stand on school integration al-

lowing an extension of even more time to the segregationist school districts in the South to integrate. They have had since 1954 and today 80% of the black students in the 11 Southern states still attend separate and, of course unequal, all black schools. Mr. Nixon's civil rights stand, regardless of what Messrs. Finch and Farmer say for the record, has delighted racist Dixiecrat-Republican Senator Strom Thurmond who said that the Administration had to replace "blind adherence to rigid social doctrine" with "flexibility and reason."

Then we come to the Administration's tax bill which passed the House over liberal opposition and which is going before the Senate. The aim of this bill is to try to curb inflation which is hurting U.S. exports and the balance of payments. But the tax bill will do this by extending the 10% surcharge. In other words, the working class is going to

have to continue to empty its pockets in order for the economy to be slowed down to bring on a recession that would throw more and more workers on the unemployment line.

What the big corporations and bankers wanted and are getting is a continuation of the tax surcharge. Nixon's "commitment" to eliminating tax loopholes allowing millionaires in the oil industry and municipal bond holders to pay not so much as a single penny in taxes is a complete fraud. It will clearly never get past the talk stage. Even though the closing of such tax loopholes would raise more than the \$9.3 billion the government will raise with the tax surcharge there is not a chance of a snowball in hell that the Administration and the Democratic Republican Congress will enact this kind of tax reform.

Such is the power of a handful of millionaires that in the



JAMES FARMER

last few days it has been revealed that none other than Vice President Agnew will personally lead the fight against any effort to tax municipal bondholders, while even Nixon's last minute impassioned plea for reform did not mention oil depletion allowances.

NIXON

Thus the Nixon Administration is emerging as a far cry, not only from The Johnson Administration, but even the Eisenhower Administration. This is not because of any



ROBERT H. FINCH

personal characteristics of Nixon himself, even though we must admit his personality leaves much to be desired. What it reflects is the changing circumstances under which has come to power.

Nixon would be more than happy to continue to conciliate the contending classes in the spirit of past Democratic and Republican Administrations and this was the aim of such Nixon men as Finch. Nixon is no man to look for trouble if he can avoid it. But the problem is that his first concern must be to protect the interests of the large banks and monopolies under conditions of economic crisis. So Nixon moves step by step towards deeper and deeper blows and clashes with the working class seeking to resolve the economic crisis whatever the political costs.

LABOR

The AFL-CIO and UAW leadership, basing itself on the overwhelming opposition to the tax surcharge among trade unionists, fought to oppose the surcharge. But their weapons were no more effective than bows and arrows against tanks -- a reliance on liberal Democratic "friends of labor." The trade union bureaucrats are determined to continue this rotten policy now by counting on the likes of Senators Mansfield, Russell Long and the Senate Finance Committee to overturn the surcharge and eliminate the millionaires tax loopholes. The rank and file of the trade unions and the working class can't afford any more of this misuse of union position and funds by their so-called leaders!

It's about time the workers in the trade union movement told their leaders to use the power of the unions to set up an independent labor party. This is the only kind of party that can establish a genuine workers government that will use the nation's resources and plans the economy for the need of the great majority -- the working people, and do away with all the "tax loopholes" and other privileges of the rich minority.

NYC INSTITUTES VICIOUS ATTACK ON POOR



CASEWORKERS JOIN WELFARE RECIPIENTS IN DEMONSTRATION AGAINST NEW YORK STATE BUDGET CUTS

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK---The newly instituted cuts in the Welfare budget in New York City are without a doubt one of the most vicious attacks against the poor and the workers this period of American capitalism has seen.

Specifically, these cuts take away all special grants for clothing, furniture, special diets, transportation monies to clinics, rehabilitation programs or schools, layette money for pregnant women, and telephone expenses for those very ill who may have needed an emergency means of communication. This last clause will have the immediate effect of forcing many of the aged and sick who could have remained at home into the already overcrowded public institutions. There is also the general rule that there be no more duplication of monies.

The average overall cut in a

family's budget will amount to about 8%. Coupled with the rising cost of living, this will mean the difference between subsistence and starvation for thousands upon thousands.

The door has also been left open to a complete stop to moving allowances. This is not just a violation of basic democratic rights, but the final institution of forced ghetto life. This ruling was not coupled with the budget cuts only because it would have caused a legal fight which could have postponed the basic economic attack.

The institution of food stamps is also next on the agenda. Pushed for by large concerns such as A&P, which is first in line for the monopoly on this, tremendous profits could be made through forcing all the small businesses out of the ghettos. Food stamps would preclude the purchasing of such necessities as soap, toothpaste,

detergents, etc.

A man or woman who the department deems able to work will have to go to the New York State Employment offices every two weeks, and will be forced to take any menial job offered - or will be taken off the welfare rolls. There is no transportation money given for this purpose, and the prospects of the creation of an indentured servant-type scab labor force are clear.

If one section of labor goes out on strike, the bosses will have a ready weapon against them in the form of people who have no choice but to take any job offered. Furthermore, this situation becomes a tool of the bosses in their fight to lower wage levels. They now have a ready non-union force which will be compelled to work for non-union wages.

We must see these cuts in the context of Nixon's plans

to raise unemployment and lower the wages and standard of living of the workers.

More and more workers will be forced on to the rolls, where it will be cheaper for the bosses to maintain them.

FIGHT

This is why it is so critical for the labor movement to take up this fight at this time. Only the labor movement has the power to stop the budget cuts. The Welfare Rights Organizations have been powerless to take any real action precisely because they are trying to organize people on a community basis. They waited for several months, hoping that the courts would rule against the cuts. This road proved ineffective. They try to organize demonstrations, and they too, have shown only small turnouts.

The poor and the marginally employed are demoralized. They know full well that their only power rests in the working class. This is why the labor leaders, tailending the client groups, play such a reactionary role. It is high time that the labor movement take the offensive. This is why we say:

FOR A LABOR DAY DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE BUDGET CUTS AND TAYLOR LAW!

FOR A ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE IN THE FALL!

FOR AN INDEPENDENT PARTY FOR AMERICAN LABOR!

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rubber workers face plant closing

BY NEIL MARTIN

Two weeks ago the Footwear Division of the B.F. Goodrich Company announced that it would no longer manufacture footwear and miscellaneous molded products at its Watertown, Mass. plant. This means that nearly 1300 workers will be thrown out of their jobs.

The company had given the workers, members of the Rubber Workers Union, the "choice" of either accepting a wage cut or facing plant closure. The workers voted to reject the company's insulting wage reduction plan which

amounted to an 82¢ per hour cut in wages and benefits. The average weekly pay at the plant is about \$120.

To continue production at the Watertown plant it was necessary, in the company's words, to make wages more competitive. This no doubt means competitive with the wages paid by contractors making the same products running sweatshops in the hills of Pennsylvania or elsewhere, where the pay is \$1.25 per hour and safety conditions are

non-existent.

FIRESTONE

The enforcement of safety procedures was the issue which recently brought production to a halt for more than a week at the big Pottstown, Penna. plant of Firestone Tire & Rubber Company.

About five workers refused to stack loading pallets as high as they were told to by the foremen (to a height which was considered unsafe by the company's own regulations). These workers were sent home and given an appointment

to report for a "talk" with personnel before returning to work.

Word about this incident spread to the next shift and 15 to 20 pickets were posted. Shortly the entire plant was shut down and fewer than 1% of the 3000 workers in the plant were reporting for work, even after the company obtained an injunction barring any pickets.

The leadership of the Rubber Workers Union local was asked by the company to get the men back to work since work stoppages were illegal according to the contract. But the union leadership couldn't. As one of the officials put it "they won't listen to us." This leadership showed not one ounce of fight on behalf of its members.

The real issue here was clearly one of disciplining the workers. A few days before the shutdown the company stopped production in the entire plant for about 15 minutes to lecture the men about safety. The subsequent disregard by a member of management of his own regulations and the disciplinary steps taken on the five workers revealed the purpose of the lecture to have been not the safety of the workers but the disciplining of them.

CHALLENGE

The company here decided to show its authority over the workers, and the ranks of the workers -- strong and confident from years of full employment and relatively good

conditions -- met the challenge with a united defense.

Workers in the rubber industry however are going to face more and greater challenges in the coming period. As U.S. capitalists in all industries prepare to meet the intensifying competition of foreign capitalists, they can do nothing but attack their own workers.

For years now the giants of the rubber industry--Firestone Tire and Rubber, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and B.F. Goodrich -- have been reaping huge profits, and they express confidence in a bright profit picture for the future. In the face of increasing competition these rosy predictions for maintaining profits can have only dire consequences for the workers in the industry: loss of jobs and attacks on working conditions.

More and more workers in plants like Watertown that are not considered efficient or profitable enough will face loss of jobs, and those in plants like Pottstown where closure is not a threat will face speedup discipline, and eroding of working conditions.

To meet the challenges of the boss in this coming period, a program for rubber workers must include (1) defense of working conditions, (2) no company discipline, (3) a no-subcontracting clause in all contracts, (4) organization of unorganized shops, (5) no closures, (6) nationalization of all plants that cannot afford to pay a decent wage.

CINCINNATI AFSCME REFUSES TO FIGHT HOSPITAL CLOSURE

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

CINCINNATI--The drive to make profitable the public, as well as private, hospitals has hit Ohio's third largest city. Hamilton County commissioners have announced plans to merge Drake and Dunham hospitals--this is to be followed shortly by merging these two with Cincinnati's General Hospital.

Hospital officials claim the intent of these mergers is to cut costs, especially administrative costs. But the actual aim of these mergers is to reduce costs by cutting out more and more workers in the unionized, non-professional sector. This blow is aimed directly at the members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Locals 217 (General), 250 (Dunham) and 433 (Drake). To weaken these key hospital locals of the AFSCME means to prevent the unionization of the entirely unorganized private hospital field in the Cincinnati area.

This move towards merger comes at a time of increasing militancy in the labor movement, a militancy which both reaches into the AFSCME and shows the inadequacy of its present leadership.

Absolutely no alternative to the method of mergers being carried out has been proposed by the AFSCME District Council 51, led by Al Van Hagen. Feeble protests is all hospi-

tal and municipal workers can expect from this group.

What is now being planned is the closing of Dunham hospital. Administrators give as an excuse a proposed saving of money by transferring tuberculosis patients from Dunham to Drake. Yet thousands of workers in Cincinnati, as in every other area of the country, have this disease due to unsanitary working conditions. What is needed is not a reduction in these services but a massive growth of them.

