

thirty years of transitional program

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

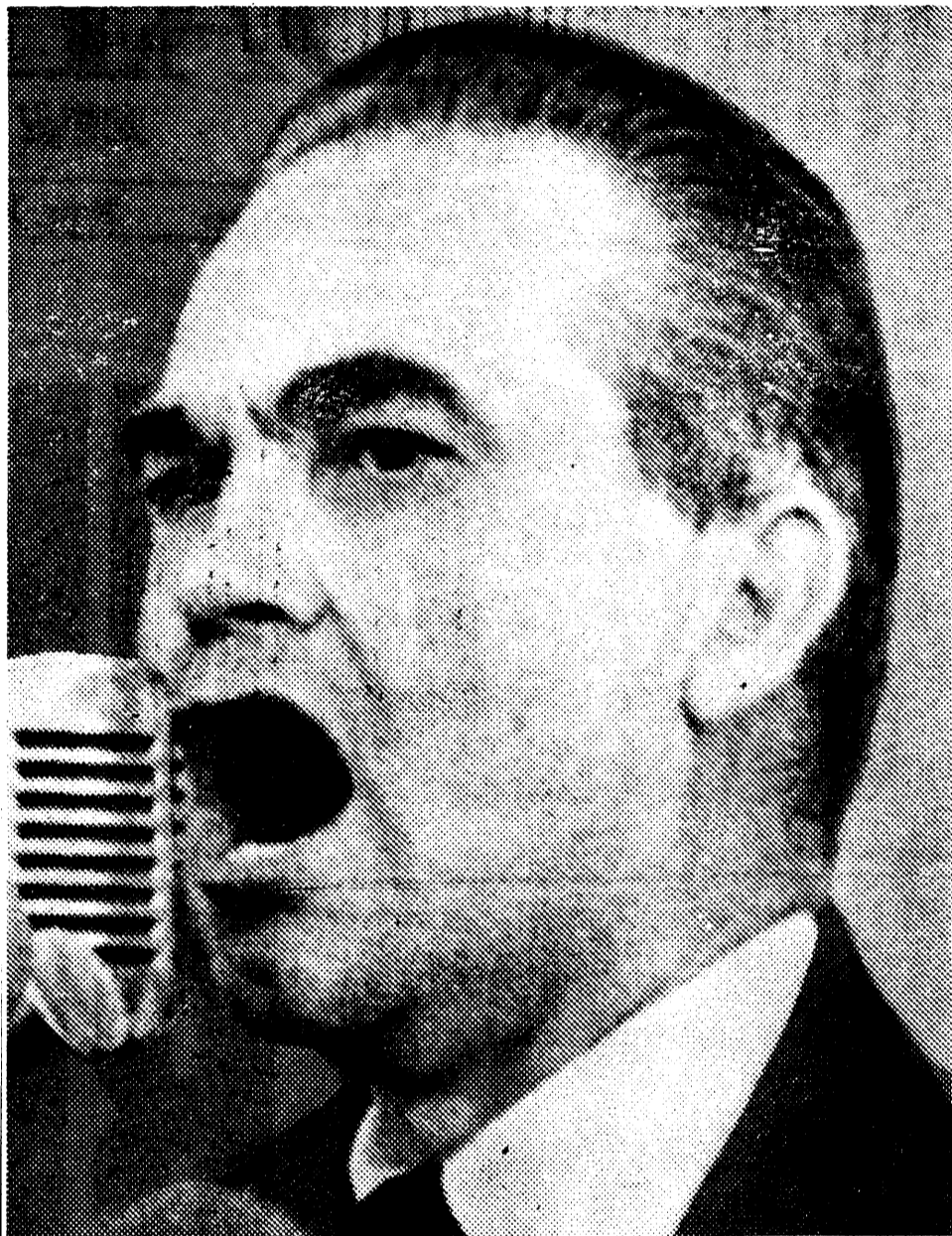
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INSTITUTION

STOP WALLACE IN HIS TRACKS!



The American labor movement has got to stop Wallace in his tracks. With each day as the election approaches Wallace's strength grows. He travels through every state North and South spewing forth this racist poison aimed at splitting the working class and preparing the ground for new attacks on organized labor.

