

Bulletin

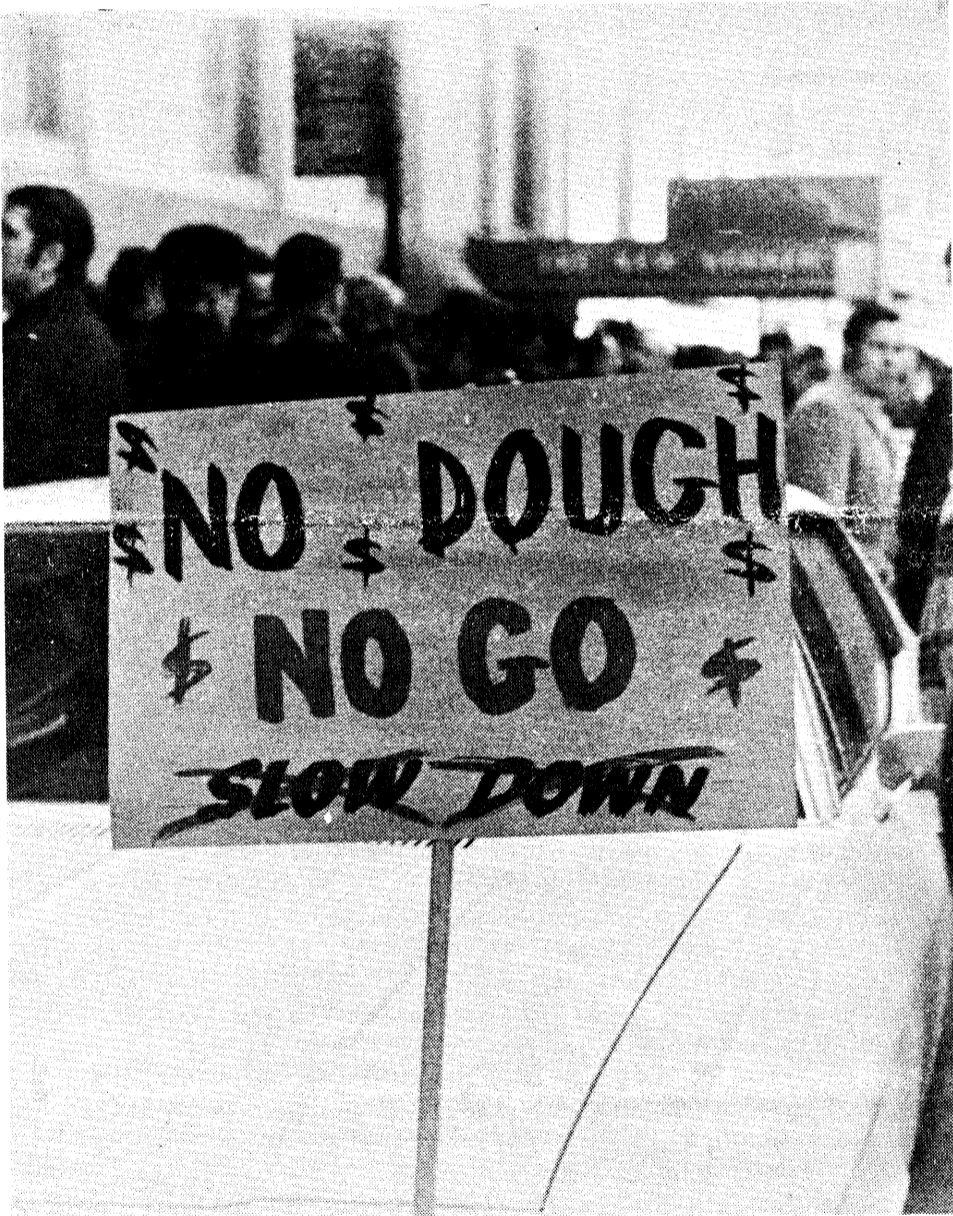
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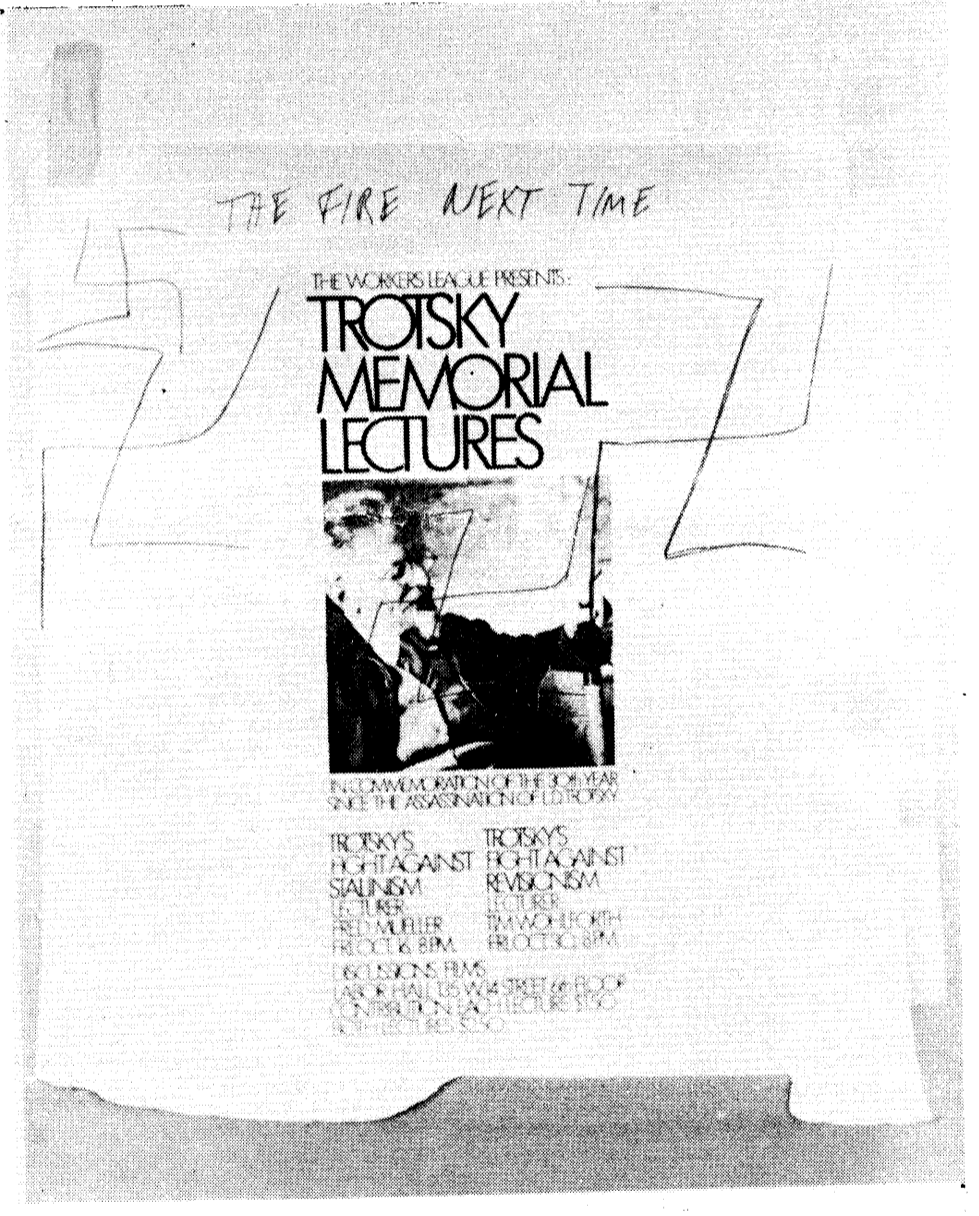
Ross Dowson And
Canadian Crisis
Workers League &
YSA Convention

NIXON'S ATTACK ON WORKERS

UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS AS BOSSES GET TAX CUT



City firemen go to meeting on slowdown with strike in mind. All city workers face Taylor law and Lindsay union busting.

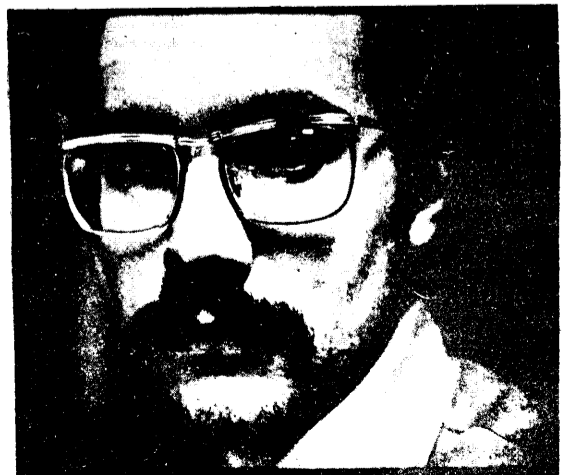


Fascists attacked Workers League Stonybrook office twice last week. United Defense will beat them back by any means necessary.

***NY Firemen End Action-
City Aims To Bust Unions***

**Drive Fascism
From Stony Brook**

DEMONSTRATE TO DEFEND JUAN FARINAS



What The Editors Think...



Delegates at YSA National Convention.

Allen Myers, in the current issue of *Intercontinental Press*, complains about the lack of objectivity of the Communist Party's *Daily World* which reported attendance at the YSA convention at 300. The current *Militant*, which mentions every group which distributed or sold material at the YSA Convention, including a one-member strong "Red Women's Detachment," made no mention of the Workers League or the *Bulletin*. Why the omission? Is the *Militant* as well seeking to "comfort its supporters" by denying the existence of a Trotskyist opposition at the convention?

Allen Myers does mention the Workers League in *Intercontinental Press*, a publication essentially aimed at a foreign and internal party audience. Myers describes our "Open Letter" to the conference as "rehashing the opposition of the Workers League to Black nationalism and proclaiming a new 'apathy' in the student movement that has so far escaped the attention of other observers." To state that this is a distortion of the political content of the letter is an understatement.

The letter in question essentially covers three points. The first, not mentioned at all by Myers although the very title of the letter concerns it, is the question of the turn in the international situation and the sharpening crisis in the United States. Just as the YSA Convention made no assessment whatsoever of the objective situation, as well as no reference at all to the developing class struggle in the United States, so Myers leaves this aspect of the Open Letter completely out.

Next we get to this question of "apathy". In actuality the letter states the exact opposite of what is attributed to it. Rather than asserting that the campuses are apathetic, the letter specifically denies this. It states: "What appears to some as 'apathy' on the campus is actually fear—a tendency on the part of radical students to get out of the way, to run for cover as the decks are cleared for a massive struggle between the two major classes in society."

The Letter goes on to assert that this fear is but one aspect of a contradictory development on the campuses: "Those sections of radical students most tied to the middle class move away in fear while new layers come forward, more closely tied to the working class, striving to take forward the struggle in a class way. The real meaning of the YSA documents is precisely that they adapt to the fears of the conservative layers of students and fight against the movement of the new layers of youth."

Thus it is clear that the letter was not discussing apathy at all, but fear. But Myers and the YSA seek to deny: (1) the crisis; (2) the movement of the working class; (3) the seriousness of the repression of the ruling class; and flowing from this: (4) its impact upon the middle classes. Reality thus removed, and along with it uncomfortable contradiction and class struggle, we are given a picture of ever onward and upward development of "radicalization." After all now that the homosexuals have joined in what more can we ask for?

Having denied even the existence of those factors in the objective situation which could, through the middle classes, bring ruling class pressure to bear upon the YSA, it is unnecessary for Myers to even deal with this question. Further

we are presented with a picture of the student movement simply moving forward from Kent State along the very same lines which proceeded Kent State—we suppose up to the point of getting shot up again so new demonstrations can be held to protest the deaths.

The third question dealt with extensively in the letter was the movement among black youth, particularly among the Panthers. It is true that the Workers League reasserted its opposition to Black nationalism, but we did so not as a "rehash" but by noting the development of the Panthers away from nationalism and toward dialectical materialism. Faced with a very radical development among a section of Black workers and youth, the Letter noted that the YSA and SWP had gone over to open attack on this section, lining up with the most conservative section, most reactionary section of Blacks—the cultural nationalists. This in turn we saw as the sharpest reflection of the impact of the middle classes upon the YSA and SWP.

In the very same issue of *Intercontinental Press* is a review by the very same Allen Myers of Trotsky's *Marxism in Our Time*, recently republished by Pathfinder Press. The main preoccupation of the reviewer, as well as the author of the Introduction, George Breitman, is to explain the "relevancy" of Trotsky to the "new" situation, the "new" reality, if we will, of the United States today.

"The replacement of the depression of the 1930s," Myers states, "by the warfare economy of the 1960s has destroyed none of the timeliness of this pamphlet." Then Myers grabs out of context a section in the pamphlet which discusses the rise of a "new middle class" of technicians, etc. The point Myers seeks to make is that Trotsky's concern with class struggle, crisis, depression, the decay of capitalism, is perhaps specifically inapplicable to American capitalism today, but in the course of all this Trotsky states some general truths which are applicable to what the YSA political resolution calls the period of "neo-capitalism."

George Breitman carries this point further when he states:

"In general, the Marxists in 1939 thought that the organized workers would take the lead in challenging capitalism and that they would draw into motion behind them other non-capitalist strata of the population. Trotsky shared this view (with certain exceptions, such as his belief in the vanguard role of the Black people; see Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination). The radicalization was postponed and its sequence has proved to be somewhat different. The first to rebel were the Afro-Americans; then the students, intellectuals, women. By the end of the 1960s redbaiting had lost its former effectiveness, prosperity and the highest levels of economic production in history no longer deterred millions of youth from rejecting capitalist values and norms, and war, as Vietnam dramatically demonstrated, served to generate rather than discourage radicalization. With dissent, discontent and alienation spreading so widely into every corner of society, the revival of labor militancy is latent in the whole situation and its coming is only a matter of time."

The question here is not a matter of sequence. To state that Trotsky and other Marxists excluded a situation in which the first manifestation of crisis would be struggle among students and related layers of the population is to join forces with those who accuse Marx of not understanding the development of a "New Middle Class" or seeing the impoverishment of the proletariat in an absolute sense.

What it was that the Marxists thought in 1939 is explained in crystal clear terms in the pamphlet. They thought that capitalism is, to use the title of the founding program of the Fourth International, in its "death agony." It will be this deep crisis of capitalism which brings forward the working class. As the working class comes forward then either the intermediate strata of society follow its lead or through a fascist movement are rallied by the big bourgeoisie to crush the working class.

What Breitman denies is this whole materialist assessment. He denies the economic crisis building beneath the surface and now asserting itself in everyday appearance and talks about "prosperity and the highest levels of economic production in history." He sees the working class developing militancy not in reaction to eco-

EDITORIAL

Defend Juan Farinas! Rally Against Repression!

On January 29th Juan Farinas returns to court to be sentenced for what could be 15 years imprisonment and \$30,000 fine. His crime was to distribute a leaflet at an induction center opposing the war in Vietnam.

Juan Farinas must not return to the court alone. He must be joined by hundreds, by thousands of workers and youth who, like Juan Farinas, oppose this war and who simply will not allow a brother, a fellow worker to go to jail for fighting back against this war.

We will not be repressed! We will rally in our mass at Foley Square in New York City and at federal buildings across this country in solidarity with Juan Farinas and to begin the fight back to appeal this conviction.

In 1968 Juan Farinas told the inductees: "The war is the bosses' war. It is not in the interests of the American working people or the workers and peasants in Vietnam. GIs have the right to organize in opposition to the war and to better the conditions in the Army."