The Workers League says--fight the closings! AFSCME members must begin a fight to mobilize the 100,000 member Cincinnati labor movement behind them as well as launch a mass organizing drive to bring the unorganized private hospital workers, including Good Samaritan, St. Mary's, St. George's, Jewish, Christ and Bethesda into the ranks of organized labor. If Dunham is shut down, municipal workers must be ready to shut down all city hospitals and all municipal services.

This, combined with a fight against all job cuts, for full employment through the 30 hour week, and a labor party and a workers' government (with the purpose of repealing the Ferguson Act and other anti-union laws) is the only road by which the AFSCME can win.

Nixon Postpones Mine Safety Bill, Puts Profits Before Life

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

The U.S. coal industry has once again made it clear that it will let nothing stand in the way of the profits that its millionaire owners rake in off the backs of the miners. The industry has gone all out in its efforts to block passage of even the mild mine safety reform bill that had been proposed in Congress. The coal corporations have threatened to reduce their coal production if the bill passes.

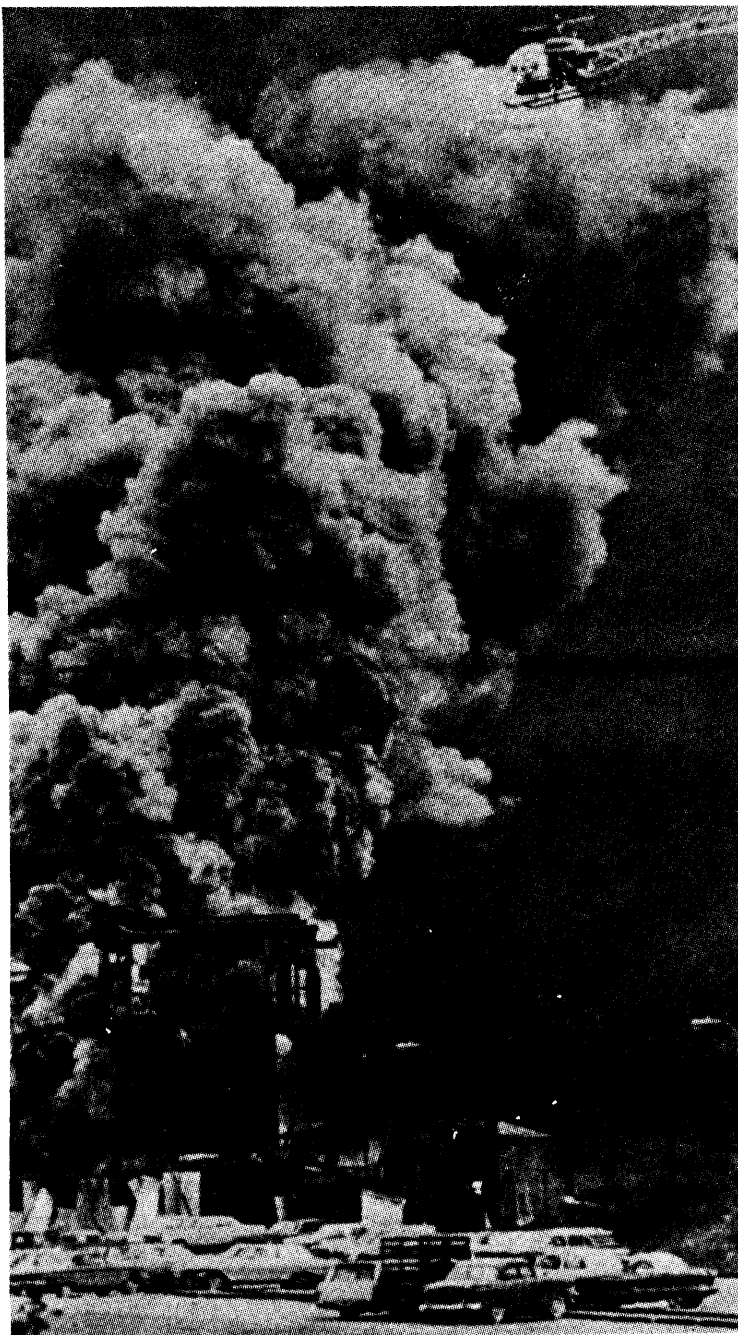
The Nixon administration has gladly yielded to this blackmail. The last thing Nixon wants is a serious conflict with such a substantial section of big business at a time when he is trying to pull together all the forces of big business behind a war against the working class and trade unions. So, Nixon has postponed action on the bill in order to "study" the "cost impact" of the bill on the corporations.

PERIL

While this "study" is going on, miners continue to mine coal at great peril to their life and limb. The bosses' main objection to the bill is that the explosion-proof machines they would be required to install cost too much. As if it were possible to pay for the loss of life and limb of untold thousands of miners who have been killed or maimed while producing profits for the coal bosses.

Dr. I.E. Buff an ardent mine-safety advocate, speaking at a miner's rally in West Virginia stated that "More miners were killed in the coal mines in the last 60 years than in both World War II and the Korean War. More coal miners have lost their fingers, lost their toes, their hands, their legs than the combined loss of limbs in World War I, Korea and the Vietnam war."

Another threat to miners is the high level of coal



FARMINGTON MINE DISASTER. BOSSES WON'T PAY FOR SAFETY

dust in the mines which causes "black lung" disease, destroying the lungs and taking the lives of countless miners over the years. The proposed bill which may never even pass in its present form, allows the mine owners up to 12 years to reduce coal dust to a level of 2.0 milligrams which is the "safe" level according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines. Meanwhile, "black lung" will continue to take its toll in the mines. But even the 2.0 milligrams limit is unsafe

Public Health Service which sets the safe dust level at 1.6 milligrams per cubic meter of air.

SABOTAGE

The sabotage by the industry and the Administration of even this mild reform bill has angered coal miners who

are threatening strike action if the bill is not passed. But the time for threats is past. The United Mine Workers Union which has dragged its feet on mine safety legislation and enforcement for years has a responsibility to close down the mines right now and not give the bosses a chance to stockpile coal.

As for those mine owners who threaten to reduce production if the law is passed and who continue to resist mine safety enforcement, we say nationalize them and operate the mines in the public interest with mine safety rigidly enforced by workers committees. If the Congressional bill is passed, this is only the beginning of the fight. Either way, only nationalization can insure full production and adequate safety in the mines.

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THE FACTS OF US IMPERIALISM

by tom gordon

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM by Harry Magdoff. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969. 208 pages. \$1.95 soft bound.

Harry Magdoff has set out to write a book which refutes those who maintain that American imperialism either does not exist or is unimportant if it does. Mr. Magdoff succeeds in showing factually that imperialism is a necessary component of capitalism. The first chapter of Mr. Magdoff's book is taken up with refuting various theories which seek to prove that imperialism is not a major force. We can deal with these refutations as a way of showing how imperialism operates.

Some bourgeois economists maintain that since the annual flow of commodity and capital exports is small in relation to the Gross National Product of the United States, imperialism as an outlet for American productive capacity and excess capital is relatively insignificant. Mr. Magdoff refutes these theorists in several ways.

First of all, measuring only the flow of investments leaves out the accumulation of capital that builds up in foreign countries, producing an ever-expanding mass of profit to be reinvested or taken back to America. Hence a steady capital outflow of five billion dollars annually would produce at the end of ten years a mass of fifty billion dollars in foreign countries. If each five billion dollars exported produced ten billion in product, the mass of product produced by these investments would be worth one hundred billion dollars annually at the end of ten years. In fact, manufactures exports and sales by foreign-based U.S. firms increased 367%, from 15.8 billion to 57.9 billion dollars annually between 1950 and 1964, while sales of domestic manufactures increased only 226%. Imperialism is obviously a strong and growing force. It provides U.S. firms and foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms a market two-fifths the size of the U.S. market.

The dependence of the American capitalist on foreign trade is made more graphic by Mr. Magdoff's example of the jet engine. Each jet engine made in this country requires over two

of one Professor Blaug, who maintains that export of capital is not produced by greater profit opportunities abroad. Professor Blaug seeks to show imperialism is not basically guided by economic considerations by pointing out that although the rate of profit on investments in the Persian Gulf area is twenty per cent as opposed to eleven per cent in Latin America and eight % in Canada, Canada receives more foreign investment by the U.S. than any other foreign country. Mr. Magdoff correctly points out that the reason the Persian Gulf or Latin America do not absorb more capital is that there are no more opportunities for profit in those areas, unlike Canada and Europe with its highly developed market and skilled labor force, available at wages lower than those paid in the U.S.

profit

The same considerations which lead American capitalists to invest heavily in Canada lead them into Europe, a trend seen by some as proof of a departure from imperialism. Actually, what is happening is that the American imperialists took advantage of the exhaustion and destruction caused by World War II in Europe to build up enormous industry and profits at home and to penetrate the European economy with its capital, managerial skills, and commodities, in order to skim off the cream of the prostrate European economies.

These European economies, in turn, had been built up at the expense of colonies of European nations. The U.S. simply used its higher productivity and its massive profits to skim off the best of the new European markets in appliances, computers, automobiles and other products and to buy up large chunks of the European industries making those products. Just as some pirates stole from other pirates—piracy was one source of the original capitalist wealth of England, France, and Spain—so the American imperialists raided the European imperialists.

As a corollary to this argument, Mr. Magdoff correctly points out that capital is not wholly

Magdoff Lays Bare Extent Of United States Penetration Of Europe, Colonies

other four and a half million U.S. firms contribute the rest.

vietnam

The last argument Mr. Magdoff deals with is that the foreign policy of the American government, for instance in Vietnam, is so blatantly uneconomic that business interests cannot be at the root of it. However, it is pointed out that due to the concentration of imperialist investment in a very few huge corporations and due to the shifting of the tax burden of the war onto the working class, as well as due to the huge profits accruing from the war to a few companies, a few American capitalists are in a position to pressure the government into adventures that cost more than they reap in profit but that protect potential sources of raw materials and cheap labor and potential markets for capital and commodities, as well as containing the workers' states in China, North Vietnam, Russia, and in Eastern Europe. The capitalists are quite aware that they are in a worldwide class struggle.

Mr. Magdoff's conclusion is that the self-interest of the capitalist class is at the root of imperialism in its foreign-aid, military, and economic aspects, and that there is no serious differences between the representatives in the American ruling class of those three spheres, only differences on tactics and strategy regarding how best to maintain their domination over the globe, in the face of an imperialist system being shrunk by the workers' states in Europe and Asia. And also by its own internal contradictions, we might add.

After having examined the more obvious errors of some bourgeois apologists, Mr. Magdoff examines modern imperialism in some detail. He points up the long struggle by American capitalists to establish themselves as bankers, merchants, and manufacturers of the world, a battle against the previously dominant British imperialists dating back as far as the Boer War of 1901-1902, when New York made its first bid to displace London as the world money market for financing foreign trade.

