

hospital workers fight poverty wages

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LBJ GIVES POOR TEAR GAS, TROOPS



WORKERS LEAGUE MARCHES AGAINST THE DISBANDING OF REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS IN FRANCE AS PART OF UNITED DEMONSTRATION IN NYC

FRANCE

TROTSKYISTS JAILED GAULLIST FORCES GAIN IN ELECTIONS

by a Bulletin Reporter
 WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The government has answered the demands of the Poor People's Campaign - not with the billions needed to wipe out the ills of poverty but with tear-gas and jailings. The police wasted no time in breaking up Resurrection City. So

on their way to confront Congress were thrown in jail. As Abernathy himself put it, "We have made our appeal, we have demonstrated our plight, but Congress remains a cynical bastion of the status quo."

bow

The tear gas and jailings follow on the heels of the large

denunciatory. "We will not bow down to the racist Congress. We will not bow down to an Administration that refuses to administrate the blessings of this nation to the poor."

But bow they did as they were led off to jail a few days later.

This disastrous ending to the Poor People's Campaign must be contrasted to the potential strength gathered for the first time in decades and demonstrated on Solidarity Day. Over 100,000 people marched and over half of these were rank and file trade unionists, black and white, young and old, from all over the country. Huge delegations

many more. The trade unionists carried signs and banners hung on their buses demanding a living wage for all, jobs, and an end to discrimination.

solidarity

The spirit at the March was one of real solidarity as organized workers marched with the poor and unemployed, black with white, young with old. Here the working class came together in unity on class issues. This solidarity combined with the strong show of support from the organized working class posed in embryo the basis for future struggles.

But what is clear as the campaign's end nears is that the methods of struggle of the leadership of the campaign cannot win even the minimal demands made by the poor. We must go beyond protest. Instead of submitting to the government by willingly going to the governments jails, a fight must be begun against the government.

The U.S. ruling class and its representatives in Congress, the Democrats and Republicans, have absolutely no intention of meeting the demands of the poor. Rather they are preparing an attack on the organized workers to lower their standard of living to the level of the poor. The capitalist class is not stupid - they are incapable of raising the standard of living of the entire working class, because of the financial crisis of their system. Rather, they must preserve their profits by making the working class pay.

party

The answer the capitalists give to the poor is "law and

order." But we must answer not with pacifity, getting our heads beat in and being thrown into jail but with a political struggle against this government which cannot meet our needs. We must replace the representatives of the bosses in Congress with our own representatives. We must begin building a party which has the power and the program to wipe out poverty and provide the needs of the entire working class. This party, a labor party, must be based on the organized trade union movement which has the power to make these changes in solidarity with the unemployed.

This is why the trade union movement must now build on their participation on Solidarity Day by taking up the struggle for the demands of the poor and by waging an all out campaign to root out every bit of racism. They must begin to break from the Democrats and Republicans and begin the serious business of building a political arm of the working class.

The preachers have nothing but dreams to offer. But dreams cannot fill stomachs or pay rents. The only alternative the working class has is not to protest under the leadership of the preachers, but to now go on the offensive under the leadership of the powerful trade union movement in a real campaign to replace the government which only offers promises and police with a government which will run this country in the interests of the majority of people, the working class, which will organize the economy not for the profit of a few but to meet the needs of the many.

100,000 MARCH:

LBJ GIVES POOR TEAR GAS COPS



WASHINGTON POLICE WITH TEAR GAS GUNS CLEAR RESURRECTION CITY

ends over a month long campaign by the poor to get their just demands. The frustration and futility of the leadership's protest is evident as those who

and successful "Solidarity Day" march. The frustration of the leadership was expressed that day. There were many strong speeches, militant and

were identifiable by their paper hats and placards. They came from the TWU, UAW, 1199, District 65, SSEU, AFT, Hotel-Motel Employees and

hospital workers fight poverty wages

by a Hospital Worker
 New York, June 25--20, 000 workers in New York's voluntary hospitals face a July 1st contract deadline in their negotiations. The fight of these members of Local 1199 has tremendous national significance. The impending strike, whatever its outcome, will be one of the most crucial union battles of 1968.

1199 is demanding a minimum weekly salary of \$100 which represents a \$24 increase. Other important demands include a pension for the first time for hospital workers, and an upgrading program financed by the bosses which will permit workers to train on the job for better job opportunities.

The 1199 members are mostly black and Puerto Rican workers from New York's

sprawling slums. All the hospital workers, however, black and white, skilled and unskilled, must wage and are waging a common fight. The significance of their demands in relation to millions of other low-paid workers across the country is obvious. A victory for the hospital workers will be a very important victory for all of these workers. The federal government as well as bosses in all the so called service industries are undoubtedly keeping a sharp eye on this fight.

The 1199 settlement will affect organizing efforts not only among hospital workers but among millions of others as well. From all angles the 1968 hospital contract showdown is of crucial importance.

strike

As the strike date approaches, hospital workers face some key issues. They must wage an all-out fight for their demands. Although the 1199 leadership has implied that the \$100 minimum is to be achieved during the life of the 2 year contract, there is widespread sentiment for fighting for the \$100 in 1968. It is clear that the hospital workers are eager for a fight for both the fringe and the wage demands.

Many militant workers are insisting that a solid citywide strike be clearly proposed and planned for if there is no settlement. As of this date all signs point to a stiffening of the bosses' position. But the 1199 leadership still insists on refusing to use the word strike or on making clear that a citywide action is planned, in which the workers all go out and stay out until there is a settlement. The bosses are more prepared for a strike and for a long strike if necessary than is the leadership of the union.

Rank and file workers are also demanding that the union leadership begin to mobilize labor support, that it take steps to increase the union's strike fund, appeal for all unions to respect the picket lines, and appeal for aid from all workers and trade unionists. 'By preparing in this serious way the hospital workers will be in the strongest position to win their demands.

So far the union leadership has either ignored the bosses' propaganda or answered it evasively and incompletely. The bosses, of course, point to the non-profit character of their institutions and plead poverty. They seek to mobilize public opinion against the 'unrealistic' demands of the

workers.

games

First of all the bosses cannot be answered by pretending that a strike is not a strike. When the Shanker leadership of the teachers tried that approach in the form of mass resignations last fall it led not to victory but to defeat. Support for the hospital workers cannot be won by pretending or playing games. New York's more than one million trade unionists as well as all other potential supporters of 1199 must be clearly told that a strike is threatened and will come if the hospital bosses insist, as in the past, on the hospital workers paying for the financial crisis of the hospitals through poverty wages. There must be a clear and open fight for the hospital workers' just demands. The hospital workers as well as hundreds of thousands of other workers are ready for this fight.

The union has stated that the hospital workers will not in effect subsidize the hospitals any longer. The hospital workers by their demands are, whether they realize it or not, exposing the crisis of the hospitals and of the entire capitalist system. But it is not enough to say



LEON DAVIS

that the hospital workers won't pay anymore or that it is a "community" responsibility. The union can put forward a program to meet this crisis, and thus undercut the propaganda of the bosses.

political

A program to solve this crisis is of course a political question, and hospital workers cannot evade these political issues. These issues will become even sharper as big business politicians like Lindsay and Rockefeller are forced to intervene, and as the full weight of the hospital bosses and all their powerful "friends" is brought to bear. Hospital workers and all workers can only fight back effectively through their own political instrument, a labor party, as the 1968 struggle will confirm.

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by Lucy St. John

In 1966 Mao launched the "cultural revolution", mobilizing millions of "Red Guards", forces outside the Communist Party, against that section of the bureaucracy which represented a threat to the gains of the Chinese Revolution, that section which looked to closer collaboration with the imperialists, the forces which represented the dangers of capitalist restoration. At that time the Workers League along with the International Committee of the Fourth International stated unequivocally that it was the duty of every Marxist to defend the Chinese Revolution and give conditional support to the Red Guards. In such a struggle we could not be neutral. At the same time we pointed out the contradictions within the "cultural revolution"--that the threat posed by the conservative section of the Chinese bureaucracy was inherent within the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy in China, that the struggle unleashed by Mao against the right wing would eventually be turned against him.

