

MARX

150 YEARS SINCE HIS BIRTH
THE MEANING OF HIS
THOUGHT FOR TODAY

COVER
JUN 7 1968
INSTITUTE



Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 4, NO. 18-84

MAY 27, 1968

TEN CENTS

ALL OUT FOR THE

POOR

PEOPLE'S MARCH



WE SAY -

- Don't let the government or the official leaders turn the march and the campaign into just another protest!
- An end to racism! Millions of new jobs! Massive public housing! Billions towards job training! Billions more for schools! Outlaw discrimination in all forms!
- Fight for full support to the Poor People's March! All trade unions should be asked to send large rank and file contingents to the May 30 march and to aid the campaign with food and money.
- Fight in the unions for a program to organize the unorganized and the unemployed. The unions, not the churches, must take the lead in organizing the poor in the South and nationwide!
- Fight for a Labor Party Now! A labor party will represent all workers and unemployed. Turn the protest into a political fight against the Democratic and Republican millionaires and strikebreakers!
- Organize Defense Guards to protect the democratic right of the marchers to demonstrate without interference! No more assassinations, mace, and clubbings of defenseless people.

FRANCE

WORKERS BATTLE GAULLISM

ALL OUT SUPPORT FOR POOR PEOPLES CAMPAIGN

by Fred Mueller

The Poor Peoples March on Washington, conceived and planned in its earlier stages by the late Martin Luther King, is developing into a serious confrontation with the bosses and the federal government.

The capitalist system in its present crisis cannot meet any of the just demands, the absolutely minimal demands, of the millions of black and white workers living below the poverty line.

The Poor Peoples March deserves the full support of every trade unionist and militant worker. Whatever the intentions of its leadership, the march is not just a march of the poor, it is a march of black and white workers, employed and unemployed, or-

ganized and unorganized, in support of demands to eradicate poverty, unemployment and the ghettos.

Vietnam and the crisis in the cities and of the rural poor are just different aspects of the crisis of a whole world system. The imperialists continue to spend \$2 billion a month in Vietnam, and now they are moving to increase taxes and cut expenditures at the same time. Their only answer to increasing poverty and misery is war in defense of their system abroad and police repression combined with a cut-back of the scanty funds they have so far provided for the so-called war on poverty at home. This government and this system are incapable of eradicating poverty, racism, and unem-

ployment.

tame

The federal government is trying as hard as it can to hold back and tame the militancy of the marchers. It is seeking to seal off the marchers, to make the march a formal exercise in legal protest. But nothing will change. The bosses and their spokesmen boast of how democratic their system is, giving the poor the right to dissent and to petition the government. But what does it mean if, after all the protests and the petitions, conditions can get worse instead of better?

While the racists rant about the so-called criminal actions and violent plans of the poor, the government and the two-faced liberals piously urge the marchers to observe non-violence. They move thousands of troops up to the capital and express the wish that the march will be exactly like the demonstration in August 1963. But 1963, of course, is gone forever. Gone is the time when the bosses can turn the movement of the masses into a quasi-official demonstration, while they continue to ignore the masses demands.

radical

The Poor Peoples March is presenting very radical demands, radical because they cannot be granted by the bosses and because even crumbs will not be granted without a struggle. But the leadership of the march, while presenting these demands, has no intention of really fighting for

them, of making the march anything but another in a long series of similar protests.

The time for pleading is over. We must move from protest to politics, to serious struggle. Violence is a phony issue. We must not and will not be bound by pacifism in the ghetto or on the picket-line, while our enemies are not at all pacifist, in Vietnam or at home. The workers must defend themselves against the violence of the bosses. But the crucial issue now is the need to expose the bosses politically.

The official leadership itself says that Congress has never been responsive to the needs of the poor. Democrats and Republicans alike have ignored the poor. There has been talk of using the ballot box, but the Democratic and Republican candidates offer the workers no choice. Marches are not enough. They must be combined with really independent action, a complete break with the Democratic and Republican parties and the running of independent workers candidates, the building of a labor party.

say

We say: Don't let the government or the official leaders turn the march and the campaign into just another protest!

Fight for full support to the Poor Peoples March! All unions should be asked to send large rank and file contingents to the May 30 march and to aid the campaign with food and money. Supporting rallies and strike actions can be coordinated with the campaign in Washington. This support should be demanded of every section

of the labor movement. The same Congress and Administration which ignore the poor restrict the right to strike and prepare to help the employers by anti-union and anti-strike laws and attacks on the living standards of all workers. We fight the same enemy!

Fight in the unions for a program to organize the unorganized and the employed! The unions, not the churches, must take the lead in organizing the poor in the South and nationwide. In the 1930's unity between the organized workers and unemployed committees was achieved in many struggles. Organized workers and the unorganized and the unemployed must fight together or end up fighting one another.

Fight for a labor party now! A labor party will represent all workers, not organized trade unionists alone. Based on the power of the unions, it can represent all workers. The Democratic and Republican millionaires don't represent us! We have no representatives in Congress, as years of protest have shown. Build the Poor Peoples March to expose the phony politicians and fight for independent labor candidates in the next elections.

The Workers League enthusiastically supports the Poor Peoples Campaign on the basis of the above program, which will be brought to the marchers and to the union movement by supporters of the Workers League. The Workers League and only the Workers League fights to unite the struggles of every section of the working class in a political struggle against the system that oppresses us all! Join us in this struggle!

west coast machinists strike

by Jeff Sebastian

SAN FRANCISCO--A strike of IAM machinists in Washington, Oregon and California is entering its seventh week with no sign of a break. The way the strike is being handled should serve as a serious warning to IAM members whose contacts in the defense industries are coming due this summer.

Top rates for skilled journeymen tool and die makers are \$3.75 per hour. This ranges down to \$2.90 for less experienced workers. Apprentices receive considerably less. If \$3.75 seems like a lot of money it should be remembered that this represents a take home pay of less than \$120 per week for highly skilled workers.

Another thing that should be noted is that a good machinist needs several thousands of dollars worth of tools which must be provided out of his own pocket. At least five to six dollars a week are spent for maintenance of tools and uniforms. The employers provide none of this.

moderate

The demands of the machinists are extremely moderate. They are asking for raises ranging from \$.30 up to \$.50 per hour for the most skilled categories in a one year contract. They also want a dental plan, improved sick leave and one more vacation day. At present vacations are one week after a year employment and sick leave pay does not begin until after a week off the job.

The very moderateness of these demands serves to underscore the extremely bitter reaction of the employers. Although a number of smaller independent companies have settled all the large firms such as Schlage Locke, the California Metal Trades Association are holding firm in an attempt to starve the strike out. These companies are enjoying the highest profits in years but refuse to give an inch. Strike benefits are only \$70 a month.

The true feelings of the ranks who have seen their previous gains wiped out by inflation and taxes, were reflected at a mass strike meeting of Lodge 68 which represents Bay Area machinists as well as a number of firms ranging as far south as San Jose. A motion to strike for a one dollar increase as well as a cost of living escalator was defeated by only two votes.

ranks

The IAM leadership is conducting the strike in a manner which guarantees that the ranks are completely cut off from any real influence. There has been an almost complete lack of publicity for the strike. Strikes meetings are held early Sunday mornings which virtually guarantees a lack of attendance of workers living any distance from San Francisco. Token picket lines have been maintained at struck firms and no attempt has been made to mobilize the ranks for any action or to press for solidarity actions on the part of any other section of the working class. Even more ominous the IAM bureaucracy has willingly tolerated the intervention of government arbitrators in the strike to keep matters still further out of the hands of the ranks. If this is the way they prepare for struggle in this strike, what can we expect in the defense negotiations when the full power of the government will be brought to bear against the unions. Essentially things are being set up for the day on which the union bureaucrats can come back to the rank and file and say "Well boys we fought hard but this is all we could get so take it."

If federal "mediators" are tolerated now it goes a long way to shackling the union to government dictates in the defense plants. We say throw the government agents out! Return full power to the ranks by allowing full participation of rank and file representatives in all negotiations.

turn protest to power

by J. Renee

MINNEAPOLIS -- 'We're going to serve notice on all people who seek to silence our claim by killing us -- there ain't going to be no day like that! We ain't going to be stopped.'

Under the spirit of those words Minnesota plans to take part in the Poor People's Campaign were formulated. The words were spoken by one of the black organizers, but it was no segregated meeting he addressed. The crowd was mixed: black, white and Indian; very young to very old. The few middle class students were far out-numbered by the ghetto residents from nearby and the busloads of white and Indian slum dwellers brought by M-CUP, and SDS community project.

plans

Plans were made for the summer. A busload would set out May 7 to join a National caravan in Chicago and go on with them to Washington. After that at least one busload would leave each week throughout the summer -- throughout the year if necessary.