He rides through the center of Chicago in a motorcade. Now, as we go to press, he plans to invade New York to speak at Madison Square Garden. Yet the labor movement does not move. Plans to distribute millions of leaflets to trade unionists will do no good. Support by the labor leadership of Humphrey only fans the flames of Wallace's racism. Wallace's strength grows because workers have had enough of the Humphrey's of this world but see no other alternative.

We demand that the organized labor movement mobilize its millions to greet Wallace wherever he appears with mammoth labor demonstrations. New York is the place to start. While Wallace plans his October 24th Madison Square Garden Rally the Central Labor Council remains silent. We demand that the Council organize a mam-

moth demonstration of hundreds of thousands of workers, black and white to give Wallace the greeting he deserves the second he steps into New York. We demand that the labor movement organize similar demonstrations in every city and town he speaks in between now and election day.

While Humphrey seeks to gather labor support for his candidacy his Administration invokes the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Law against 75,000 striking longshoremen. We have had enough of these scoundrels. The only way to defeat the most wretched scoundrel of them all, Wallace, is by taking up the battle today for a new party, a labor party based on the unions. Such a party can beat back the racists, fuse workers of all colors and ages together in a common political struggle for a working man's government that will end the war, wipe out inflation, and provide jobs for all.

There is no time to waste. Labor must stop Wallace in his tracks NOW!

**boycott grows
on docks as
grapes rot**

**LBJ USES T-H LAW
TO BREAK ILA STRIKE**

AFL-CIO CAN'T FIGHT WALLACE

by Dan Fried

The rising tide of support for the campaign of George Wallace is being felt most dramatically in the ranks of the trade union movement, not merely in southern states, but more than ever before in the industrial heartlands of northern and eastern states. The recent convention of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) showed 8% of the delegates voting for an endorsement of Wallace for President, while the tally of the total of 2,638 delegates to United Auto Workers (UAW) Regional Conferences showed 10.2% for Wallace. While President Walter Reuther could remark that "The overwhelming vote in favor of Hubert Humphrey...shows that the vast majority of working men and women has not forgotten who its friends are", the UAW bureaucrats admit that there is far greater support for Wallace in UAW ranks than is reflected in the 10% vote.

The 10% UAW delegate vote is only the frosting on the Alabama ex-governor's cake. The Wallace infestation has reached alarming proportions in the ranks of the United Steelworkers of America. A poll of the normally Democratic voting workers in the mills of the Monongahela River area near Pittsburgh, showed some 65% all union members, supporting Wallace.

CAMPAIGN

The leadership of the AFL-CIO has begun a massive literature and leaflet campaign as has the UAW, aimed at countering Wallace and persuading trade union members to vote for Humphrey. The cornerstone of this campaign is the expenditure by the AFL-CIO of some one million dollars to get unionists to register and vote on Nov. 5.

The anti-Wallace literature and leaflets which are supposedly being distributed en masse at plant gates attempts to expose the Wallacite racism in bread and butter terms.

SWP ON NEW YORK BALLOT

The Socialist Workers Party has won its battle to be on the New York State ballot. The New York State secretary had arbitrarily ruled the SWP presidential ticket off the New York machine ballot. Instead the State offered to provide "ballot slips" with the candidates names printed on them and put supposedly in every voting booth. The SWP challenged this move and won a ruling in its favor recently in the state supreme court.

The Socialist Workers Party is now on the ballot in 20 states. At a time when vast numbers of people are rejecting the Democratic and Republican parties, many turning to Wallace, the campaign of the SWP could not be more urgent. It is the only ticket which poses the real alternative -- a party based on labor. We call on all our readers to fight for the campaign of Halstead and Boutelle in your shops, your schools, and your communities.

The argument is made that a Wallace victory will take money out of the workers pockets. Comparisons of per capita incomes, illiteracy, unemployment insurance, welfare payments, minimum wage laws and other economic and social facts are made between Alabama and other states such as Maryland or Pennsylvania.

Typical is the argument in the United Steelworkers magazine that "Wallace's Alabama ranks 49th in welfare payments for dependent children; Wallace's Alabama ranks lower only than Mississippi among Southeastern states in increase in manufacturing jobs in recent years." But this type of argument, coupled with the listing of various racist and neo-nazi supporters of Wallace does not seem to have made a dent in Wallace's growing popularity among white industrial workers.