In the January 30, 1967 issue of the Bulletin, we stated: "In the first place the fact that Mao had to turn to a force essentially outside the CCP, the mass of 100 million youth, is itself an unanswerable indictment of the decay of the CCP, of the Stalinized bureaucratic nature of this party. Secondly once the youth are mobilized in an independent struggle against bureaucratic conservatism it will be no easy task to reverse this process, to restabilize bureaucratic rule in China. Thus, the objective act of mobilizing the youth can have revolutionary implications that go far beyond the wishes of the initiators of the process."

faucet

Clearly today this position is being confirmed by events in China. Mao is finding it increasingly difficult to turn off the faucet which he turned on, as the struggle against bureaucracy by sections of the Red Guard in Canton and Hunan begin to threaten politically the entire bureaucracy, Mao included.

Events in China reveal the growth of a group of "ultra-leftists" who are calling for a new revolution to establish an egalitarian form of socialism in which officials would have no privileges and would be elected and easily impeached. This section of the Red Guards has become increasingly hostile to the conservatism of the military control of the revolutionary committees, the governing bodies of the "cultural revolution." They see these military men and party officials as no different from the conservative forces which they mobilized to defeat.

The officials have been labeled as "Red capitalists", "bourgeoisie" and "bureaucrats." The left-wing Red Guards call for the original formulation by Mao of the establishment of a "Paris Commune." They attack Mao's retreat on this and his substitution of Revolutionary



WHERE DO THE RED GUARDS GO FROM HERE?

Committees controlled by the generals and party officials. They call for a new revolutionary struggle by the workers and peasants against the bureaucracy. This section of the Red Guards is calling for the formation of a party to oppose the bureaucratic CCP which will fight for revolutionary changes and the end to a privileged bureaucracy.

While the program of the Red Guards is not entirely clear and contains much of Mao's utopianism, the struggle of these forces represents a step beyond Mao. Clearly, this section understands that Mao's program of political reform of the bureaucracy is not sufficient and that what is needed is a revolution against all the forces of the bureaucracy for the establishment of power by the masses.

contradictions

The political crisis in China is a reflection of the contradictions of Stalinism. Such struggles are also being reflected in the Soviet Bloc countries. The conservatism within the CCP is the result of the nature of the Chinese state. The state rather than being thrown up democratically from below by the revolutionary masses was slowly formed from on top by the bureaucratic leaders of the revolution. Mao's theory of the bloc of four classes justified theoretically the incorporation of whole sections of the Kuomintang administrative apparatus within the state apparatus. These administrators form the material base for the growth of conservative and conciliatory policies within China, seeking to advance their privileges, and follow the comfortable life of their cohorts in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

At the same time the bureaucracy bases its power on the gains of the Chinese Revolution, the socialized property relations. Thus, Mao in order to maintain his power which is threatened by the conservative forces launches an attack on the right. But this mobilization of the masses has its own contradictions, which are being expressed today.

productivity

The crisis racking China is the same crisis running

rampant through all the workers states. At bottom lies the lower level of productivity in these countries when compared with the advanced capitalist countries. This means that despite the nationalized property forms inequality keeps reasserting itself in the distribution system. This is because the famous communist motto: "from each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs" can only be realized on the basis of an economy on a higher level than the most developed capitalist economy.

Thus capitalism is constantly

DEAL LOOMS IN STEEL

by Dan Fried

With less than 5 weeks to go before the Aug. 1 Steel Industry contract expiration deadline the leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USW) headed by President I.W. Abel, is apparently going to great lengths to avoid a possible strike. Rather than warning the 11 steel companies headed by United States Steel, or even putting up a show of militancy, Abel has been all sweetness and light. The latest news is that union officials report the settlement of most of the 'local' issues which in the past they considered a thorn in their side which interfered with the national settlement. With ill-concealed elation, a union spokesman reported that "We have communicated", and that it looked like the union could avoid a repetition of the 116 day steel strike of 1959.

weak-kneed

Rather than preparing the ranks for a strike and the possibility of a long and bitter one, as in the earlier strike by copper workers, Abel, issues the following weak-kneed, bootlicking statement: "For some eight years now the relationship between the union and the industry has not been marred by any strikes or lockouts and we of the union prefer to continue that kind of relationship."

On the "other" side of the fence in the blissful world of peace and harmony, is Wall Streets man, chief negotiator for the Steel Industry, Mr. R. Conrad Cooper. Mr. Cooper does not start the race

reasserting itself in these workers states and coming into conflict with the workers property forms. The bureaucracies in these countries rest upon this contradiction, deepening it and in the process taking a major share of the surplus for itself in its own privileges.

The Red Guards so far have attacked the capitalist tendency within China in a completely utopian way. That is they attack inequality and privileges and demand equality and no privileges without confronting the problem of developing the material base necessary for the eradication of inequality. If this problem is confronted in a materialist way, in a Marxist way, it leads to the inescapable conclusion that the further development of the workers state absolutely requires the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Only in this way can the isolation of the workers states be broken down and their socialist development really begin. If this is not done then the capitalist tendency grows, being furthered by the bureaucracy

itself.

Mao stands on the basis of Stalinism and the Red Guards are only beginning to understand what Stalinism is. Stalinism is the ideological expression of this bureaucratic pro-capitalist tendency within the workers states. Standing as it does upon the maintenance rather than the solution of the contradictions racking these countries its motto always has been and is today "Socialism in One Country". It opposes the world revolution and seeks to isolate the workers in China and the other workers states from the world working class. Mao has never broken with the conception of socialism in one country. Thus he can attack pro-capitalist tendencies only with utopian idealism. Thus in the end he capitulates before the very forces he attacks.

The only road forward for the Chinese working class and youth is the road blazed by Leon Trotsky in his fundamental struggle with Stalin and carried forward today by the Fourth International--the road of world proletarian revolution.

with a self-imposed handicap. He is not so hopeful as Abel and the union bureaucrats. Mr. Cooper has stressed the difficulty of reaching a settlement by Aug. 1 and referred to the "widely divergent views" between the union and the industry. He made it clear that the bosses are going to take a tough stand on wage increases when he stated that the industry's "needs cry out for decreased costs, not increased costs."

Despite Mr. Abel's intentions, the union is on record for a sizeable wage package along the line of the recent Aluminum settlement of 97¢ over a three year contract. Abel has made it clear that this goal represents a smaller percentage than the 6.5% increase in Aluminum where basic wages are lower, but Mr. Cooper and the industry are getting ready for a strike. Even though the industry as in the past can absorb some of the costs of wage increases by raising prices, they are reluctant to weaken their competitive position in relation to foreign steel producers and the increasingly competitive aluminum industry.

militants

Rather than face this real possibility of a strike in order to win their own modest wage demands, which have been scaled down from the percentage gained in aluminum, the bureaucrats are instead talking about how they can best deal with the militants among the rank and file. The attitude of the union leadership

is perhaps summed up in this comment of one union bureaucrat: "Our strike in copper scared the hell of the militant guys in the steel mills. They saw our members in copper had to stay out for eight long months. It'll make them a little more willing to accept a reasonable deal in steel, to avoid a strike and all its costs."

copper

The union leadership is prepared to strait-jacket its militants and use the set-back suffered in the Copper strike (where the leadership backed down on its number one demand--for company wide bargaining) as an excuse for this sell-out. If, nonetheless, a strike is forced on them by the intransigence of the industry, they will do everything they can to limit its scope and militancy. This is the lesson of the copper strike and the story of the current negotiations. We say it is necessary to prepare for a strike to win the basic wage package comparable to the aluminum settlement.

We say, if there is a strike, the union must demand of the AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters and all independent unions: full financial support boycott the handling of the products of the struck companies which have been stockpiling for months; make a united struggle against all attempts by the government to curtail or settle the strike through injunctions or compulsory arbitration. There is no need to repeat the set-back in the copper strike.

by Tim Wohlforth

The recent events in France offer dramatic confirmation of the basic theoretical analysis and strategy which the International Committee of the Fourth International has fought for continuously since 1961. It was a fundamental conflict over this strategy which led to the split within the International Committee with the Socialist Workers Party and its supporters who then joined forces with the Pabloites to form the present United Secretariat.