But the fight is seen as not just a fight in Washington. A start was made on a campaign for a Special Session of the Minnesota State legislature, which isn't scheduled to

meet this summer. A tent city will be set up near the state capital in St. Paul. Local tent cities in the main urban centers throughout the state are projected. Committees to formulate local demands and to conduct the local campaigns were set up.

unity

The most noticeable part of the evening is what wasn't there. No mention of Black Power was made all evening -- and no call to 'go-it-alone' this time. On the contrary, over and over those who spoke stressed the common problems of the blacks, whites, Indian-Americans and Mexican-Americans -- of all who suffered the burden of poverty.

Also absent was any mention of non-violence. Unlike the national spokesmen (at least according to the reports in the capitalist press) no one at the Minnesota meeting promised to meet violence with passive resistance. There was a job to be done and plans were made to do it. There was knowledge of the dangers involved, but a determination to organize well enough to carry it through.

But not all that was missing was good. Much that should have been heard -- that MUST be heard if any

approach to solving the problems is going to be made -- was also absent.

defence

If there was no pledge of non-violence, neither was there any talk of organized defence guards, surely an elementary need if the Poor People's Campaign isn't going to end as a death trap.

Equally missing was any mention from the platform or any understanding of the need to unite employed and unemployed, skilled with unskilled, organized workers with the unorganized. True, for the first time there appears some recognition of the economic base of racism, and of the need to fight together for economic demands. But that the organized workers face the same class enemy and are natural allies in the fight isn't mentioned because it isn't yet perceived.

power

Above all -- missing was any mention of the political question. The whole need to build a Labor Party and to struggle for Power -- this has yet to be faced. But it is precisely this problem that MUST be faced -- for only through a struggle for power can there be a real victory for the Poor People's Campaign.

I. Socialism Scientific Or Utopian

by Tim Wohlforth

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. This follows by one year the centennial of the publishing of Marx's greatest work *Das Kapital* and the 50th anniversary of the first time workers came to power under Marxist leadership, the October Revolution.

But the renewed interest in Marxism has a firmer objective basis than this coincidence in dates. It is precisely because the objective conditions on a world scale are once more bearing out the analysis Marx made 100 years ago that there is a renewed interest in Marxism not only among the new generation of workers and socialist intellectuals but also among the apologists for capitalism. As the former discovers once again the absolute validity of Lenin's maxim that there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory, the latter finds that the preservation of the capitalist system necessitates above all else a struggle to keep the working class theoretically disarmed.

For us the commemoration of Marx's birth requires much more than the issuing of a commemoration stamp by the reactionary West German Government or a ceremonial visit to Marx's birthplace by the leadership of the German Social Democratic Party who then hurry back to Bonn to vote through special emergency powers to arm the capitalist government against an increasingly restive working class. Above all else it requires the new generation of American socialists to assess the meaning of Marx's theoretical discoveries for the struggles ahead in this country. The purpose of this series of articles is to encourage this central theoretical task facing the American working class today.

utopianism

Karl Marx was the founder of neither socialism nor communism. Communist ideas, the conception of a society free of inequality in which all men could live in abundance and no man would oppress another, have a rich history predating the birth of Marx by over 2,000 years. In fact historical evidence indicates that the dream of communism has been with man as long as the nightmare of class oppression and in fact is the very natural reaction to this nightmare on the part of the oppressed classes.

The best documentation of early communist ideas is to be found in the Bible and related religious writings which come down to us, though in a highly distorted form, from very early times.

As the Israelites abandoned their nomadic existence in the semi-desert regions of the Middle East and came to settle in Palestine they developed a class society much like their great neighbors in Babylonia and Egypt though on a much lower economic level. Precisely because of the instability of their kingdom, situated as it was across trading routes connecting the great empires of the day, the history of Israel in the period before the final destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, was a history of intense class struggle.

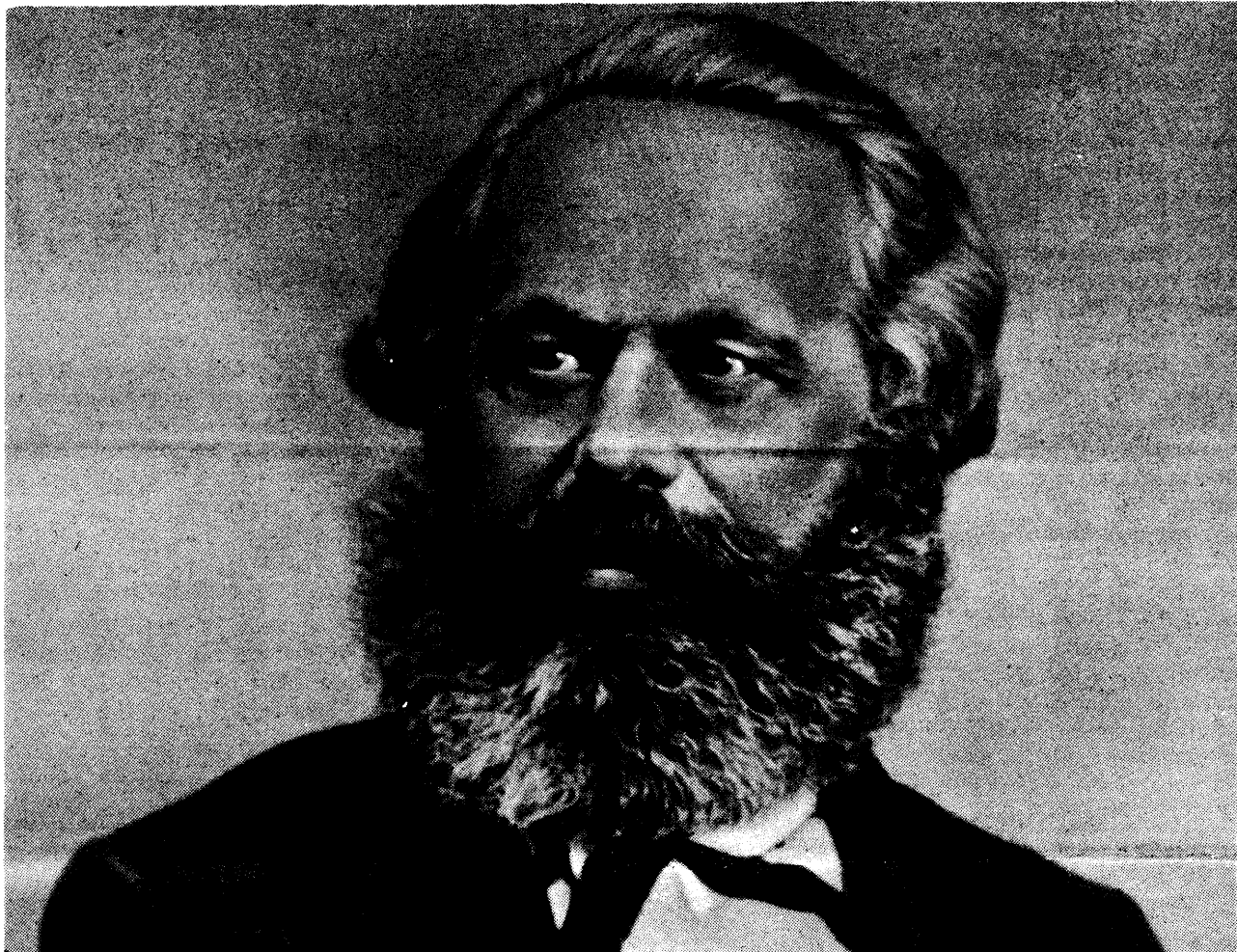
The struggle of the masses against the oppression and corruption of the landowning, commercial and priestly classes took a religious form and is recorded for us today in the great writings of the early prophets like Amos and Hosea. These writings flay out at the corruption of the ruling classes and put forward the vision of a society of equals in which there would be neither oppressed nor oppressor. Interestingly much of the attacks on the ruling classes take a form of contrasting the inequities of life in the Israelite kingdoms with the greater equality of the tribal life of the Jews before they settled in Palestine. Thus the Jewish prophets found themselves in a utopian dilemma: they wished to preserve the relations between men of pre-class society in the face of the new class relations between men which were the necessary result of a more advanced system of production. So communism remained a dream, a utopia. The oppressed continued to struggle, continued to dream, but the dream could not become a reality.

christianity

The greatest of all the early communist ideol-

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS SINCE THE BIRTH OF

KARL MARX



ogies was of course Christianity. Christianity had its origins in the heroic struggles of the Jewish people against the oppressive yoke of the Roman slave empire. The Jewish people had divided into three factions: The Sadduces, representing the priestly and large landowning class, the Pharisees, the smaller land owners, commercial elements, lower priests, and the Zealots who based themselves on the proletariat of Jerusalem and the small peasants of Galilee. By the time of the purported birth of the dubious historical figure Jesus, the Zealots were in the leadership of the Jewish people as the other two factions had compromised the struggle against the Romans.

Among the Zealots were the Essenes, the people who produced the Dead Sea Scrolls and whose role in the origins of Christianity has become one of the most hotly contested controversies in theological circles today. In all probability Christianity was born from out of that section of the Essenes who did not retreat to communist communities in the countryside but participated in the urban revolutionary struggles as a faction of the Zealots.