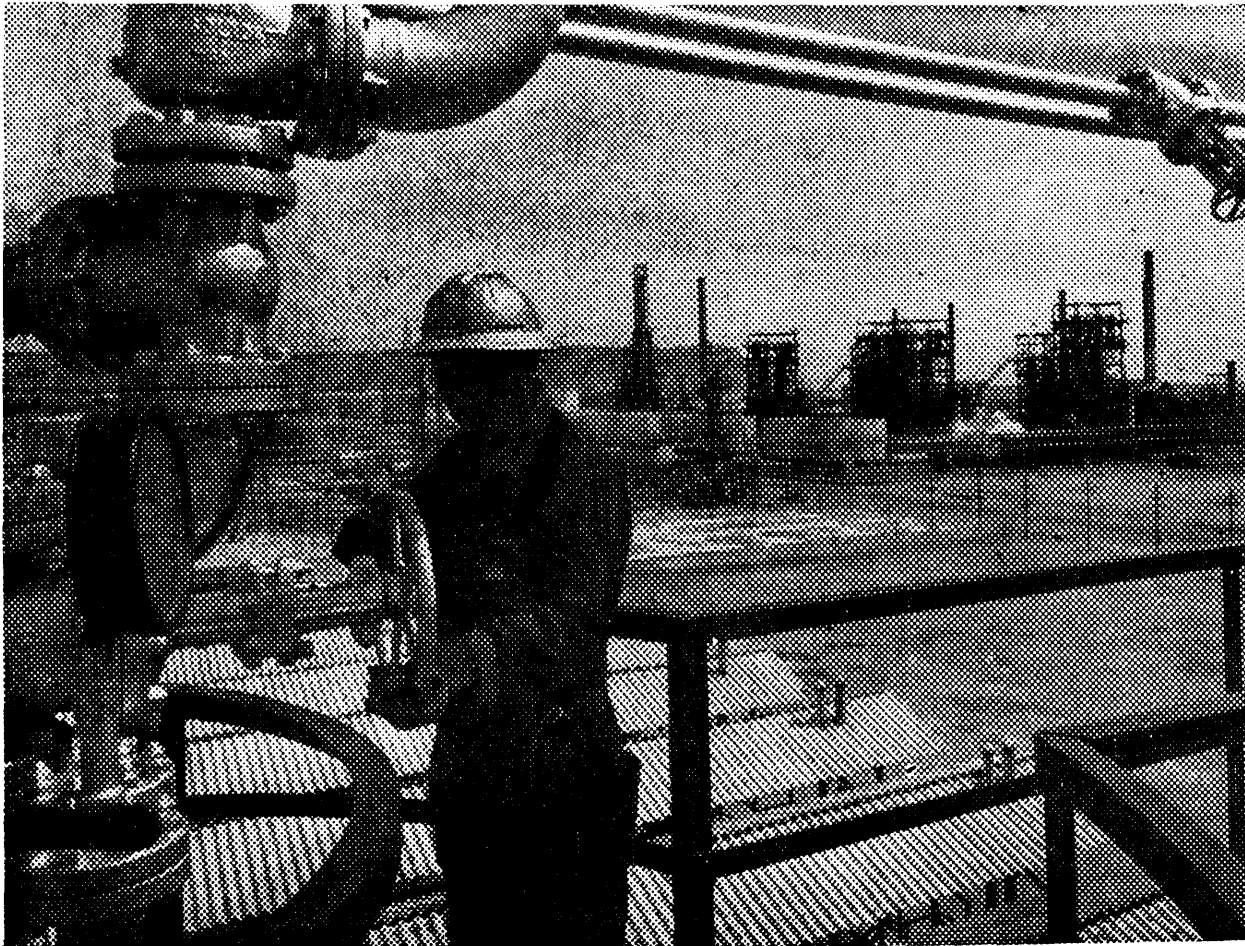
The panic of 1903 put an end to these premature attempts to oust the British bankers from their dominance of world trade, but World War I provided the boost in orders, profits, and loans needed to advance American imperialism against the French, English, and German capitalists. The American ruling class was not fully ready for its world-dominating character until after World War II, when the Marshall Plan and the added destruction of Europe provided the basis for a deeper penetration of American capital into Europe's markets and labor pools. Mr. Magdoff's brief historical survey does not go into the causes of the great depression after 1929, although he points out that only the impetus of war orders, and not Roosevelt's New Deal, brought the U.S. and world economy out of its slump.

europa

Mr. Magdoff's statistics make quite clear the close and vital interrelationships between American and European economies. The popular image of imperialism is Vietnam or American domination of an African nation or some South American banana republic, but the figures show that 75% of American investment is in Canada and the advanced countries of Western Europe. Unlike the imperialist investments in the underdeveloped nations, which are used to extract vital raw materials at the expense of the colonial rural and working-class populations, investments by imperialists in Europe are concentrated in highly mechanized industries of advanced technology.

In France in 1963, U.S. firms owned outright 87% of the razorblade industry, 75% of the accounting machine industry, 42% of the telephone equipment industry, and so on. In Britain in 1964 U.S. imperialists owned 40% of the oil refining, computer, and farm machinery businesses, over 50% of the automobile industry, over one-third of the refrigerator business, and so on. The pattern in Germany is similar, although with less

(CONTINUED ON PAGE EIGHT)



THIS U.S. OWNED OIL REFINERY WAS SEIZED BY PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT BUT MASSES WILL NOT BENEFIT

tons of chromium, all of which is imported; over half a ton of nickel, 75% imported; thirty to forty pounds of cobalt, all imported. The United States has gone from a net exporter of minerals, before 1919, to an importer of 14% of its total mineral needs.

But percentages alone do not tell the whole story. The U.S. imports about one-third of its iron ore, one fourth of its oil, and nine tenths of its bauxite aluminum ore. Not only strategic industries such as jet engine manufacture, but also the most basic industries could not operate without the relatively small but vital flow of imports of raw materials from the colonial world, a flow controlled in the interests of and directed to a few hundred large firms.

Mr. Magdoff goes on to demolish the theory

liquid, that it cannot be shifted about entirely at will like some counters in a game. Capital is supplied from specific capitalists and often only for specific purposes—opening a bank, drilling for oil, opening a chain of supermarkets, producing a new line of cars. In many of these enterprises drilling for oil, or even marketing oil, for example, capital must be available in huge quantities to be usable at all.

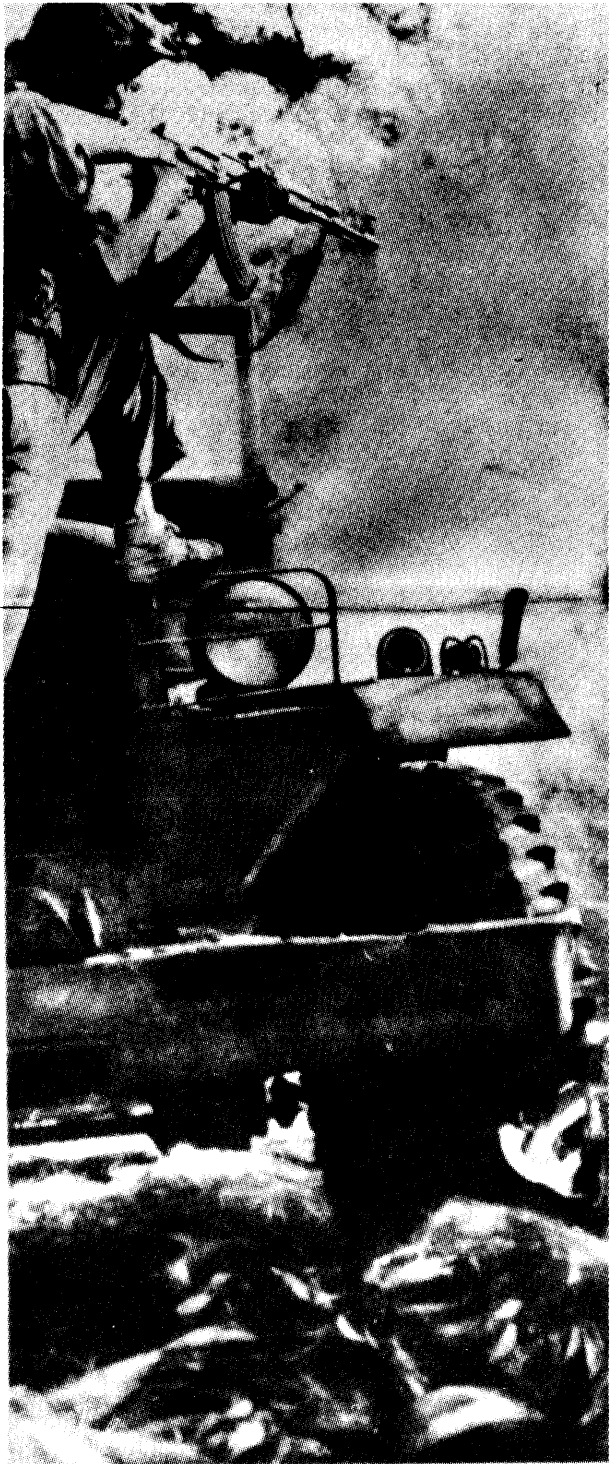
The British Petroleum Company has had to invest five hundred million dollars just to get a toehold in the American gas station business. Hence only large corporations tend to get deeply involved in imperialism: one hundred sixty-three U.S. firms, each investing twenty-five million dollars or more outside the U.S., account for eighty per cent of all U.S. imperialist investment. The

THERE IS NO PEACE-A REVOLUTION

(The following perspectives paper was presented to the Student Mobilization Committee Conference in Cleveland by Ed Smith, a member of the New York High School SMC Steering Committee.)

The current epoch of deepening imperialist crisis presents both unprecedented opportunities and unparalleled dangers for the working class and its vanguard section, the revolutionary Marxists. Unprecedented opportunities for helping the working class to an understanding of the need for a complete political break with the bourgeoisie and leading it onto the road to power; unparalleled dangers that may result from unprincipled misstatement and misapplication and opportunist abandonment of Marxist theory.

The Vietnam war is one of the prime contradictions in American society today; it therefore opens tremendous opportunities for principled intervention by Marxists to raise the above-mentioned basic program of breaking the working class from capitalism and leading it to power in its own right. But unprincipled and opportunist intervention can only lead to illusions about capitalism and prepare the way for a disastrous defeat for the working class.