POLICIES

The arguments of the entire labor leadership, from Meany to Reuther avoid the fundamental question - the responsibility of the Democrats and Republicans for the policies of Big Business which have brought mounting inflation, war, structural unemployment, educational decay-- a frontal attack on the conditions of the working class, well lubricated by the encouragement of racial hatred amongst workers. These are the policies of Nixon-Humphrey.

The 'labor leaders' had better not sit back smugly and feel they are now doing their job with their mass leafleting campaign. They had better not ignore the basic reasons for the turn to Wallace, as expressed in the remarks of a woman employee of the Steelworkers Union in Duquesne, Pa.: "I'm fed up to here with the Democrats. I don't care much for Nixon. There's only one choice. Nobody is going to tell me how to vote."

The labor leaders are still trying to sell Humphrey and the Democrats to the workers who seek a real choice and in their frustration turn to Wallace who offers a false and destructive choice for all workers. Instead of spending the million dollars for Humphrey (not counting what the UAW and other independent unions will spend), the labor leaders should be spending that much and more in launching an independent party of labor to stand against Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace as a REAL choice for the workers.

One official of the AFL-CIO admitted that "There's some apathy in the ranks this year; a lot of the boys haven't exactly been set on fire by Hubert." A lot of these 'boys' however are getting enthusiastic about Wallace. A Steelworkers Union official expressed his irritation with the recent steel contract, reflecting the fact that the rank and file steelworker who turns to Wallace is in part motivated by his disgust with the recent

contract.

AUTO

The situation is similar for auto workers. According to the newspaper of UAW Local 45 (Cleveland, Fisher Body) the wage increase of the 1967 contract has already been wiped out and estimates that with the past growth of taxes and a continuing price inflation, "we will come to December 1969 with all our wage increases of two years completely wiped out and our total wages actually buying far less than before the so-called 20¢ increase of 1967." As long as Walter Reuther and Co. propose a continuation of more of this raw deal by plugging for Humphrey, the UAW will be fertile ground for Wallacite demagoguery.

We say that the labor leaders who refuse to pose a real alternative to Nixon-Humphrey are actually aiding

and abetting Wallace and his racist poison. The Wallacite poison thrives on the frustration and disillusionment of the middle class and the working class which has been hit hard by the raw deal policies of the Democrats and Republicans under the Johnson Administration. Wallacite infestation grows ten-fold with every division within the working class which has been fostered by 'liberal' capitalism under the Democrats and Republicans; the 'community' versus the trade unions; those who work versus those "who get handouts"; black versus white.

PARTY

The "me-tooism" of Nixon and Humphrey only builds up Wallace. There can be no half way battle against unemployment, war, inflation, racism, and poverty. A Labor Party campaigning for the thirty

hour week, for a guaranteed annual wage for all workers, for nationalization of industry where necessary for full employment, for compulsory cost of living increases paid by all employers, for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and the diversion of the military budget into billions for schools and public housing--such a party and campaign would quickly take the wind out of the Wallace sail.

The allegedly immovable racism of the white workers would be pushed aside as white and black workers, young and old, employed and unemployed "get set on fire" by a REAL choice. The labor leaders who moan about Wallace and try to sell Humphrey stand in the way of this real choice of a Labor Party which could gain enough support to send Humphrey-Nixon-Wallace all on their merry way.

Grapes Rot on Docks as Boycott Grows



WORKERS LEAGUE IN SAN FRANCISCO MOBILIZES TO DEFEND THE FARMWORKERS.

by Jeff Sebastian

SAN FRANCISCO-- The farmworkers' struggle has taken a tremendous step forward. The fight here has been taken directly to the working class. Pickets have been set up on the docks to prevent the movement of the grapes.

The response from rank and file longshoremen and teamsters has been tremendous. The teamsters have refused to cross the lines and trucks carrying tons of grapes have been stopped. On one pier the ship was forced to leave a day late without taking on its load of grapes.

This fight has just begun. The response so far is an indication of the enormous support that can be mobilized for the farmworkers among the working class. It also is a clear demonstration of the sort of fight that must be waged across the country to defeat the growers.

Nevertheless, there is a strong danger that the fight will be defeated. The growers are preparing to answer the action of the workers with injunctions against the unions, threatening to sue for millions of dollars in damages.