The Essenes practiced a limited communism sharing all they produced in common, living in communal dwellings and the like. These communist practices survived for hundreds of years as the very center of early Christian organization in the form of the common daily meal. This later survived in the emasculated form of taking communion in Catholic liturgy.

The early Christians believed the great prophets including Jesus would return to earth, swords in hand, destroy the Roman oppressors with the support of the oppressed masses of the empire and establish a plentiful communist society--the Kingdom of God on Earth.

To Paul, the great Christian revisionist, the Bernstein-Stalin of his day, this revolutionary doctrine stood as an impediment to his drive to transform Christianity from the revolutionary doctrine of the oppressed into the counterrevolutionary doctrine of the oppressor. At his hands, and with the help of many others, the very essence of Christianity was turned into its opposite. Rather than man struggling under the leadership of the proph-

ets to establish the Kingdom of God on Earth, man is urged to withdraw from struggle in this world to be rewarded upon death with a trip to the Kingdom of God up in the sky.

But the communist content of Christianity did not die easily. In fact it never totally disappeared. It found renewed vigorous expression in the Apocryphal passages in Revelations, one of the latest to be written sections of the Bible.

feudalism

With the collapse of the Roman Empire a new class society grew up in Europe--feudalism. The Germanic peoples went through the same process as the Jews had a thousand years earlier finding their more primitive but more equalitarian society being replaced by a more productively advanced but unequal class society. So throughout the middle ages Christian communism took the form of widespread heretical movements based primarily among the poor serfs and apprentices in the towns. These heresies based themselves on the communist remnants to be found in the Bible and again fused these utopian dreams of a communist society with ancient tribal memories (reinforced by the way with remnants of pre-class property form like common land of the dimense) of the freer though culturally poorer condition of man under barbarism.

The communism of Marx's day was of the same order but this time religion as such played a lesser role. But communism remained a dream, a utopian escape from the horrors of class society not only for the working class but also for the petty bourgeoisie who also were being uprooted by the growth of large capital. This latter element gave the intellectual leadership to these utopian communist schemes.

scientific

Marx was the founder of scientific socialism or communism. He was the first man to turn communism from a dream, a religion of the oppressed, into a fighting program of the working class, realizable because for the first time in history the productive forces had been developed to the point where not only was a society of equality and plenty possible but it was in fact

a necessity if man was to move forward rather than fall back to barbarism.

Pre-Marxist communism remained unreal, a religious dream, because the productive forces of human society allowed for only a small surplus to be developed. The ruling class usurped this surplus and as a result human culture in its highest form became the personal possession of only this thin stratum of human society.

For man as a whole to develop freely, for culture to be the possession of the great masses, for life without drudgery to be the life of millions and billions not thousands, for all this that man has dreamed of for 2,000 years to become reality it was necessary first that the productive forces be developed to a point where scarcity was no longer necessary. And this great historical task is what capitalism accomplished.

The question then posed is the future of the capitalist system. Is this system, as its apologists claim, permanent or will it be replaced by a superior system capable of taking mankind to a higher form of social organization? For Marx this was the central theoretical question and he devoted most of his life to a study of it. In contrast of all the socialists of his day and many of them even of today he did not see this as a 'moral' question but as an objectively scientific one.

materialism

Capitalism could not be overthrown just because it was an oppressive system nor socialism established because it is a more humane and rational system. It was not a matter of convincing people of the superiority of one system over another. He rather faced this question in a materialist rather than religious way. Through a study of the whole history of man, utilizing the dialectical method of Hegel, he concluded that social systems rise or fall essentially on the basis of their ability to develop the productive forces of humanity. When a society is no longer capable of developing these forces further then and only then is the possibility open of surmounting one social system with another.

If capitalism was capable of a continual upward development of the productive forces then, oppression or no, it was capable of surviving and socialism remains a dream, a utopia, a religion. Trotsky summed up this basic concept of Marx's when he stated in 'Revolution Betrayed': 'The fundamental evil of the capitalist system is not the extravagance of the possessing classes, however disgusting that may be itself, but the fact that in order to guarantee its right to extravagance the bourgeoisie maintains its private ownership of the means of production, thus condemning the economic system to anarchy and decay.'

And so Marx devoted the bulk of his mature years writing 'Das Kapital', a scientific study of capitalism laying bare how it functions after an initial period of raising tremendously the productive capacity of mankind, it then acts as a fetter on the further development of mankind, and exactly how capitalism can be overthrown and replaced by a socialist society. Marx's

insistence on the historic role of the working class in overthrowing capitalism is neither a 'Hegelian Choreography' as one new leftist, Martin Nicolaus wrote in 'Studies on the Left'; nor a 'victorian' notion as the late C. Wright Mills wrote, nor even a matter of 'faith' as socialists like James P. Cannon seem to imply. This conception is an inherent aspect Marx's whole scientific analysis of capitalist society. If this analysis is false then the working class has no historic role. This would mean that it is capitalism which still has this historic role.

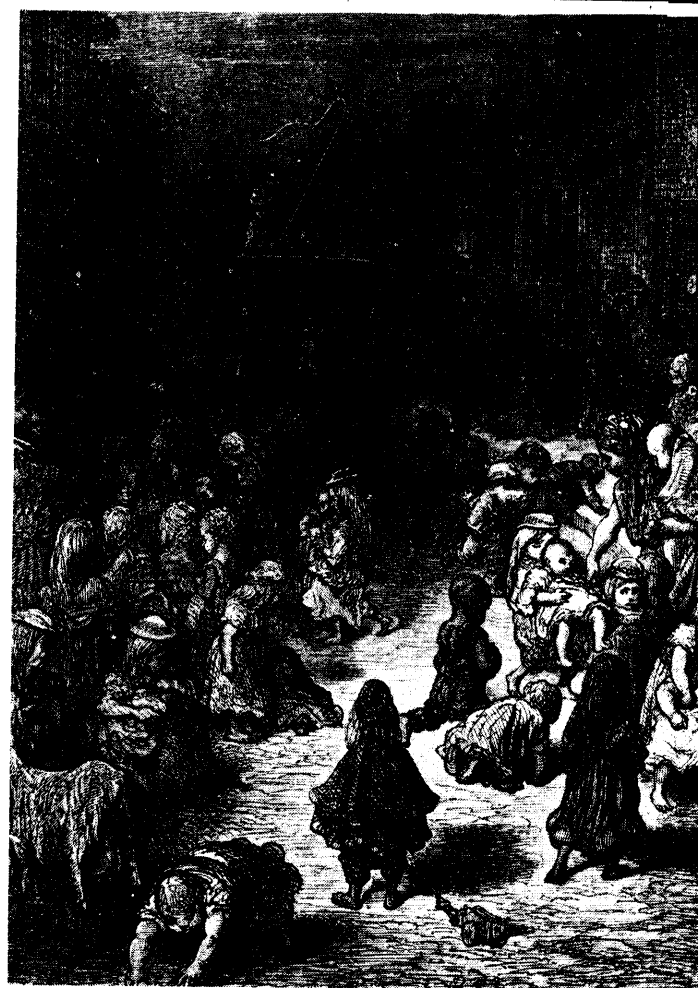
idealist

The New Left movement in the United States and its counterparts in other countries, like the SDS movement in Germany, represent essentially an idealist tendency. By and large these people reject Marx's scientific approach simply by ignoring it. This leaves them only with an unscientific hostility to the capitalist classes' 'extravagance' as contrasted to the poverty of the masses. This, like the communist utopians of the past 2,000 years, is then contrasted to the 'vision', the 'model', the 'utopia' of a society free from oppression, or what Marcuse would call a 'nonrepressive' society.

For instance the editorial statement in one of the last 'Studies on the Left' published (Vol. 7, No. 1, 1967) speaks of the 'need to evolve a long-range social vision'. 'The only name for such a vision is socialism', they state. This vision is a very murky business to them. The crystal ball is very clouded indeed. But perhaps the vision will become clearer as we proceed with the pragmatic tasks of today 'for one of the essential determinants of the kind of society we ultimately achieve will be the kind of movement we build today.' But murkiness extends even here when it comes to the kind of movement they are seeking to build. 'We have no real idea of which class or classes will be at the center of a new radical movement.' Why? 'In view of the severe limitations of present socialist theory.' After having achieved such theoretical heights of clarity and precision it is understandable that 'Studies' soon ceased publication.

We must point out that the future socialist society will not be determined by the nature and character of the socialist movement. This is because the nature and character of the socialist movement itself must be determined by the needs of struggle within the existing oppressive class society. As long as class rule exists those who struggle to overthrow it require different methods of organization than will prevail in a society in which class rule has been abolished. To seek to create 'nonrepressive' 'participatory democracy' within the context of the existing oppressive society is just as utopian as Owen's and Fourier's attempts to create miniature communist societies inside the capitalist society of the nineteenth century.