While only a month or two ago the SWP and its international allies saw little or no prospect for revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries today they herald the French developments as if they had expected them all along. But the truth is these events caught the Pabloites completely by surprise and thus they were incapable of offering leadership within them. They could only adapt to the spontaneity of the struggle.

In 1961 the Socialist Labour League wrote the basic international resolution 'World Prospects of Socialism'. This document was supported internationally by the French section of the IC led by Pierre Lambert and by the minority tendency in the SWP which later became the Workers League. In essence this document was a reaffirmation of the fundamental assessment of the present stage of capitalism made by Lenin in his 'Imperialism -- the Highest Stage of Capitalism', by the Third International during its first five years, and by the Fourth International in the 'Transitional Program' passed by its founding Congress in 1938.

choice

This fundamental analysis holds that capitalism is in its period of decline and decay. Its internal contradictions throw it into constant crisis, war, fascism. Rather than being able to develop the productive forces of man further, the anarchy of capitalist relations asserts itself pitting nation against nation in war, deepening the attacks on the working class of the world, leading to ever more profound class struggles. The class struggle can only be temporarily resolved by capitalism through the fascist suppression of the working class. More and more the choice before mankind is the very destruction of the productive forces and a return to barbarism or the triumph of socialism which will advance the productive forces and the civilization of man to undreamed of levels.

This choice between barbarism or socialism today boils down to the question of leadership of the working class. As the 1961 resolution states: 'The only future for mankind is the victory of the working class in the socialist revolution. A proletarian leadership must be built which can bring to the working class of the world a consciousness of its great historical role. Such a consciousness cannot arise spontaneously; it comes in the course of struggles in which the leadership is theoretically formed as it emerges, is tested and establishes its authority. The survival of capitalism into its present overripe stage is essentially a consequence of the crisis in leadership which besets the working-class movement. The betrayals of the traditional leaderships have prepared the necessary groundwork for the bourgeoisie to achieve periods of temporary stability and relative expansion. The resolution of the crisis of leadership is the first responsibility of Marxists.'

postwar

This fundamental approach was not developed abstractly but rather concretized through a thorough and detailed study of the nature of capitalist development in the whole postwar period. According to this analysis capitalism entered a period of temporary stability and limited expansion in the 1950's precisely because of the defeat of the working class under Stalinist leadership in the immediate postwar period. But the boom of the 50's had a tremendously artificial base. In large part it was based on fictitious capital and credit, preparing the way for the great financial and liquidity crisis of today. The larger the boom and the longer it lasted the more fundamental would be the crisis which emerged from it. The resolution saw the boom ending in the 1950s and the period of the 60's as the beginning of a new period of capitalist crisis.

Basing our perspectives on this analysis and on the understanding of the crisis of leadership, the International Committee forces put forward a strategy of constructing revolutionary parties in all countries whose central task was to build a base in the proletariat and prepare its forces theoretically and organizationally for the revolutionary struggles of the working class which were being prepared by this crisis.

The SWP and the Pabloites approached this question in a fundamentally different way. Rather than beginning with the essentials, and a concrete analysis of the underlying crisis of capitalism they began with surface impressions and surface movements. Rather than starting with the crisis of leadership and the task of building revolutionary parties their whole outlook undercut the building of the revolutionary party.

reality

The fundamental theory of the Pabloites from their origins as a revisionist tendency within the Trotskyist movement up to today is the theory of a 'new reality'. In essence this theory holds that the world of today is different from the world of Lenin's 'Imperialism' and Trotsky's 'Transitional Program' and so our strategy must be different. Other classes than the proletariat are revolutionary and other parties than the Leninist party are capable of creating workers states. The epicenter of revolution is no longer with the industrial proletariat of the metropolitan countries and so our attention must be turned elsewhere. Over the years the conception of where the epicenter was changed in impressionistic reaction to surface developments but the fundamental rejection of building conscious Marxist parties on the basis of the working class remained.

The fundamental conception in the 'new reality' theory was that the world relationship of forces had changed in the postwar period in favor of socialism. This objectively favorable circumstance tended to compensate for weaknesses in revolutionary leadership. Or as the 1963 resolution of the Reunification Congress of the Pabloites with the SWP stated: 'The weakness of the enemy in the backward countries has opened the possibility of coming to power with a blunted instrument.'

zhdanov

Let us look now at the history of this conception. The basic concept originated not in the Trotskyist movement but in the Stalinist movement. In 1947 Zhdanov, at the time the leading spokesman of the Soviet bureaucracy, delivered an international report to the founding conference of the Cominform in which he stated: 'The end of the Second World War brought with it big changes in the world situation. The military defeat of the bloc of fascist states, the character of the war as a war of liberation from fascism, and the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the vanquishing of the fascist aggressors sharply altered the alignment of forces between the two systems -- the Socialist and the Capitalist -- in favour of Socialism.'

For the Stalinists this outlook was the underpinning of their whole anti-working class strategy of the post-war period -- their whole policy of 'peaceful coexistence'. Since socialism was on the ascendancy then the 'socialist camp' need only defend itself from imperialist and in time capitalism would simply disappear through a process of peaceful competition of different social systems which would reveal the superiority of socialism over capitalism. Thus there was no need for revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

pablo

Michel Pablo, who was secretary of the Fourth International throughout most of the postwar period, played the major role in introducing this concept into the Trotskyist movement. Reacting impressionistically to the defensive structural assimilation of the Eastern European countries, Pablo in 1949 foresaw a whole epoch opening up in which Stalinism would be the major revolutionary force, creating 'centuries of deformed workers states'. The role of the conscious Marxist party would thus also be put off for centuries.

Then came the Korean war and Pablo developed his thesis a little further with his concept of 'war-revolution'. It seems that the Korean War opened up a period of continual war between the capitalist camp and the workers states. This global class war would compel the Stalinist parties to play a revolutionary role and overthrow capitalism in the course of the war. The role of Trotskyists thus was to dissolve their parties into the Stalinist parties through 'entrism sui generis' -- that is the liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into Stalinism.

All these impressionistic schemes of Pablo soon proved to be totally fallacious. The East European overturns, far from auguring a Stalinist epoch of centuries, soon faced revolution themselves in the form of the 1953 East German uprising and the 1956 Polish and Hungarian revolutions. The Korean War was settled, showing that while world war still threatens, its cost in mutual destruction would be so high that the cap-

italists will engage in it only as the last resort. The Stalinist parties, far from becoming revolutionary instruments, have continued to play the completely counterrevolutionary role Trotsky ascribed to them. The French events have once more fully confirmed this. These parties cannot be pressured into revolution. Under the most extreme pressure from the working class during the month of May, the French Communist Party continued on its destructive counterrevolutionary path.

This was no mere matter of mistaken prognosis. The Trotskyist movement played a tremendous price for Pablo's theories. Thousands of cadres throughout the world were disoriented.

SWP

AND THE NEW WORLD REALITY



ZHDANOV



DID TITO

and left the movement. A basic split developed internationally when Pablo expelled the majority of the French section led by Pierre Lambert in 1952 because of its refusal to liquidate the party in Stalinism. The minority was led by Pierre Frank who today is heralded in the pages of the Militant. In 1953 the French were joined by the SWP, when Pablo supported a liquidationist minority led by Bert Cochran, and by the British Trotskyists under Gerry Healy who had fought a similar trend led by Lawrence, who subsequently joined the British Communist Party.

We now turn to the basic resolution of the Pabloite Fourth World Congress in 1954--one year after the SWP, French and British had split away from Pablo. The resolution, entitled 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism', stated in its first paragraph: 'The evolution of the Soviet Union and of the world working class movement since 1917 is fundamentally determined by the dynamic of the relation of class forces on the world scale. This development has passed through major phases: the rise of the revolution in 1917-1923, the ebb of the world revolution in 1923-43, and the new revolutionary rise since 1943.'