Today millions understand this. Today the soldiers as a mass oppose this war and are seeking to resist it. Today the bosses have extended this war to Laos and Cambodia, have renewed bombing in the North.

They will not repress us and they cannot repress the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia!

During Juan Farinas' trial Juan stated: "There's a war going on outside, and in this courtroom as well. I take sides in this war, with the auto workers, the rail workers, the postal workers, and all those fighting the bosses."

Today Lindsay invokes the Taylor Law against the firemen. Today Secretary of Labor Hodgson blames inflation on the construction workers and the working class as a whole. Today unemployment soars to a nine year high. Today Nixon gives big business billions in a new tax giveaway.

They will not repress us. The American working class will move forward against these attacks. The attack on Farinas is part of the attack on the trade unions and all workers. This is why trade unionists in the hundreds, the thousands will be at Foley Square on the 29th and in front of federal buildings across the nation.

In his summation Defense Attorney Sanford Katz stated: "Juan Farinas is being tried because he opposes the war, because he is a revolutionary, a socialist, a communist."

Today Angela Davis is spirited off to California to face trial under Reagan because she is a member of the Communist Party because she defended the Soledad Brothers when they were attacked by the state. Now it is revealed that the government offered one defendant immunity if he would fabricate evidence to implicate Davis.

They will not repress us and they will not repress Angela. We will mobilize on the 29th the beginnings of a movement of all working people and minorities against the repression of the bosses' government.

January 29th will mark the beginning of a new stage of the struggle of the American working class. Basing ourselves on the movement forward of workers and youth here and internationally we will mobilize the power of the class against the efforts of the world's rulers to repress the vanguard, the militants, those who stand up for the class as a whole.

ALL OUT JANUARY 29TH!

WHEN JUAN RETURNS TO COURT WE WILL ALL BE THERE!

conomic attacks upon them but in reaction to the "radicalization" of other layers of the population. Why these layers are radicalized is not explained. Labor militancy, which has burst on to the scene with such acuteness in the GE, Postal, and Auto strikes and which strikes deep fear in the hearts of the capitalists, is seen as only "latent" and coming in "a matter of time."

In a period of mounting attack on militants, of a judicial and physical lynching campaign against the Panthers, the red-baiting and jailing of Angela Davis, the hounding of student militants across the nation—Breitman states that "red-baiting has lost its former effectiveness." It has been effective enough, we might remind Breitman, to get our comrade Juan Farinas convicted for simply distributing a leaflet against the war. It has been effective enough, we might also note, so that the SWP and YSA refuse to sponsor the Farinas Defense Committee and choose this time to attack the Panthers.

George Breitman speaks with the complacency of a man who thinks he has nothing

to fear from the ruling class because the ruling class has nothing to fear from him. While the latter is no doubt true no matter how "careful" he and his party may be they will be heading for a rude awakening unless the struggle against repression is taken up now and fought through to the end, deepening the consciousness of the working class in the process.

Allen Myers makes no mention of the conclusion of the Open Letter which proposes once again to the YSA and SWP that a discussion is in order over the questions of Pabloism which historically has led a section of the Trotskyist movement to abandon Marxism replacing it with pragmatic impressions and opportunism. Such a discussion has been rejected by the United Secretariat and the SWP which supports politically the United Secretariat. We can only assume it has been rejected for the very same reasons our views in our Open Letter are so distorted—fear of confronting the real tasks posed by the new stage in the development of the international capitalist crisis.

Nixon Attacks Workers, Gives Billions To Bosses

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

As unemployment rose to 6% adding thousands of workers to the already long jobless lines, Nixon announced that the government would give away billions of dollars in tax cuts to big business. As more and more workers are driven into poverty, Nixon pads the coffers of the big corporations to save the capitalist system.

Nixon's plans to drive back the working class were further clarified by Secretary of Labor Hodgson who opened a broadside attack on the construction workers. For Hodgson it is not enough that unemployment in the construction industry is now 11%, he is now demanding that wages be slashed. Blaming the workers for inflation and the crisis in the capitalist economy, Hodgson said:

"The wage increases in the construction industry have gone beyond what is good for the nation, for the economy, for the industry itself. Something must be done..."

"If there were a nice clean button this Administration could push, we would do it. But there is none."

In other words if there were a "nice clean button" they could push they would not hesitate to use it to destroy the trade union movement, to stop the fight of the American working class. Hodgson has further elaborated on this by saying that the Administration is preparing to push this year for anti-strike legislation and compulsory arbitration.

The unemployment rise, Nixon's gift to the employers, and Hodgson's warning expose exactly what is behind Nixon's pie-in-the-sky message during his recent

television interview. 1971, said Nixon, "will be a good year and 1972 will be a very good year." It will be a good year for the bosses who have received a big bonus but for the working class it will mean more unemployment and attacks on wages.

KEYNES

There can be no illusions about Nixon's statement of optimism and his contention that "I am now a Keynesian in economics." Keynes advocated large public spending to prevent the growth of unemployment and stimulate the expansion of private industry.

What Nixon is saying now when he calls himself a follower of Keynes, a man he has attacked in the past, is that his policies of dealing with the crisis have failed.

Far from expansion what is involved in the government's tax cut for corporations is a desperate attempt to hold things together. What is threatened is the collapse of the economy hit by a recession neither Nixon nor the economists can control.

This is the meaning of the fall of Penn Central, the collapse of Goodbody and other large Wall Street firms, and the near bank-

ruptcy of Chrysler. This is why Nixon did not wait for Congressional approval for the payola.

As with the loan to the bankrupt Lockheed, Nixon hopes to prop up the corporations and avoid a wholesale run of bankruptcies, while the capitalists prepare to subdue and destroy the trade unions.

While the government gives these bosses a cushion and in some cases a fast profit, the working class enters a period of permanent unemployment. While the Nixon Administration said that the jobless rate in November was high because of the auto strike, there was no let up as it rose again in December to the highest in nine years. This is the reality which lies behind all of Nixon's promises about restoring full employment and "expanding the economy." The employers and Nixon are using unemployment as a battering ram against the unions, to weaken them, take away all their rights and all their gains.

BATTLE

What Nixon's policies mean is an intensification of the battle with Europe and the deepening of the trade war, as American capitalism seeks to shift the burden on to Europe. This can only mean the intensification of the international monetary crisis and a threat to the stability of the dollar. Above all it means a deepening of the class struggle abroad.

There is no way out for capitalism outside of the complete subjugation of the working class. Today Nixon and the capitalist class are caught in an impossible

bind between the inevitability of the crisis of profits and the refusal of the American working class to pay for the crisis.

What is at the center of Nixon's policies for this year and next are the preparations, as British Prime Minister Heath put it at the U.N., for civil war internationally and at home. The Nixon Administration has sought to strengthen its hand, building up its Bonapartist regime and making it clear to Congress that if it doesn't follow along, it will simply be bypassed.

WITCHHUNT

At the same time the government from Nixon on down has opened up a vicious witchhunt against militants, students, workers and minority peoples. These attacks are part and parcel of the rulers' strategy to drive the working class into poverty, to destroy the trade unions.

Nixon learned a lesson at San Jose last fall—the American working class is going to fight and fight to the finish.

The American labor movement must prepare for the confrontation. It must go into battle with Nixon, with Congress, and the employers armed with its own weapon. It is in San Jose, in the GE, postal, and auto strikes that the basis has been prepared for the building of the labor party. This is the only way to defeat Nixon and the employers. Nixon's plans for 1971 and 1972 must be stopped with the fight for the wage offensive, full employment with the demand for the thirty hour week, the end to repression and against all anti-labor legislation.

Striking NY Telephone Workers Defy Injunction

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK, Jan 12—A militant action complete with mass picketing of all New York Telephone Company installations began here yesterday. Local 1101 of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) representing all the company's skilled craftsmen called a walkout.

Despite a court injunction issued today and the imposition of large fines against the CWA, striking telephone craftsmen were united in their defiance of this strikebreaking attempt. The workers manning the picket lines felt that fines and jailings would solidify the ranks against the company.

So far, the Local 1101 leadership has stated that it is defying the injunction. The tactics of the court are to try and fine the union into bankruptcy even if they stop short of jailings. The only way this injunction can be stopped is by spreading the strike to every New York Telephone installation, shutting down telephone service completely and demanding that the New York City labor movement mobilize to stop this injunction and the strikebreaking action of the courts.

The issue over which the strike was called, a chief shop steward told the Bulletin, was that "They're bringing in people from out of state to do our work and they're working them as much as 16 or 18 hours a week overtime without giving our people any overtime and they're giving them all kinds of preferential treatment over the people who actually work here. We want that to stop."

These workers are being brought in at great expense to prepare for a likely strike in July when the contract expires by trying to straighten out the chaotic situation of telephone operations in New York City. The company fears that a strike in New York under present conditions would rapidly shut down the entire city and the rest of the country.

By bringing in the men from out of town the company is also trying to blame the craftsmen in New York for the sad state of affairs of New York telephone service. The workers replied to the company's complaint that there are not enough skilled personnel in New York. They pointed out that because of the company's "economy program," they have to use equipment from 1930 and 1940, and the so-called "training program" is a farce. As one worker put it:

"A guy walks in for a job at 140 West Street and they say, okay, here's a screwdriver, here's a pair of pliers—go out and try. We'll train you in another year."

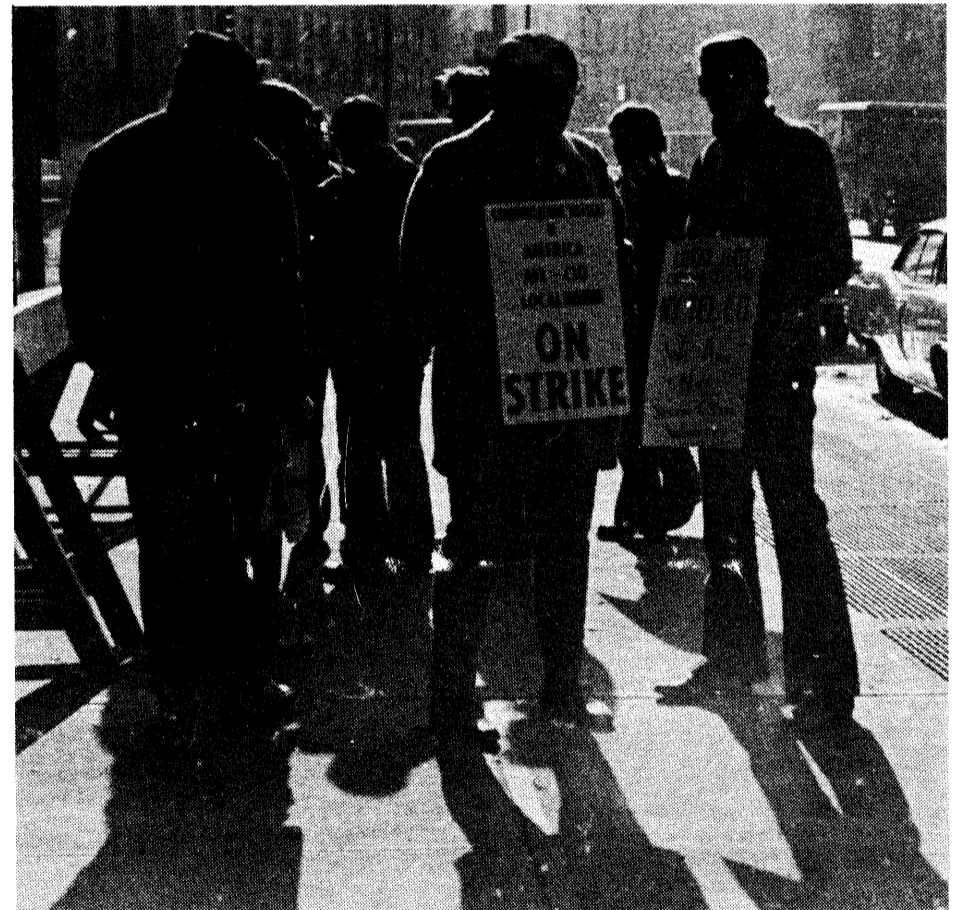
It was very clear that behind the walkout are the preparations by both management and the workers for the new contract which comes up in July. The workers are smarting from the fact that the 1967 contract actually contributed to a worsening of their standard of living and conditions.

CONTRACT

Wages are a particularly sore point. The men pointed out that for a man starting on the scale of \$118 per week, by the time he travels into New York, eats lunch, travels home, he just about makes enough money to make it back to work the next day. One worker put it quite simply: "The total economy can afford about \$30,000 a year for every guy that's working and has five dependents and these guys are lucky to break ten. The guys upstairs are making more than a thousand a day, plus the stock options and so forth. These workers should get \$100 a day and have about a three day week, and then they probably couldn't afford to live in Manhattan because the rent is \$600 a month for three bedrooms."

"Right now, without overtime, its nothing. You really have to work a 90 hour week to get by" said another worker.

The pension system, one of the men explained, is a complete fake: "The pension is for 1% for each year you work. So in order to retire at half pay, you have to work 50 years. But unfortunately you have to retire at 65, so you had to start when you were 15!" The 1967 contract, he explained, was without doubt a "company contract." As far as the July 1970 contract was concerned, the men made it clear that they expected a strike and that they intended to fight to reverse the disaster of the 1967 contract.



Telephone workers (CWA) picket outside N.Y. Telephone offices in strike against company's productivity demands and low wages.

Brooklyn Dockworkers Face Huge Loss Of Jobs

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

NEW YORK—The leadership of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1814 in Brooklyn is running scared in the face of rising rank and file militancy on the Brooklyn docks.

Fearing that he might not be able to control the January membership meeting, Local 1814 President Anthony Scotto managed to reduce the quorum requirement from 300 to 150 and was able to pack the meeting with his friends and paid off flunkies.

The biggest issue among the longshoremen is still jobs. The plans of the shipping bosses to eliminate another 10,000 workers from the New York waterfront have now taken a leap forward. The announcement has been made that the consortium of five Japanese firms formed to operate the most modern container fleet available will move from their present berths in Brooklyn to the container facilities in Port Newark.

Scotto's "proposal" at the membership

meeting for dealing with the move of the Japanese firms was that he head a delegation from the local which would go to Japan to plead and negotiate with the Japanese shipping authorities to stay in Brooklyn. Scotto, like Gleason, always runs away from a fight with the bosses, coming up with a gimmick that can fool one.

URGENT

Longshoremen cannot avoid the urgent fight for jobs by relying either on more container bonus money or the present pensions, important as these are. The ranks of the ILA have to organize now around a program of the shorter work week (30 for 40) at no loss in pay; guaranteed annual income for all dockworkers based on \$1.65 per hour boost and the cost of living escalator.

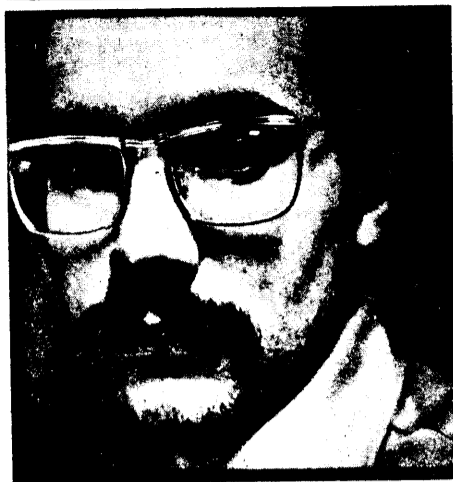
The recent actions of the shipping bosses, their refusal to pay full contributions to the guaranteed income and pension funds, was a declaration of war

against the ILA in preparation for the next contract in which they would like to weaken the present guaranteed income provision.