What class or classes will lead the revolution can only be determined on the basis of a scientific study of the nature of the society. To attribute confusion on this rather central score to the



POVERTY CANNOT BE ABOLISHED UNDER CAPITALISM

'severe limitations of present socialist theory' is inaccurate. In reality a correct statement would be that this confusion arises from the severe limitations of non-Marxist socialist theory.

Ignorant

Today 150 years after the birth of Marx most socialists in the United States are as ignorant of Marx's essential works as was the author of 'Walden'. Thus utopian views predominate. It is not just a matter of the New Lefters. The so-called Marxist groups while claiming adherence to Marxism are just as ignorant of Marx's work. When, in the last ten years, has either 'Progressive Labor' or the 'International Socialist Review', published a serious article on Marx and political economy? In what way does Progressive Labor or The Socialist Workers Party mark the birth of the founder of Marxism?

The New Lefters openly proclaim their lack of faith in the working class and their considerable faith in the stability of capitalism. How do these groups answer this challenge? With the same religious method. It all adds up to 'Keep the Faith, Baby'. Someday the apocalypse will occur, capitalism will collapse and the workers will arise. Why? How? What is the present state of American capitalism and does it reflect or refute Marx's 101 year old analysis of capitalism? Such questions are beyond these 'Old Lefters' as well as the New Lefters.

II. Marx's Theory of Capitalism

Marx begins his analysis of capitalism with the question of value. He discusses the two contradictory forms of value within the commodity, then the contradictory roots of the creation of value, and from this evolves his theory of the creation of surplus value. Surplus value, as Engels put it, 'is the very pith and marrow of political economy' for the obvious reason that the capitalist system

is precisely a system for the creation of this surplus value. Every other aspect of the economy and the society which rests upon this economy is by the process of creating this surplus value. In other words this is a profit system and the extent to which any of us prosper is directly related to the creation of profit, itself a manifestation of surplus value. Or as it was once succinctly put 'What is good for General Motors is good for America.'

commodity

Marx begins his treatment of value with the commodity—any single object which is of no use to its creator but of some use to someone else. That is any object which can be exchanged either directly for another object or indirectly with the media of money. We immediately discover that value takes two completely contradictory but mutually dependent forms within the commodity. Each commodity has a use value and an exchange value.

Let us look at it this way. Suppose we have a pencil and a book of matches. Each of these objects has a specific use. This use is the qualitative aspect of the commodity is quite distinct, specific and totally unlike the use of the commodity with which it is to be exchanged. The ability of a match to light a fire and a pencil to make marks on paper are totally different and in no sense can be equated. If you wish to light a fire a pencil is

useless and if you wish to write a letter a match book is useless.

But these same two objects are also equal quantitatively. That is you can exchange one pencil for one match book either directly as exchange was made in earlier society or indirectly through money as it is made today. This equal substance which makes their exchange possible is their value of exchange value. As we will see, the essential contradiction in capitalist society is right here in the most basic unit of capitalist economy the commodity.

value

The next question Marx tackles is the creation of value. Where does it come from? He concludes that it is man's labor which gives value to objects--the amount of time it takes to produce or even find the object. But labor also has a two-fold character--useful labor and abstract labor. Useful labor is the specific quality of the labor--such as carving, or hammering, or sewing, or painting and the like. Abstract labor refers to the quantitative aspect of labor--what makes the product of labor exchangeable as commodities. Here we are dealing not with the specifics of labor but the amount of labor power needed to produce whatever the object is.

While commodity production has existed as an aspect of a number of different forms of social organization encompassing all but the most primi-

The Struggle for Marxism in the United States



by Tim Wohlforth

JUST OUT!

76 PAGES

The only existing history of American
Trotskyism from its origins to today.

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

243 E. 10 ST. R.M. 8 NEW YORK 10003



CAPITALISM. AN ENGLISH SLUM IN 1872 . . .

...tive societies, it is only under capitalism that commodity production becomes the dominant form of production. While under earlier forms of commodity production a surplus is realized through commercial operations such as trading (taking advantage of the higher price of a commodity in areas distant from where it is produced or out and out cheating) under capitalism a surplus is realized through the very process of producing commodities. This is done when labor power is actually sold by a worker as a commodity itself. As a commodity labor power reaches a price level more or less equal to its own costs of production, that is the subsistence of the possessor of the labor power.

But a man can be employed for a number of hours beyond those necessary to produce his own subsistence. During these additional hours he produces surplus value which the capitalist realizes through the selling of the articles the worker produces as his profit. It is the production of this surplus value which motivates the whole economic system. It is the one and only real regulator of the economy, the one and only motivating factor of the capitalists who own the means of production and employ labor.

Now we can get back to the fundamentally contradictory forms of value in commodities and see

the significance of this contradiction for the very nature, character and limits of capitalist development. Under capitalism, and capitalism is unique in this respect, the use value or the usefulness of objects is not of central concern. It is not from use value but from exchange value that the capitalist realizes his surplus. The only purpose of use value under capitalism is as a repository of exchange value for obviously only objects of use to someone are exchangeable.

The distribution of use values within capitalist society then is essentially a subsidiary accidental side result of the creation of exchange values. In all other societies, oppressive or not, the creation and distribution of use values was the very center of the economic system while under capitalism it is only a by-product of the economic system. This means as long as the creation of more and more use values means the creation of more and more exchange value then these two forms of value grow simultaneously and everything is fine. But if a situation arises where in order to maintain the rate of surplus value accumulation there must actually be a decline in the creation of use values--so be it. This is known under capitalism as a period of 'crisis' 'panic' or 'depression'.

anarchy

It is essential process which places the limits on economic planning under capitalism. Under capitalism you cannot simply sit down and plan how many use values a particular society wishes to create considering both the needs of the society and the amount of labor time members of the society wish to devote to the creation of use values and then work out a system of distribution of these use values to fulfill the needs of the members of the society. You can do this only insofar as you do not disrupt the rate of surplus value production, the very key to the whole economic system.

It is this which brings in the element of 'anarchy and decay' into the capitalist social system which Trotsky points to as its essential weakness. Just look at capitalist American in 1968 to see what we mean. We have a tremendous productive capacity but side by side with our great plants and technology stand the ghettos, the millions of jobless, the decaying school system, our wars on other peoples like the Vietnam war. Automation has made great headway in America and objectively automation means the raising of the productivity of man to a point where all men live with their material needs well satisfied while the number of hours worked each day is steadily reduced. But to most American workers automation appears as a monster threatening their job, throwing them on the unemployment lines, etc.

Or look specifically at the Negro question. Just a short while ago the President's Advisory Committee stated that the ghetto uprisings which threatened the stability of the capitalist system

are caused by legitimate dissatisfaction with the poverty, joblessness, decay of life of the mass of the Negro people. Being sensible people these representatives of America's rulers made modest proposals for the spending of tens of billions to tackle these problems. Now a Poor People's march has been organized around similar demands.

But what does Congress do? It raises taxes and cuts back on the measly existing programs which effect the welfare of the mass of Negro people. Why? Because they are stupid? Because they would not prefer to buy off the Negro masses by a serious program of tackling their misery and oppression? No, the real reason lies in its most fundamental form in the basic contradiction in the commodity itself.

Congress cannot simply take the use values created in America, decide on the basis of our great capacity to produce far more than we do now, what the future level of use value production should be and then simply redistribute these use values in such a way as at least to ameliorate the situation of the American Negro. They cannot do that without threatening the very process of surplus value creation and if this is threatened then the whole system topples.

Historically the creation of value and use value developed together for a whole period and under capitalism the world saw a growth of goods man had never seen before. But at a certain point in the development of capitalist economics these two forms of value more in opposite directions, anarchy grows within the economy, and the capitalist system goes into decay threatening to take all mankind back to the barbarism out of which they so recently emerged unless the system is replaced with a higher system.

This is because precisely the greater is the growth of the productive forces the deeper is the contradiction between the productive forces and the capitalist system of the organization of production. To understand this process we must now turn to Marx's theory of crisis.



. . . A U. S. SLUM IN 1968

III. Marx's Theory of Crisis

The capitalist economy is a highly complex matter. It can only be understood by approaching it on a number of levels of abstraction. This is why the understanding of capitalism was and is the major challenge to the development of dialectics as opposed to formal thinking. Marx, having first involved himself in a philosophical struggle within the Young Hegelian movement, armed with a materialist understanding of dialectics, turned almost immediately to his study of capitalism. His famous "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" mark a transitional period when Marx was still breaking with Hegelian idealism and at the same time starting to probe political economy.

Many a Marxist has expressed disappointment that Marx never found time to develop dialectical materialism as a coherent philosophical system. But Marx felt that the day of philosophical systems had passed and the most effective way to develop dialectical thinking was in the very process of developing an understanding of capitalism. Thus "Capital" stands for us today not only as

the only scientific study of capitalism but also as an exposition of dialectics.