VIETCONG VICTORY IS THE ONLY SOLUTION IN VIETNAM

Our purpose is to pose a perspective for correct intervention in the anti-war movement, starting from a Marxist foundation. Our day-to-day work in SMC should always flow from and reflect these premises.

pressure

Firstly, the SMC must abandon every last vestige of the perspective of ending the war by "pressuring" the bourgeoisie. Such a view has no place for building the independent movement of the working class, but its logic does lead straight to reformism - the belief that capitalism can be "pressured" to rid itself of its "bad traits" - and finally to the traitorous Stalinist program of "peaceful co-existence" and the abandonment of revolutionary struggle. Such may be the program of social democrats and Stalinists, but it can never be the program of Marxists, for in the

present epoch it is a program for the utter defeat of the working class. As Lenin said, "There must be an exposure of this inadmissible "demand" - which can only sow illusions - that this government, a capitalist government, should cease to be imperialistic."

As a corollary of this rejection of reformist "pressure" on the bourgeoisie, the SMC must reject all forms of "confrontation", which are merely another expression of this totally disastrous policy of reformist "pressure" in a more "militant" form.

Secondly, the SMC must recognize and express in its work at every moment that in the present era of capitalist crisis THERE CAN BE NO PEACE. In this period of rising conflict between the capitalist system and its subject peoples the idea of "peace" without the victory of one class or the other is an illusion. Thus, the SMC must make clear at every moment that under capitalism THERE CAN BE NO PEACE; that to obtain peace the capitalist system must be first overthrown and its subject peoples freed from exploitation.

class independence

Flowing from this recognition that there can be no peace under the capitalist system, the SMC, as an integral part of its anti-war work, must fight to break the working class from its masters and set it on the road to power. This should be done by the posing by SMC of the demand of a party of the working class, based on its organs of struggle, the trade unions - a labor party - to break the class forever from the bourgeoisie and to lead it to power.

This is the ONLY road to peace, and by not posing independent struggle of the working class in its work the SMC opens the door to every bourgeois faker, from McCarthy to you-name-it, to grab "peace" as an isolated issue and so mislead and sow illusions among the masses. By not posing the labor party the SMC is retarding the growth of independent struggle on the part of the working class, and thus is objectively hurting the cause of peace.

The labor party demand should be taken up immediately, with such subsidiary demands - as the 'escalator clause for wages, jobs for all, the 30 hour week for 40 hours' pay, and of course, an end to imperialist war - as will help the working class realize its objective need to smash the ruling class and take power in its own interests.

vietcong

Fourthly, the SMC must raise and make a central part of its work the slogan "Victory for the Viet Cong!" This slogan is intimately bound up with the perspective of aiding the working class to break completely from its oppressors and embark upon the road of independent class struggle. The Vietnamese war is a finish fight between the Vietnamese section of the world working class on the one hand and world imperialism on the other. Agitation and education on this slogan will aid enormously in sharply raising the question of independent class action by the American proletariat by concretely presenting a victory for the Viet Cong as a victory for the American workers because the enemy of the Viet Cong is the enemy of the American working class as well.

This slogan raises an objective need of the American working class - its need for independence from the bourgeoisie and its assumption of power in its own interests. To argue as some do that such a slogan will limit SMC's work or make it less popular is blatantly opportunist and absolutely impermissible for those who claim to be Marxists. Lenin and his comrades, who fought always for the objective interests of the working class, whatever the state of "popular opinion", were often extremely unpopular - until the revolution.

worldwide

This entire perspective of worldwide class struggle and independent working class action must be brought into all of SMC's work. The need for this program is indicated by the tremendous upheavals and defeats of the working class in France, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, Mexico and Argentina, which powerfully reinforce the perspective of independent class action and the struggle for power. This must be related to the fact that the bourgeoisie is being pushed more and more into conflict with the working class.

Just as the ruling class cannot permit the Vietnamese to construct socialism in their country, so is it forced to resist the demands of the



SOME OF THE 'PRESIDIO 27' GIVE VICTORY SALUTE AS MORE AND MORE

American working class for even rudimentary class independence, as expressed in the struggles of the grapepickers in California and the hospital workers in Charleston, the passage of the Taylor Law and other acts designed to tie the unions to the bourgeoisie, the decline in real wages, and even greater attacks on the working class that the bourgeoisie is now preparing.

Now more than ever the question of independent class action is posed to the proletariat, and now more than ever the idea of "pressuring" the

REBELLION

by lucy st. john

In January Nixon announced his plans to replace the draft with a volunteer army and ordered the Pentagon to draw up a workable plan for creating such an army. This is not something planned for the far future but is expected to go into effect beginning in 1970.

More immediately the "think tank", the Hudson Institute in Westchester County, N.Y., which is doing a series of studies on Vietnam for the Defense Department, has recommended similar proposals to the Nixon Administration. These include a reduction of forces in Vietnam to 100,000 or 200,000 men by 1971, these forces to be composed only of volunteers. The stated purpose of these measures is to make the war more "acceptable" in the U.S. and to "either increase chances for peace or provide a long term chance of 'winning the war'." In addition Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, is recommending a crack down on desertions within the armed forces, making one month's unauthorized absence evidence of intention to desert.

These moves are a result of the tremendous revolt which has been growing within the armed forces. This has had its reflection not only in the GI participation in the anti-war demonstrations and the numerous cases of GI opposition on the bases in the U.S. but more and more in the astounding number of desertions. It was reported by a Senate subcommittee that the military had administratively classified 53,367 as deserters in the year ending June 30th. This does not include the thousands that have gone AWOL.

Top secret operations are currently being started to kill or capture American GIs who have deserted to fight for the NLF. The desertion rate is estimated to be 10 per day. The London Express has reported that Green Beret forces are being used to track down these deserters.

The Army has been forced to admit that this opposition is becoming a serious problem. In

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REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE FOR SMC



AS MORE AND MORE G.I.S JOIN THE REBELLION AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

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ruling class to abandon its attacks on the working class when it is forced to this task by imperative objective conditions is revealed as the reactionary illusion and futility it is.

Marxists must fight against this false and disastrous perspective at every moment, realizing that, in the words of Trotsky, "The program of exerting pressure on an imperialist government so as to 'induce' it to pursue a pious course was the program of Kautsky and Lebedour in Germany, Jean Longuet in France, MacDonald

in England, but never the program of Bolshevism... (for these renegades) the prospect of peace is not posed as an independent task of the working class which the workers are called upon to achieve over the head of the Provisional Government, because the conquest of power by the proletariat is not posed as a practical revolutionary task. Yet these two are inextricably bound together."

The folly of the renegades Trotsky speaks of must not become ours. The road of the Bolsheviks on this question, as on all questions, is the only road. In this epoch it is the road imperative for us to take if we wish to avoid the fate of defeat and crushing disaster.

g.i. work

Finally, the SMC must implement the above perspective particularly clearly and diligently in its work within the armed forces, servicemen are overwhelmingly working class in background, and the struggle of the GI's is a concrete example of the awakening and ferment now spreading throughout the working class. In this critical area especially the SMC must emphasize clarity and the correct political analysis.

It is true that the struggles of the GI's have an enormous impact, and this underlines even more urgently the necessity for the Marxist perspective outlined above; for without this perspective the impact of the GI's struggles, these very struggles themselves, will inevitably be turned into the disastrous channels of reformism, GI's must be worked with on a class basis, showing them that their own interests are identical with the independent political struggle of the working class and its revolutionary road.

Any other course - no matter how "popular" or "acceptable" it is with the GI's - will, like all reformist strategies, not lead to anything other than disaster for the working class and the betrayal of its struggle. In all our work we must base ourselves on a perspective of fulfilling the people's basic needs and reaching out to them on that basis, rather than adapting to their transient prejudices, which represent nothing more than the brainwashing

of the bourgeoisie.

The SMC, in every part of its work, must base itself on the working class, on its needs and its power. This means that SMC must unceasingly combat the idea that the bourgeoisie has "granted" the people certain rights. This notion is absolutely false, and it is imperative that SMC counterpose at every opportunity the Marxist concept that these "rights" have been extorted from the ruling class only by the class struggles of the proletariat, and that these rights can be extended and protected and exist solely by means of the independent class actions of the proletariat. To give in any way an impression otherwise is a complete betrayal of Marxism.

presidio

Concretely, this means - to begin with - that all support from the SMC to such shameful "defence efforts" as those of Terence Hallinan during the trial of the Presidio 27 (wherein the heroic GI's were "defended" by their attorney by being called lunatics and "hysterical children") be terminated, that the SMC immediately cease calling "victories" for the anti-war movement or the defendants involved such utterly shameful and degrading products of betrayal as the results of the Presidio trials (wherein the defendants received "light" jail sentences, were dishonorably discharged, and were "defended" (!) as being psychologically unbalanced, for the "crime" of asserting their humanity!), and immediately start directing its defence efforts where they will do the most good - in the perspective of the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism.

It is hoped that this paper has succeeded in raising questions in terms of Marxist perspectives with which SMC must come to grips if it wishes to play a progressive role in the worldwide conflict between capital and labor today. And in this epoch, to play any kind of progressive role, one must adopt the revolutionary role. Any other course will lead to utter disaster. By adopting a Marxist perspective, the SMC can play an important part, as outlined above, in the prevention of such a catastrophe.

ON IN THE ARMY-- WHAT IT MEANS

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What must be clear is the real basis of the increasing conflict within the army. This revolt is in fact without historical precedent in this country. The "Go Home" movement after World War II which was large and forced the U.S. to withdraw troops from Asia sooner than they would have liked, took place after the war had been ended. Today's movement is another matter, it occurs in the midst of a war.

britain

U.S. imperialism today faces a similar situation to that of British imperialism following World War I. At the time that British armies were attacking the newly formed workers state in the Soviet Union, the working class went on the offensive. This struggle had profound effects within the Army. Mutinies and riots occurred on the bases. In Northern France camps were taken over and run by the men who forced the officers to come and go only with the authorization of permits signed by camp committees made up of the ranks. At Vendroux the whole of an ordnance corps group went on strike until two soldiers who had been arrested were released. Strikes meanwhile were occurring in mining and the railways, the latter foreshadowing the General Strike in Britain of 1926. The unrest in the army was often consciously linked with the struggles of the working class in Britain.

These struggles were part of the revolutionary wave which swept Europe after the war; it reflected the decline of capitalism in Europe and in particular the decay of British imperialism. Britain had lost its dominant position in the world market.