Implications

We are now thus in a 'new reality' dominated by this revolutionary rise. This has profound implications for the building of revolutionary parties particularly in the Soviet countries, still the major 'epi-center' in this period of Pabloite theory. 'The fundamental conditions under which the Soviet bureaucracy and its tight hold over the Communist Parties developed,' the resolution further states, 'namely, the ebb of the revolution, the isolation of the Soviet Union and the backward condition of its economy--these conditions have disappeared.' This has profound implications: 'It therefore follows that since in the USSR itself the relationship of forces tends to become modified in favor of the working class, parallel with an analogous modification on a world scale,

the coming decisive battle will not be waged between the restorationist forces launching an offensive to restore private property, and the forces defending the conquests of October. It will be, on the contrary, waged between the forces defending the privileges and administration of the bureaucracy against the assault of the revolutionary forces of the working class embarking on the struggle for the restoration of Soviet democracy upon a higher level." And thus Trotsky's whole analysis of the contradictory character of Stalinism is wiped out in one swoop of Pablo's pen.

The conception of the transformation of the Stalinist parties into revolutionary instruments by mass pressure still remains in this document



DID TITO REPRESENT A REAL BREAK FROM STALINISM?

though in modified form: "Since both the Chinese CP and to a certain extent also the Yugoslav CP are in reality bureaucratic centrist parties, which however still find themselves under the pressure of the revolution in their countries, we do not call upon the proletariat in their countries to constitute new revolutionary parties or to prepare a political revolution."

In 1957 the Pabloites held their Fifth World Congress. This time the main resolution was entitled: "The Decline and Fall of Stalinism." It reasserts the basic new reality thesis of the Fourth Congress, stating: The fundamental change in the international situation and the internal situation within the USSR, characterized on the one hand by the worldwide upsurge of the revolutionary forces since 1943 and especially since the victory of the Chinese revolution, and on the other hand by the spectacular successes of planification which made the USSR the second industrial power in the world, destroyed the objective bases for the full sway and power of the Soviet bureaucracy."

liquidation

Let us recapitulate for a moment. Pabloism represents an impressionistic method. Reacting to the relative quiescence of the working class in the advanced countries and the extension of the Soviet property forms on the Eastern and Western border of the USSR, Pablo saw Stalinism as the distorted revolutionary forces in our epoch. Thus his strategy was one of liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist movement.

The Pabloites after 1953 were forced to pull back from some of the extreme positions of Pablo "centuries of deformed workers states" and "war-revolution" which were thoroughly repudiated by historical developments even by that date. But they maintained Pablo's essential method as well as his essential characterizing of the period. Still looking primarily to Stalinism as the center of revolution the Pabloites continued to see a "new reality" in which socialism was dominant

(this they shared with Zhdanov) capitalist encirclement broken, internal economic development advanced to the point where restoration is no longer possible in the Soviet countries, and the necessity for independent conscious Marxist parties and political revolution no longer necessary at least in Yugoslavia and China where Stalinist parties were seen playing a revolutionary role under mass pressure.

The 1961 SWP resolution "The Struggle Between the Socialist and Capitalist Camps" is the direct lineal descendant of the resolutions of the Fourth and Fifth World Congresses of the Pabloites and laid the political basis for the fusion of these two tendencies internationally in 1963. The resolution begins, as do the Pabloite resolutions, with the "new reality", maintains the essence of the Pabloite approach to Stalinism, but extends this analysis to the colonial countries as well - where the main epi-center is now seen. In this of course it was only reacting impressionistically to the Cuban revolution in the same way as its co-thinkers in the European Pabloite movement.

The resolution begins with the "Four Major Stages" of the struggle for socialism. These are identical with the stages listed in the 1954 Pabloite resolution except that an earlier stage between 1900-1917 is inserted. We are presently in Stage Four "1943-1961": The new revival of the international revolution, a period still continuing." "The victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949," the resolution goes on virtually quoting Pablo's resolution of 1954 (the SWP was never known for originality) "coupled with the setback of American imperialism in Korea in 1952, definitively altered the world relation of forces in favor of socialism."

The features of the "new reality" are then baldly listed: "this altered relation between the colonies and the imperialist centers is one of the prominent features of the 'new reality'". Thus the upsurge in the colonial revolution is feature number one of the "new reality". Feature number two is the old Pabloite assessment of Stalinism. Referring to the great development of the economies of the USSR which is held to undercut the bureaucracy the resolution says: "To understand the 'new reality'; that is, the difference between now and Stalin's time, it is essential to bear this in mind." It then goes on to show its theoretical debt not only to Pablo but to Zhdanov. "The Soviet Union is no longer isolated internationally. The victory over German imperialism, the sweep into Eastern Europe, the victory of the Chinese Revolution, broke the capitalist ring of containment--one of the main conditions for the growth and the power of the bureaucracy."

epi-centers

The resolution divided the world into three epi-centers: the advanced capitalist countries, the colonial countries, and the Soviet countries. It then decided in which of the three sectors the action is at present and on this basis proposes an orientation for its international followers. There is an impressionistic turn away from the Soviet epicenter: "In the Soviet zone the high rate of growth of the productive forces, increasing the relative abundance at the disposal of society, will stiffen the demands of the workers. The perspective is a more or less steady maturing of the conditions that will finally make possible the displacement of bureaucratic rule and the restoration of proletarian democracy. The bureaucracy will not under-go self-liquidation; but on the other hand no quick or early explosions are likely to occur."

This was written in 1961. Since that time we have seen a deepening of the economic crisis within the Soviet countries--not "relative abundance" nor "a more or less steady maturing of conditions". We have seen convulsion with the Cultural Revolution in China, intellectual dissent in the USSR, student rebellions in Poland and Yugoslavia, and a "liberalization" campaign in Czechoslovakia. But we are told no "quick or early explosions are likely to occur."

But in the colonial sector "events are proceeding at a much swifter pace as the revolutionary wave widens and deepens...As the most dynamic sector at present, the greatest immediate revolutionary opportunities lie in the colonial area today." And so the Pabloites from 1961 to today turned their attention to the colonial struggle and activity in the advanced countries was relegated to supporting and sympathy actions for the colonial revolution. The colonial revolution since 1961 has experienced defeat after defeat after defeat--Algeria, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea, etc. etc. And suddenly France explodes and workers power is directly posed in the advanced capitalist nation.

But in the advanced capitalist sector, our theorists of this new reality in which socialism is

ascendant are suddenly most hesitant and depressed. "When radicalization will occur cannot be forecast with certainty." They are certain about the colonial world but revolutionary struggle at home--they are uncertain. And what should revolutionists do in these countries? Here they are clear; "in this sector the main tactic to be recommended to revolutionary socialists is continued dogged perseverance...."

contrast

The contrast between this perspective and that of the International Committee is sharp and clear. We saw the postwar period beginning in 1947 not as a period of revolutionary ascendancy but rather as a period in which capitalism has temporarily stabilized itself precisely because of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism. While the Soviet system has been extended into Eastern Europe and China, far from solving any of its essential contradictions it has simply extended these contradictions into its periphery. The Soviet camp still remains encircled by an economically vastly stronger capitalist world. It could break out of this isolation only through the extension of the proletarian revolution into the advanced countries. Until such time as extension took place the world balance of forces would remain in favor of imperialism.

The period of the SWP 1961 resolution was precisely the period in which the capitalist crisis had once again reached the point where the very stability of the world capitalist system was endangered. The Belgian general strike of that year was but a rehearsal for the struggle in the metropolitan countries we see now. The task of revolutionaries was not to find where the action appeared on the surface and adapt one's strategy to that. It was rather to understand the developing crisis of capitalism and to prepare for the future struggles of the working class by building a base in the industrial working class and fighting to defend the program of the working class and against the revisionist attacks both from Stalinism and the reincarnation of Stalinist theory in the form of Pabloite revisionism.