As long as economics confines itself to an empirical analysis of surface movements of various categories like "profit", "wages", "gross national product", "price", etc., it can understand nothing. Such economic 'theories' fall down particularly when the economy itself falls down. Crisis is seen by bourgeois economists as a matter of disequilibrium between various sections of the economy like production and consumption, rate of investment and the like. The theory goes as long as the economy can be manipulated to keep all its factors in balance then everything will be o.k.

Marx approached the question in a different way. While discussing in detail the surface movements of the capitalist economy, especially in volume two and three of "Capital," he always sought to understand the underlying movements of the capitalist system--movements that tend to go in precisely the opposite direction as the surface movements. It is out of the opposing movements in profit and capital accumulation that crisis develops in capitalist society.

capital

But first we must understand the two-fold character of capital itself. Capital is made up of 'constant capital' and 'variable capital'. Constant capital is roughly made up of the machinery used in the productive process. It is thus a repository of "dead labor"--that is its value was created in an earlier productive process involved in the making of the particular machine. It was

at that stage and only at that earlier stage that capitalists were able to extract surplus value. Variable capital is roughly analogous with the wages paid by the capitalists for the labor power used in the particular productive process. It is only out of variable capital that the capitalist can extract surplus value.

The general tendency of capital development is toward a constantly changing organic composition of capital--that is the proportion of dead labor increases over the proportion of living labor in the productive process. This we see around us in the growing mechanization of labor and in its most advanced form in the introduction of automation.

Mechanization is introduced precisely because it raises the level of productivity--that is it allows the capitalists to produce more commodities with less labor. Thus the worker spends more of his day producing surplus value for his employer and less producing his own subsistence. This allows for greater aggregate profits to be made by the capitalists despite the falling rate of profit caused by the changing organic composition of capital.

FREE. new catalog of

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS
243 E 10 St
NYC, NY 10003.

BOOKS

**PERIODICALS
PAMPHLETS**

**On Socialism
And
The Labor Movement**

oric role of the working capitalism is neither a as one new letter, Martin lies on the Left"; nor a ne late C. Wright Mills er of 'faith' as socialists eem to imply. This conce- pect Marx's whole scienti- society. If this analysis king class has nohistoric hat it is capitalism which e.

ist ment in the United States other countries, like the any, represent essentially y and large these people approach simply by ignor- n only with an unscientific t classes' 'extravagence' erty of the masses. This, ans of the past 2,000 years, 'vision', the 'model', the rom oppression, or what 'nonrepressive' society.

orial statement in one of Left' published (Vol. 7, e 'need to evolve a long- he only name for such a ey state. This vision is to them. The crystal deed. But perhaps the r as we proceed with today 'for one of the of the kind of society we be the kind of movement murkiness extends even he kind of movement they 'We have no real idea of will be at the center of a

Why? 'In view of the present socialist theory.' ch theoretical heights of is understandable that lication.

that the future socialist mined by the nature and st movement. This is character of the socialist determined by the needs xisting oppressive class ss rule exists those who require different methods l prevail in a society in n abolished. To seek to participatory democracy' he existing oppressive as Owen's and Fourier's ture communist societies ciety of the nineteenth

s will lead the revolution n the basis of a scientific he society. To attribute r central score to the

of Capitalism

or the creation of this er aspect of the economy ts upon this economy is g this surplus value. In fit system and the extent r is directly related to self a manifestation of was oncesuccinctly put al Motors is good for

ality treatment of value with the ect which is of no use ne use to someone else. can be exchanged either ct or indirectly with the mediately discover that ely contradictory but s within the commodity. se value and an exchange

way. Suppose we have a atches. Each of these e. This use is the quali- mmodity is quite distinct, the use of the commodity hanged. The ability of a a pencil to make marks rent and in no sense can o light a fire a pencil is



POVERTY CANNOT BE ABOLISHED UNDER CAPITALISM. AN ENGLISH SLUM IN 1872 . . .

'severe limitations of present socialist theory' is inaccurate. In reality a correct statement would be that this confusion arises from the severe limitations of non-Marxist socialist theory.

Ignorant

Today 150 years after the birth of Marx most socialists in the United States are as ignorant of Marx's essential works as was the author of 'Walden'. Thus utopian views predominate. It is not just a matter of the New Lefters. The so-called Marxist groups while claiming adherence to Marxism are just as ignorant of Marx's work. When, in the last ten years, has either 'Progressive Labor' or the 'International Socialist Review', published a serious article on Marx and political economy? In what way does Progressive Labor or The Socialist Workers Party mark the birth of the founder of Marxism?

The New Lefters openly proclaim their lack of faith in the working class and their considerable faith in the stability of capitalism. How do these groups answer this challenge? With the same religious method. It all adds up to 'Keep the Faith, Baby'. Someday the apocolypse will occur, capitalism will collapse and the workers will arise. Why? How? What is the present state of American capitalism and does it reflect or refute Marx's 101 year old analysis of capitalism? Such questions are beyond these 'Old Lefters' as well as the New Lefters.

useless and if you wish to write a letter a match book is useless.

But these same two objects are also equal quantitatively. That is you can exchange one pencil for one match book either directly as exchange was made in earlier society or indirectly through money as it is made today. This equal substance which makes their exchange possible is their value of exchange value. As we will see, the essential contradiction in capitalist society is right here in the most basic unit of capitalist economy the commodity.

value

The next question Marx tackles is the creation of value. Where does it come from? He concludes that it is man's labor which gives value to objects--the amount of time it takes to produce or even find the object. But labor also has a two-fold character--useful labor and abstract labor. Useful labor is the specific quality of the labor--such as carving, or hammering, or sewing, or painting and the like. Abstract labor refers to the quantitative aspect of labor--what makes the product of labor exchangeable as commodities. Here we are dealing not with the specifics of labor but the amount of labor power needed to produce whatever the object is.

While commodity production has existed as an aspect of a number of different forms of social organization encompassing all but the most primi-

tive societies, it is only under capitalism that commodity production becomes the dominant form of production. While under earlier forms of commodity production a surplus is realized through commercial operations such as trading (taking advantage of the higher price of a commodity in areas distant from where it is produced or out and out cheating) under capitalism a surplus is realized through the very process of producing commodities. This is done when labor power is actually sold by a worker as a commodity itself. As a commodity labor power reaches a price level more or less equal to its own costs of production, that is the subsistence of the possessor of the labor power.

But a man can be employed for a number of hours beyond those necessary to produce his own subsistence. During these additional hours he produces surplus value which the capitalist realizes through the selling of the articles the worker produces as his profit. It is the production of this surplus value which motivates the whole economic system. It is the one and only real regulator of the economy, the one and only motivating factor of the capitalists who own the means of production and employ labor.

Now we can get back to the fundamentally contradictory forms of value in commodities and see

the significance of this contra nature, character and limits of ment. Under capitalism, and o in this respect, the use value o objects is not of central conce use value but from exchange va list realizes his surplus. Th use value under capitalism is exchange value for obviously o to someone are exchangeable.

The distribution of use value society then is essentially a su side result of the creation o In all other societies, oppre creation and distribution of u very center of the economic s capitalism it is only a by-prod system. This means as long more and more use values me more and more exchange val forms of value grow simultan thing is fine. But if a situati order to maintain the rate of cumulation there must actualy creation of use values--so be under capitalism as a period of 'depression'.

anarchy

It is essential process whic on economic planning under c capitalism you cannot simply how many use values a particu to create considering both the ne and the amount of labor time society wish to devote to the cre and then work out a system these use values to fulfill the ne of the society. You can do th you do not disrupt the rate of duction, the very key to the whole

It is this which brings in the el and decay' into the capitalist sc Trotsky points to as its essenti look at capitalist American in 19 mean. We have a tremendous p but side by side with our great pla stand the ghettos, the million decaying school system, our war like the Vietnam war. Automati headway in America and objec means the raising of the produ point where all men live with the well satisfied while the number each day is steadily reduced. But workers automation appears as a ing their job, throwing them on lines, etc.

Or look specifically at the Ne a short while ago the President mittee stated that the ghetto threatened the stability of the

III. Marx's Theory of Crisis

The capitalist economy is a highly complex matter. It can only be understood by approaching it on a number of levels of abstraction. This is why the understanding of capitalism was and is the major challenge to the development of dialectics as opposed to formal thinking. Marx, having first involved himself in a philosophical struggle within the Young Hegelian movement, armed with a materialist understanding of dialectics, turned almost immediately to his study of capitalism. His famous "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" mark a transitional period when Marx was still breaking with Hegelian idealism and at the same time starting to probe political economy.

Many a Marxist has expressed disappointment that Marx never found time to develop dialectical materialism as a coherent philosophical system. But Marx felt that the day of philosophical systems had passed and the most effective way to develop dialectical thinking was in the very process of developing an understanding of capitalism. Thus "Capital" stands for us today not only as

the only scientific study of ca as an exposition of dialectics.