OUTLAW

While Scotto retreats from preparation for a serious fight, the bosses now have the newly proposed Congressional bill through which Nixon hopes to outlaw the right to strike and impose binding arbitration on the entire transportation industry. The ILA as well as the rail and airline unions are the central targets of this attack which is really aimed at throwing back the entire working class and trade union movement.

The ILA ranks must now realize that more than ever before, their fight for wages and job security is not only with the shipping bosses but with the entire state apparatus, the Nixon administration, the Congress, the Courts, and the Democratic and Republican parties which represent only the interests of the bosses.



BY BRIDGET ELLIOTT

The mass demonstration planned for January 29th, the day of Juan Farinas' sentencing, is gaining rapid momentum, nationally and internationally. Juan Farinas is the young trade unionist who was charged on three frameup counts of violating the Selective Service Act and who faces a possible 5 years in jail and \$10,000 fine on each count.

The Juan Farinas Defense Committee and its supporters are building a massive

Build Mass Demonstration For Farinas

national offensive in support of Juan Farinas to beat back the political attack of the U.S. government on workers, youth, minority groups and all those who oppose its wars, its system or policies.

The demonstration will be held from 9 am to 1 pm on Friday, January 29th in front of the U.S. Courthouse at Foley Square (near Chambers Street) in Manhattan. There will also be a rally at Foley Square Park. The Committee is calling on all those who oppose the government's political attacks to join the demonstration and in this concrete way demand that these vicious attacks be stopped.

Demonstrations will also be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Minneapolis and internationally.

HOSPITAL

At a meeting of over 100 delegates of Hospital Workers Local 1199 to defend Angela Davis, a delegate jumped up from the floor and angrily insisted that the case of Juan Farinas had to be discussed and supported by the union members and the leadership along with Angela Davis since it is the same fight. Helena Farinas, wife of the defendant and a hospital worker, and a group of delegates had a meeting with the union leadership, after the delegates meeting, who promised their support. The union has already given the Defense Committee \$100.



Mass campaign is being built to defend Juan Farinas as well as 3 Stony Brook Workers League members facing trial.

The campaign being waged in SSEU-371 continues to grow. Funds for the defense are collected daily; Stanley Hill, the President or another official will be speaking at the rally, and a large contingent of SSEU workers will be coming down to the demonstration.

Among the unions whose members are working with the Defense Committee are taxi, longshore, Newark Teachers, Local 1707 Social Service, UAW, utility workers, as well as Local 1199 and SSEU-371. Contingents are being built from trade unions all over the New York City area to join in solidarity at the demonstration.

Supporters of the Defense Committee are mobilizing daily at high schools and colleges all over the city, in Long Island and Connecticut, to gain support for the campaign and to build the demonstration. Organizational meetings are being held with students to plan the work and to schedule meetings where Juan Farinas and members of the Committee can speak. There have been successful meetings at New York Community College, at Columbia and at Stony Brook. Workers and students from the campuses have joined together in a fight to build the defense and bring it to their fellow workers and students.

STONY BROOK

At the Stony Brook meeting there were

representatives from the Puerto Rican Student Organization, Labor Committee, SMC, SDS, a member of the Farm Workers Union and a Stony Brook cafeteria worker who is a member of 1199. The member of 1199 said that during the strike of 1199 workers on the campus there was unity between the students and the strikers, and so there should be unity between workers and students to defend Juan Farinas.

Plans are proceeding for a mass support meeting in Newark to build for the demonstration. In Connecticut work has begun not only for support for the demonstration, but for a mass meeting in New Haven in support of all victims of repression.

SPONSORS

New sponsors of the Defense Committee include: Daniel Morrison, 1199 Guild Delegate, Einstein Colleges of Medicine; Hal Alpert, President SEIU, Local 531, Connecticut; Jim Lukacsy, IUE, Local 203, GE, Bridgeport; Nick Jones, organizer, UFWOC, Minneapolis; Anthropology Club, New School; Puerto Rican Student Organization, Stony Brook.

We must ask every worker and militant to contact the Juan Farinas Defense Committee at once to help us build the most powerful demonstration on the 29th! Contact us at: Sixth Floor, 135 West 14th St., N.Y.C. 10011 or phone: 924-0852.

'Keep Left' Defends World-wide Victims Of Class Repression



Aileen Jennings, editor, gives report at Keep Left Annual General meeting. AGM called for freeing all political prisoners.

The following resolution was passed unanimously on January 3rd at the 20th Annual General Meeting of Keep Left, paper of the Young Socialists, Trotskyist youth movement in England.

"This Annual General Meeting of Keep Left readers, conscious of the reactionary offensive of imperialism to deprive the working class and colonial peoples of their rights and liberties, declares its unconditional defense of all victims of capitalist injustice and oppression.

We salute in particular the heroic struggle of Peruvian revolutionary Hugo Blanco, whose release from jail was made possible only by the worldwide struggle of the working class, in which the Young Socialists and Keep Left played a significant role.

We salute the 16 Burgos prisoners whose heroic conduct and selfless devotion to the cause of the Basque people in their struggle for liberation from the fascist tyranny of Franco is an enduring inspiration to youth everywhere. We demand their immediate release.

We denounce unequivocally the frameup of Comrade Juan Farinas of the American Workers League by the US Federal Court.

Farinas' only crime was his uncompromising opposition to the Vietnam war, for which he now faces the prospect of 15 years' jail.

The struggle for the release of Comrade Farinas is an inseparable part of our struggle for the liberation of the Vietnamese people and the defense of the democratic rights of the US working class.

The AGM pledges every effort to secure the release of Angela Davis, Bobby

Seale and all other Black Panther militants held in the prisons of the racist Nixon Administration.

We demand the release of Alain Geismar and the 'Proletarian Left' members jailed by the Pompidou government and the restoration of all legal rights of the socialist movement in France.

We demand the release of all class-war prisoners in the prisons of imperialism.

Bulletin

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Angela Davis Defense Rally Relies On Alliance With Liberals

SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Jan 7—Today the Committee to Defend Angela Davis held a rally at Brooklyn College. This meeting was attended by over a thousand people willing to fight against this repression, but all that was offered was a complete retreat from this task.

Despite their formal opposition to adventurists and nationalists, the Committee gave ample time for these forces to be heard. Leslie Campbell from IS 201, who helped Lindsay break the last teachers' strike, was present. He spoke harshly against the "white power structure," and this naturally led to his anti-white and anti-semitic remarks. His support for Angela Davis was made on a purely racial basis. It is to be noted that this man is working with the SWP in building a black political party in Brooklyn.

MUSLIMS

Louis Farakhan, minister of the Muslims, spoke at length on the defense. This was seen as consistent with his defense of the swindling Adam Clayton Powell, who "was trying to help his people." The Panthers were attacked in a thinly disguised abuse of "fools who call themselves revolutionaries." The high point in his talk was an analogy of violinist to violins, pianists to pianos, and finally when he asked the audience, what one calls a man who devotes his life to his race, he was enthusiastically answered, "a racist."

In addition, a minister gave his support for Angela on a rotten moralistic basis. He also announced a planned institute at the Vatican to study Marxism. All this was welcomed.

Throughout the rally there was a consistent attempt to isolate the defense of Angela Davis from similar acts, as the attack on Juan Farinas and Ruchell Magee. Ruchell Magee is the only survivor from the Soledad

incident and he heroically refused to testify against Angela, even when offered immunity. His name was only mentioned once or twice. Juan Farinas faces fifteen years in jail for opposing the war, so a previous arrangement was made with the Committee to allow him to speak, and though he sat at the speakers platform through the rally, he was prevented from speaking!

CP

One can only ask in the face of all this, what is the Communist Party which has played a major role in this committee afraid of, and who are they courting? The answer is they fear the independent mobilization of the working class. To betray this growing upsurge they must open their arms to the church, racists, and the liberal bourgeoisie.

Jose Stevens of the Communist Party even called for work with the Democrats and Republicans. Coupled with this was an unembarrassed apology for not preventing Angela Davis from leaving New York! No wonder. They only offered piddling protests despite the growing support for her case. The only concrete step called for was a massive letter writing campaign—letters to Angela in support, and letters to Reagan asking for bail to be set.

The members of the CP and Committee to Defend Angela Davis must fight these policies! The urgency of this case demands mass mobilization, based on the workers and youth, independent of the church, the liberals, and the nationalists. Nothing else will save Angela Davis' or Ruchell Magee's lives.

THE 51st ANNIVERSARY of Rosa Luxemburg's murder by counter-revolutionary troops is a fitting occasion to hit back at the perverters and slanderers of her heritage.

Her main contribution before the outbreak of the 1914-1918 imperialist war had undoubtedly been the struggle against opportunism within the German Social-Democratic Party.

After emerging in 1890 from 12 years of repression under Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, the German Party rapidly degenerated into a reformist organization thinly covered by a veneer of largely verbal adherence to Marxism.

The leading spokesman for the right wing, Bernstein (who while in exile had spent much of his time with English Fabians) insisted that the Party's theory be adjusted to what had long been its reformist practice.

This he did by attacking the fundamental principles of Marxism, his first target being the revolutionary role of the working class.

Significantly, the first reaction to Bernstein's attack on Marxism came from Plekhanov, the founder of the Russian Marxist movement.

While Kautsky hesitated to reply, Plekhanov called for a ruthless exposure of his revisionism.

And equally significantly, Rosa Luxemburg was the first member of the German Party to hit back at Bernstein, with her famous pamphlet 'Social Reform or Revolution' (1899).

Refutation

Unlike Kautsky, who was quickly drawn into the fight by Luxemburg's broadside, her refutation of Bernstein was not just a restatement of orthodoxy, but a genuine attempt to develop Marxist theory and relate it to the problems facing the working class:

'No coarser insult, no baser aspersion, can be thrown against the workers than the remark: "Theoretic controversies are only for academicians" . . . The entire strength of the modern labour movement rests on theoretic knowledge.'

Luxemburg showed that in attacking Marxist theory, Bernstein was also attacking the working class and its struggle for power:

' . . . doubly important is this knowledge for the workers in the present case, because it is precisely they and their influence in the movement that are in the balance here. It is their skin that is being brought to market.'

She was 100 per cent correct in pointing out that Bernstein's revisionism was nothing but the theoretical expression of the pressure of hostile classes on the workers' movement. It was not a question of a 'critical' review of the work done by Marx and Engels:

'The question of reform and revolution, of the final goal of the movement, is basically, in another form, but the question of the petty-bourgeois or proletarian character of the labour movement.'

This fighting pamphlet established Rosa's reputation as the terror of the reformists within the German Party. Naturally, it won her more enemies than friends in its leadership.

The trade union leaders were her most bitter opponents. These hardened bureaucrats were only too glad to join hands with the middle-class, anti-Marxist intellectuals in

51 years since the murder of Rosa Luxemburg



ROSA LUXEMBURG

By Robert Black

the Party to form a common front against the left.

Kautsky, while attacking the open revisionists like Bernstein, always tried to balance, and in reality, reconcile, the two conflicting wings of the Party, a tactic that led to a gradual worsening of political relations between himself and Luxemburg.

Inspired by the unprecedented upheavals of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, and most of all by the scope and power of the mighty strike movement that swept through Russia after the massacre of St. Petersburg workers on January 9, Luxemburg set out to integrate this new development in the international class struggle—the mass political strike—into the body of Marxist theory, strategy and tactics.

It was this constant struggle to renew and enrich Marxist theory with the living experience of the working class that separated her from Kautsky, who contented himself more and more with a re-statement of general principles each time Marxism was attacked by revisionists.

The result of Luxemburg's study of the first Russian Revolution was her pamphlet *The Mass Strike, the Political*

Party and the Trade Unions' (1906). (Young Socialist Publication, Ceylon).

What she was anxious to establish in this work was the objective nature of the class struggle; that strikes, as one of the higher forms of the class struggle, develop according to social laws and are produced by material forces and conditions which are, in turn, the creation of objective historical processes.

This elemental force, she insisted, could not be conjured up or switched off at the whim of a party or trade union leader:

'An artificially arranged demonstration of the urban proletariat, taking place once, a mere mass strike action arising out of discipline, and directed by the conductor's baton of a party executive, could . . . leave the broad masses of the people cold and indifferent.' (p. 51.)

The thrust of her whole case for the tactic of the mass strike is directed against the paralyzing grip of the trade union bureaucracy in Germany, which feared strikes that it had not called like the plague.

Inertia

In her struggle against the union bureaucracy, Luxemburg

came to see the working class and its independent mass action as the force which could break through the inertia imposed on it by trade union routine.

Unlike many of her fellow Party members, Rosa did not look down her nose at the struggles of the 'uncultured' Russian workers.

For her, the experience of the 1905 Revolution, with its mass strikes and Soviets, or workers' councils, was very much a German question too:

'Thus the most important general demand of the Russian strikes since January 9—the eight-hour day—is certainly not an unattainable platform for the German proletariat, but rather in most cases, a beautiful, remote ideal.'

' . . . Yet, on closer inspection, all the economic objects of struggle of the Russian proletariat are also for the German proletariat very real, and touch a very sore spot in the life of the workers.' (p. 52.)

While it is true to say that her fully-justified confidence in the working-class initiative led her on occasions to underestimate the decisive impact that leadership can have in crucial situations, it is certainly a slander to accuse her, as the Stalinists were to do

later, of being an advocate of spontaneous working-class action as a substitute for leadership.

In this pamphlet, written many years before she began to move towards Bolshevism under the impact of the 1917 Revolution, the following point is made:

'The Social Democrats are the most enlightened, most class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat. They cannot and dare not wait, in a fatalist fashion, with folded arms, for the advent of the "revolutionary situation" . . . On the contrary, they must now, as always, hasten the development of things and endeavour to accelerate events . . . ' (p. 57.)

By stressing both the revolutionary potency of the mass strike movement and the responsibilities of leadership which it placed on the Party, Luxemburg sharpened the conflict between herself and the majority of the Party leadership.

It was the outbreak of bitter class struggle in Germany that brought her latent opposition to the Kautsky-led centre of the Party into the open.

1908 saw a sharp increase in the Social-Democratic vote, and that same year workers ignored the advice of their leaders by demonstrating on the streets, despite a police ban.

Unprecedented

The immediate issue was electoral reform, but social questions also drove the workers into this unprecedented action of defying both the police and their own leaders.

It was in this sense that Luxemburg praised the spontaneous movement of the working class, in that it proved the masses were in advance of, and possessed more courage than many of their self-styled leaders.

Lenin in his famous 'What is to be done?' of 1902 warned of the possibility that leadership, unless it fought to merit such a title, ran the risk of being by-passed by the spontaneous upsurge inside the working class.

That is just what happened in Germany after 1908.

After two more years of government refusal to change Germany's class-biased electoral laws, the workers took to the streets again, this time to be met with police terror.

Almost for the first time in living memory, workers' blood flowed in the streets of Berlin and other large industrial cities.

The Party and the trade unions were on trial.

This is the background to Kautsky's break with Luxemburg, which preceded by four years Lenin's split from the leading theoretician of German Social Democracy.

The miners struck, as 200,000 building workers were locked out. The whole of the class geared itself to a head-on clash with the state.

Only one factor was lacking—**decisive leadership**. It was this that Rosa Luxemburg fought inside the Party to provide.