The Pabloites of course always maintained that the fundamental struggle would be a working class struggle in the metropolitan countries. This, they assured everyone, would "someday" come. But they do not begin objectively, scientifically with an understanding of the crisis of capitalism and it this understanding which makes clear how and when the proletariat will renew its revolutionary struggle. Having no such analysis their strategy cannot have a scientific base. I amounts to no more than unconscious reactions to surface bubbles of struggle. This leads to attacks on the central task of building conscious parties of the working class in all areas. In 1962 in fact we were even accused of a "subjective method of analysis" because of our insistence of the critical importance of the crisis of leadership. In the same resolution ("The Problems of the Fourth International--and the Next Steps" by the SWP) we were attacked as "sectarian" for stating: "We look to the working class and only the working class as the revolutionary force in modern society" which is nothing more than a paraphrase of the "Communist Manifesto." But we guess this document too is out of date in this period of the "new reality."

leadership

Today this Pabloite analysis stands as repudiated by events as Pablo's earlier war-revolution thesis. Clearly the capitalist system as a whole is in deep crisis requiring the capitalists to launch attacks on workers in all lands. Clearly the working class is now taking the lead in the struggle against capitalism. Clearly only the crisis of leadership stands between the working class and power. Clearly the task of revolutionaries is to build a revolutionary party in all countries through a constant battle against all forms of revisionism.

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italists will engage in it only as the last resort. The Stalinist parties, far from becoming revolutionary instruments, have continued to play the completely counterrevolutionary role Trotsky ascribed to them. The French events have once more fully confirmed this. These parties cannot be pressured into revolution. Under the most extreme pressure from the working class during the month of May, the French Communist Party continued on its destructive counterrevolutionary path.

This was no mere matter of mistaken prognosis. The Trotskyist movement played a tremendous price for Pablo's theories. Thousands of cadres throughout the world were disoriented

SWP

AND THE NEW WORLD REALITY



ZHDANOV

and left the movement. A basic split developed internationally when Pablo expelled the majority of the French section led by Pierre Lambert in 1952 because of its refusal to liquidate the party in Stalinism. The minority was led by Pierre Frank who today is heralded in the pages of the Militant. In 1953 the French were joined by the SWP, when Pablo supported a liquidationist minority led by Bert Cochran, and by the British Trotskyists under Gerry Healy who had fought a similar trend led by Lawrence, who subsequently joined the British Communist Party.

We now turn to the basic resolution of the Pabloite Fourth World Congress in 1954--one year after the SWP, French and British had split away from Pablo. The resolution, entitled 'Rise and Decline of Stalinism', stated in its first paragraph: "The evolution of the Soviet Union and of the world working class movement since 1917 is fundamentally determined by the dynamic of the relation of class forces on the world scale. This development has passed through major phases: the rise of the revolution in 1917-1923, the ebb of the world revolution in 1923-43, and the new revolutionary rise since 1943.

Implications

We are now thus in a "new reality" dominated by this revolutionary rise. This has profound implications for the building of revolutionary parties particularly in the Soviet countries, still the major "epi-center" in this period of Pabloite theory. "The fundamental conditions under which the Soviet bureaucracy and its tight hold over the Communist Parties developed," the resolution further states, "namely, the ebb of the revolution, the isolation of the Soviet Union and the backward condition of its economy--these conditions have disappeared." This has profound implications: "It therefore follows that since in the USSR itself the relationship of forces tends to become modified in favor of the working class, parallel with an analogous modification on a world scale,

the coming decisive battle will not be waged between the restorationist forces launching an offensive to restore private property, and the forces defending the conquests of October. It will be, on the contrary, waged between the forces defending the privileges and administration of the bureaucracy against the assault of the revolutionary forces of the working class embarking on the struggle for the restoration of Soviet democracy upon a higher level." And thus Trotsky's whole analysis of the contradictory character of Stalinism is wiped out in one swoop of Pablo's pen.

The conception of the transformation of the Stalinist parties into revolutionary instruments by mass pressure still remains in this document



DID TITO REPRESENT A REAL BREAK FROM STALINISM?

though in modified form: "Since both the Chinese CP and to a certain extent also the Yugoslav CP are in reality bureaucratic centrist parties, which however still find themselves under the pressure of the revolution in their countries, we do not call upon the proletariat in their countries to constitute new revolutionary parties or to prepare a political revolution."

In 1957 the Pabloites held their Fifth World Congress. This time the main resolution was entitled: "The Decline and Fall of Stalinism." It reasserts the basic new reality thesis of the Fourth Congress, stating: The fundamental change in the international situation and the internal situation within the USSR, characterized on the one hand by the worldwide upsurge of the revolutionary forces since 1943 and especially since the victory of the Chinese revolution, and on the other hand by the spectacular successes of planification which made the USSR the second industrial power in the world, destroyed the objective bases for the full sway and power of the Soviet bureaucracy."

liquidation

Let us recapitulate for a moment. Pabloism represents an impressionistic method. Reacting to the relative quiescence of the working class in the advanced countries and the extension of the Soviet property forms on the Eastern and Western border of the USSR, Pablo saw Stalinism as the distorted revolutionary forces in our epoch. Thus his strategy was one of liquidation of the Trotskyist movement into the Stalinist movement.

The Pabloites after 1953 were forced to pull back from some of the extreme positions of Pablo "centuries of deformed workers states" and "war-revolution" which were thoroughly repudiated by historical developments even by that date. But they maintained Pablo's essential method as well as his essential characterizing of the period. Still looking primarily to Stalinism as the center of revolution the Pabloites continued to see a "new reality" in which socialism was dominant

(this they shared with Zhdanov) capital- ment broken, internal economic deve- vanced to the point where restoration- possible in the Soviet countries, and t- for independent conscious Marxist par- itical revolution no longer necessary- Yugoslavia and China where Stalinist- seen playing a revolutionary role- pressure.

The 1961 SWP resolution "The Strug- the Socialist and Capitalist Camps" lineal descendant of the resolutions of and Fifth World Congresses of the P- laid the political basis for the fusion- tendencies internationally in 1963. It- begins, as do the Pabloite resoluti- "new reality", maintains the essence of- approach to Stalinism, but extends t- to the colonial countries as well -wh- epi-center is now seen. In this of c- only reacting impressionistically to- revolution in the same way as its- in the European Pabloite movement.

The resolution begins with the 'Stages' of the struggle for socialis- are identical with the stages listed- Pabloite resolution except than an e- between 1900-1917 is inserted. We a- in Stage Four '1943-1961': The ne- the international revolution, a perio- tinating." "The victory of the Chines- in 1949," the resolution goes on virtu- Pablo's resolution of 1954(the SWP- known for originality) "coupled with- of American imperialism in Korea- finitively altered the world relation- favor of socialism."

The features of the "new reali- baldly listed: "this altered relation- colonies and the imperialist centers- prominent features of the 'new reali- the upsurge in the colonial revolutio- number one of the "new reality". Fea- two is the old Pabloite assessment of- Referring to the great development of th- of the USSR which is held to under- eaucracy the resolution says: "To un- 'new reality'; that is, the difference b- and Stalin's time, it is essential to- mind." It then goes on to show its- debt not only to Pablo but to Zhd- Soviet Union is no longer isolated int- The victory over German imperialism- into Eastern Europe, the victory of- Revolution, broke the capitalist- tainment--one of the main conditio- growth and the power of the bureaucra-

epi-centers

The resolution divided the worl- epi-centers: the advanced capitalis- the colonial countries, and the Sovie- It then decided in which of the th- the action is at present and on this ba- an orientation for its international follo- is an impressionistic turn away from- epicenter: "In the Soviet zone the- growth of the productive forces, inc- relative abundance at the disposal of- stiffen the demands of the workers- spective is a more or less steady ma- conditions that will finally make poss- placement of bureaucratic rule and the- of proletarian democracy. The burea- not under-go self-liquidation; but on th- no quick or early explosions are likel-

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But in the colonial sector "events are- at a much swifter pace as the r- wave widens and deepens...As the m- sector at present, the greatest imm- oluntary opportunities lie in the co- today." And so the Pabloites from- turned their attention to the colon- and activity in the advanced countries- gated to supporting and sympathy act- colonial revolution. The colonial rev- 1961 has experienced defeat after- defeat--Algeria, Indonesia, Ghana, Gu- And suddenly France explodes and wo- is directly posed in the advanced capit-

But in the advanced capitalist secto- rists of this new reality in which s-

De Gaulle writes-de Gaulle and the french cp

(This article is a translation from a special number of 'Information Ouvrieres' of June 7. This is the paper of the now banned Organization Communiste Internationaliste whose June 7 newspaper was printed under the control of the strike committee of the printing works where it is produced, in full consciousness of the important role of the paper in supporting the strike.)