As long as economics confine pirical analysis of surface mov categories like "profit", "wages product", "price", etc., it can u Such economic 'theories' fall when the economy itself falls e seen by bourgeois economists a equilibrium between various sect like production and consumption, and the like. The theory goes as omy can be manipulated to keep balance then everything will be o

Marx approached the ques way. While discussing in detail t ments of the capitalist economy, ume two and three of "Capital," to understand the underlying mov talist system--movements that r cially the opposite direction as t ments. It is out of the oppos profit and capital accumulation ops in capitalist society.

capital

But first we must understand t acter of capital itself. Capita "constant capital" and "variabl stant capital is roughly made up used in the productive process. itory of "dead labor"--that is its ated in an earlier productive pr the making of the particular n

FREE- new catalog of

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS 243 E 10 St NYC, NY 10003.

BOOKS

PERIODICALS PAMPHLETS

On Socialism And The Labor Movement

The previously quoted Martin Nicolaus describes quite well this contradictory movement: 'What Baran and Sweezy in 'Monopoly Capital' have called the 'tendency of the surplus to rise' is not only not contradictory to Marx's law, but is in fact only another aspect of it. Marx was quite specific, and repeatedly so, in stating that the tendencial decline in the profit rate not only can but must lead to a corresponding rise in the mass of profits, and that a decline in the profit rate must tend to increase both the rate and mass of surplus (the surplus is computed only on the basis of necessary versus surplus labor time; but the profit is computed on the basis of investment in machinery also, which explains the seemingly contradictory movement of profit and surplus).

"Thus in the course of capitalist development, Marx held, the capitalist class tends to realize a smaller profit rate on its investments, but the volume of profits, as well as the rate and volume of the surplus which it controls, tends to grow disproportionately faster. For example, an 18th century manufacturer employing one thousand workers with hand tools might make a profit of fifty percent, for a mass profit measured in a few thousands of dollars; but a modern corporation with an equal number of workers, and a multi-million-dollar investment in machinery, may make only five percent, but its profits may also be in millions."

This of course explains the great tendency towards mammoth monopolistic corporations, which has marked capital development in advanced countries since the turn of the century and is presently proceeding at a feverish pace as any issue of the Wall Street Journal illustrates.

contradictory

While Nicolaus understands this what he fails to understand is that this contradictory movement of surface growth in aggregate profit while the underlying rate of profit is declining is precisely what throws the capitalist system into crisis. The underlying movement of the rate of profit is the more fundamental and at a certain point threatens aggregate profit. For just as economic necessity forces the organic composition of capital to change the changing composition of capital proceeds to the point where rate of profit falls so low that the rise in productivity can no longer compensate for it and aggregate profit falls.

profit

At such a point the capitalist must seek to restore the rate of profit. They cannot do this by lessening their dependence on dead labor (machinery) without destroying the great corporations in the process and bringing productivity back to the level of early capitalism. What happens rather is a slowing up of productivity advances while the capitalist seeks to lower its labor costs. Labor, however, is paid at a subsistence level. But subsistence is a social question. Subsistence in the United States may mean \$100 a week while in Africa it may mean \$100 a year.

The capitalists thus must declare war on the working class to force its living standards back to a more primitive level prior to the general growth of surplus in the economy as a whole in which the worker had partially shared.

decline

The capitalist system as a whole had reached the point where the falling rate of profit constantly threatened to bring down aggregate profit by the time of World War I. It has been in a period of decay and crisis ever since plunging the world into war, depression and fascism. When the profit squeeze is on the rivalries between national capitalist states grows intense in particular in the struggle for new areas of investment in the world where higher profit rates are still possible -- such as the underdeveloped countries. So while the productive forces developed by capitalism demand more and more a smooth and rational international division of labor making national boundaries archaic and reactionary, national rivalries grow throwing the world into two great world wars

and today preparing the world for a third one.

There are of course periods of capitalist development within this general framework such as the 1920's and the 1950's. But these periods of relative boom and expansion only pave the way for deeper crises like the depression of the 1930's. At that time the profit rate was restored temporarily at the expense of a tremendous destruction in use values bringing the whole level of economy way down throwing millions out of work while factories stood empty and quiet and people were starving in the streets. Nothing shows more graphically than a depression the fact that in the present period of decline of capitalism value and use value work in opposite directions and the defence of value leads to the wholesale destruction of use value.

fascism

As we can see this economic crisis of capitalism requires a class struggle on the part of the capitalists to take from the workers that small share of the surplus they had gained in the period of monopoly capital development. It is the needs of this struggle, which to be effective requires the destruction of all working class organs of defense against the capitalists -- unions and political parties -- that leads to the development of authoritarian and fascist tendencies. This is the background for the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain in the '30s and the danger of a similar development in the current period.

The crisis in the United States today takes the form in appearance of a financial crisis -- the

express only their own ignorance both of Marx's views and of the economic problems presently facing the American capitalists.

negro

Already we can see the beginnings of this underlying crisis finding expression in the appearance of the political economy. This is expressed in the inability of the capitalists to tackle social problems like the Negro problem when all their economic resources must be directed to an attempt to forestall the rate of profit decline from bringing down aggregate profit with it.

These underlying movements of the economy help make clear the surface movements of the class and help us to understand why future struggles in America will be quite different from an impressionistic projection of 'contemporary' struggle. The Negro question shows this most clearly. The Negro, who in large numbers stands either outside the productive process or confined to aspects of the productive process most distant from where the great surplus is being created (service industries, small shops, small farms, etc.) has shared less than the working class as a whole in the general growth of the surplus in the past period. It is precisely this being outside the general prosperity of the country which has led to Negro militancy and the particular form of Negro struggle with its Black nationalism and hostility to the working class as a whole as part of the supposedly 'oppressor white society.'



RUSSIA 1917 - THE WORKERS TAKE POWER UNDER LEADERSHIP OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY

battle to hold the line of the price of gold and the balance of payments deficit -- primarily because of the nature of the capitalist boom of the 1950's. This boom was made possible partly by the destruction of industry in World War II in Europe which opened up great investment possibilities for American capital at a higher rate than in the United States. But in large measure it was also made possible by credit expansion and the creation of fictitious capital particularly in the form of accepting dollars as the equivalent of gold even when dollar circulation abroad outstripped gold holding here four to one.

But real value must inevitably reassert itself sooner or later and when it does, as it is doing now, its impact is all the more devastating. As Marx said in 'Capital': 'In the midst of all the accidental and ever fluctuating relations between products, the labor time socially necessary for their production forcibly asserts itself like an overriding law of nature. The law of gravity thus asserts itself when a house falls about our ears.' While in the 1950's social equilibrium was maintained in the United States at the expense of great economic disequilibrium, today economic equilibrium must be established even at the cost of social disequilibrium.

Recently William McChesney Martin, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, stated that the United States is in its worst financial crisis since 1931. Of course he noted that in 1931 the crisis was a deflationary one while today it takes an inflationary form. But the form is not the central matter -- it is the underlying content of crisis which counts. Even more recently Senator Robert Kennedy issued an economic paper as part of his campaign for the presidency which makes clear this understanding is not confined to the bankers but is found among every section of the capitalist rulers. He sums up the three present dangers of the American economy as follows: 'Inflation and the budget deficit, the balance-of-payments deficit and the declining ratio of productivity to labor costs'. Clearly the solution to the first two problems requires the tackling of the third -- 'the declining ratio of productivity to labor costs'. And this is simply another way of stating Marx's concept of the falling rate of profit. Those who view Marx as out of date

At this stage of the crisis of capitalism, the capitalists are incapable of bringing the Negro masses into the productive process in a meaningful way and wiping out in the process the ghettos, slums, etc. But this inability is only a manifestation of the fact that the underlying crisis of capitalism is reaching a point where the capitalists must prepare now for an onslaught not just on the Negro masses but in particular on the working class at the point where the great surpluses are being produced -- mass basic industry. Here is where they must restore the profit rate.

center

Thus the character of the struggles in the future must of necessity change as the central arena becomes basic industry and the questions raised in basic industry will not be race versus race but class versus class. This will be the central struggle for precisely because the Negro is at least in part excluded from the productive process so to that measure he is powerless. Power is in production and the great power of the working class is its ability to withdraw its labor power -- to strike and then finally to take the productive apparatus in its own hands and rebuild society on the socialist basis of production for use not profit.

Just as the capitalist prepares today for its attack on the workers in basic industry so must socialists today prepare for the counterattack of the industrial working class. It is only as part of this fundamental struggle of the workers that Negro liberation is possible. Thus our insistence on the central role of the working class is no matter of 'faith' but rather a matter of a scientific understanding of capitalism.

encourage

We hope this brief discussion of Marx and his views will encourage American socialists to break once and for all with utopian notions no more effective today than Christianity was in Roman times and just as capable of serious counter-revolutionary purposes. What is needed most of all today is for American socialists to take up the serious study of the works of the man born 150 years ago to whom so many claim allegiance and about whose works so few know anything.