Britain's colossal industrial preponderance over the rest of Europe and all over the world laid the foundations of her wealth and her absolutely unrivalled world position. Thus the British ruling class with its gigantic resources could in a sense bribe a section of the working class. They could legalize the trade unions, raise wages, and institute social reforms. They thus enlisted the working class to support imperialism, to prevent revolution.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the decline set in with the growth of new states and in particular Germany. This decline created ferment and the embryo of revolutionary struggles within the working class. It became harder and harder to grant reforms to the British working class. The war only deepened this crisis. Revolutionary struggles broke out in Britain in the working class that was sick of the war and the system that had created it. British imperialism could no longer count on the support of the working class, as large sections of it along with the army opposed its intervention in Russia.

crisis

While the class struggle in the U.S. has not today reached the peak it did in Britain in this period, its crisis is the same and the rebellion within the army is a reflection of it. U.S. imperialism has entered a period of deep economic and political crisis. It is no longer capable of the kind of concessions it gave the working class in the boom period of the 50s. The working class is resisting the attacks of the capitalists throughout the world to make it pay for its crisis.

The working class is resisting paying the price in lives to save a system that they do not see meeting their needs. The army or any popular



GIS DEMONSTRATE IN MANILA TO GO HOME AFTER WWII

force is primarily made of the working class. The struggle within the army is not just an expression of demands for democratic rights but of the disgust with the war which workers see as not their war and not defending their needs. This is most blatantly revealed in the number of desertions and the general attitude of the majority of the ranks who are actually serving in Vietnam. As one ex-GI remarked, "There are very few John Waynes over there."

A vast section of the forces do not see this war as "their war." This is an elemental way is a reflection of the resistance of the working class to imperialism. The most conscious section of course are those who have gone over and are fighting with the Vietcong.

The point is the war is a class war and the rebellion of the army is a reflection of this. It

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PEACE - A REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

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THE FACTS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

penetration by U.S. capital. All these figures are in addition to the share of the markets grabbed by exports from the U.S. The complete interdependency of the American and European economies is evident.

The other 25% of American investment is scattered all over the rest of the capitalist world. No nation outside Europe and Canada has more than 3.8% of the total of American investment found in Brazil. At the same time the importance of these small extractive investments in Asia, Latin America, and Africa cannot be overlooked, since the raw materials extracted through them are necessary for the running of the American industrial economy.

Much of the book, however, is taken up with statistical studies of the colonial world, Mr. Magdoff's method not allowing him to weight his treatment towards Europe. It is in these colonial nations that we see in process the connections between foreign trade, the American military, and American business which came to dominate Europe as well as the colonial world. Whereas the Marshall Plan allowed Europe to rebuild its devastated economy by providing credits and products which also tied those economies to the U.S. and allowed the ending of massive foreign economic aid to Europe, the colonial nations have no economic base to rebuild. Foreign aid has thus served only to provide the credit and the infrastructure needed to keep the relatively small but economically vital U.S. investments profitable in the backward nations. It has not built up industry in these backward nations. American military aid and training for military officers in these countries helps provide the colonial bourgeoisie with the muscle needed to keep down the peasants and working class.

Foreign aid is channelled through the Agency for International Development, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other agencies. The terms set for grants and loans are designed to provide protection for imperialist investment, no matter what the cost to the working class of recipient countries. The terms demanded of Bolivia for a 1959 loan by the IMF specifically included the ending of a three million dollar a year subsidy to government commissaries selling consumers' goods to miners. The result has been near starvation for the miners.

Foreign aid, not being directly tied to profit, is used as a major weapon in the struggle against the workers' states, and is shifted around the globe accordingly. In the whole postwar period, the developed countries of Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have received 39% of all U.S. economic and military aid, most of it before 1957. In the same period, 'client' countries of Greece, Turkey, Iran, Korea, Philippines, Formosa, Thailand, Spain, Portugal, and Laos received 31% of all U.S. aid. The rest of the world, with 70% of the population, received 30% of the aid. Foreign aid thus was channelled into building the European and Asian economies needed by U.S. business as markets and areas of investment, while it was also channelled into countries on the edge of the workers' states, in order to contain them.

In the period since 1957, developed nations have received 13% of all foreign aid, client countries 37%, and all other underdeveloped countries 50%, reflecting the continued foreign policy of containment of China, Russia, and their allies, and the revival of the European economies into competitors against the American imperialists.

The data makes it quite clear that the imperialist nations are weaving one another, and the colonial nations, into ever greater dependence on each other, and that foreign aid and the forces of the market serve only to make this net tighter. Colonial countries are being drained not built by imperialist foreign aid 'assistance.' Not only are recipient countries usually forced to spend most foreign aid funds in buying products from the donor country, but even if they were not so forced, they would still have to use up foreign-exchange reserves to buy from some other advanced nation, since the investors make no attempt to invest in the colonial nations enough to produce enough products to meet even the most basic needs of these nations: only extractive industries, outside of Europe, Japan, and Canada, are profitable.

The percentage of exports of colonial countries (and of European countries by implication) going to debt service and profits of foreign investment, has been rising steadily, leaving still less for buying essential commodities. In 1966, Mexico was spending 60% of its export earnings on paying foreign debts, public debts, and foreign profits. Venezuela was

spending 26%, India 27%, Colombia 33%, Chile 31%, and so on. In addition, the cheapening of commodities has hit the colonial nations hardest, driving down prices received for their agricultural and mineral exports.

conclusions

Now having examined some of the wealth of data Mr. Magdoff presents, we can begin to examine his conclusions. Claiming to carry forward Lenin's work in 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,' Mr. Magdoff puts forth three major conclusions:

'The imperialism of today has several distinctly new features. These are, in our opinion: (1) the shift of the main emphasis from rivalry in carving up the world to the struggle against the contractions of the system; (2) the new role of the United States as organizer and leader of the world imperialist system; and (3) the rise of a technology which is international in character.'



LENIN. HE FOUGHT FOR WORLD REVOLUTION

We can deal first with the third conclusion by stating that the growth of imperialism was necessitated by capitalist technology and economies outgrowing the bounds of the bourgeois nation-state and that this growth beyond national limits has been characteristic of all major capitalist economies since the late Nineteenth Century. It is nothing unique to post-World War II imperialism. It will be the source of major conflicts between European and American capital, in the coming period. The capitalist crisis involves as well attacks on the working class in Europe, England, and in the United States.

It is on this crucial point of the nature of the capitalist crisis that we have major differences with Mr. Magdoff. His first two conclusions--that the imperialists are fighting against contractions in their system, and that the United States is at the center of world imperialism--are correct as far as they go, but they do not go beyond the data and get at the essentially political and dialectical nature of the imperialist crisis.

To grasp this essential point we must examine Mr. Magdoff's method. He states in his first chapter:

'The major purpose of these chapters is to show the cohesion and interdependence of the United States economy and the world capitalist system. The contradictions and tensions within the system are referred to only incidentally. No attempt has been made to subject to analysis either the conflicts between rivals within the system or the revolutionary surge to weaken and eliminate imperialism. These essays should therefore be considered as an introduction to the study of United States imperialism...'

The point is that imperialism is inherently contradictory. Mr. Magdoff's method leads him to a one-sided treatment of the question in several ways. The center of his book is the study of American imperialism. But this imperialism does not exist in isolation. American imperialists must deal not only with their own working class and the Soviet and Chinese workers, but with the very European capitalists they have built up since World War II and which now are

competing against American capital not only in Europe but in the colonial world and in America itself. Through the Marshall Plan, other foreign aid, capital exports, commodity exports, and investments in Europe, American capitalists have gotten themselves into an irreconcilable contradiction.

They want to grab as much of the world market as they can for themselves. Under conditions of a shrinking world market, this means taking the market away from Europe. But American investment in Europe is itself dominant in the European economies! Thus to attack European economies means to attack the source of billions of profits for American firms, yet not to attack these American subsidiaries and export markets means allowing them to push domestic American manufacturers out of the world market. Either way, American business will lose a major source of markets and profits as either Europe resolves its crisis by closing itself to American capital and commodity penetration or as America weakens its own foreign investments through attacks on Europe by way of tariffs, quota, and the like.

At the same time, the tremendous strength of the European working classes, undefeated and confident from years of prosperity, is deepening the crisis by refusing to allow European capitalists to resolve the crisis by pushing it off onto the backs of the workers in union-busting, wage gouging, and job cuts. Hence the ruling classes in both America and Europe must prepare themselves for conflict with each other by demoralizing the working class, by deepening the economic crisis through creating unemployment in order to politically defeat their own working classes and clear the decks for the wage cuts and job cuts needed to compete for the shrinking world market.

crisis

By leaving out the contradictions and the struggles of the working class, Mr. Magdoff leaves out the essence of the capitalist crisis. His method is an improvement over the simple-minded empiricism of most bourgeois economists, but without a study of the class battles and politics involved in imperialism, Mr. Magdoff arrives at conclusions which are incorrect. Behind Mr. Magdoff's method is a belief in the neo-capitalist theories of Baran and Sweezy, who maintain that capitalism, especially American capitalism, has reached a stage where it can overcome its internal contradictions. Mr. Magdoff writes that:

'It is especially noteworthy, in the context of the present discussion, that recourse to either severe internal adjustments or devaluation is a common feature of the economically and financially dependent nations and is much less frequent in the centers of financial power...'

He goes on to ask,

'Why is it then, that the major centers of financial power have fewer and less severe balance of payments problems than do the underdeveloped countries? And why, when they do have such problems, are the devaluations and internal economic adjustments (economic slumps, sharp reductions in consumption) rarer and less austere?'

We now see why Mr. Magdoff skipped over any explanation of the crash of 1929, the ensuing depression, social upheavals, and war. He believes with no firm basis of proof that these disasters have been reformed out of capitalism. The point to be made here is that because of the strength of U.S. imperialism in rebuilding Europe and fully employing its own working class it is now faced with the twin tasks of defeating that revived Europe, cutting off 75% of its vital foreign investment in the process; and attacking its own working class in order to compete better with what is created in Europe. Because of the great strength of U.S. imperialism, Nixon is now forced to bring the economy to crisis by political means. Capitalism has not reformed, the crises are only deeper, and longer lasting. The superficial monetary and financial panics of the Nineteenth Century are supplemented by the wiping out of large masses of productive capacity, and by starvation, and the dictatorships and imperialist wars of a system in its death agony.

The lesson for the reader is clear. Only by using the dialectical method developed by Marx and carried forward by Lenin and Trotsky can one use the data in order to see what is the essence of the imperialist system and its crisis.

crackdown on docks

TOUGHEN DISCIPLINE

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- Members of the International Longshoremen's Association in New York who are temporarily out of work have recently received a letter containing a list of jobs in their borough and a warning that if they do not accept one of the jobs they will not receive the Guaranteed Annual Wage but will remain unpaid until they

fits for men forced off the piers, but no man and his family can live on the crummy MAXIMUM of \$300 a month offered by the ILA.