The situation was ripe in her opinion for the mass strike, which would co-ordinate the sectional and localized struggles that had broken out all over Germany and were in danger of defeat through isolation.

In this context, her call for action gives the lie to those who have accused her of (or praised her for) passivity and the denigration of leadership:

'In a situation like the present, long days, long pauses between the individual phases of the campaign, and hesitation in the choice of weapons and tactics almost represent a lost battle.'

The following two articles appeared one year ago in the Newsletter, predecessor to the Workers Press, Daily Organ of the Socialist Labour League, British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International. We republish them at this time to mark the 52nd Anniversary of the deaths of these two great revolutionaries. It is important that the year since these articles were originally written has seen an intensification of the class struggle in Europe and America. Now important class actions are taking place in Germany as well, in the country where Liebknecht and Luxemburg died serving the German working class in the midst of revolution. Now the stage is set for a new revolution which will sweep away capitalism in the West as well as Stalinism in the East.

Not only the right wing, but the Kautsky centre feared battle. When Rosa submitted an article to the Party press calling for strike action to secure a republic, it was returned to her with the remark that Party instructions forbade any propaganda in favour of a political strike.

She then sent it to 'Neue Zeit', edited by Karl Kautsky. He also turned it down, adding the hypocritical comment that it was still 'very fine and important'.

So 'fine and important' that he saw fit to censor it!

This marked the end of his alliance with Rosa against the right wing, an alliance which at the best of times had been subject to many misgivings by both parties.

Now, under the added strain of mass class struggles, the question was posed point blank: either with the bureaucracy against the working class and the principles of revolutionary Marxism, or with the working class and Marxism against the right wing.

Kautsky's support for German imperialism in 1914 flowed from this turn away from the tasks of leadership in 1910, when the whole working class was, on the offensive.

By the same token, Luxemburg's attempt to give both theoretical and practical guidance to the Party and the working class through her study of international developments in the class struggle, and her refusal to be browbeaten by the leadership into sanctioning their evasion of responsibilities in 1910, prepared her for the stand she took against the war in 1914.

Kautsky's fury knew no bounds. Luxemburg's insistence on revolutionary action drove him to hurl the most outrageous insults at her; accusing her of 'revolutionary gymnastics', 'Putschism', 'backstair intrigues' and 'anarcho-syndicalism'.

Lenin recognized after the outbreak of the war that he had been wrong in seeing Kautsky as the custodian of Marxism within the German Party in the years preceding 1914.

Writing to Shlyapnikov on October 27, 1914, Lenin paid tribute to Rosa's fight against his opportunism:

'I hate and despite Kautsky now more than anyone, with his vile, dirty, self-satisfied hypocrisy . . .

. . . Rosa Luxemburg was right when she wrote, long ago, that Kautsky has the "subservience of a theoretician"—servility, in plainer language, servility to the majority of the Party, to opportunism.' (Collected Works, Vol. 35, p. 167.)

As early as 1910, Kautsky had used his authority to range the Party on the side of German imperialism against the working class.

His open defection in 1914 both shocked and disgusted Lenin, but for Luxemburg it was the final stage in a whole decade of political degeneration.

In his campaign to build up an idealist cult of Lenin, Stalin directed a vicious attack on Luxemburg on the very issue on which she had been correct as against Lenin.

In his letter to the party journal 'Proletarian Revolution' (1931) Stalin explicitly forbade any discussion on the pre-1914 relations between Kautsky, Luxemburg and Lenin, on the grounds that it would be an attempt to smuggle into the Stalinized Bolshevik Party 'Trotskyist contraband'.

Linking Trotsky and Luxemburg as alleged enemies of Bolshevism was only part of the campaign launched by Stalin.

He also 'charged' Rosa with pioneering the theory that the bourgeois revolution could

only triumph in Russia with the establishment of workers' power and the extension of the revolution into central and western Europe—the theory of 'Permanent Revolution' (which was, of course, confirmed by the two revolutions of 1917 and the subsequent rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy).

Support for this theory was equated in Stalinist Russia with counter-revolution, so the magnitude of the charge placed Luxemburg—posthumously—in the camp of the enemy:

'What was the attitude of the German left Social Democrats, of Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, to this controversy?

'They invented a Utopian and semi-Menshevik scheme of permanent revolution (a distorted representation of the Marxist scheme of revolution) which was permeated through and through with the Menshevik repudiation of the policy of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry . . . (Stalin, Works, Vol. 13, p. 93.)

In a later attack on Luxemburg on the same question of Permanent Revolution, Stalin again insisted that Trotsky only 'advanced', but did not 'invent' the theory, while Luxemburg

group in Britain come out with basically the same position, only 'supporting' Luxemburg against Lenin.

The tactic of counterposing one against the other remains common to both.

The middle-class origin and theory of the IS group has been exhaustively analysed in a recent series of articles by Cliff Slaughter.

What we will bring out here is how their anti-communist conceptions of leadership and the unity of theory and practice work out when 'state capitalists' such as Tony Cliff and Jim Higgins attempt to build up Luxemburg as an alternative to Leninism in the countries of the more advanced west.

Cliff's short biography of Rosa Luxemburg was written in 1959 and contains several examples of this tactic:

'Rosa's chief criticism of the Bolsheviks was that they were responsible for restricting and undermining workers' democracy. And on this issue the whole tragic history of Russia proves that she was, prophetically, absolutely correct.'

In this way, Luxemburg's writings are used to boost the 'state capitalist' theory that

burg.

In fact, it is precisely the 'folded arms' abdication of leadership attacked by her in 'The Mass Strike'.

'In the British labour movement there is no shortage of leadership and alternative leaderships all in search of a movement to lead. The problem is not to assume leadership of the working class (although I will offer a fine shade of odds against any of the current pretenders), but to put forward those ideas with analytical justification that will bring the existing movement into collision with the fabric of capitalist society [not, it would seem, the capitalist class and its agents in the working-class movement]. **In this process the leadership and the revolutionary party will be formed.**' (Emphasis added.)

This idealist theory of leadership and party being formed after and separate from the struggle for theory strikes at the heart of the unity of theory and practice so passionately defended and developed by Luxemburg all her political life.

Higgins adopts the classical Kautskyite stance on the question of the party, seeing it as something that can take care of itself provided a correct

two decades of this century.

The evasion of a struggle for leadership has nothing to do with the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg.

Trotsky, defending Luxemburg from the slanders of Stalin, put her work in correct perspective when he said:

'If one takes the differences between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg in their totality, it is undoubtedly true that Lenin was right.

'But that does not exclude the fact that on certain questions, in a certain context, Rosa Luxemburg was right against Lenin.'

In this same article, Trotsky makes clear that Lenin was right on party questions, the very issue Cliff and Higgins choose to support Rosa against Lenin.

'Above all, these differences, despite their importance and, at the same time, their extreme sharpness, **arose on the basis of a common political struggle for the proletarian revolution.**' (Emphasis added.)

It is certainly not our intent to disguise the important principled questions that separated Lenin and Luxemburg at various times.

We stand with Trotsky in insisting that on the party, the national question, the formation of the Third International and the split from the centrists in the German Party after 1914, Lenin was in the right.

The last months of her life saw her move rapidly towards Bolshevism. Even her prison writings on the Russian Revolution, compiled without the aid of factual data on the real situation and problems in Russia (writings which she later suppressed) were full of praise for Lenin and Trotsky, who alone

'were the first, those who went ahead as an example to the proletariat of the world; they are still the **only ones** up to now who can cry with Hutten "I have dared". This is the essential and enduring in Bolshevik policy.'

'In this sense theirs is the immortal historical service of having marched at the head of the international proletariat with the conquest of political power and the practical placing of the problem of the realization of socialism, and of having advanced mightily the settlement of the score between capital and labour in the entire world. It could not be solved in Russia, and in this sense, the future everywhere belongs to "Bolshevism".'

Unlike T. Cliff and company, Luxemburg admired and longed to wield Lenin's Bolshevik 'sledgehammer'.

It was this deadly weapon, tempered and perfected by two decades of exhaustive theoretical struggles Higgins considers to be now outmoded, that alone was capable of administering the death blow to Russian imperialism.

Luxemburg's tragic murder in the counter-revolutionary aftermath of the 'Spartakist uprising' of January 1919 denied her—and thus thousands of German workers—the opportunity of learning how to use it with similar telling effect on the German ruling class.

Founded less than two months after her death, the Communist International set itself the goal of integrating all the political experiences of Bolshevism into the living struggles of the workers' movement in the advanced capitalist countries.

Under Rosa Luxemburg's leadership, the German Communist Party would have enriched revolutionary theory and practise in the homeland of its founders far more than was possible in Russia.

But that development would not, as Cliff and Higgins suggest, have been in conflict with Bolshevism, but through it and because of it.

With Trotsky, we say to all those Stalinist and revisionist perverters of her heritage:

Hands off Rosa Luxemburg!



To Rosa Luxemburg the 1905 Russian Revolution (above) with its mass strikes and soviets offered valuable lessons for the German working class.

'kept behind the scenes in those days, abstained from open struggle against Lenin in this matter, evidently preferring not to become involved as yet in the struggle'. (Vol. 13, p. 133.)

Within the next five years, nearly all of Rosa's German and Polish comrades had been murdered by Stalin's terror machine, meeting the same fate as herself at the hands of a degenerate and corrupt Party bureaucracy.

Seeking safety in the Soviet Union from the Hitler and Pilsudski terror, they were rapidly caught up in the frantic purge unleashed against all those communists who stood in the way of the bureaucracy's rise to total power.

Those killed in the cellars of the Stalinist police included the Germans Eberlien, Remmele, Flieg, Kippenburger, Neumann, Hirsch, Schultze, Creutzburg, Susskind, Leow, Kuella, Schubert, Wilde, Holz and Levin.

Prominent amongst the murdered Poles were Bronski, Warski, Hanecki, the Stein brothers, Unszlicht and Ciszewski.

Many of these in their time had been branded as 'Luxemburgists'. Now came the final death warrant: they were also 'Trotskyists'.

The Stalinists have not been alone in their campaign to artificially counterpose Luxemburg (and of course Trotsky) against Lenin.

Supplementing the slanders of the Stalinists, the leadership of the 'International Socialism'

Bolshevism led directly to Stalinism.

Not only is Luxemburg counterposed to Lenin on Russian questions (and falsely at that) but in relation to western Europe, where, Cliff assures us, 'her scalpel is a much more useful weapon than Lenin's sledgehammer' (p. 92)—implying that the Bolshevik Party was deficient in theory and therefore unable to give guidance to the working class of the more advanced capitalist countries.

The reprinting of this book in 1968 proves that Cliff stands on his previous position of anti-Leninism and his myth of the alternative to Leninism—a more sophisticated 'Luxemburgism'.

In this he is not alone. The magazine 'International Socialism' of winter 1966-1967 featured an article on Rosa Luxemburg by Jim Higgins which took Cliff's anti-Bolshevism a stage further.

And in this case, the target was not only Lenin's Bolshevik Party, but those who fight for the same tradition today.

'One of the tragedies of current revolutionary politics is the pathetic fervour with which many people cling to the particular organizational principles laid down by Lenin in 1903.'

Higgins is referring here to 'Lenin's sledgehammer'—Bolshevism—which first took shape at the Second Russian Social Democratic Party Congress in that year.

Higgins then gives us his alternative, which, like Cliff, he falsely attributes to Luxem-

analysis has been made.

Yet correct analyses can only be developed precisely in the fight to build leadership and the revolutionary party.

That is the essence of Leninism.

Instead of the dialectical interplay of theory and practice, which can only take place inside the party as it grapples with the problems of leadership in the working class, Higgins gives a crude, mechanical and truly English common sense schema of correct analysis leading to correct leadership, and not also arising out of a struggle for it.

As we have shown, Luxemburg rejected this separation of theory, leadership and the working class.

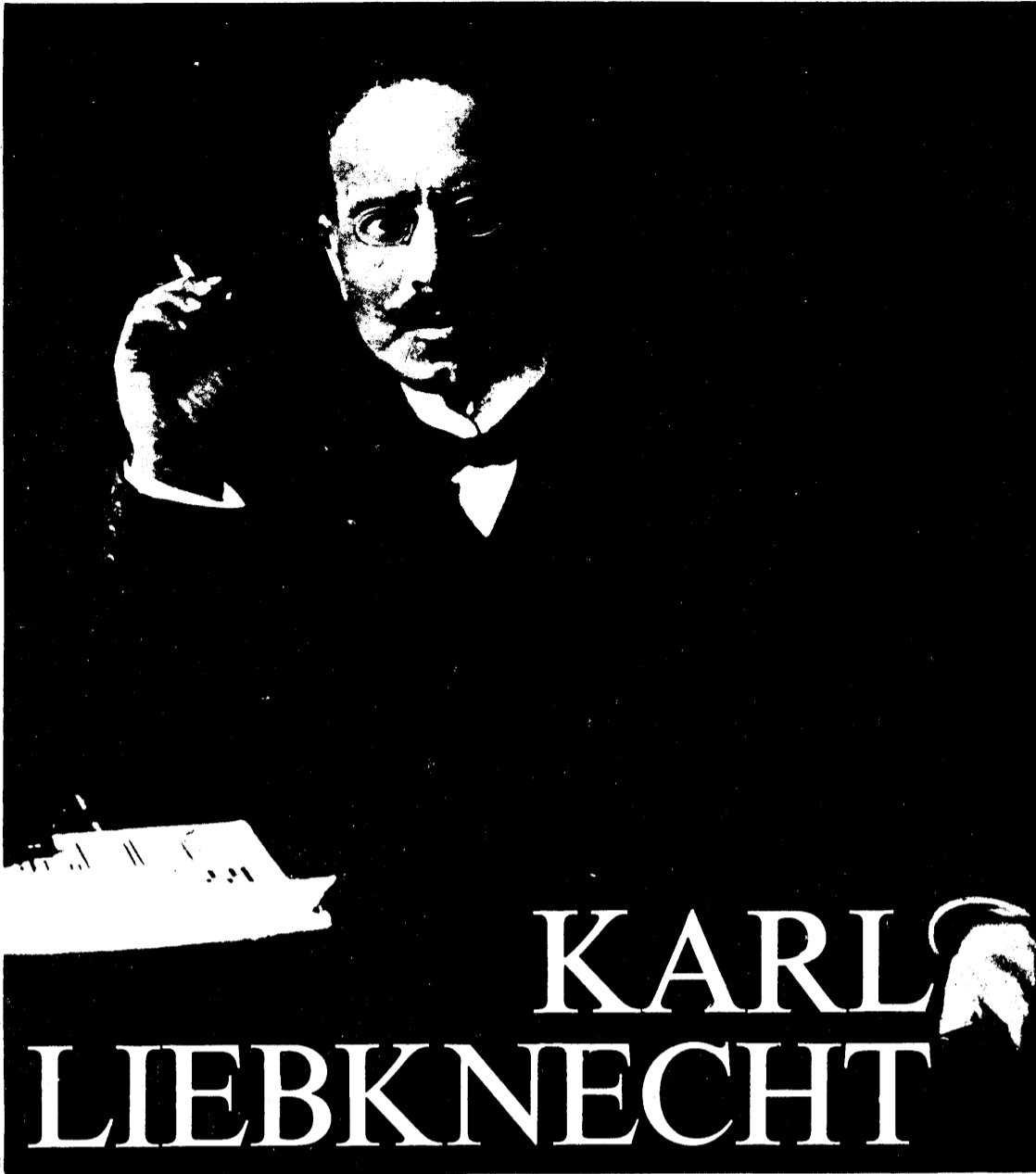
Nevertheless, Higgins goes on to state:

'For the British labour movement in the mid-1960s, Luxemburg is, on this question, a better guide than the Lenin of "What Is To Be Done?"'