10 issue intro sub \$. 50
one year subscription \$ 2.00

NAME _____
STREET _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

bulletin rm. 8 243 e. 10 st. nyc

FRENCH STUDENTS AND WORKERS ATTACK V PLAN

by M. Farrell

On Monday, May 13, over 300,000 students, teachers and workers marched in solidarity through the streets of Paris singing the Internationale and carrying banners that read 'Students, Teachers, Workers Together'. It was a massive show of support by trade unionists all over France for the student demonstrators who had been viciously attacked by the police on May 6, and again on May 10.

On May 6, almost 400 youth were injured when police attacked a demonstration to protest the arrest of the students on May 3, to demand the re-opening of the Sorbonne and the removal of the police from the Latin Quarter where the Sorbonne is located. On May 10, 10-20,000 high school and college youth marched up the Boulevard St.-Michel in the heart of the student district. On that day the police had blocked off many streets, including the bridges leading to the Right Bank of the city.

The students began to construct barricades out of paving stones and overturned cars. They waited tensely behind their barricades while a group of students attempted to negotiate with the university rector. No concessions were made to the student demands and the police were given the order to 'clean out' the streets.

The brutality of the French police was unparalleled. First, tear gas was used, forcing the students to abandon the first barricades which were immediately set on fire. The police then resorted to more insidious types of gas grenades, such as chloroform, phosphorous and sulphur bombs used in 1914 and during the Algerian war. Students retaliated with what weapons they could; paving stones, sand blasters and molotov cocktails. Residents of the area openly aided the students by helping them construct barricades, hitting the cops with flower pots and dousing the

students to relieve the effects of the gas. By dawn, 400 youth had been injured and even more were arrested.

FER

The Workers League fully supports the courageous French students and in particular the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER) which forced the Stalinist leadership of UNEF (National Union of French Students) to support the actions and call a strike.

In the leadership of these student struggles was the newly formed FER. It was set up at a conference held in Paris on April 27 and 28 as a result of a long fight by revolutionary students within the UNEF against Stalinists and revisionists. At this conference the secretary of the newly elected national committee summed up the views of FER as follows: 'We have to show how to build a revolutionary party and the revolutionary youth organization. We can answer the struggle of the German students, East and West, by showing that there is no solution without a struggle on the same level as the working class. In the present crisis the working class is coming on the scene. The heart of the problem is our capacity to build this organization. No one will do it but us. When we proclaim FER we engage in this struggle to build the organization for the destruction of the bourgeois state. Long Live FER! Long Live the revolutionary organization!'

Fraternal delegates from the British Young Socialists and the Organization Communiste Internationale, (French section, International Committee, Fourth International) brought greetings to the conference.

forerunners

As we said in a previous article on Columbia, these battles are the forerunners of tremendous workers struggles which are on the agen-

da in the advanced capitalist countries. The unity of workers and students on May 13 have exposed the cynics who say that the working class is dead and can never join with the youth. Not only can they be united, but it is the only road to lead these student struggles to a higher political level and to begin to pose a serious threat to the ruling class. Workers must



200 DELEGATES ATTEND FOUNDING CONFERENCE OF FER

be warned that such police brutality will be used against them when they fight to defend minimum standards of living against the bosses.

This is the type of action needed here in the U.S. where Columbia students gained nothing after occupying school buildings for several days.

We believe that students and working class youth must take the lead in reaching the working class and posing the necessity of a united political struggle for power. This is the real issue behind all these struggles.

CP

This type of perspective is opposed by the French Communist Party which controls the largest labor union in France, the General Confed-

eration of Labor. During the week of May 3, the CP denounced the students as 'adventurers' and as idle bourgeois youth in an attempt to divide the workers from the students. However by May 11 they completely exposed themselves by doing an about face and came out with pious protests of police brutality. They were forced by the angry rank and file to call a 24 hour general strike as was UNEF which has a long history of betrayal and sabotage of student demonstrations.

When the CP realized it would have to support a general strike, it did so with the intention of keeping it

within safe limits, carefully restricting their slogans to amnesty for students, removal of police etc. After the strike, they hope to let the whole thing blow over while assuring workers that they will demand the convening of an extraordinary session of the National Assembly to discuss the situation.

But DeGaulle has no intention of discussing anything and announced that he would not tolerate student violence.

The CP talks about protest and intends to do nothing that will upset its Left Coalition with capitalists such as the so-called 'left' Mitterand. This means that any struggle against DeGaulle and the V Plan will be stifled by them. In Poland, the Stalinists used the same tac-

tics of dividing the workers and students but it did not succeed there either.

plan

The V Plan is geared to the necessity of French capitalism to upgrade and modernize its industries to be competitive on the world market. This means automation and 'rationalization', i.e. reduction of the work force. Unemployment is rapidly growing in industrial centers while the poor individual farmer is driven to poverty.

The Fouchet Reform is intended to revamp the educational system to create an elite of docile technicians and specialists who will be the future leaders of the country. What this means in practice is that admission to the university is becoming increasingly a right of the privileged few as more and more working class youth are excluded. In fact, a calculated percentage of youth will not pass the tough entrance exams and will be thrown on to the unemployment lines. Those who are admitted will have practically no mobility at all, being forced to remain within a chosen area of study throughout their education. The stifling pedagogic atmosphere will remain.

The University of Nanterre in suburban Paris is an example of the future course of French universities. More and more American type campuses will be built in an effort to create an enclosed isolated environment that will separate students from the rest of the population. The V Plan is a vicious two pronged attack on both workers and students aimed at making them the tool of the French ruling class. Any resistance, as was seen last week, will be met with ruthless suppression.

hail

There is no such thing as just a university or just a student struggle. American students must hail the fight of the French students as their own fight but, more important, learn from these struggles to prepare for similar battles here in the future.

swp picnics with lindsay at meadow

by Marty Jonas

NEW YORK--Predictably the Militant has called the April 27th demonstration in New York 'another giant step forward.'

This is the demonstration where over one third of the people wore McCarthy pins. This is the demonstration where the Parade Committee--with the assent, if not the enthusiastic approval of the SWP--invited Kennedy, McCarthy, Mayor Lindsay and Borough President Sutton. Only Lindsay and Sutton could make it.

And while the participants at Sheep Meadow were getting ready to hear Mayor Lindsay's greetings, Mayor Lindsay's cops were making mincemeat out of an unauthorized feeder march in Washington Square. The Militant expresses its 'full solidarity' with the

Washington Square victims.

pai

A few pages later, the SWP pats itself and the anti-war movement on the back for dragging the Mayor down to Sheep Meadow.

'The growing strength of the antiwar movement was attested to by the city administration. With the two-faced stance typical of capitalist aspirants for the highest offices, Mayor Lindsay first appeared at the 'loyalty' parade of a few thousand and then hustled over to greet the huge throng at Central Park. (A few hours previously Lindsay's cops had brutally attacked an antiwar group in Washington Square).'

That is, the Mayor was forced by the growing strength of the antiwar movement to adopt a progressive stance.

To the SWP, everybody is moving in their direction, to everyone into a position eventually where they can be blocked with. Yesterday it was the left Gaullists in France, today it's Mayor Lindsay

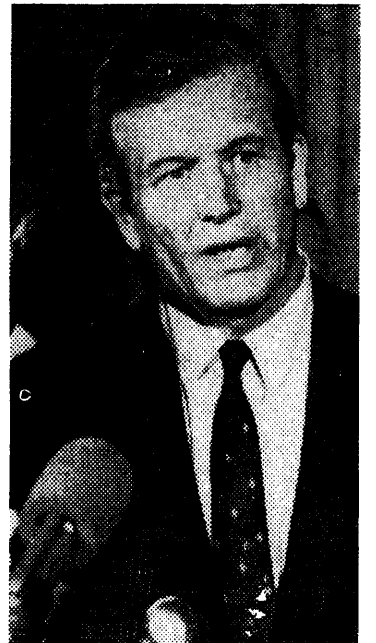
swallow

The SWP has paid a high price for this kind of unity. To keep all these strange bedfellows together, they have jettisoned every last bit of revolutionary principle until they are totally unrecognizable from the Trotskyist party they were ten years ago. For the sake of unity they have consistently kept politics out of the peace movement. The movement receiving no political direction or alternative from the leadership of the SWP, CP, or their pacifist cronies is left

totally open to serious disorientation from the right.

With this history it was inevitable that the dove campaigns should confuse and swallow up such a large portion of the peace movement. It is also inevitable that a movement so accommodating should welcome to its platform a notorious strikebreaker like Lindsay whose only interest in the peace movement is to see that it is safely contained in dove politics or no politics. It was a short walk from one loyalty parade to another.

The SWP will continue to express its 'full solidarity' with the Washington Square victims by making the antiwar movement an even safer place for Mayor Lindsay. They will surely struggle harder next time to have a fuller representation by the doves.



THIS STRIKEBREAKER WAS WELCOME

MINNESOTA TEACHERS FACE VIGILANT FIGHT

by a Teacher
MINNEAPOLIS-For the last few years, American teachers have themselves been going to school...the school of the class struggle! They have been learning some valuable, if costly, lessons, in the same hard way that workers in America's basic industries learned them more than a generation ago. Namely, that improved working conditions, better pay and humane treatment are not freely granted by bosses—and that the preservation of these rights requires a vigilant struggle.