BETRAY

There must be no doubt that in the face of such threats the union bureaucrats will

seek ways to betray the struggle. Indeed, the actions undertaken so far have been almost completely in a rank and file basis.

Furthermore the policy of Cesar Chavez has been to avoid any approach to the rank and file and keep his campaign purely on the level of propaganda and maneuvering with the labor bureaucracy.

The fight that is being made in San Francisco can be decisive for the future of the farmworkers struggle. The farmworkers are taking on the growers and their friends, the politicians in a struggle that demonstrates to the entire labor movement its own future.

There must be no retreat. The farmworkers fight cannot be conducted through briefs in the capitalist courts. It can only be won with decisive and independent action by the working class.

HALF-HEARTED

The action taken so far on the docks has had enormous impact. Nevertheless it has been conducted in a halfhearted and confused manner. Although the attempt to stop the trucks has been successful there is no conscious policy on the part of the farmworkers.

Thus pickets do not talk to rank and file workers and

there is even great reluctance to display picket signs. If the trucks have been stopped it is largely through the efforts of individual longshoremen who warn as to which truck is carrying grapes, or else it is on the initiative of a single individual who takes it into his own hands to do something.

Chavez will give no official backing to the struggle. Indeed his own perspective goes no further than moral appeals and consumer boycotts with picketing of supermarkets. No attempts have been made on the part of the farmworkers to make any appeal to trade unionists.

CAMPAIGN

The only campaign conducted on this level is being carried out by the Workers League which is taking leaflets to the docks, teamsters and other unionists appealing for them to support the farmworkers by refusing to touch the grapes and organizing a labor boycott on all grapes.

The task before the farmworkers is to build a massive campaign to get to the rank and file workers with the demand for all out support to the grape strike. The threat of injunctions must not be allowed to permit the grapes to move. Unless such a campaign is conducted the entire struggle will be set back.

NEW SSEU CAUCUS FIGHTS FOR MERGER

by Dennis O'Casey

Conditions in the Department of Social Services have reached the breaking point. Caseloads have risen to new highs while hiring falls hopelessly behind resignations. Angry caseworkers in center

And WHO Should Vote For Halstead and Boutelle?

At a recent SSEU membership meeting considering the question of support to Paul O'Dwyer and Beulah Sanders, Workers League supporters raised the motion of support to Socialist Workers Party candidates, Halstead, Boutelle, and Garza. Those members in the union supported by the SWP refused to speak in favor of and did not even vote for endorsement of their candidates, abstaining completely from voting.

This follows the same pattern revealed at the SMC meeting in Chicago which was almost entirely composed of YSA members who refused to endorse the candidates of the SWP.

We wonder how any workers or students can take seriously the SWP campaign when its own members refuse to openly support their candidates.

after center have dumped excess cases in Administrators' laps. Angry clients furious over "flat grant" welfare slashes and frustrated by the failure of demonstrations against the flat grant at City Hall have invaded center after center breaking furniture, blocking stairwells, and forcing caseworkers from their desks and buildings.

In the next few weeks the

Department is expected to drop its reorganization bombshell into this situation, exploiting the crisis in welfare along the lines we have seen in the UFT dispute. All of this comes precisely at the moment when the SSEU is about to embark upon collective bargaining for the 1969 contract.

MERGER

In order to resolve this crisis and obtain any gains in the '69 contract, the SSEU must carry through the merger with 371 and affiliation with DC 37 voted for by 62% of the SSEU membership in June of this year (2/3 was constitutionally required). This is central. Without this all collective bargaining is pointless, the bargaining demands the leadership is busy compiling are not worth the paper they are written on.

But it is precisely this fight for affiliation that the Morgenstern leadership and all its hangers on including forces supported by Progressive Labor and the Socialist Workers Party have abandoned.

While refusing to take another initiative on affiliation these people use the isolation and weakness of the SSEU as an excuse for fighting to prevent the localized work actions on caseloads and client demonstrations from going over to a fundamental union-wide fight on these issues. They likewise use the absence of affiliation for which they alone are responsible to resist any suggestion that the SSEU

prepare a citywide fight on the reorganization question.

CAUCUS

The Affiliations Now Caucus recently formed around the very people who first launched the fight for affiliation in the union over 18 months ago is the only tendency that has any program to lead the SSEU forward at this time.