The hostility shown by Higgins to Bolshevism (founded theoretically on the work in question) is given a 'Marxist' veneer by the attempt to invoke the alleged authority of Rosa Luxemburg. Stalin in his time slandered her as an anti-Bolshevik. Now the tune has been taken up by International Socialism—though for them the charge is a compliment.

The overall result is, however, the same. A theoretical and historical wedge is driven between the outstanding leaders and theoreticians of the German and Russian revolutionary movements in the first

51st. anniversary of the death of Liebknecht



BY TOM KEMP

Born August 13 1871

Shot January 16 1919

ON JANUARY 16, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were taken out of the hands of the Berlin police and shot by officers of the Guards Cavalry Division.

Liebknecht's body was dumped at the zoological gardens and it was put out that he had been shot 'while attempting to escape'.

In fact he had been beaten by rifle butts and shot at short range by cavalry officers. His murderers were never punished.

A little more than two months before, on November 9, 1918, Liebknecht stood on the balcony of the Imperial Palace and, before an enthusiastic crowd, proclaimed that Germany was a free socialist republic.

Coming a year after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia it seemed that the second and decisive stage of the world revolution had begun.

In fact, Liebknecht and his supporters had not begun the German Revolution in November, 1918, but were outwitted by the right-wing Social Democrats under Ebert who, in association with all the most conservative forces in German society, was able to ensure continuity with the old regime.

The biography of Karl Liebknecht is that of a man who was forced to become a revolutionary fighter and displayed enormous energy and courage, but was not equal to the tasks of leadership. His tragedy is part of the history of the German working class and, for

all his heroism and theirs, a story of defeats.

Karl Liebknecht was the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the founders of the German Social Democratic Party who had held it together during the period of illegality imposed upon it by Bismarck between 1878 and 1890.

Karl was able to study law and political economy with the help of the Party. He did his military service and became a lawyer, distinguishing himself by his defence of class-war victims.

When Karl entered on an active Party career in the early 1900s, a revisionist trend under Bernstein had begun to challenge the revolutionary Marxist programme of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

He took his stand with the left wing, played a prominent role in building up the socialist youth movement and became nationally known for his speeches against militarism.

Militarism

Military service was compulsory in Germany at this time and the officer corps, closely connected with the land-owning class, was a powerful force in society.

Liebknecht argued that the youth should be 'inoculated' against militarism before being called up and that anti-militarist propaganda should be an obligation on the Party. His views were bitterly opposed by the right wing, especially by Gustav Noske, 'butcher' of the revolution in 1919.

When Karl Liebknecht's speeches on militarism were published in pamphlet form in 1907 they were confiscated by the government and he was put on trial for high treason.

The trial brought him considerable support from the workers, especially in Berlin. While he was serving an 18-month sentence in a military prison he was elected to the Prussian Assembly and later to the Reichstag.

Liebknecht played a prominent part in the organization of the first international socialist youth conference at Stuttgart in August, 1907, and became internally known for his attacks on militarism and war.

He stood for the autonomy of the youth movement from the Party, but when the Party executive realized the significance of Liebknecht's teachings on the youth, they sought to bring it under tighter control.

In Liebknecht's formative political years before 1914, despite his left-wing views, he was very much the Party and parliamentary activist with little interest in theory.

Rosa Luxemburg, who was to become one of his closest political allies, described him as always living 'in a gallop, in eternal haste, hurrying to appointments with all the world, to meetings, committees, forever surrounded by packages, newspapers, all his pockets full of writing pads and slips of paper, jumping from a motor car to an electric tram and from a tram to a steam train, his body and soul covered with street dust'.

That Liebknecht wrote little and never even put together his prison writings, that his published works were few and mainly based on speeches, gives the key to his major weakness.

His impetuous decisions rested more upon an emotional

than a worked-out theoretical base.

His personal integrity and self-sacrifice were no substitute for a thorough grounding in Marxist theory.

A new and more critical test for Liebknecht came on the outbreak of the First World War when the Social-Democratic faction in the Reichstag had to decide whether to continue with its usual policy of voting against military credits.

With their country at war most of the Social-Democratic deputies decided to support their 'own' government, throwing overboard the anti-war resolutions which their Party had supported at the congresses of the Second International before 1914.

In the bitter discussions which took place in the parliamentary group Liebknecht stood out strongly in favour of voting against war credits. Only 13 deputies took a similar view against 78 who supported them.

However, to conform with Party discipline the minority, including Karl Liebknecht, voted in the Reichstag for the government's demand for war credits.

Whether because he partly accepted the arguments used by the majority in favour of supporting the war or not, Liebknecht's position made it seem that he had abandoned his previous anti-militarist stand. In any case, the Kaiser's government could not have waged an effective war without the support of the SPD and especially of the trade unions.

Liebknecht later admitted that his compromise in 1914 sprang from uncertainty and weakness.

In the next few months he tried to make good his error by rallying left-wing opponents of the war on the programme: 'Against annexations: for peace'.

In December, 1914 he voted against war credits and in the early part of the following year began a public agitation against the war which brought him into close collaboration with Rosa Luxemburg for the first time.

The public stand which Liebknecht took for the remainder of the war made him the focal point of anti-war feeling and enhanced his international reputation. His slogan that 'the main enemy is at home' became famous.

The government moved fast against Liebknecht, calling him up for military service, which he refused. He was therefore assigned to non-combatant duty and sent to the Russian front.

However, although Rosa Luxemburg could be imprisoned without formality, Liebknecht was a parliamentary deputy with certain immunities.

For a time, therefore, he was permitted to have leaves in order to fulfil his duties in the Prussian Assembly and the Reichstag (the parliament of the German Empire).

Liebknecht made use of these privileges to carry on propaganda against the government and the war, concentrating particularly on the youth movement.

In April 1916 a split took place in the German socialist youth movement and a new revolutionary anti-war youth organization was established under his inspiration.

One of its achievements was to organize the first political strike in Germany during the war. Liebknecht became a hero for the international revolutionary youth.

The split in the youth organization foreshadowed the split in the Social-Democratic Party itself, which growing differ-

ences on the war question made inevitable.

But this split, when it came in April, 1917, with the formation of the Independent Social Democratic Party, was by no means clear cut.

Since it took place primarily on whether the Party should support the Imperial Government's war policy, the political lines on other questions were not sharply drawn. Consequently many revisionists, including Bernstein and Kautsky, joined the new Party.

In the meantime, in January, 1916, Liebknecht had been expelled from the SPD, but continued his vigorous opposition in the Prussian Assembly and the Reichstag.

His attacks on the war drove the right-wingers of the SPD, Ebert and Scheidemann, into frenzies of impotent rage. These same men inspired and instigated the campaign of hate against Liebknecht which was to bring about his murder in January 1919.

In January 1916 there appeared the first of the illegal Spartacus letters issued by a group which comprised, besides Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Franz Mehring and Leo Jogiches. Known as the Spartacus League, or Spartacists, after the Roman slave leader, this group entered the Independent Party until, after its Congress held in Berlin on December 30, 1918-January 1, 1919 it became the Communist Party of Germany.

During 1916 the anti-war movement in Germany gathered strength. On May Day the Spartacists organized a demonstration in Berlin attended by at least 10,000 people at which Liebknecht was later arrested.

His parliamentary immunity was now removed and he was sent for trial before a military court which sentenced him to two-and-a-half years' imprisonment for attempted treason. On appeal the sentence was increased to four years.

Despite Liebknecht's courage in defying the authorities, his action on May 1, 1916, was very much an individual gesture as a result of which he was certain to be arrested.

Presumably he hoped that it would inspire the masses to further action.

Although this did happen to a certain extent, less spectacular underground activity to build up a movement and train leaders to prepare for the eventual struggle for power would have been much more effective.

In the course of 1918 Germany began to crack under the strain of war.

The desire for peace spread among the war-weary and hungry masses. Opposition to the government gained ground among the sailors and a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Kiel.

By November the country was speeding rapidly towards revolution.

The Kaiser's government fell and the last Imperial Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, handed over power to the Social-Democratic leaders, headed by the right-winger, Friedrich Ebert.

Great world issues hung on the outcome of the German Revolution: nothing less than whether the Revolution in Russia should remain isolated or would spread into the industrially-advanced countries of Europe.

The bourgeoisie of Germany well knew what was at stake: hence their hatred for what they called 'Bolshevism' and for Liebknecht and Luxemburg, whom they took to be its German representatives.

The more clear-sighted of them backed the SPD as the only force which could control

the working class and ensure that Germany remained capitalist.

As Prince Max said: 'To combat the revolution we must conjure up the democratic idea.'

To put it another way, was power to pass to the working class through a soviet regime or was capitalism to be preserved behind the facade of parliamentary democracy?

As the Kaiser's regime began to topple Liebknecht was released from prison. He was a well-known and popular figure with the workers, but he evidently misjudged the situation in Germany.

His gesture in proclaiming the socialist republic was more symbolic than real since it was backed up by no organized forces which could take power.

The Spartacus League was loosely organized and contained a number of tendencies, some ultra-left bordering on anarchism.

In the factories there were revolutionary shop stewards who supported the Spartacists. There was also a left wing in the Independent SDP.

Agreement

The main forces of the organized working class still supported the old SDP leaders who had taken power on November 9. It had confidence that these leaders would realize the traditional aims of the socialist movement in a peaceful and legal fashion.

During the night of November 9-10 Ebert telephoned General Groener, chief of the General Staff, and reached an agreement with him that the army would support the Social Democrats against the social revolution.

It was as a result of this alliance, of which, of course, the working class was unaware, that capitalism was preserved in Germany and the death warrant of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht was signed.

So for the second time the SDP showed its counter-revolutionary character.

The task of the revolutionaries was to expose these betrayals, put down roots in the working class and break ever wider sections from the old leaders so that they could lead it to power. They had to fight in the workers' councils, in the trade unions and in all the other working-class organizations, to make use of every opportunity to win the confidence of the masses.

The bureaucratic and conservative policies of German Social Democracy disgusted many militants with disciplined Party organization and humdrum work in the trade unions and parliament.

The German left in 1918-1919, and for years afterwards, was to be plagued with forms of ultra-left sectarianism which Lenin replied to in 'Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder'.

The creation of a Bolshevik Party in Germany required a principled fight against left sectarianism as well as opportunism of the right. Liebknecht did not prove equal to this task.

The impressive extent and strength of the spontaneous revolutionary upsurge which swept Germany in November and December, 1918, together with the conservative stand of the Ebert government, enabled ultra-left currents to flourish.

They found expression in the Spartacus League itself and in the left wing of the Independents.

Such ideas attracted many youth and sections of the servicemen. The great majority of the working class, as well as many soldiers and others who wanted peace above all, con-

tinued to follow the SDP, which, from being a loyal opposition during the war, had now become the guarantor of German capitalism.

The aim of the SDP leaders was, by putting themselves at the head of the movement for workers' councils, to prevent them from becoming organs of power able to challenge the government of which they had assumed control.

This position was tacitly accepted by the leaders of the Independent SDP who had no more intention of making a workers' revolution than Ebert and Scheidemann.

The Workers' and Soldiers' Councils became, as Liebknecht put it, the 'fig leaves of the counter-revolution'.

Under the influence of the right-wing Social Democrats the delegates to the Congress of Workers' Councils, instead of setting up its own executive organs of power, approved the Ebert government, which promised to hold elections for a National Assembly.

Meanwhile the power of the generals remained unbroken.

Thousands of soldiers and sailors had joined the revolution or drifted back to their homes, but large disciplined units on the Western Front remained intact. Special units were formed from members of the officer corps, professional soldiers and adventurers for the express purpose of preserving the social order and dealing with revolutionaries.

These units were called **Freicorps**: they provided the model for Hitler's storm troops.

Meanwhile, Ebert further cemented his agreement with the High Command, especially with General Groener, the directing mind of the reactionary officer corps.

A special telephone link was established between the Chancellery and the military headquarters. This 'hot line' made sure that the requisite co-ordination took place between the two main counter-revolutionary forces in Germany: the General Staff and the Social Democratic leaders.

Facade

In fact, behind the scenes, all the most reactionary forces in Germany, with the officer corps at their head, were working to preserve the old order behind the facade of a parliamentary regime.

The right-wing Social Democratic leaders, who retained the support of a large part of the working class and won the allegiance of masses of people, including many soldiers, who wanted peace and security above all, worked with the army to preserve the bourgeois social order.

During November and December, 1918 Liebknecht and the other Spartacist leaders carried on an incessant campaign of factory and street meetings and demonstrations. Something like a state of civil war existed in Berlin between the supporters of the Spartacists and the Ebert government.

Open calls for Liebknecht's murder appeared in the press.

The Spartacists were still nominally members of the Independent SDP and only broke from it at the end of December. This delay was bitterly attacked by Lenin.

There was, in fact, no revolutionary party, nor was the need for one uppermost in Liebknecht's thoughts.

He sought, by speeches and demonstrations, to galvanize the masses into action, hoping in that way to expose the government's weakness and enable it to be overthrown.

On December 16, the all- Reich Assembly of Workers' Councils, which had been

elected in the previous fortnight, met in Berlin. The great majority of the delegates, elected with the help of the SDP apparatus, supported Ebert.

Few had any sympathy for the Spartacists and neither Luxemburg nor Liebknecht were elected.

Liebknecht and his supporters burst into the hall and tried to state their case, but the general effect was to confirm the impression that he was a wild man.

When the Spartacus League Conference was called at the end of December its first act was to break with the Independents and declare itself the Communist Party of Germany.

A large part of its time was taken up with the question of whether the Party should participate in the National Assembly elections which the government had called.

Despite the arguments of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the delegates voted by 62 to 23 against.

The attitude taken towards election and trade union work reflected the extent of left-sectarian influence in the Spartacus League.

There were cases of members elected to Workers' Councils who refused to join bodies in which they would have to sit in the same room as 'traitors to the working class'.

So the traitors were able to go about their work without interruption.

The new Communist Party was far from being a Bolshevik Party.

The majority of its members were swept along by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the streets and factories and had little conception of the patient Party work to win the masses.

They had not studied the events of 1917 in Russia or the methods which enabled the Bolsheviks to hold back the impatience of the Petrograd workers—when it might have led to disaster in July—and to win the leadership of the majority of the working class in preparation for the October insurrection.

Too many of the Spartacists thought that all that was required was a direct confrontation with the police and the army.

This was not the point of view of Rosa Luxemburg, who held that it was necessary to go forward to win the masses, with the Party acting as the most conscious expression of the working class.

In the last weeks of her life Rosa was moving towards a conception much closer to that of Lenin and the Bolsheviks than is often assumed by those who wish to pose 'Luxemburgism' against Leninism.

Trap

Liebknecht's position, however, was by no means so clear. In practice, immediately after the formation of the Communist Party, he continued to act as an individual, making his own decisions on vital tactical questions and walking into the trap which the Ebert government was preparing.

The events which led up to the insurrection began with the dismissal of Eichhorn, the Berlin police chief appointed after the November 9 revolution. He was a member of the Independents.