On Thursday, May 30 de Gaulle adopted a tone of violence, a tone of civil war, confronted by ten million strikers.

It was not only-or even essentially--his contacts with the general staff which gave him this sudden assurance. Not that it was a secondary matter for him to have assured himself of the means to carry out a violent repression if necessary; but that repression could only be assured within a certain political context.

He needed first of all the capitulation of the leading bureaucracy of the working class movement and above all of the Communist Party.

On Wednesday, May 29, in their tens of thousands, on the call of the Confederation Generale de Travail (CGT), the workers marched from the Bastille to Saint-Lazare railway station.

They shouted for 'A Popular Government'. This expressed, in a confused and deformed way, their determination to end the Gaullist regime.

Two days before, on the 27th, the draft agreement made with Pompidou had come up against the opposition of the workers.

Even L'Humanite began to

speak of a 'general strike' and not just a generalized movement.

The bourgeoisie resigned itself to the disappearance of the great man and feverishly sought an alternative solution. On the morning of the 30th 'L'Humanite' rejected both Mitterand and Mendes-France. This left turn was only apparent.

To the extent that the CP refused to open the perspective of a workers' government based on the unions and the strike committees and accepted the limits of a bourgeois government, its ultimatum could only have one meaning: the only solution, after all, remained DeGaulle.

It was with the assurance in practice of the support of the leading cadre of the French Communist Party, which subordinated itself strictly to the injunctions of the counter-revolutionary Moscow bureaucracy that DeGaulle could use the blackmail threat of civil war.

Only one positive reply was possible to his provocative speech: strengthen the general strike, call for mass demonstrations and organize a central demonstration in Paris.

Yielding to the threats of the general-president, the CP leaders, followed by their reformist and Christian colleagues, did just the opposite: they capitulated.

It was no longer a question of a change of government, no longer a question of repealing the decrees cutting the social security benefits, no longer a question of a general strike. It was only a question of a conflict over trade union demands which could be resolved industry by industry or enterprise by enterprise,



WORKERS LEAGUE SPOKESMAN ATTACKS STALINISM

thanks to negotiation.

The ground on which the leadership of the CP and General DeGaulle met was that of the elections.

'DeGaulle has announced his intentions to proceed to new elections. The Communist Party had not waited for his speech to demand that the people should have their say with the shortest possible delay.'

Thus the way to defeat DeGaulle was that 'the people should have their say' within the framework of the institutions of the Fifth Republic and the maintenance in power of DeGaulle, through the election of a parliament which in any case would be powerless.

It was necessary to avoid 'embarrassing the preparations for the elections', as the CGT put it. It was necessary to avoid assisting the provocations of the government. As a consequence of which it was necessary for the workers to go back to work... after which, if all went well, they would be able to slip

their ballot paper into the ballot box.

This was the road to defeat, the same one which prepared the way for the military coup in Greece--which was perpetrated while the Communists and 'the democratic organizations' were enthusiastically preparing for an election which never took place--for the massacre by the army of the organized workers of Indonesia--which was prepared while the Communists were collaborating with the 'democrat' and 'patriot' Sukarno.

This is the road which is being refused by those militants, workers and youth who do not accept that the general strike should be broken up into little pieces in the name of the needs of parliamentarism, in fact in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois did not make any mistake about it.

One of the most widely read of the employers' commentators, Raymond Aron, wrote in 'Le Figaro' of June

4 the following lines which need no commentary:

'As for the latter (the Communist Party), it never ceased in the weeks during which the tumult risked at any moment to turn into tragedy to show a sense of the State, to use the expression of Sirius (Beuve-Mery, editor of 'Le Monde'): The errors of the government consisted to a great extent in an excessive confidence in the support of the Communist Party. In the last analysis, however, it did not betray this confidence. Within the hour which followed the broadcast speech of the President of the Republic it defused the bomb and consented to elections which it has scarcely any hope of winning.

In other words: the bureaucracy did what it could, but de Gaulle over-estimated its control of the working class and even over the Party militants.

This homage from an old advocate of the most reactionary solutions has the ring of the pieces of silver of Judas. It must not be forgotten nor must it be allowed to be forgotten.

The general strike shows the power of the working class, the will of the exploited layers of the country to finish with a regime of poverty and decay. Stable conditions do not exist today for the domination of the bourgeoisie.

It is only through violence, through force, through police state methods that it can safeguard its position which has been shaken by the offensive of the workers and the youth.

The confrontation is far from being over. In the harsh struggles which are going on, or are in prospect, it is in terms of organization--it is in assembling and centralizing the activity of a political vanguard struggling for the overthrow of capitalism--that the lessons must be drawn, all the lessons of the extraordinary page in the history of the class struggle which the French proletariat is writing at this moment.

WHY SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

by Dennis O'Casey

The betrayal of the revolutionary opportunity opened up last month in France by the French CP and the Stalinist CGT leadership is grossly apparent to Marxists and bourgeois commentators alike.

As a result, thousands of worker militants are already looking to other tendencies within the working class movement for revolutionary leadership. Thus it becomes more necessary than ever for Marxists to sharpen the struggle against all those revisionist tendencies which, while giving the appearance of revolutionary Marxism, play in fact, the role of a left cover for the Stalinist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie itself.

In this connection the role of Pabloite revisionism adhered to by the self styled United Secretariat and its co-thinkers in France the PCI and youth organization JCR and in the United States by the SWP must be ruthlessly exposed.

impressionism

The reaction of Pabloism to the French events is entirely consistent with the idealism, impressionism, pragmatism, and opportunism which has always characterized this tendency.

Just a few weeks prior to the French uprising the newspaper of the JCR maintained:

'In the advanced capitalist countries, the relative stability of the existing regimes and the extreme weakness of the vanguard obviously ex-

cludes in the immediate period all struggles of a revolutionary character capable of bringing down our own bourgeoisie. Solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution cannot express itself by the extension of the revolution as in the "Third World".

Now, of course, faced with the cold fact that just such a struggle did take place the Pabloites adjust empirically to this fact. They do so by loudly taking to task those like the SDS, Marcuse, and Sweezy whose theories about the passivity of the metropolitan working class and the "Third World" being the epicenter of revolutionary struggle were up until yesterday the hallmark of Pabloism.

The new theory which Pabloism now pragmatically imposes on the French events while taking into account that the French working class did enter into revolutionary struggle completely ignores the economic crisis and its effect on the working class which alone provides any material basis for that struggle.

Thus the Pabloites are left with a hopelessly idealist explanation. It seems that the working class even when its conditions are not under serious attack, even when there exists an equilibrium between the classes will enter upon a struggle for state power if only student militants will come into the streets against the bourgeois police.

In the words of the well known revisionist of the SWP, Novack, the French events show "that

the crucial question of which class will be master of society can be posed without the onset of severe economic depression. On the eve of the upheaval France was comparatively calm, prosperous, and free from entanglement in costly colonial adventures.

Nevertheless, its social equilibrium turned out to be so precarious that it was upset by clashes between authorities and the students. It was as though the dislocation of a few pebbles let loose an avalanche."

crisis

Against this idealist formulation, "after the students come the workers" it is necessary to understand the economic crisis. Behind the workers challenge to DeGaulle were the accumulated demands of 10 years, for the 40 hour week guarantees against unemployment, etc. But above all was the fact that in order to protect the competitiveness of French capitalism and the franc within the framework of an acute international monetary crisis DeGaulle had in the past year launched a vicious attack on the French working class, especially under the Fout plan. Unemployment was skyrocketing, inflation was developing apace and major cutbacks in social security had been affected.

It is also necessary to understand that the uprisings of students in Western Europe arise because of the particular deterioration in student conditions as a result of the basic struggle be-

We have just learned that in the aftermath of DeGaulle's disbanding of eleven socialist organizations illegal searches of private homes and party headquarters were carried out by the police. Yves Dorey, editor of the socialist youth paper 'Revoltes,' together with five colleagues, was arrested. It was also reported that the general secretary of the PCI Pierre Frank was arrested.