Not only is this caucus conducting a petition campaign to put the question of affiliation before the membership once again this fall but it is also fighting in the course of the campaign for affiliation to bring the three welfare unions and the clients into a common struggle now against the flat grant and workload violations. This is clearly the only way to prevent the City from turning clients against workers as they have turned the community against the UFT, a development that could well break the SSEU before the January contract deadline.

This caucus has specifically proposed that "the SSEU call upon the heads of 371,

1549, and DC 37 to make good on their pledge, printed in the latest SSEU News, to "act decisively," in the present crisis by organizing jointly with all client organizations in New York City a CITYWIDE CASELOAD DUMPING at Commissioner Goldberg's office to be combined with a massive demonstration against the flat grant reductions. We further propose that all three unions make formal commitments to accept no contracts in January that are not accompanied by a roll back in the flat grant cuts."

POLITICS

Such a joint action, however, can only serve to pose more sharply than ever to the labor movement in this city the need to carry this fight into the political arena.

This fight cannot be undertaken without the fight today for the creation of a labor party based on the trade unions which alone can unite black and white workers in a fight to put a labor government in Washington and in City Hall. Morgenstern's endorsement

of liberal and radical capitalist candidates, O'Dwyer, Judy Mage, and Beulah Sanders is a sad caricature of the kind of political alternative that must be fought for in the city labor movement. Judy Mage's pandering to hippie politician Dave McReynolds, in the SSEU News and Beulah Sanders' call for community control of welfare centers exposes Peace and Freedom and Freedom and Peace as every bit as worthless alternatives to Nixon-Humphrey - Wallace, and brings into bold relief the isolation of the SSEU from the rest of the labor movement.

This is why the Affiliation Now Caucus fought the endorsement of O'Dwyer and Sanders on the floor of the September 28th SSEU general membership meeting and put forth a counter motion calling for SSEU endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Halstead and Boutelle, who alone put forth in the '68 election the call for a Labor Party.

LBJ USES TAFT-HARTLEY TO BREAK DOCK STRIKE

NEW YORK -- President Johnson has invoked the Taft-Hartley Law against 75,000 striking longshoremen at Atlantic and Gulf ports. This is the seventh time since the passage of the law that it has been used to break an ILA strike.

Johnson could not even use the pretense of military shipping for the decision as the ILA is moving military goods. The move is based on the assertion that "the strike would have severe implications for our balance of payments." We say the balance of payments problems of the bosses and their government are caused by the bankruptcy of their system. The longshoremen have balance of payments problems of their own. They are finding it harder than ever to balance their grocery and other bills with their paychecks as inflation soars and employment on the docks is unsteady with the increase in automation.

Johnson's move makes clear that the Democrats are no friends to labor. They have made more use of anti-labor legislation like Taft-Hartley than the Republicans. We demand of all labor leaders now rooting for Humphrey to explain to us this anti-labor act of his administration.

CONTAINERIZATION

The longshoremen are demanding wage increases coupled with the increase in the guaranteed hours worked per year as well as pension improvements as inflation eats up their wages and their very jobs are threatened. The major issue is containerization. Instead of moving, say 1,000 refrigerators, each in its separate crate, the refrigerators are now packed at the factory all in one immense container, loaded on a flat-bed tractor-trailer and

loaded into the holds of specially built freighters with one swoop of a giant crane. This way the work force may be cut in a third or less to move the same tonnage of cargo. The ILA wants increased guarantees of the number of hours of work per year for full time longshoremen to counter this. The resistance to this by the longshore firms indicates the plans they have for drastic cuts in the work force on East Coast docks.

BRIDGES

The struggle of the East Coast dockers has been undercut by concessions made by Harry Bridges years ago on this very same issue. It is a lesson on the real nature of fake lefts like Bridges in the union movement that the gangster ridden ILA has fought longer and harder against these attacks on dock employment than 'progressive' Bridges. If it were not for the Viet Nam War the unemployment picture on West Coast



LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE docks would be reaching mammoth proportions by now. As it is the young worker is being squeezed out of dock employment.

We say Johnson's use of the Taft-Hartley is a warning to all labor. Break from the strike-breaker Democratic Party. Full labor support for the longshoremen! The workers not the bosses must benefit from automation. Victory to the ILA!