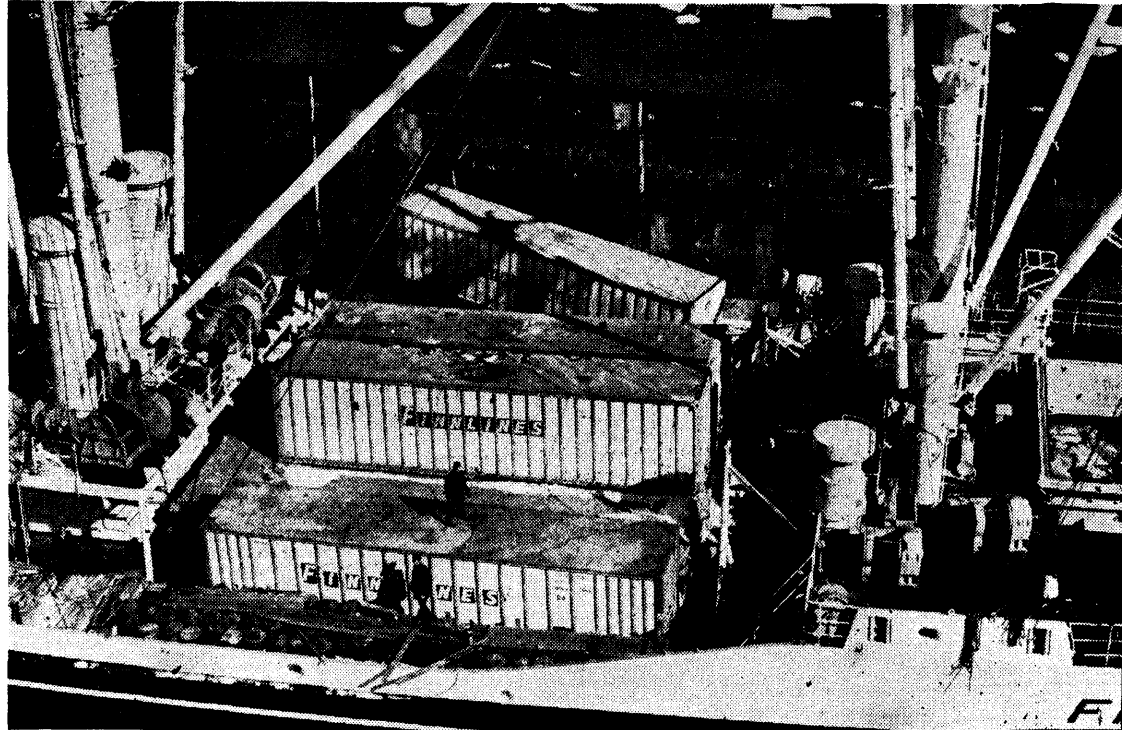
AWAKENING

Dockers who accept this pressure as part of a "give a little, get a little" deal with the shippers are in for a rude awakening. Because American labor has enjoyed

jobs out to automation: a sharp decline in the number of workers in the industry, a promise of greater pension and welfare benefits to come, and then sharp cuts in those benefits as the number of men in the industry continued to decline while John L. and his boss pals got richer.

DEMAND

Only a united, politically



SHIPPERS GETTING RICH FROM CONTAINERIZATION TRY TO CRACK DOWN ON LONGSHOREMEN, WEAKEN ILA

finally do accept a list job.

Under the previous contract there was no provision for denying ILA men the Guaranteed Annual Wage. So far, the jobs in each list are in the same category that each man has habitually worked, but the way is open to reclassifying men at the will of the employers, especially since the pressure of 2,000 new men applying for work under the '69 contract is added.

SHUT DOWNS

Already the Bay Ridge piers in Brooklyn are almost shut down, the new 39th St. container port in Brooklyn will throw additional thousands out of work, and the Manhattan piers are dying. Outports are being shut down and the containerized cargo diverted to New York, Hampton Roads or Baltimore, with the men in the outports left to fend for themselves.

The strategy of the shippers and the ILA piecemeal who take a leaf from Harry Bridges notebook is to grant whatever wage increases the ranks force on them and to introduce bit by bit harsher work rules and measures of discipline along with an increase of men in the work force in order to force men off the piers. If necessary these older men can be replaced by '66 men and '69 men. '69 men are subject to even harsher discipline and receive no travel time or guaranteed annual wage, so that they can be used to erode the work conditions of the rest of the ILA. The pot seems sweetened by a hike in pension bene-

years of prosperity, even though at the expense of speed up and gradual job attrition, so that organized labor is often able to win its major contract demands, the strategy of the bosses in the upcoming period is to smash the ability of the working class to get increased wages and job security, by creating an army of unemployed men and women to be used as shock troops against workers with jobs. The 2,000 and more '69 men in New York longshore are being used as a part of that army, since jobs in longshore are declining.

John L. Lewis showed the inevitable result of selling

conscious labor movement can fight this menace. This is why we call for:

1) Begin the struggle within the ILA to get the ILA to reopen the contract with the goals of taking out of the contract the new rules for discipline, and granting the '69 men their full union rights, the Guaranteed Annual Wage, and travel time.

2) No job cuts. Spread the available work among the available men by cutting the work week to thirty hours with no loss in pay.

3) Fight for rank and file control of the ILA.

Postal Workers Extend Fight With Sick Calls

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK- The turmoil and unrest among postal employees which erupted last month in demonstrations at the Manhattan and Brooklyn mainpost offices has developed further. Recently all but 6 of the 75 clerks and mailmen at the Kingsbridge Post Office in the Bronx called in sick, in a protest against the pitifully inadequate 4.1% wage boost granted by the government.

The sick calls were termed "an illegal work stoppage" by postal authorities since Federal employees, like slaves, are denied the right to strike. Clearly, the Postal authorities want to try to snuff out the fire of growing strike sentiment before it spreads. That is why they are talking about instituting suspension proceedings at Kingsbridge and have turned the case over to the Attorney General's office for "investigation".

Underlying the "illegal work stoppage" is the question of wages. The new increase provides a pay scale of \$6,176 to \$8,422 but very few of the clerks and carriers are in the top two categories. The overwhelming majority are in the lower end of the pay scale. One of the postal unions is demanding an increase with a range of \$7,500 to \$10,000.

STRIKE

Postal clerks are mistakenly reputed to have very high wages but one clerk with 24 years seniority complained to this reporter that he takes home only \$110 a week.

It is clear that the government is getting ready for a war with postal employees. Part of their preparation is the Nixon administration's postal reorganization scheme which would set up the Post Office as a "public corporation" and provide for the settlement of labor disputes through compulsory arbitration. The talk of suspension of the Kingsbridge workers shows that the government is prepared to be very tough on the question of workers' discipline.

On the workers' side there is a feeling on the part of militants that the only thing that produces results is a strike. But a strike must be seriously planned and coordinated. The biggest obstacle to successful strike action is the fragmentation of the postal unions and the bureaucrats who run them. More than anything else, there has to be a single union representing all postal workers that can unify the struggle against the government for decent wages and conditions.

It is high time that Postal and other Federal employees win the same rights as other public employees, to say nothing of industrial workers. The threats by the Postal authorities against the workers ought to be answered by the New York labor movement. Van Arsdale and Gotbaum ought to say where they stand on the right to strike for postal employees. Any disciplinary action against the Kingsbridge workers should be answered by the building of a campaign for a one day general strike and demonstration by all New York postal workers with full support by the New York labor movement.

COMPLAINTS

But postal workers have many other legitimate complaints. A forty hour week is still in effect and they don't even get the shorter summer hours that are the rule among New York City employees. They may have to work Saturday and Sunday like any other days and feel that the pay differential for these days as for holidays like Christmas, 4th of July, etc. is woefully inadequate. Postal workers complain that even their medical benefits are paid for out of payroll deductions equal to 60% of the premiums with the government paying the balance.

WHAT SHANKER LEFT OUT OF DEAL

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK ---- In his letter to school teachers recommending acceptance of the new three year contract, UFT President Albert Shanker jubilantly declared "We have won". Certainly the money package raising the minimum pay scale over three years from the present \$6,750 to \$9,400 and providing a maximum with differentials of \$16,950 is one of the best gains for public employees in recent years. Likewise, there can be little to complain of in the area of welfare and retirement benefits. These gains are a tribute to the unity and power of the UFT despite the City's efforts to break the union last fall.

But the question still remains as to what sort of victory this contract can be when it allows the present decay of the working and teaching conditions in the schools to continue unabated.

While Mr. Shanker says "It is now clear that we have won", it is no less clear that the contract makes absolutely no advance toward the "quality education" that the union leadership has been talking about for a number of years.

CLASSES

Perhaps most important, there is no reduction at all in class size. What the teacher gains in money and fringe benefits he can more than lose in a situation where the large class size makes teaching conditions a constant source of irritation and frustration both to teachers and students. It is under such conditions that the frustrations of students and parents, especially in poor and ghetto schools, is directed by the ruling class against the teachers and the union. A real fight by the union for a substantial class size reduction in addition to wages would have been a big step

toward undercutting the hostile division between working class parents and the teachers.

The same is true with regard to other demands that the union turned its back on: more remedial teachers, teachers for non-English speaking children, more supplementary workers to take some of the load of clerical and other non-teaching work off the backs of teachers, more preparation periods instead of the fixed high teaching load, more text books and educational materials.

It is absolutely clear that the Board of Education and the politicians of both capitalist parties don't give a damn about improving conditions along these lines since it costs money which they are unwilling to get out of the hides of the banks, corporations and millionaires who control this city and country.

But the teachers themselves

could have led the fight in this contract for quality education and in doing so, rallied great trade union and worker support throughout the city including the ghetto. The Shanker leadership preferred instead to let Lindsay off the hook in an election year. They preferred instead a big money package at the expense of teaching and working conditions. They preferred a three year peace with the Board of Education and the Democratic and Republican politicians to a political fight against these politicians for quality education and improved conditions. The leadership preferred Shanker's phoney bluff and bluster about the power of the UFT's "legislative efforts" to an independent struggle against the Democrats and Republicans.

As a result, the rank and file of the UFT should ask, isn't their "victory" a little hollow?

1199 SELLS OUT IN CHARLESTON



ABERNATHY GETS OUT OF JAIL. HE AND LEON DAVIS BETRAYED STRUGGLE OF CHARLESTON WORKERS

BY MELODY FARROW

In the last issue of the Bulletin we made clear our position on the Charleston strike; union recognition must be granted. No wage increases or other partial concessions will take the place of this central demand.