Eichhorn decided to resist and Liebknecht was in favour of the Communist Party taking the lead in organizing mass demonstrations in support of him. The Central Committee was divided on the question, but allowed Liebknecht to go ahead on an 'individual' basis.

Allowing Liebknecht to have his head in this way was a

sign of the weakness of the young German Communist Party, which found itself dragged into a premature insurrection, hastily and badly prepared, about which most of its leaders had serious doubts.

Liebknecht's immense prestige assisted the early success of the movement, but it was a dangerous factor when allowed to govern such serious matters as the timing of a bid for power.

The demonstrations were supported by the revolutionary shop stewards and the left-wing of the Independents and succeeded in bringing tens of thousands of workers on to the streets on January 5, 1919.

Swayed by these successes, Liebknecht decided to play for higher stakes: nothing less than a bid for power in Berlin which he hoped would win the support of the revolutionary sailors and sections of the army.

A Revolutionary Committee of no less than 53 was set up to lead the movement which was disapproved of most strongly by Rosa Luxemburg and the other CP leaders.

Nevertheless, the Party, without assuming the leadership of the insurrection, decided to support it out of loyalty to Liebknecht.

At first the uprising made some gains. The Ebert government was faced with a critical situation, unable to be sure of the support of its own troops. Large masses of workers, including many SPD supporters, joined the demonstrations.

Once again Liebknecht revealed his weaknesses. No real preparation had been made for taking power.

The sailors, upon whom he had depended, declared their neutrality.

Some 700,000 people are said to have joined the largest of the demonstrations, but these demonstrations led nowhere.

After hours of marching or listening to speeches the participants went home, cold and hungry. Only a few hundred took up arms and many of those were used for exploits of only symbolic value, such as the occupation of the premises of the SDP newspaper.

The insurrection in Berlin strengthened the ties between the government and the army.

The Social-Democratic leader Noske declared his willingness to be the 'bloodhound', bringing in the **Freicorps** to restore order, and he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the capital.

Within a few days Liebknecht's supporters were driven from their positions. Many were taken prisoner by the **Freicorps**, manhandled and shot.

The revolutionary Committee ceased to function and Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht went into hiding. On January 16 they were captured and brutally murdered.

The Young German Communist Party had been flung into an adventure of which many of its leaders, including Rosa Luxemburg, disapproved.

The responsibility of Liebknecht was heavy, but his behaviour in January 1919 was not out of character.

He had always been the man of the impassioned individual gesture taken without thought for the cost. This time he paid the price with his own life, but there is no doubt that his mistakes also cost the working class dearly.

The crucial importance of the German Revolution has already been stressed. Its failure in 1918-1919 was a dire blow at the Russian Revolution and prepared the way for the stabilization of capitalism in western Europe.

The study of these years reveals the deep treachery of

the German Social-Democratic leaders. At the same time, they were able to conserve the support of the majority of the working class.

What was lacking in post-war Germany, it is easy enough to see now, was a revolutionary party corresponding to Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

The question of building such a party could not in fact be tackled satisfactorily by Liebknecht's method of the individual heroic leader who tried to awake the masses and carry them to power all in a few short days.

He tried that in November and failed and he failed still more disastrously in January 1919.

While it was true that Liebknecht was no theoretician and that this was a major weakness, it was accompanied by no less important shortcomings. Evidently he was looking for short cuts.

He made serious tactical mistakes, underestimated his opponents and brought his supporters into armed struggle without adequate preparation.

Most of all he did not understand how to build a party which could wrest a majority of the working class from the grasp of the SDP leaders who were betraying it.

He was slow to break with the SDP after its betrayal in 1914 and slow again to break with the Independents and form the Spartacus League into a revolutionary party.

His attitude towards militarism and the war was, at first mainly a pacifist one, though he later took up a position closer to Lenin's.

In the history of the international working-class movement it is traditional to link together the three Ls—Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

Undoubtedly, he was one of the outstanding leaders who represented all that was best in the Second International and provided a bridge between it and the Third.

The manner of his death was itself a condemnation of the 'democracy' which Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske were restoring with the held of the **Freicorps**.

As Lenin wrote in the theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship adopted by the First Congress of the Third International in March, 1919:

'The murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg is an event of world-historical importance not only because the best people and leaders of the truly proletarian communist international perished tragically, but also because it finally showed up the class character of the leading European state, of it can be said without exaggeration, the leading state in the world. If prisoners, that is, people who have been taken under into safe-keeping by the state power, can be murdered with impunity by officers and capitalists under a government of social patriots, the democratic republic in which this can happen is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Those who express indignation over the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg but do not understand this truth only demonstrate their stupidity or their hypocrisy.'

It is right on this anniversary of his death that we should salute in Karl Liebknecht a heroic figure in the international working-class movement.

Our respect for his memory is no less sincere for recalling his defeats and his mistakes.

If his life is an example, it is also necessary to draw the lessons from his failures.

Gibson, Jones Prepare Scab Force Against Newark Teachers Strike

BY DAN FRIED

NEWARK—A massive confrontation is shaping up when the present contract of the Teachers' Union with the Board of Education here expires on February 1. The city, under Mayor Kenneth Gibson, with the fullest encouragement of all the reactionary forces from big business to Leroi Jones and his "cultural nationalists" is out for blood. They are the advance guard of the Nixon-Agnew strategy to smash the unions through racism, repressive legislation, court injunctions and jailings.

The tactics of the Board, headed by negotiator Donald Saunders, are clear: force the teachers into a strike by making demands which in practice amount to non-recognition of the union; pit the black community, through self-appointed "leaders" like Leroi Jones, against the Teachers Union many of whose members and leaders including its President are black themselves; prepare for mass arrests of striking teachers and union leaders while they try to keep open the schools with scabs.

DESTROY

After refusing even to negotiate with the union for months, the Board finally agreed to "exchange demands" with the union. The demands of the Board, if accepted, would effectively put the union out of business. All their demands from start to finish are aimed at weakening or destroying the most elementary union rights such as seniority and grievance procedure, extending working time, and maintaining an absolute wage freeze. They also insist that there be "a new contract from preamble to conclusion, and that all other contracts are invalid." As one union representative put it, this is a proposal to "enslave the teachers" based on the false idea that teachers are not workers at all, but exist only to serve the students and the community.

The Board aims to reduce teachers to the status of complete automatons, with no power at all: "The Newark Board of Education reserves the right of facilities and direction of the working forces, including the right to determine the students' achievement levels, the methods and the processes of education, the right to promote, to transfer, or to dismiss employees in accord with Title 18A, the right to discipline, suspend or discharge for cause, are solely functions of the Board of Education."

CUT-BACK

For all their talk of helping the students and providing better education, the real intent of the Board is simply to cut back funds from the schools and blame the rotting educational system on the teachers. This fits in with Gibson's plans as with Nixon's—to break the union and to make the workers pay for the financial crisis which is so sharply hitting Newark and New York as well as the entire country. The Board shows where it really stands—as an enemy of education—when it demands that the average class size of a teacher not exceed 30 pupils.

The demands of the teachers on the other hand are a serious effort not only to win decent wages and working conditions, but to improve education as well. These include: improvement of the curriculum;

reduction of the class size to a maximum of 18 pupils for grades 1 to 3; the establishment of 20 day care centers and 20 additional More Effective Schools (MES) and the construction of new schools, to name just a few. If the Board is so concerned about the quality of education, let them implement these demands.

DEMANDS

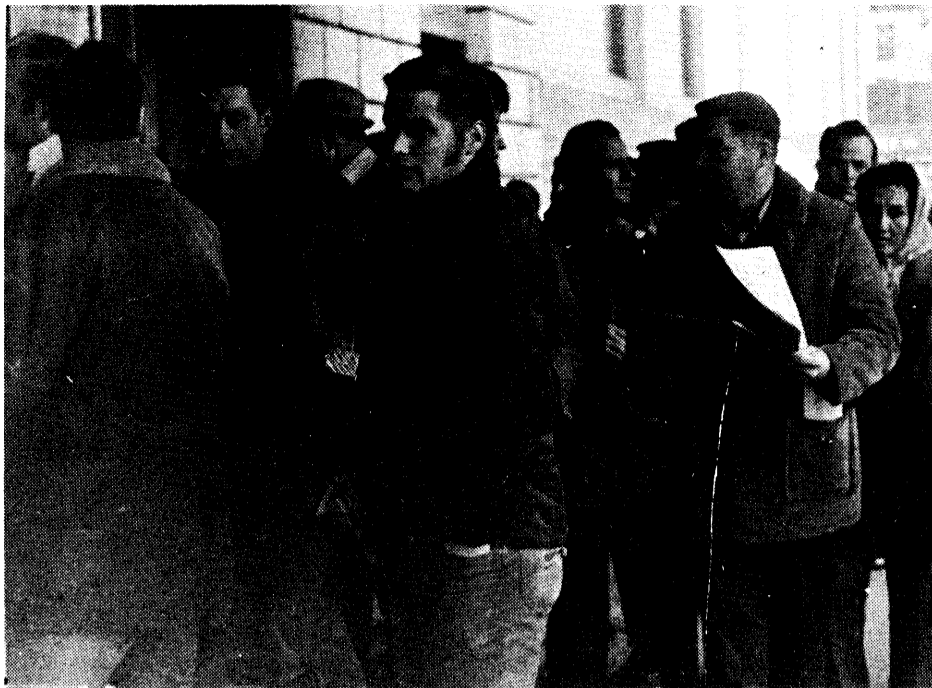
In addition to demands affecting the students and parents, the NTU is demanding an immediate starting salary of \$10,000 per year for B.A., \$11,500 for M.A., and \$13,000 for PhD, with yearly increases over a 5 year period (present starting scale for B.A.'s is \$8,000); a cost of living escalator clause paid three times a year; retirement after 20 years at full pay; election of Department Chairmen; one free period daily for delegates to conduct union business; 181 day school year and a number of important fringe benefits.

In addition the union is demanding improvement in wages and conditions for teaching aides and clerks. This includes an immediate starting wage increase for aides with no college credits, from the present \$2.75 an hour to \$3.25 an hour, \$3.75 for aides with 30 college credits, and \$4.25 an hour for 60 credits.

The NTU has begun a campaign to reach the masses in the Black community, explaining that the Board's attack on the Teachers Union is an attack on all unions and on the entire working class, black and white, young and old. The union does not intend to allow reactionary union haters like Leroi Jones to mobilize forces from the Black community without a serious counter-campaign. Already the union is winning support in the Black community from a large number of community groups including the welfare mothers.

STRATEGY

The strategy of the union is to mobilize the entire working class of Newark behind the teachers, in the face of an open union-busting campaign. A large section of the labor movement in northern New Jersey has pledged its support, including the UAW, IUE, Local 1199 (Hospital Workers), Charles Marciano, chairman of the New Jersey AFL-CIO; and many others. There is strong sentiment in these circles for shutting down the whole city of Newark if they try to keep open the schools or arrest strikers and union officials after February 1st. It is clear that plans must be made now to explain this union-busting danger to the rank and file, prepare for mass demonstrations and work stoppages and a campaign to bring the New York City labor movement actively into the campaign to defend the teachers.



Firemen going to meeting at which union president Maye pulled back from fight with Lindsay and called off job action.

Lindsay Attacks City Unions: UFA Leaders Retreat From Fight

BY A CITY WORKER

NEW YORK—The struggle between city labor and Lindsay is still on knife's edge. The City and the union bureaucrats have managed to gain a little time but the ranks of the City unions are ready to fight and will not be held back for much longer.

The firemen's union (UFA) have called off their job action after a meeting on Thursday, January 7, in which they were sold a rotten bill of goods by UFA President Michael Maye.

In order to get out from under the threat of the Taylor Law, Maye recommended to the membership that they call off their job action and deliver negotiations into the hands of State Supreme Court Justice William Kapelman.

This is the very judge who ordered the firemen to call off the job action two days earlier. Maye justified this afterwards by saying, "There's no stronger job action than having a State Supreme Court Justice overseeing negotiations."

ARBITRATION

The road that Maye is trying to lead his men down is a dangerous one—it leads to compulsory arbitration. Compulsory arbitration is part of Nixon's plans for the next period for the whole labor movement. Compulsory arbitration, together with plans for outlawing strikes detrimental to the "public interest," were outlined last week by Secretary of Labor Hodgson. This is the background against which the firemen's struggle takes place.

Despite the calling off of the firemen's action, the situation remains tense and potentially explosive. With the rest of the city labor movement two weeks past contract deadlines, it would take little to set off a strike.

That is why Lindsay and Labor Rela-

tions Director Haber rushed to deny the reports that the City was ready to offer the firemen retirement at half pay after 18 years and at full pay after 33 years. Haber said that the "erroneous" reports of the offer had created a situation that could result in a strike if the firemen were to be misled by it.

The City is aware that the ranks of the City unions are ready to fight this out and they are doing their best to put off that fight.

BREAK

The ranks of the city labor movement must realize the seriousness of the Nixon and Lindsay threats. The City is out to break the unions. Only in this way can they solve their crisis. The demands posed by the unions for wages and jobs are intolerable to Lindsay. The sharpening fight for these demands only makes Lindsay respond with "contingency plans" that will make New York City look like Montreal of a couple of months ago.

FORCE

The fight must now be taken up in all City unions. The Mayes and Gotbaums have done nothing to prepare the ranks for the fight, but have tried to lull them into trusting judges and the goodwill of the mayor.

The City is maintaining its intransigence. It made clear it was prepared to use the vicious penalties of the Taylor Law against the firemen's union if the union had not called off its action. This is a warning to all City unions that they must be prepared to take on the City directly and as a united force.

The SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership is fighting in the SSEU for negotiations which center on insuring job security under reorganization. This fight can only result in a confrontation with the City.

The City has every intention of continuing its job cuts and layoffs as well as smashing the union to facilitate this. The fight against this in the SSEU can give leadership to the rest of City labor.

NMU Ranks Fight Layups; Curran Works With Shipping Bosses

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK—Plans by the Seamen's Defense Committee for demonstrations in the Port of New York on January 14 to stop the layups of passenger ships, are going full steam ahead. The committee has put out a leaflet calling for demonstrations at North River Pier 40, the NMU hall, Prudential-Grace at 1 Whitehall Street, and in Port Newark.

The program of the committee includes calls for a strike, nationalization of the ships if they cannot make a profit, two full crews on automated ships, guaranteed pensions to the members, and reforms designed to build a democratic union.

Every NMU member must turn out for the demonstrations January 14, and for the January port meeting to support the committee's program.

Curran is moving to head off the militancy of the ranks. At a time when the rank and file increasingly see the futility of legal battles in the courts, the NMU Pilot for January-February announces a court campaign against the companies for lawful conspiracy by wiping out 5,000

NMU jobs "without warning."

UNITY

At the same time, the "Port Reports", the Pilot's "Passing the Word", and AFL-CIO Maritime Committee Executive Director Hoyt Haddock call for unity behind Curran, and denounce the opposition for proposing nationalization of the lines. This is a dead giveaway and exposes the phoniness of the bureaucrats' plans for a "series of rank-and-file delegations to Washington" for "person to person" talks with congressmen who are responsible for the layups.

The AFL-CIO Maritime Committee stated that "...the destruction of the American flag passenger ship service is a severe blow to our national economy, defense capacity and prestige. Our committee will amass all the facts as to how the layup of these ships damages the national interest..."

Curran's column states that "Unity has to be the key word in our struggle. Unity within the ranks of the NMU; unity with other maritime unions. With that kind of

unity in our own ranks, we can build a unified effort by labor, management and government to serve the needs of all maritime workers and the U.S. merchant marine."