These actions are more fundamental than the elections themselves for they show that behind the electoral facade stands a bonapartist state growing in strength and prepared to turn upon the working class as a whole as it today turns upon its vanguard. The Communist Party of France says nothing in protest while DeGaulle's police move against the Trotskyists and other groups. But the Communist Party will be next. This is why DeGaulle brings back the fascists. They will be needed to destroy the Communist Party and the unions.

The economic crisis in France has been deeply aggravated by the general strike Emergency measures have been proposed by DeGaulle which will have the effect of raising the cost of living of the French working class and in this way robbing from them what was granted in wage concessions. At the same time DeGaulle is forced upon the road of tariff restrictions knowing full well the other capitalist nations will reciprocate.

editorial: JAIL TROTSKYISTS AS GAULLISTS WIN ELECTIONS

In the next period we will see growing anarchy in international trade which will bring down the Common Market and in the long run intensify the world capitalist crisis. Under such conditions, unless the working class takes up the struggle for power the right and fascist elements will grow posing a direct threat to the French Communist Party and the unions. Of course the current elections show a turn to the right and an increase vote for Gaullism. How could it be otherwise? The millions of French work-



SOLIDARITY WITH PERSECUTED FRENCH TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

ers began a struggle for power but the Communist Party sabotaged it. Thus, they were unable to offer an alternative to Gaullist capitalism. The petty bourgeoisie frightened by the crisis and seeing indecision in the camp of the working class flocked in panic back to DeGaulle.

bonaparte

DeGaulle's Bonapartist regime rests with one foot on the Communist Party which refuses to fight to overthrow it and one foot on the military and the rightists repre-

sented at all times the interests of big capital. Under such conditions an electoral swing away from the supporters to the Bonapartist himself was inevitable.

Whatever may be the legal status of the Trotskyist movement after the elections its position will be most difficult. But this difficulty is only a sign of the fact that Bonapartism today feels its very survival threatened by the existence of a vanguard movement capable of offering an alternative to the millions of workers who have

looked to the Communist Party who still look to the Communist Party, but are learning each day of its nature.

We protest the bans against all the socialist groups in France. We protest the jailing of the Revoltes leaders of Pierre Frank and anyone else arrested. We appeal again to the readers of the Bulletin to send contributions to aid the Trotskyist movement in France, the comrades of the disbanded OCI and FER in this most difficult but crucially important period.

MLPS HOLDS FRENCH RALLY

by Cynthia Billings

Supporters of the recent French Revolution gathered in Minneapolis on June 16 for a rally called by the Twin Cities Workers League. An intensive publicity campaign, involving factories, campus areas and ghetto areas preceded the meeting.

The speakers pointed out the vindication of Marxist theory apparent in the French

struggles, and urged active support to the French workers by furthering the revolutionary struggle here in the United States, and by support of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Banners in the hall called for "French Workers to Power" and "Onward to the World Socialist Revolution."

The main speech was given by the local organizer of the

Workers League, who showed how the French events disproved the Pabloite analysis of the "New World Reality." He summarized the events of the last 6 weeks in France pointing out the role of the Stalinist, "New Left" and Pabloite groups, as well as the organizations of the Fourth International. He posed sharply that the future events in France are completely de-

pendent on the ability of the OCI (French section of the 4th International) to develop and grow, to take leadership of the French working class with a program for the taking of power.

collection

Following the speech, a collection was taken, netting a total of \$90 to be sent to our comrades in France.

HELP THE FRENCH TROTSKYISTS!

money is desperately needed for injured militants and to further struggle against gaullist repressions send contributions to:
BULLETIN rm. 7-243
e. 10 st. nyc 10003

CANNOT UNDERSTAND FRANCE

tween the bourgeoisie and the working class, not as Novack has it because the students have somehow resisted being "conservatized and depoliticalized by economic prosperity" during the past 20 years.

Though its incontestable that in France the student upsurge provided a degree of initiative to the workers it was only within this framework, not because the students represent an independent revolutionary force. To seize upon this aspect of the French struggle and raise it to the level of theory, to see "after the students come the workers" as a fundamental pattern according to which revolutionary struggle in Europe and the US is now to proceed is sheer impressionism, again a reaction to surface features only.

In Rome and Britain and West Germany student rebellion provides no such initiative. Nor is it ruled out that it will not be the workingclass that in coming struggles will give the initiative to the students. It is fundamentally the objective conditions, the level of political consciousness, and above all the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the workingclass, especially the trade unions which will govern the tempo of revolutionary events.

adventurism

The real role of spontaneity amongst students is the very opposite of what the Pabloites imagine. This spontaneity in taking the form of adventurist sallies against police on the barricades

only serves to drive a wedge between the workers and the students playing into the hands of the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie who use the defeats which adventurism inevitably suffers to keep workers skeptical about their ability to struggle.

Anarchism and Guevarrism are even more useless in France than in Bolivia. Violent protest however heroic is no better than the pacifist protest of the US peace movement, because for all of the shoddy Pabloite theories about workers following the students, it does not base itself on the independent mobilization of the working class, but on a section of the petty bourgeoisie and therefore cannot answer the fundamental question of how the workingclass is to seize state power.

Revolutionary Marxism is the uncompromising enemy of all theories of spontaneity, all theories of leaderships being created in the course of struggle, unconscious Marxism and the like. It is especially hostile to spontaneity on the account that its advocates must invariably be hostile to the development of Marxist theory and the construction of revolutionary parties, without which there can be no socialist revolution in France or anywhere else.

party

The task of Marxists in France, the lesson of the French events has been above all the need to fight the Cohn Bendits, the Guevarrists, and all other anarchist tendencies precisely around

the question of the construction of a revolutionary party as an alternative to the French CP. It is only through the party that students can be educated in Marxism and armed to battle for leadership in the unions, the main arena where the workingclass prepares for struggle, around a program that consciously prepares the class for power through a linking of partial demands to the question of state power.

This is precisely the task which French Trotskyists in the OCI and FER had been carrying out for a number of years. When the class struggle exploded in May it was they who were able to link the question of partial demands and state power concretely with the demand that the Communist party and the CGT form a government pledged to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the meeting of all the partial, transitional demands put forth in the strike movement in which they played a leading role. In this way the French Trotskyists sought to raise the level of consciousness of the French workingclass by taking it through a process of struggle against the Stalinist leadership, exposing this leadership, thereby building up the revolutionary party. The orientation of the French Trotskyists towards the students, especially through the student FER which they led was at all times to oppose adventurism on the barricades and to call upon the students to take this program into the working class.

(Continued on Page 8)

by V. Barat

Less than two weeks before the French working class had revealed their enormous power and had proudly raised the red flag of revolutionary socialism over the heads of the entire nation, an article addressed to radical students of the West German Federal Republic appeared in a prominent Hamburg newspaper. It was from the pen of the literary critic Golo Mann, son of the celebrated novelist, Thomas Mann. Its message was: "Forget Lenin!"

The well-intentioned critic offered his readers this additional wisdom: "The classical concept of revolution for mature industrial societies is obsolete, just as Tocqueville foresaw 130 years ago." This article is worth mentioning only because much of the same pessimism concerning the revolutionary potential of the proletariat in advanced capitalist nations has been aired for years by other "realists" like Castro, Lord Russell, Staughton Lynd, Stokely Carmichael, and many others who are either objects of worship or of adaptation by the ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party.

Furthermore, Mann is so obviously spell-bound by the calm which superficially characterizes the German labor movement of today that he makes this flat prediction: "The Federal Republic is a closely organized, functioning state, which is successful in many areas. Ninety per cent of its citizens stand behind it, but this is especially true when it comes to defending it against violence. Hence, revolutionary violence in the Federal Republic is historically impossible." (quoted from Die Zeit, April 30, 1968, p.3).