The strike is now practically settled and this basic right has not been won. The entire leadership of 1199 and 1199B, including Abernathy, are completely responsible for the rotten settlement in this struggle. It is now plain that none of these leaders has any intention of fighting to the finish, for full recognition. All the militant speeches were really addressed over the heads of the workers to the politicians in order to frighten them into a compromise. The politicians and strike leaders had one thing in common; they

did not want the strike to get out of hand.

As we go to press, the State Medical College has rehired all the workers while the County Hospital still refuses to hire 32 workers. The agreement worked out provides for the following: a 30¢ per hour raise, bringing the wages to \$1.60 an hour, which became the state minimum on July 1 in any case. A credit union to enable the workers to collect dues and a "grievance procedure" meaning that you can complain to your boss in the presence of another worker.

No amount of double talk will turn these terms into union recognition. There will be no negotiations for a contract as is the usual procedure when a union is recognized. The entire settlement is a mockery of everything

these workers fought for for three months. The so-called "grievance procedure" is a complete farce. There are no duly elected union delegates. A worker may simply complain and see where it gets him. There is no union to back up these complaints and the hospital administration will be the final judge as always.

What might look like concessions by the bosses are nothing of the sort; they are only a paper facade of a union while in reality the bosses will continue to have full control over wages and working conditions.

This settlement leaves the workers vulnerable to future attack and they should expect it. It is only a matter of time before the bosses will attempt to take away even these crumbs. This is why there is no "victory" and why

Need Unity In S.F. Greyhound Strike

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO--A strike of Teamster and International Association of Machinists employees of the Greyhound Company is entering its fourth week here. The workers are involved in maintaining the buses at Greyhound garages. A fight to bring Greyhound mechanics up to the pay scales of other area mechanics and demands for improved medical benefits are at the heart of the struggle.

The significance of the Greyhound strike goes far beyond a simple question of wages however. Greyhound has been able to keep its buses running by importing scabs and using supervisory personnel for repairs. At the same time bus drivers and station employees have crossed mechanic's picket lines. Indeed bus drivers who honored the picket lines at the beginning of the strike were forced by their union bureaucracy to return to work.

The Amalgamated Transit Union is using a no strike clause in its contract as an excuse to keep the drivers on the job,

Up to the present time the S.F. Labor Council and the leadership of the Machinists have done nothing to mobilize a real struggle. They have been content to issue statements denouncing the drivers while at the same time hoping to cool the entire affair by bringing Mayor Alioto into the strike talks.

This sort of thing is becoming an ominous pattern in the Bay area. A few months ago striking oil workers were defeated by the refusal of IAM workers to support their picket lines and the lack of support from the Bay Area Labor Councils. Striking theater janitors were completely defeated by the use of scabs and total inaction of the Labor Council.

The labor movement must put an end to these reactionary developments. It is time to

deliver a smashing blow to the union busting tactics of the bosses.

Striking Greyhound workers must use their power to force a real fight. There must be a rank and file mobilization to force the IAM and Teamsters to spread the strike by refusing to touch any of the buses of the Western Greyhound line. At the same time they must demand concrete action from the Labor Council. The Amalgamated Transit Union and the station employees must be forced to respect the picket lines. All the power of the Labor movement must be brought to bear on this.

At the same time the Labor Council must give ironclad guarantees that any action taken against the drivers, legal or otherwise, for supporting the strike will indeed be answered by a general strike. Such a fighting program is the only one the labor hating bosses will understand.

no contract; no nothing

the Charleston struggle is not over.

VIOLATION

To make matters worse, workers at the Medical College have been told to return to work while their brothers at the County Hospital are still on strike, violating the most elementary principles of class unity. All the workers should stay out until all the workers have been rehired. Abernathy has returned to Atlanta with the unforgettable statement: "Although no agreement has been reached at County Hospital, I have decided, as a further display of good faith, to place my trust in the people of Charleston County and to call upon them to reach a satisfactory settlement at the County Hospital."

So after three months of bitter struggle, of National Guard, of hunger and jail the workers are supposed to place their "good faith" in their enemies. Abernathy is obviously more concerned with cooling things off than in winning the demands of the workers. He was so anxious to end the struggle that he couldn't even wait for all the workers to be rehired.

SOLIDARITY

Why was this settlement agreed to when 1199 had only utilized a small fraction of the labor support it could have won? Why was it settled on the eve of a solidarity strike by the Charleston longshoremen which could have broken the resistance of the bosses? Do the 1199 leaders dare tell the workers this was the best they could do when we were in the strongest position of any point during the strike?

The Bulletin warned repeatedly that only a mass mobilization of the working class would win this strike. This was not a strike that could have been limited to hospital workers. The huge Southern textile industry, in particular J.P. Stevens Co., with 18 textile mills of slave labor in the Carolinas, intervened in this strike to bloc any sort of settlement. This strike was being fought in the interests of all unorganized workers, who, while they could not strike themselves, needed the full backing of the organized labor movement.

While Leon Davis said that this strike involved the whole country he did nothing to demonstrate this in action. 1199 leaders claimed that workers were too conservative to be mobilized; now we know that it was these leaders who are the conservative ones!

We must not allow this settlement to hamper in any way future organizing efforts. The Charleston strike must not set the pattern for future struggles but rather serve as a lesson and a warning. Bosses all over the country will see in this settlement an opportunity to get around recognition. They will think that 1199

leaders cannot be relied on to fight to the bitter end--and they are right. We give Davis and Abernathy no confidence. There must be no more deals, no more pressuring the ruling class. Workers have only one weapon--the united strength of the entire working class, black and white--to win victory.

DEMAND UNITY IN 1199

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK -- The leadership of Local 1199 is maneuvering to avoid a serious discussion within the union on the crucial amendment to the constitution proposing the unification of the separate divisions of blue collar and white collar hospital workers.

This is the meaning of the union officials' proposal to have the Hospital Division of the union vote first on the constitutional amendment. Both the service and maintenance workers in the Hospital Division and the clerical and technical workers in the Guild must separately approve the amendment in order for it to carry. Thus if the Hospital Division rejects it it will never even come to the Guild for discussion and vote.

IMPETUS

What makes this even more significant is that the main impetus for unity is coming from white collar workers who are fighting the idea of a separate division to preserve the "status" of the more skilled workers in the hospitals. These are the workers who have been told they need their own division, and it is only proper for them to take the lead in saying they do not need it.

For years the 1199 bureaucrats have told the ranks of the Hospital Division that the Guild members didn't want unity, that most of them considered themselves better than the blue collar workers. But now the officials want to prevent the Guild membership from expressing its views. Clearly they are afraid of a vote, afraid that their big argument about the white collar workers insisting upon separation will be exposed. They want to cut off discussion and prevent militants in the Guild from even fighting for unity.

Petitions are being circulated at many hospitals urging that there be a vote in both the Guild and Hospital Divisions and that serious discussion take place within the union. Unity of the divisions is becoming more and more critical in preparation for the 1970 contract. In order to deal with the fantastic inflation as well as the budget cuts which are leading to job cuts, increased workload and grievances, the ranks of 1199 must meet and fight together, working out a program for victory which confronts the attacks they face and the entire hospital crisis.

ROCKY TRIP MEANS LATIN CRACKDOWN

BY FRED MUELLER

The last legs of Rockefeller's "fact-finding" missions to Latin America were completed some what more successfully than the first. There were no further cancellations following Venezuela, Chile, Peru, and the abbreviated visit to Bolivia. The fact that some of the most bloodthirsty police and military regimes were on the end of the itinerary may have had something to do with this.

The best example is Haiti, perhaps the only country where Rockefeller received any sort of welcome. Haiti is one of the most efficient and notorious police regimes in Latin America. In nearly every other country Rockefeller was met by protests, and the police and army left numbers of injured and killed as a result.

Why did Rockefeller go through with the trip? More than the issue of saving face was involved. There was a top level decision to proceed and it was made in order to demonstrate that U.S. imperialism was not going to be shaken by mass protest in Latin America. The trip became, in spite of all of Rockefeller's talk of new policies, a warning to both the corrupt reactionary regimes and the workers and peasants.

Rockefeller talks about new policies and "justified grievances" but it is very clear that the material basis for meeting any grievances or setting forth any new policies no longer exists. The complaints made by the bourgeois regimes, their pleas for more aid and the removals of restrictions on Latin American exports to the U.S., are just the faintest expression of the pent up grievances and bitterness among the millions of workers and peasants struggling for survival.

But the imperialist masters in Washington and New York are unable to do anything even if they want to. They face a crisis which requires more curbs on imports, not less, more curbs on foreign aid, not less. The Alliance for Progress never achieved even a showcase kind of success anywhere and now the earlier aid is slowing to less than a trickle.

IRON HAND

Thus while Rockefeller talks in very liberal fashion out of one side of his mouth, he shows the true policy of Washington when he visits and bolsters the vicious Ongania, Duvalier and Balageur regimes. The real policy is the iron hand, and where the native bourgeoisie cannot hold the line, Washington is ready to step in as it did in the Dominican Republic and suppress all struggles in as bloody a fashion as is necessary. This is the real face of imperialism in Latin America, there cannot be the slightest doubt on this score.

If there are to be any concessions they will not be to the masses, nor in the direction of really massive aid to the limping economies or their export drives. Washington is prepared in

specific instances to accept losses for certain U.S. interests in the longer range interest of the U.S. imperialism as a whole. There may be acceptance of deals with the regimes which are under unbearable pressure and where the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism is threatened.

This is the meaning of the statist measures in Peru and Chile, as the bourgeois regimes, whether so-called left or right, move in a Bonapartist direction. These governments are forced to take steps which are in some cases against the IMMEDIATE interests of the very weak national bourgeoisie and of some U.S. firms.



ONE OF MANY ANTI-ROCKEFELLER DEMONSTRATORS SHOWS HIS HATRED FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM

NATIONALIZATION

This is the meaning of Chile's nationalization of Anaconda's copper holdings, and Peru's seizure of Standard Oil's assets, followed by the recent nationalization of the land, including U.S.-owned sugar and cotton plantations. These moves must be understood as desperate acts of the bourgeois states in Latin America to make a start in the direction of industrialization and capitalist development, via statist measures. They have absolutely nothing to do with concessions to the workers and peasants and nothing to do with worker's power and socialism. The imperialists will seek to negotiate deals which provide for compensation. In this way they will minimize their losses and try to bolster their long range position. Thus the nationalizations are not concessions to the masses but a different form of attack on the working class.

These statist developments in Peru and Chile are particularly significant in relation to Cuba,

where the most radical measures were taken along this line nearly ten years ago, and where these moves were combined with a diplomatic bloc with the USSR and total rupture with Washington.