Today almost every teacher realizes that neither smug professionalism nor meekness can win justice. Militant remarks and challenges to 'learn to understand the nature of power and how to exert it' were greeted with cheers at a recent teachers' rally in Minneapolis. And this by the President of the Minnesota Education Association, the group that loudly condemned 'unprofessional pressure tactics' only a short while ago.

The acts of militancy by many local chapters of the National Education Association are wholly new in the last year. It has given a boost to teachers' bargaining power. But it raises some fundamental questions for the American Federation of Teachers.

leadership

The newly aggressive spirit reflects the intense ferment within the NEA. They can no longer hold members in the old ways. But why do these newly-militant NEA

teachers remain loyal to the fundamentally conservative group? Why has there not been a mass influx into the union, now that its existence has been so decisively vindicated? One of the most knotty problems facing Minneapolis local 59, AFT, in its current negotiations with the Board of Education, is that the union cannot speak as the one powerful voice of all the city's teachers. With hardly more than half of Minneapolis teachers in the local, the city administration can rightfully set up artificial bargaining "councils" and carry on negotiations with other groups behind the union's back.

Still, how can one seriously expect NEA-oriented teachers to come over to the union? Local 59's leadership cannot even inspire confidence among its present membership! In the midst of critical contract negotiations, less than 5% of the membership bothered to attend a meeting called to discuss the negotiations. Now, while negotiations are going on, is the time to get members fired up, not when things reach the stage of voting final acceptance of an offer. The union leadership has received no substantive guidance from its national office. They have not offered a real program capable of building enthusiastic support from within or winning over additional members.

In reality, Local 59 has been little more than a tail on the kite of the NEA and suburban schools. During these negotiations the union has not

presented any serious and independent demands of its own. It has abdicated its role as leader of the teachers. Even before the suburbs were settled, leadership declared to its membership only that it 'will accept nothing less from the Minneapolis school board than a salary and fringe benefits package which surpasses the settlements of any of the surrounding communities.'

consider

Already it is too late for the union to influence the present negotiations decisively. It is all the more crucial, therefore, to begin immediately to prepare for the next round. There are two vitally important areas that call for immediate attention. Work on them is essential to expose the true character of the essentially "company union" NEA, and to assure survival of the AFT.

First there is Minnesota's prohibition of the right of government workers to strike. We must begin immediately and resolutely to remove this threat to every teacher and civil employee. The unions in this state have been critically lax in their indifference to a statute that ultimately threatens every worker in the state. The AFT must lead the struggle to restore the right to strike—every working man's most fundamental right. It must wage a campaign that involves every union. If the NEA is seriously concerned with the interests of its members, and if it wants the privilege of fusing with Local 59 on a basis of parity, then let it demonstrate by joining with the union in this crucial struggle.

And we teachers must also consider the sources for financing education. It is not

enough to make demands for higher wages and better school facilities. We have an obligation to present a realistic plan to pay for these very necessary improvements. In Minneapolis, the current School Board offer will mean that all working people, already burdened by inflation and taxes, will bear an additional \$10 year tax load—the expenses are merely being passed on to them.

We must begin the struggle to defend our current conditions, as well as improving old ways and finding new ways to finance education. This money will have to come from large corporations, wealthy real estate interests and the tax-free holdings of the church.

problems

There are other problems which demand solution too. Conscientious teachers know the scope of the problems, and offers of higher wages alone are an insult to their integrity. They demand a beginning toward overcoming such problems as: crowded classrooms, hazardous buildings, lack of pupil motivation, disciplinary problems, inadequate materials, excessive teaching loads, the virtual non-existence of sabbatical leaves, the quantity and quality of substitute teachers, the multiplication of routine, non-teaching duties.

The most potent but least understood potential ally of the union teacher is the student. The older pupils, particularly are the least understood, and yet potentially the most reliable, devoted, and resourceful allies of the teachers. For too long the unreasonably suspicious, arrogant and/or fearful attitude of the teacher has affected his relationship with his pupils.

These archaic prejudices cannot serve our ends, but only those of the enemies of decent, meaningful education.

In place of a negative approach to the problems of discipline, union teachers should take the lead in working with both the pupils and their parents to work out an acceptable solution. In many schools, it might be possible to use student guards, democratically elected by the pupils, to prevent harassment of both teachers and pupils by rowdy students. Such committees would have standing and authority, and would get a more sympathetic response from the entire school than the city's current program of stationing policemen in and around the schools. And democratically-elected student guards would also be a progressive alternative to the right-wing proposal of "community control" made by some black power advocates who have begun to acquire a vested interest in the perpetuation of the ghetto.

demonstrations

Last year in Minneapolis, the pupils themselves initiated spontaneous demonstrations in several of the high schools in an effort to restore many of the serious slashes made in their school budget. Both the Florida and San Francisco teacher stoppages recently were strengthened greatly by the enthusiastic support of large numbers of "vacationing" students. A correct estimation of the potential of student support, as well as a clear-headed view of the basic problems before us, is the only hope we have in the great struggles before us in the schools.

reuther prepares split with afl-cio

RANKS OPPOSE LEADERSHIP AT CONVENTION - DEMAND CONTROL

by Dan Fried

The recently concluded Atlantic City convention of the United Auto Workers marked one more step by UAW President Walter Reuther toward a split with George Meany and the parent AFL-CIO. The UAW will face automatic suspension for non-payment of dues to the AFL-CIO. While the convention voted special powers for the union's executive board to take any steps it felt necessary to set up a rival, Reuther dominated labor federation, the final break may not come until next December. Reuther, who had earlier boasted about his ability to organize an anti-Meany caucus, has found himself quite isolated from most of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who are still going along with Meany.

It is perhaps ironic that Reuther who may find himself soon on the outside of the AFL-CIO was a major leader of the move which tossed the so-called communist dominated unions out of the CIO in the late forties, and in this was unrivalled in his vicious anti-communist witch hunting; that once again Reuther went

along 100% with Meany's expulsion of the Teamsters in 1957 and has enjoyed an uninterrupted friendship with Bobby Kennedy through every moment of the latter's vendetta against Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa.

phrases

All of Reuther's phrase mongering about making the labor movement into 'a vital force', 'a creative force', 'mobilization of the broad force of America who need to be mobilized', his complaints that Meany has not organized the unorganized or supported 'the poor'—all of this is so much empty talk as long as Reuther continues his alliance with liberal Democrats such as Humphrey, Kennedy, Morse et al. who are leaders of the new offensive against labor and the working class.

Reuther's revolt against Meany has all the earmarks of the mildest of palace revolutions, unlike the great struggles of workers in open defiance of William Green's AFL bureaucracy in the '30s. It is a joke for Reuther to call for a revival of the ra-

dical spirit and zeal of the '30s when at the same time, according to a UAW executive board member, "The guys in the shop couldn't care less" about the impending split with Meany. And no wonder—the guys in the shop who are most concerned with the union's ability to fight worsening plant conditions and the erosion of the union's strength on the shop floor, the erosion of income through inflation and new taxes—do not see the split as part of a real battle with GM, Ford and Chrysler. That is something they could get excited about.

divide

We say that another split in the American trade union movement can only further weaken and divide the working class just at a time when the class needs unity to fight back against the employer's offensive. What is needed today is not more splits but the readmission into the AFL-CIO of the Teamsters, the ILWU, the ILA, UE and any other unions now outside the official labor movement. Then a battle can be waged inside the AFL-CIO on a rank and

file not bureaucratic level for a program of united struggle against the bosses and their government.

real

The real issue at the convention as far as rank and file militants are concerned, was the continued leadership of Reuther and his machine itself. This was expressed implicitly by the United Caucus which unsuccessfully sought to institute union procedure of referendum. 'one man, one vote' elections of officers and major decisions which are now made by convention delegates who are of course very much subject to the pressure of the Reuther machine on the floor of the convention. Opposition spokesmen complained correctly about the great gulf between the International leadership and the workers in the shops. While the opposition which attempted to democratize the union was overruled by a large majority, the leadership admitted that this represented the 'best organized, best financed, most active' battle against Reuther's leadership since 1946. It is certainly true that

this opposition needs to develop a program in opposition to Reuther for a real battle against the auto barons in 1970, for a real battle of the entire labor movement for a labor party. At the same time, the call for democratization of the UAW is 100% valid. To call this campaign "diversionary" as does the "Worker," with evident approval notes that delegates "who have traditionally been on the left in UAW affairs" opposed the referendum. The "Worker" is expectedly doing its darndest to provide a left cover for Reuther just as they do for Livingston and all the other bureaucrats who support reform and "dove" Democrats.

Bulletin of International Socialism

Editor - Tim Wohlforth
Art Director - Marty Jonas
Printed by union labor.
Published bi-weekly by the
Workers League which is
in political solidarity with
the International Committee
of the Fourth International.
Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St.
New York 10003.