To seek an understanding of why the mighty German working class has not yet hoisted its own crimson banners over a vanquished capitalist Germany requires some familiarity with its history. Such background information is the aim of this first article on German labor up to the first World War. Subsequent articles will investigate the causes for its tragic defeat in 1919 and the causal sequence of events that led to the catastrophe of Hitler in 1933. The final article in this series will focus on the problems of the workers in a Germany divided since World War II and the extremely favorable opportunities opening up for them to transform capitalist society into a socialist state.

beginnings

Prior to 1871 there was no

unified German nation such as had already existed for centuries in England and France. To the east the artificial patch-quilt that constituted the Austro-Hungarian empire did not include the territories of present day Germany. The Germans were dispersed among a small number of large and a large number of petty kingdoms and principalities with varying degrees of political and economic independence from each other. Of these units Prussia ultimately became the dominant power.

In the early 19th century the economies of all these territories were experiencing transitions from feudal to mercantile or from mercantile to capitalist forms depending on the economic stage attained in any given area. Between 1830 and 1840 the change from mercantile to a capitalist economy in the more advanced German cities and states produced a growth of class consciousness among the workers. In the main they had been artisans employed in a more benign but rapidly dying guild establishment and were now forced to accept employment in the capitalist shop system with its more modern, more efficient mode of production but its more brutal form of exploitation.

organizations

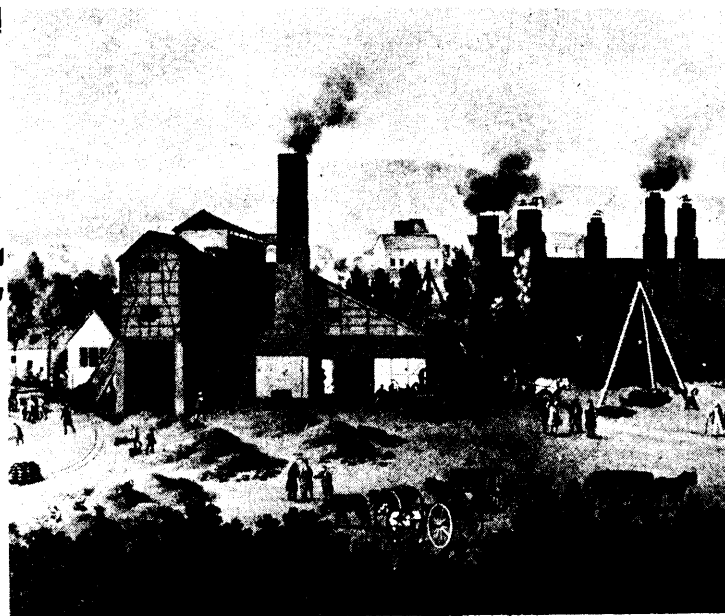
The first organization of German workers appeared in 1840. Men engaged in book printing in the Saxon city of Leipzig combined to demand a contract regulating their wages and working conditions. Shortly thereafter masonry journeymen in the Hansa cities of the north carried out a strike for higher pay. Soon the idea of organization began spreading throughout the land.

It was also the period when the impoverished Silesian weavers, much like their Luddite counterparts 30 years earlier in England, broke into the factories and smashed the new machines which they blamed for the deprivation of their livelihood.

consciousness

From the outset what characterized the main feature of German trade unionism was its tendency to become more than a mere vehicle of economic pressure. The ranks early looked upon their employers as enemies and were very hospitable to ideas brought to them from the "outside", ideas that encompassed broad social issues in general, but particularly stressed their class-political independence. Thus the goal of socialism was eagerly welcomed by even

THE GERMAN WORKING CLASS ITS ORIGINS



GERMAN FACTORY IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

these first organized workers.

No small part in deepening the process of class consciousness, in giving a socialist outlook to the thinking of the workers was played by the followers of the exiled German, Karl Marx. As early as 1848 a collaborator of his, Stefan Born, who had been organizing workers' clubs in Berlin, succeeded in calling a General Workmen's Congress in the Prussian capital. His aim was the eventual political organization of all German workers. This revolutionary Brotherhood, as it was called, did not ignore the day to day struggles of the membership for better conditions. Included in their program was the demand for unemployment compensation for the victims of capitalist anarchy. In this sense, it also performed the function of a trade union.

Here, in Born's Brotherhood, was the first centralized organization of workers in Germany to represent the interests of the different sectional and occupational groups. Some non-political unions, such as that of the tobacco workers, did emerge in this early period, but they were craft-oriented and had very limited influence among the workers. In contrast to the revolutionary and political Brotherhood led by Born, these craft unions were often quite reactionary, as evidenced by their demand to exclude women from industry.

attack

As a result of the abysmal failure of the bourgeoisie to unify the country and set up a democratic republic in the German revolution of 1848, feudal reaction - with the connivance of important bourgeois forces - unleashed a drastic attack against unions and workers' political organizations. These groups were finally forced to abandon their

functioning. Revolutionary spirits like Born had to seek asylum abroad. Between the years 1850 to 1860 there was virtually no independent labor movement in the country. But it was a period not spent by Marx, for example, in his London exile gloomily bemoaning the absence of a vigorous labor movement in Germany. Marx and Engels had no doubts that a revival of working class activity was inevitable. To assure the success of a socialist upswing, not only in Germany but throughout the world, to raise its theoretical level to the maximum, Marx intensified his toils to arm the socialist movement with the most up-to-date scientific analysis of capitalism. Central to his investigation was an exact study of the nature of labor's contribution to the process of capitalist production. It led to his discovery of the profound significance of labor power, which he fully explained in his "A Critique of Political Economy."

interests

As the 1850's wore on, the German liberals took advantage of the greater freedom accorded them than labor to establish a political movement reflecting their own class interests. Though bitterly resentful of their minority status in a state run by aristocrats, the leaders of

the middle class were even more fearful of the still quiescent German workers. For during the 1848 Revolution these workers, despite the subservient role assigned them by the liberals, had shown an independence and combativity that virtually terrorized the middle class. But this same middle class now desperately needed the support of the workers for their own aims. Thus they conceived of the plan to organize labor but to contain it within "safe" unions which were to be firmly rooted to the party of the German bourgeoisie.

The man chosen to head this movement, the George Meany of his day, was Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, a petty, narrow-minded intriguer. The gimmick he used to confine the unions under his control within the bounds of liberalism was the advocacy of workers' self-help through cooperatives, that is through the accumulated savings of the workers themselves. Among industrial workers there was hardly any response to his schemes; aside from their socialist ideology, the wage packet itself left them with no illusions about their abilities to out-purchase the capitalists. The only ones to fall for such deception were small tradesmen and some artisans. (to be continued)

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WHY SWP CANNOT UNDERSTAND

(Continued from Page 7)

The role of the Pabloites particularly the JCR was to prostrate itself before the Cohn Bendits and the anarchists seeing in them a progressive revolutionary force. The hollow cry for workers committees which was the only demand it could direct towards the working class completely missed the point of directing the struggle at the seat of state power and can in no way substitute for the fight for leadership against the CGT bureaucracy in the unions which the Pabloites have long ignored.

opportunism

When JCR leader Krivine talks of how the JCR remained always one step ahead of the students

instead of 50 we should understand what this means. As Krivine speaks of it: "We did not play a sectarian role - that is to say we did not arrive with ready made ideas and solutions, we did not impose our organization; if we did we would have been thrown out."

What Krivine really means is that the JCR, rather than fighting for revolutionary Trotskyism, adapted to the ideas of the anarchists and Guevarrists. Rather than fighting for the working class revolutionary party it sought to bring into existence a broad amalgam of petty bourgeois student tendencies on a popular front basis into which to liquidate the JCR. Finally, in order to remain in the good graces of the anarchists and Guevarrists,

the JCR was willing to play this thoroughly opportunist role.

It is the opportunist and liquidationist policies of the JCR and its Pabloite co-thinkers that provides the left cover protecting the French CP and thereby DeGaulle himself from the danger of an alternative mass Trotskyist party which could otherwise be built up among those workers and students who are coming to see the bankruptcy of Stalinism.

This is the main struggle, responsibility for which lies today with the OCI and FER who will carry it to completion only through sharpest struggle against Stalinism, Pabloism, left adventurism, and all other revisionist tendencies within the working class movement.