The Cuban Revolution became, in the eyes of the Socialist Worker's Party and all other revisionist groups, a worker's state which showed the way toward socialist revolution for all the colonial world. It was nothing of the sort and the Bonapartist Castro leadership was and is completely incapable of showing the way toward any revolutionary struggle against imperialism anywhere. Developments have more and more ex-

posed the bankruptcy of the assessment of Cuba made by the SWP and other middle class radicals. Now Cuba faces a crisis similar to other Bonapartist regimes and there is no qualitative difference in the class character of these states or the crisis the regimes face. The Castro regime is showing its fear of the working class more and more. It has clamped down even on the Black Panthers living in Cuba, so afraid it is of any independent tendency, no matter what its character, which could organize or encourage the growing discontent among the Cuban workers and peasants.

KEY

The independent intervention of the masses in struggle, and especially of the working class in the cities, is the key to revolutionary struggle in Latin America. The policies which are literally being forced on the rulers by the U.S. must lead to revolutionary explosions everywhere.

ceylonese trotskyists publish bulletin

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The Asian Marxist Bulletin has just been issued by the Revolutionary Communist League of Ceylon in order to carry forward the struggle of the International Committee of the Fourth International throughout Asia. Its central concern will be the rebuilding of the Trotskyist movement throughout the great Indian sub-continent including India, Pakistan as well as Ceylon.

The growth of revisionism within the Fourth International has taken a particularly terrible toll in India and Ceylon. In 1950 Pablo split the Bolshevik-Leninist Party into its Indian and Ceylonese sections sending the Indians into deep entry within the Socialist Party and the Ceylonese into the LSSP (Lanka Sama Sama Party). From then on in the Indians floundered in confusion and the Ceylonese adapted to Ceylonese political

affairs, neglecting any responsibility for the construction of the revolutionary party on the sub-continent.

OPPORTUNISM

The relationship between the LSSP and the Fourth International was from beginning to end an opportunist marriage of convenience in which "Trotskyism" was used as a left cover for a purely petty bourgeois nationalist orientation and the prestige of the large LSSP used as a cover for Pablo's own opportunism in Europe.

In 1964 this decade and a half of nationalism and opportunism bore fruit in the entry of the majority of the LSSP into the bourgeois nationalist Bandaranaike government. The Pabloite center was forced to expel 504 members of the LSSP including Colvin R. DeSilva and Leslie Goonewardena whom it had support-

ed up to the last minute. It declared the remnant LSSP (Revolutionary) the official Ceylonese section.

But this remnant refused to draw the real lessons of the capitulation of the LSSP and break with the Pabloite movement which had for so long opportunistically encouraged the LSSP leadership and turn to the international perspective of the International Committee. The result has been the disintegration of the LSSP (R). First Karalasingham and his Sakti group re-entered the coalitionist LSSP. Next the remaining LSSP(R) split into two groups: One led by Bala Tampoe who is now back working with the trade unions controlled by the pro-coalitionist parties and the other led by Edmund Samarakkody who carries out similar politics but more in the parliamentary sphere.

The Revolutionary Com-

munist League began as the Virodhaya Group in 1966, composed largely of youth who were disillusioned with the failure of the LSSP(R) to qualitatively break from the politics of the LSSP and Pabloism. It publishes papers in both Sinhalese and Tamil, conducts struggles in the trade unions, and has a growing youth organization as well as the party.

INTERNATIONAL

Most importantly it starts from an international perspective and from the construction of the Fourth International. It seeks to learn from the struggle against revisionism and understands that the development of the international crisis lies behind the new upsurge of working class struggle in India,

Pakistan, Ceylon and the rest of Asia requiring above all the construction of Trotskyist parties.

For the first time since the dissolution of the BLP in 1950 there has emerged in Asia an internationalist force. It could not come at a more critical time in the history of the Asian and world working class movement.

The Workers League extends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Revolutionary Communist League. The explosions in Pakistan and West Bengal on the one hand and the emergence of the conscious struggle for the Fourth International in Ceylon on the other represent equally important sides of the revolutionary process. The future of the Asian working class depends on these conscious forces struggling to become the leadership of the fighting masses of Asia,

rebellion in the army--its meaning



MANILA, 1945. AMERICAN GIS MEET TO PLAN MASS DEMONSTRATION TO GO HOME AFTER WWII

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7)

is intimately tied not only to the struggles of the working class in the U.S. but to the revolutionary struggles of the European workers.

It is the task of Marxists to see this struggle in class terms and not merely as a struggle for "democracy". It is essential to see the struggle in the army not merely as another arena of action but linked to the struggles of the working class throughout the world. It is only within such a context that victory and an end to this war and all wars can be posed.

depth

The rebellion is truly an indication of the profound depth of the crisis of capitalism. The existence of imperialism requires a body of armed men to defend its interests to perpetrate its control over the working class internationally. The fact that the ruling class can less and less rely on its traditional forces poses in itself the possibility for an end to its rule.

However, this can only be accomplished if the war and the work in the Army is viewed from the standpoint of the working class. This is why the Workers League opposes the present anti-war movement, its pacifist slogans and its endless demonstrations. The Workers League's position on the war is a Leninist position - that is a defeatist position. Such a position begins not as a reaction to the current war but with the understanding that war is an inherent instrument of imperialism and will not be ended without the defeat of the bourgeoisie internationally.

The central struggle following from this understanding is the struggle of the working class to wipe capitalism off of the face of the earth. This does not mean in the rosy future but now. This means a revolutionary struggle for power in every capitalist country. This is the content of a proletarian anti-war policy as expressed in Karl Liebknecht's famous slogan: "The chief enemy of the people is in its own country."

vietcong

This is why the Workers League has fought in the U.S. for the slogan "Victory for the Vietcong" posing the opposition to the war from a class basis, posing the unity of the struggles of the American workers with the Vietnamese workers and peasants. It is not just a matter of "peace now" but of the actual defeat of U.S. imperialism. This means that this slogan must be much more than an abstract cheering for the NLF but takes meaning only in the context of the struggles to prepare the defeat of the ruling class at home, in other words, "turning the imperialist war into a civil war."

What follows from this is not that we advocate taking up guns immediately and running into the streets for insurrection but preparing for revolutionary struggles by penetrating the working class, by taking the program of the revolutionary party, the struggle for power into the struggles of the class now. This requires above all the building of the revolutionary party and a Marxist cadre. As Trotsky put it: "A military defeat resulting from the growth of the revolutionary movement is infinitely more beneficial to the proletariat and to the whole people than military victory assured by 'civil peace.'"

peace

But it is precisely the "civil peace" which the revisionists who lead the present anti-war movement, the Communist Party and the Socialists Workers Party, seek to maintain. The anti-war movement is viewed separate from the class struggle, outside of "welcoming" the participation of a few anti-war labor bureaucrats. The workers are asked to join the middle class protest actions. But there is no talk of class struggle, of mobilizing the working class independently against the ruling class at home.

Rather than class struggle, class collaboration is posed. This is what lies behind the SWP's talk of "pressuring" the ruling class into ending the war. As Lenin put it such a perspective is "equivalent to preaching morality to the keeper of a brothel." This leads of course to the actual support of a section of the ruling class who take up the cries against the war on the basis of "morality." This approach by the revisionists is most clearly revealed in fact in the SWP's attitude and policy towards the GI movement. The SWP begins with the policy of "pressuring the brass" through the fight for the "democratic rights" of the soldiers. The rebellion within the Army is not seen as an expression of the class struggle but rather as another arena for a fight for "democratic rights."

Thus their perspective is not to link the struggles in the army with the rest of the working class against the capitalist system but again to unite everyone including the ruling class on the basis of the fight for "justice." This the SWP-YSA sees as "eminently revolutionary."

In the June issue of the Young Socialist the YSA calls for "a campaign to mobilize public opinion around a broad defense which WELCOMES THE SUPPORT OF EVERYONE, REGARDLESS OF HIS POLITICAL VIEWS, who opposes the violation of the rights of the defendants (our emphasis)." This of course includes the ruling class or sections thereof. They go on: "Such a defense is also a valuable revolutionary tactic (!) which can be used to exacerbate the existing divisions in the ruling class over the Vietnam

war by playing one part of it against the other." Revolutionary tactic indeed! Revolutionary strategy and tactics flow not from maneuvering WITH the bourgeoisie but from the independent mobilization of the working class AGAINST the bourgeoisie.

reformism

This of course is the implementation of the SWP's theory of fighting for democratic demands in a revolutionary way. This is no more than a metaphysical justification for opportunism and reformism. Enlisting the support of sections of the bourgeoisie follows directly from the reformist program of struggle, struggle only for democratic rights. The SWP's program for the entire anti-war movement is pacifist, conciliatorist, and reformist. Rather than class struggle they advocate "peace". This is the content of their slogan "Bring the troops home now." Such demands they pass off as transitional demands.

But such demands do not become transitional unless they are part of the struggles of the working class for political power, unless they pose the need to change the entire system.

Firstly, Trotsky pointed out the only revolutionary content of "peace" is when it "emanates from the working class quarters and trenches, intertwining itself with the slogan of fraternization of the soldiers of the hostile armies and uniting the oppressed against the oppressors." Secondly, the slogan of "peace" becomes merely pacifist unless it is an integral part of a program for state power.

Those in the SWP-YSA who attempt to cook up the Bolshevik slogan of "Peace, Bread, and Land" as a justification for their counter-revolutionary conception of transitional demands are only exposing themselves. As Trotsky made clear in "Whither France", "Peace" meant no political support to the capitalist government, defeat of capitalism and civil war. Bread meant the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the nationalization of the means of production. Land meant the division of land through the formation of a workers state. These slogans were not raised separately and not as a reaction to the war itself but as the program for the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia.

This is a far cry from the policies of the revisionist SWP-YSA. The anti-war movement it has built with the CP serves one purpose and one purpose only, to deceive the people with illusions that the ruling class is capable of granting peace even half way satisfactory to democracy and the working class.

victory

The Workers League is for the defense of the soldiers rights and for bringing the troops home but such demands are only meaningful within the context of a strategy for victory, in the context of a program of demands which raise the need for a workers government and the end to imperialism.

It is within this context that we view the struggles in the army. We see them as an expression of the class struggles and thus pose the need for the revolutionary party to make them a conscious struggle for political power. If the struggle within the Army is to be meaningful it must contain a Marxist understanding and have a Marxist program that relates to the struggle of the working class in general. This means a fight for the transitional program and the labor party. It means linking the struggles in the army not only to the struggles of American workers but the international working class.

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