COLLABORATING

It now becomes clear that the content of the December 8 maritime bureaucrats' meeting was to continue the same old Curran line of collaborating with the bosses and Nixon, the very men who through the layups and the Maritime Act of 1970 are responsible for axing thousands of seamen. All the delegations to Washington are designed to cover up this fact.

The only concrete program proposed in the latest Pilot is the old scheme of "a single passenger ship company to operate the U.S. flag passenger ships." This plan, which would depend above all on the ability of the line to make a profit, is essentially no different from the monopolization of freighters proposed in the sale of U.S. Lines to R.J. Reynolds, owners of Sea-Land Lines. Coupled with the denunciations of nationalization, it shows that the bureau-

cracy has appointed itself the protectors of the owners' profits.

STOPPED

There can be no compromise between profits and jobs. Maintaining profits means cutting out still more jobs, layups of still more freighters, and crushing the ability of the maritime unions to resist. This is why Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, is reviving Nixon's plans for a law to ban strikes in transportation.

The employers and Nixon must be stopped!

Calling for a strike and for nationalization of the lines to save NMU jobs means fighting for a labor party to challenge the government.

This is the only way to defend NMU jobs for good.

- Demonstrate January 14 against Grace Lines' layups!
- Vote for Seamen's Defense Committee program in the January 25 port meetings!
- Strike to save NMU jobs!
- Nationalize the ships!
- Build a labor party!

JDL AND THE CRIMES OF STALINISM

BY PAT CONNOLLY

NEW YORK, Jan. 10—The Jewish Defense League brazenly announced here today that they intend to terrorize all Soviet citizens in the U.S. in retaliation for the trial of the Leningrad 11, nine of whom are Jews.

"In short" said Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder and leader of the fascistic, anti-communist JDL, "the life of every Russian will be made miserable." The JDL intends to follow, question and harass Soviet diplomats in the U.S.

These statements by the JDL follow the bombing of a Soviet cultural mission in Washington on January 9th, only the latest of a whole series of terrorist actions in the last year in which all evidence points to the JDL. Armed thugs reportedly from the JDL attacked the Palestinian Liberation Organization offices earlier in the year, after PLO had been bombed. Aeroflot (Soviet airlines) and Intourist have both been bombed, and Tass Press Agency here in New York has been subjected to harassment. No investigation or action has been taken against this thuggery, even though JDL has publicly taken credit for such terror.

No action has been taken because the government, from Lindsay on up to Nixon, stand with the JDL, in their attacks on the Soviet Union. They use the Leningrad trials to stir up anti-communism and bolster support for Zionism, imperialism's main tool in the Middle East.

When students are accused of bombing ROTC buildings on university campuses, the capitalist press and Nixon and Agnew scream bloody murder, and start a vicious witchhunt against them for their opposition to the Vietnam war. But when JDL stormtroopers seek to build up a fascistic movement on the basis of Zionism, physical thuggery against Palestinian and Arab guerrilla representatives, and anti-communist attacks on the Soviet Union and armed assaults on socialists, nothing is done to stop them.

The trial of the Leningrad 11, who allegedly planned to hijack a Soviet plane to Sweden, resulted in death sentences for two of the defendants. These barbaric sentences were the first death sentences passed for "political" crimes in Russia since Stalin's last purges.

Although the sentences have been commuted from death to 15 years in prison and the next trial of Jews scheduled to begin last week was closed down after one day, it is clear that the Stalinist bureaucracy was seeking to carry out a pogrom against Jews in the Soviet Union.

The Leningrad trials follow Stalin's tradition of using anti-semitism to di-



Jewish Defense League, Zionist anti-communists, here practice Karate at summer camp, preparing for fascist stormtrooper role.

vert attention from economic, political and social problems in the Soviet Union. They cannot be viewed separated from the infamous Slansky trials in Czechoslovakia, in which 11 of the 14 defendants were Jewish, or from the "Jewish Doctors' Plot" which was hatched in Stalin's head in his last purge.

At that time, just as today, the Communist Parties denied that anti-semitism was involved at all. "The number of Jews involved," they said, "was decided by the number who participated in the anti-state conspiracy and not by the authorities at all." Only the "conspiracy" never existed, except in the minds of the bureaucrats who scripted the show trial.

The Leningrad trial follows the practice of the Stalinist bureaucracy which

Jew-baited Polish student oppositionists following the 1968 student outbreaks, as well as the anti-semitic baiting of Trotsky as 'Bronstein' during the Moscow Trials.

communism, undermine the victories of the October Revolution, and provide the bourgeoisie with weapons to stir up anti-communism and Zionism.

The Communist Party paper, the Daily World, contends that the case has nothing to do with anti-semitism. What then were the Slansky trials all about? What was the "Doctors' Plot" about? Why do thousands of Soviet Jews apparently want to leave the USSR and emigrate to Israel?

It cannot be covered up that the Stalinist bureaucracy resorts to stirring up anti-semitism when it feels most threatened by opposition within the country, as in Poland after 1956 and 1968, and in the Slansky trials and the Doctors' Plot in the early 1950s. It seeks to divert the working class away from the economic and political crisis by relying on the most backward and prejudiced sections of the population, using the most mediaeval weapon of anti-semitism. Thus it is significant that these new trials take place just as the Polish working class comes forward in political struggle against the bureaucracy.

The Daily World in its editorial of December 29th says:

"Its (the Meir-Dayan regime) cries about the Leningrad 11 will not cover up its guilt in the theft of the Arab lands."

No, but neither will the persecution of Soviet Jews cover up the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy cooperates with Zionism in the Middle East, and uses all its power to try to force the Arab regimes to "peacefully co-exist" with Zionism, the agent of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

The only way to fight against the fascistic anti-communist Zionists like the JDL who come out more and more openly as Stormtroopers against socialism, is through a fight to expose Stalinism and Zionism as forces of counterrevolution.

MY LAI MASSACRE TRIALS: ARMY COVERS FOR BRASS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

The Army dropped charges against four officers who were involved in the My Lai massacre because of "insufficient evidence."

Originally fourteen officers were charged with "dereliction of duty" for covering up what happened at My Lai. So far eleven have been exonerated. One of the three remaining officers to be investigated is Major General Samuel Koster, who witnesses at the Calley trial said observed the whole massacre from the air.

The investigation of these officers was of course secret. The Army has no difficulty in putting a handful of GIs on the chopping block and of presenting all kinds of witnesses. But when it comes to the big brass it is somehow very hard to find evidence. The dropping of the charges against the officers can only mean that the Army will go through the motions but has no intention of prosecuting those really responsible.

SCAPEGOAT

At the same time they have found another scapegoat. Charles Hutto, a farmhand from Louisiana is being tried for killing at least six civilians at My Lai. His trial has revealed that Captain Ernest Medina briefed members of Calley's platoon the night before the massacre and told them that "everyone in the village was a Communist." The next day orders came from headquarters to exterminate everything in the village.

The Army began the trials to get itself off the hook but the more it continues the more the trials threaten to backfire in Nixon's face and expose the real murderers. Telford Taylor, former prosecutor for the U.S. at the Nuremberg trials, has stated that if the U.S. honored its policy of prosecuting the leaders of Japan and Germany after World War II, it would mean that General Westmoreland himself should be held responsible for all the atrocities committed in Vietnam.

Although the Nuremberg trials let American capitalism off the hook after World War II, Taylor has unwittingly exposed the Army and the U.S. rulers. When it comes to the question of its own rulers being held responsible, the Army looks the other way.

It is not a very big step from Westmoreland to the real butchers—Nixon and the entire capitalist class.

Tories To Deport Dutschke; Attack Workers Rights

BY MELODY FARROW

Rudi Dutschke, former leader of the SDS in West Germany, has been ordered to get out of England by the reactionary Tory government. A special immigration tribunal upheld the order of the Tory Home Secretary Reginald Maudling last September after hearing secret testimony on Rudi's activities in England.

They stated that his presence in England "constituted an appreciable danger to national security." When the capitalist class talks about "national security" and the "public interest," they of course mean their security and their interests which are now threatened by the massive offensive of the working class to defend its rights.

Dutschke originally came to England for medical treatment after a right wing fanatic, whipped up by the bloodthirsty howls of the German capitalist press, had shot him in the head and nearly killed him. He was allowed to stay in England by the Labor government only on the ridiculous

condition that he engage in no political activities, which Dutschke agreed to. The Tory government has since come to power and based on no evidence at all has decided to deport him.

THREAT

This attack on Dutschke poses a threat to every basic democratic right of the British working class. One of the first measures of the Tories was to bring all immigrants under strict surveillance and to deny them permanent residence. Foreign students who have participated in political activities have been sent home to face persecution by dictatorial regimes in their native countries.

Why is the Tory government so concerned with Dutschke who has only sought to continue his education in England? It is preparation for attacks on the entire working class, on all the gains they have won, such as social security, nationalization and health care. It is part of the Tories' attack on the workers' right to strike, to have a job, to fight for higher wages, to have a union.

It is preparation for open dictatorship, for civil war, as Tory leader Heath said at the U.N., in which revolutionaries and workers will be thrown in detention camps, like in Ireland for their political views. It is the repression of the capitalist class all over the world against Angela Davis, the Basque revolutionaries in Spain, which seeks to divide any opposition to its policies.

The fight against this attack on Dutschke will not be fought out with the outraged and lofty appeals of the liberals but by the working class as part of its fight to bring the Tories down.

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Drive Nazi-Fascists From Stony Brook!

BY MARK ROSENZWEIG

STONY BROOK—In preparation for a new wave of struggle of the youth, organized right-wing forces have begun to emerge on the campuses throughout the nation.

This week the Workers League came under attack at Stony Brook. The group responsible was the NYA, a split-off from Young Americans for Freedom, and aligned with a group affiliated with the American Nazi Party. Their supporters here at the State University attacked the Workers League office, destroying our telephone and partially burning and defacing a poster of Leon Trotsky upon which they scrawled their swastikas and a message: "The fire next time."

Also vandalized was the desk of the SMC. The nazis left a card identifying themselves as members of the NYA. This is not the first time they have struck. Last year the door of the office of Professor Annie Mae Walker, chairman of the Black Studies Department, was set on fire and similar evidence was left that it was the NYA.

Three days after this incident, the Workers League office was again attacked. All its literature, worth close to \$200, was stolen from the locker.

THUGS

A clique of people wearing nazi-type leather jackets has come to our attention and while it is not certain that these are members of National Youth Alliance, it would not be out of character for fascist thugs to begin to really surface on the campuses in large gangs to intimidate radical students.

Such a group poses a direct immediate threat to all radical organizations, to all students who are against the war, and to all minority students. The NYA gains confidence as Nixon steps up his political and economic attacks on the working class and especially as he tries to isolate and persecute its militants.

Their vandalism is only a prelude to overt physical attacks.

On Monday, January 11, a meeting was held on the Stony Brook campus to take up the defense of Juan Farinas, the Stony

Brook students arrested at Brentwood, and the attacks by the fascists. A member of the Workers League proposed at this meeting that a defense committee be immediately set up after the meeting, which would represent all organizations as well as individuals. The purpose of this committee he proposed would be to defend the meetings of all left wing organizations on campus, to investigate the attacks to find out who was involved and to take the necessary steps to see that they are stopped.

In the discussion that followed the proposal, a spokesman for the Student Mobilization Committee made clear that he thought the attacks were a laughing matter. After all, he said, "we are not dealing with an army of fascists." His attitude was that too much was being made about nothing, that things were moving in favor of the 'left' and that if action were taken against the fascists, it would alienate people towards the 'left'.

Joining him in opposition to a fight against the fascists was Mitch Cohen, one time leader of the Independent SDS. Cohen tried to hide behind attacks on the Workers League and the proposal for a Defense Committee. He contended we could not know who did it and to take them up now would give them publicity and contribute to their growth. Cohen said we need "action" such as "picking up the gun." When asked point blank whether he was prepared to join the committee and take up the fight, he refused to commit himself.

DISARM

A sharp discussion followed. It was made clear that the number of fascists on the campus was not the question, that the danger was clear and was being fed by the Nixon administration as it whipped up racism and opened attacks on the working class. It was also pointed out that Cohen and the representative from SMC stood together, reflecting that section of the

of the cafeteria workers of Local 1199. In short, SUNY at Stony Brook has become a veritable battleground of class conflict and only in this light will students and workers wage a meaningful struggle to beat back the class forces which threaten to turn the new year's clock back to 1929.

The fight against the increasing cutbacks is the fight:

- for full restoration of all campus operational facilities
- for job security for the Civil Service Employees Association workers
- against the sellout of the ranks of 1199
- for the defense of the AIM and other funding programs
- against the massive unemployment on Long Island
- for universal free higher education

This is the fight the Workers League takes sides in, against capitalism and the directives of its government, and for the political independence of the working class from that government.

BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

NYCCC Students Fight Cafeteria Worker Firings

BY A NYCCC STUDENT

NEW YORK, Jan. 11—The current campaign of the ruling class against youth, minorities and workers has found another target on the college campuses.

The New York City Community College administration, which in the past year has initiated cutbacks in SEEK and other scholarship programs, increases in tuition, has now laid off 30 cafeteria workers.

With the aid of the FSA (Faculty-Student Association), which fronted for the vicious attack, the administration ended its contract with Argin Foods, which has employed the workers in Local 377 AFL-CIO. A new contract was signed with McDermott Foods, which immediately hired workers under Local 302. The excuse of the administration was "sloppy work" (poor productivity).

In response to this the terminated employees distributed leaflets calling for a boycott of the cafeteria. When a meet-

middle class that tries to run from the crisis and the confrontation between classes. These forces seek objectively to disarm the working class movement and thus to deliver it into the hands of the fascists. It was the movement of the working class and youth as fought out in Spain that could drive back the fascists.

A worker from 1199 on the campus said he agreed with the proposal that "all organizations on campus should unite to drive out the Nazi fascists."

After the meeting members of the Puerto Rican Students Organization, the Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Labor Committee, Workers League and other independents met to form a defense committee and take further action.

We must not wait until the fascists claim their first victim before we act to defend ourselves! Two years ago when a similar group beat up Jerry Tung, then a member of SDS, the Black Students United took up his defense and was able to physically beat back the forces responsible. If we act now we can take the offensive against reaction.

STONY BROOK THREE FIGHT FRAMEUP ARRESTS

BY A STONYBROOK STUDENT

STONYBROOK, N.Y.—Three supporters of the Workers League and of the Juan Farinas Defense Committee were arrested at Brentwood High School on Long Island late in November for "loitering" while distributing information on the Farinas case. What was expressed in this arrest was not only an attack on the Stony Brook students but on the rights of the students at the high school. A student from the high school was arrested, also for "loitering."

His real "crime" was in speaking to us about the struggles going on in the high school around a bill of rights which was being denied the students. When the Workers League arrived at the school with literature on the case of Juan Farinas, a real link was being established between the broader struggle against repression and the political attacks of the government and the fight of the youth in the high schools.

What was posed to the students was an understanding of the nature of the attacks on their rights as not being confined to the high school. What future awaits them with the spiral of unemployment on Long Island, with the cutbacks in funding and scholarships for college?

It is this reality that the principal of the high school wishes to hide from the student body when he had the students arrested at Brentwood. We cannot view this arrest as petty harassment. We must see it as part of the attack on youth, on workers, students and minorities.

The principal also made a real effort to implicate the Workers League in a bomb scare. Following the arrest he made statements to the press designed to generate anti-communist feelings in the community, accusing one of those arrested with being a "known communist agitator."

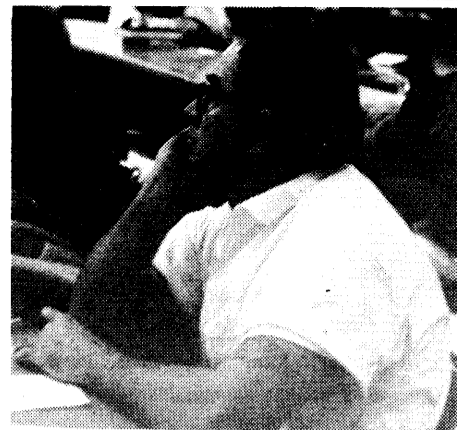
The Long Island Workers League is building a defense of the 'Stony Brook 3' and is organizing for a large demonstration on the day of the trial outside the courthouse.

ing was held on the firings, the administration carefully pitted one local against the other while attempting to wash its hands of the whole affair.

This proved to be difficult as both the workers and the students were militant. A meeting was called by the NYCCC Workers League Club with the cafeteria workers (some of whom were supporters of the Progressive Labor Party). A call for a rally on Monday and continuation of the boycott was agreed upon, but PL backed away from the proposal of a joint student and worker strike.

RALLY

On Monday, with a dwindling boycott, PL called off the rally stating that the shop steward and Masa, Secretary-Treasurer of Local 377 didn't show up and there were few workers present. What this reveals is PL's complete dependence on the union bureaucracy and its refusal



Stonybrook cafeteria worker from Local 1199 saw need for united Farinas defense.

Cafeteria Workers Sit Down At Stony SUNY

The following is an interview with an 1199 organizer at Stony Brook who was one of the leaders of the recent sitdown action held by the cafeteria workers. The interview took place the day of the action.

Q. What are the basis issues of this strike?

A. This is a sitdown, not a strike. Our union has organized 400 workers at Stony Brook. An agreement was made on our contract in September. They are trying to turn their backs on the clauses in the agreement.

Q. What are the basic demands in this sitdown?

A. The basic demand is the medical plan. Dollars diminish but medical needs don't. Neither do dignity and pride. With the medical plan, the bosses are supposed to give a percentage to pay for medicare and medicaid. They want to omit this from the contract; they don't want to sign the contract.

We are also supposed to get a \$3.10 raise over two years. They are trying to knock that off too. The union has met several times to sign the contract. The boss is stalling.

Q. What do you think is the role of the students in this?

A. Our fight isn't against students. It is against management for benefits that had been agreed upon. Our union represents 50,000 workers nationwide. We are for the people. We are for pride, dignity, and dollars.

Q. Do you think that these issues are isolated from the strike wave and political developments in this country?

A. Well, so far the issues are isolated. But we aren't one of the unions that don't fight for the workers. We stand with all workers.

This means our union will be out there January 29th to support the defense of Juan Farinas. You'll see our placards. We will stand steadfast with the workers.

In recent union meetings we have taken up the political aspects of the country. There have been four main political things that have been discussed so far. These issues are Angela Davis, Juan Farinas, the trials in Russia and the trials in Spain. We have already sent letters to the ambassadors of Spain and the Soviet Union. The workers have taken up a collection and sent money to Miss Davis. We are in full support of Juan Farinas. We will discuss his case at the next meeting. In this nation you have got to get involved.

to mobilize the workers in a fight against the bureaucracy. The Workers League however held a successful rally and called for strengthening the campaign.

It is clear that the administration hopes to dump the crisis onto the laps of the employees. In order to weaken them for further unemployment and productivity, it is trying to pit one section against another.

We must demand that the school immediately rehire the fired workers and that the new workers be guaranteed jobs on the campus without loss of pay. Only a campaign that will bring out the students and all the workers on the campus can defeat this attack. This fight must be taken up in the unions and among the students. The cafeteria must be closed down until these demands are met.

Rockefeller Austerity Program Means Job Cuts At Stony Brook

BY PHILIP BRANCHE

STONY BROOK, N.Y.—The word that came down last December from the offices of Governor Rockefeller was Austerity, and what it means for growing numbers of workers at Stony Brook and all state agencies is that vacant positions will remain that way, and most temporary and provisional employment will cease to be.

Payroll expenditures for temporary hourly employees and student assistants will be cut by 50% from what the figure was for the fall semester, and operational and equipment expenses have already severely come under the axe with the library and academic buildings closing early every day.

But Rockefeller's "austerity" and "belt-tightening" are only the latest euphemisms for the Nixon administration's recession economy which is calculating the ever-sharpening attacks against the living standards of the working class in order to restore the bosses' declining profits.

As early as last spring the unemployment picture for Long Islanders was getting bleaker and with the cutbacks in government spending in the defense industry companies like Republic, Fairchild, and Grumman Aircraft have really put L.I. on the map for its jobless rate.

The fact that many of these defense workers, while college grads and holders of engineering degrees, now find themselves shoveled into the welfare bins, should serve to dispel any illusions on the part of youth that education alone, and not the struggle of the working class for power will realize full employment.

At Stony Brook the institution of the austerity budget is the most recent and direct blow against the living standards and educational standards, as well, of the workers and students, and follows on the heels of the threats against our funding programs, investigations by the FBI of campus militants, and the attacks against wages, benefits, job security, and working conditions

Crisis In Canada: A Reply To Dowson

A REPLY TO ROSS DOWSON
THE CRISIS OF capitalism has come to a new, sharper stage in Canada. The crisis is of such proportions that the Canadian bourgeoisie has felt it necessary to declare for the first time in history, martial law in peacetime. The understanding of this new stage in the development of the class struggle in Canada is vital for the construction of a revolutionary party in Canada to smash capitalism. Therefore, it is of the greatest importance to see how the various parties of the Canadian left have met and understood this crisis.

This article will deal mainly with an article written by Ross Dowson, a leader of the League for Socialist Action (LSA), Canadian section of the Pabloite "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," in the December 21, 1970, issue of Labour Challenge, the LSA newspaper. The article is entitled "British Left Views Crisis in Quebec." The article deals mainly in the way two British papers dealt with the Quebec crisis: Workers' Press, daily organ of the Socialist Labour League (SLL), British section of the International Committee for the Fourth International; and the Red Mole, fortnightly paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Pabloite United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Dowson's analysis is extremely revealing, especially of the LSA's understanding of the new crisis in Canada.

After making several slanderous attacks on the SLL and blaming it for the terrible sin of having made several mistakes about names, Dowson launches into his first main objection to the position of the Workers Press. He objects to the Workers Press' criticism of the Cuban government for having kept silent on the release of the prisoners demanded by the FLQ. Indeed, during the whole period in which the Cubans were engaged by the Trudeau government as intermediaries between the government and the FLQ, the Cubans retained their silent, neutral attitude—refusing to take sides in this sharp confrontation between classes in Canada. Even now, after hundreds of working class militants and radicals have been jailed and as labor leaders and FLQ members are being brought to trial to face almost certain conviction at the hands of the bourgeoisie—still the Cubans retain their silence.

SILENCE

To criticize this silence may seem to Dowson to be a "vicious slander against the government of revolutionary Cuba," but if one remembers the silence of Castro over the slaughter and arrests of thousands of students in Mexico in 1968 and his support for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, this present silence of the Cubans in the face of the repression of the Canadian working class is not at all surprising. But to Dowson and all the Pabloites internationally it is important to defend the Cuban government as revolutionary and to see Castro as an "unconscious Marxist." Otherwise the whole basis for their 1963 split from the International Committee would be seen as totally opportunist and their abandonment of Marxist theory would be revealed.

DEMOCRACY

But Dowson is by no means finished with his critique:

"But worse still is the confusion, the adventurism and/or the profound defeatism that would inevitably develop if we were to take the Workers Press seriously: its declaration that Canada now languishes under the rule of a Bonapartist regime;

its comments about the unlimited and unrestrained powers of the bourgeoisie; and its warnings about the extreme fragility of the rights that the working class has established under bourgeois democracy."

No, no, none of that for Mr. Dowson. Instead of this "confused, adventurist and/or profoundly defeatist" attitude he offers us this analysis:

"Not to minimize the dangers of the situation, Ottawa's slashing attack on civil rights is taking place in a period of continuing deepening and widening radicalization, and THERE ARE NO SIGNS AT ALL THAT ANY IMPORTANT NOT TO SPEAK OF QUALITATIVE CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE ESSENTIAL RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS FORCES. In fact, everything points to Ottawa's actions shortly turning into their opposite—even adding to the process of radicalization." (our emphasis)

The first thought that strikes one is where has Mr. Dowson been all this time! All civil rights suspended, martial law in peacetime, tanks and soldiers throughout the streets of Montreal, thousands of raids, 500 people arrested, labor leaders and radicals facing long jail sentences, FLQ members facing death sentences! All this—but for Mr. Dowson "there are no signs at all that any important not to speak of qualitative change has taken place in the essential relationship of class forces." For him nothing has changed.

For you, Mr. Dowson, this may be



Armed soldiers patrolled roofs as tanks were brought into Montreal in martial law.

true. But it would be dangerous, to say the least, for the Canadian working class to see it in this way. For them, something has happened. That is that the capitalists, entering into a deeper and deeper state of crisis, can no longer tolerate the growing fight of the working class and the radicalization of youth. In order to stop this, it has brought in martial law. Yes, Mr. Dowson, the relationship of class forces has changed. It has changed fundamentally. The capitalists are on the attack. They are using this martial law to beat the working class into submission. The working class must be made to understand the nature of this vicious attack and must take up the fight to beat it back.

BLIND

Not to see this is to be totally blind to what has gone on for the last several months in Canada. This blindness is what you counterpose to the "confused, adventurist and/or profoundly defeatist" attitude of the Workers Press; an attitude which, in reality, sees the changed nature of class forces in Canada for what it really is and can therefore offer the Canadian working class a real basis from which to fight martial law and smash capitalism. But you, Mr. Dowson, because of your blindness, cannot even begin to do this. Instead you continue:

"While the profoundly dynamic and revolutionary character of Quebec nationalism has through these recent incidents come to the attention of the entire world, the Workers Press editors have learned nothing. As the Quebecois become ever more conscious of their oppression as a nation they are increasingly thrust into struggles that more clearly pose the need for a revolutionary party fighting for power.

Yet the Workers Press accuses the 'revisionists', the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, with having 'shunned' the fight to build the revolutionary party by identifying them-



NEWS FROM CANADA

selves with the national aspirations of the Quebecois, the very force that makes it possible to build it. Despite this favorable opportunity, the SLL has learned nothing about the revolutionary significance of the struggle of oppressed national minorities in our epoch."

So, instead of the class analysis of the Workers Press which is, after all, "confused, adventurist and/or profoundly defeatist", we are offered Dowson's national analysis. The whole world has seen "the profoundly dynamic and revolutionary character of Quebec nationalism." And that, of course, proves it. After all, the whole world can't be wrong.

IMPRESSIONISM

Dowson has revealed here his essential method—impressionism. It is precisely this method that, in times of class crisis, leads to betrayal of the working class. This is precisely what Dowson is doing by posing the crisis in Quebec as essentially a national crisis. In doing so, he tries to hide from the Canadian workers the essential class character of this attack. This is why he must insist that the relationship of class forces has not at all changed. After all, the attack was on the Quebecois as a nation, not on the Canadian workers as a class. The whole world knows that. And, of course, if there has been no important change in the relationship of class forces in Canada, then there is no need to pose the fight against the police terror in class terms.

The result—the LSA/LSO responds to one of the most brutal attacks the capitalists have launched against the Canadian workers by joining middle class civil liberties defense committees and take their stand side by side with such notorious trade union bureaucrats as Marcel Pepin, and Louis Laberge; Claude Ryan, editor of the bourgeois daily Le Devoir; and Rene Levesque, leader of the bourgeois Parti Quebecois.

This is the way Dowson fights martial law—with popular front politics straight out of the Stalinist handbook! Forget about the fight for an independent class attack against martial law. Ally yourself as solidly as possible with liberals and trade union bureaucrats and channel all possible opposition into a nationalist, middle class framework. In this way, the Pabloites leave the Canadian working class open to further and even more intense attacks from the bourgeoisie.

BETRAYAL

This is the nature of their betrayal. They seek to confine the struggle to nationalist, civil libertarian limits when the bourgeoisie is posing the attack in class terms. They seek to divide the Canadian working class precisely when it most needs its unity in order to fight back against capitalism. Thus by distorting and perverting the real nature of the crisis in Canada, Dowson's position leads to a betrayal of the Canadian workers. This is inevitably the end result of revisionism.

Dowson finishes off the article with a friendly critique of Red Mole's article on Quebec. However his main objection to the article reveals a further aspect of his position. He doesn't feel that Red Mole attacks the FLQ for its terrorism enough. He then launches into an attack on the terrorist methods of the FLQ. Because of his method—impressionism and pragmatism—Dowson and the Pabloites join with the middle class hysteria whipped up by Trudeau and the big bourgeoisie against the FLQ. Thus, in the name of Trotsky, the Pabloites totally abandon everything Trotskyism ever stood

for, with formal harangues against terrorism; lectures to the FLQ as the bourgeoisie prepare to sentence members of the FLQ to death! From one betrayal to the next—this is the road of the Pabloites.

The crisis in Canada has shown up the middle class nature and method of the Pabloites. It has illustrated more sharply than ever their abandonment of Trotskyism, of Marxist theory and method. What must be done now, in this time of sharp class struggle, is to go forward to build a new leadership of the Canadian working class. But this can only be done by fighting for dialectical materialism and against pragmatism and impressionism, the essential method of the Pabloites; by fighting for an independent working class perspective in the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression as against the perspectives of popular fronts and civil liberties groups which are pushed by the liberals and the Stalinists and which are now embraced by the Pabloites.

IC

Only those who support the International Committee of the Fourth International, which has consistently fought for dialectical materialism and for an independent working class perspective against Pabloite revisionism; only they can take forward the fight to build a revolutionary party in Canada which will lead the working class forward in its fight against martial law and against the capitalist system which instituted it.

Strike Shuts Down Vancouver Transit

BY STEVE FINNEY

VANCOUVER, B.C., Jan. 7—Eighteen hundred bus drivers and mechanics, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, today entered the fourth day of their strike. The strike, which has completely stopped public transportation here and in Victoria, is against British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority. The company is a Crown corporation which operates public transportation in Vancouver and Victoria.

Rank and file members have been picketing at Hydro offices here and at the Hydro railway office in New Westminster. Workers are holding out for a 20% wage increase in a 2 year contract on base rates of \$3.75 for drivers and \$4.35 for mechanics. Hydro has offered 13% in two years, saying that they cannot afford any more.

MILITANCY

The real militancy of the transit workers is being shown during this strike as they have refused to attend meetings of the B.C. mediation commission. The union has thus far gone along with the demands of the rank and file, but workers must beware. The premier of B.C., W.A.C. Bennett, along with the mayor of Vancouver, Tom Campbell, have long taken the lead in the fight against labor and are notorious for their redbaiting.

Workers should fight any steps at intervention by these two reactionaries who will undoubtedly try to break the strike as it goes on. Rank and file workers should fight any sellout offers made by the unions. The fight must be for all demands to be met. Workers all across British Columbia must join with all Canadian workers to get Bennett, Campbell, and their kind out and put an NDP government in, a government which must fight for workers and their demands.