INFLATION, TAXES HIT WORKERS

NEW YORK - The latest announcements of the rise in the cost of living for 1968 and of the possibility of vast increases in state taxes on top of the already high cost of living and the 10% federal income tax surcharge are enough to drive every working man and woman to drink if it were not for the increased taxes on liquor.

In New York it was announced that the prices of goods and services in August rose 0.8% above July making the increase since January the highest in twenty years.

It is estimated that the average worker with a wife and two children in August received

a 29¢ a week increase in wages, bringing his wage to \$109.16. But taxes cut this to \$87.39 a week and the increase in the cost of living cut it further to \$87.31.

If this is not bad enough, the politicians in Albany plan to increase the sales tax this year by 50% raising it to 3% plus the passage of a 20% income tax surcharge. This means that a family of four with an income of \$7,500 will increase its state income tax from \$87 to \$102.

The demand for escalator clauses must become central in the fight for higher wages in every union contract.

ENTER MEDIATOR GOLDBERG

NEW YORK -- Arthur J. Goldberg, until recently the apologist in the UN for American butchery of the Vietnamese people has stepped into "mediate" the wage disputes of the police, firemen, and sanitationmen in New York City. The unions involved have agreed to have no strikes or work actions during the new negotiations.

This has gotten Lindsay off



JOHN DELURY, USA HEAD

the hook of a threatened new Sanitation strike and a partial firemen's strike for the first time in history. With the immediate strike pressure removed these city workers can expect to face tricky maneuvers as Lindsay seeks to use Goldberg's prestige to throw the whole thing into fact finding or arbitration. The result will be the continued falling behind of city workers

under the impact of inflation.

LAUGHABLE

The wage offers made by Lindsay so far would be laughable if it were not for the fact that these unions have settled for less in the past. The City is offering to police and firemen \$750 over two years and sanitationmen \$670. This adds up to less than 3% at a time when prices are increasing at a 6% rate. In addition all these workers have a 40 hour week while much of the rest of the city employees have a 35 hour week. The sanitationmen are forced to work on Saturdays with no overtime. Under these conditions any settlement less than the 35 hour week plus at least \$1500 over two years will be a real defeat.

We warn city workers-- don't let them maneuver you into putting the strike weapon into cold storage. No fact-finding and the rest of their malarky. The facts are clear enough. You face them every time you go to the grocery store or have to pay on your mortgage. With contracts coming up soon in welfare and other city departments a united struggle of city labor is necessary to get a fair shake from Lindsay or Goldberg. A man who can lie to the world about Vietnam can be expected to lie to you too. We say Goldberg will have his hand in your pocket soon enough. Prepare to fight back now!

30 YEARS OF THE TRANSITIONAL P

by Tim Wohlforth

This year marks the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union, the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in America, and the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International itself and the publication of the Transitional Program. These events are inextricably tied to each other and are of the greatest importance to the struggle of workers in every country today.

The birth of this new movement was marked by revolutionary struggles of colossal importance--great convulsions affecting the lives of hundreds of millions of people, but convulsions which in the end led to the defeat of the workers, the decay of socialism in the USSR, and the spread of fascism, and finally world war. It has only been in the past few years that the working class has recovered from the defeats of the 1930's, new forces have emerged, new struggles engaged, new hope for socialism spread throughout the world. This is the meaning of France.

BETRAYED

The era of the 1930's was the era of the Revolution Betrayed. The era of the 1960s and 1970s is the era of the Transitional Program, the struggle of an undefeated working class to develop a new leadership capable of ending once and for all the misery and war of capitalism. But the struggles today will be led to victory by those who learn the lessons of the defeats of the 1930s, who take up the program defended against tremendous odds by the revolutionaries of the 1930s and carry it further in the more auspicious times of today.

Those who seek to sever the working class from its past, who refuse to learn the lessons of the 1930s only serve to tie the working class to the past mistakes of its leaders, to repeat again the Era of the Revolution Betrayed. The future can be prepared for only with a conscious study of the past.

OCTOBER

Modern history has been shaped by the great October Revolution--the first successful workers revolution. Fifty-one years after October its impact is still central to the lives of the earth's three billion peoples--Vietnam, France, turmoil in America--all, all related to October. This first workers state isolated in a backward country surrounded by imperialism because of the failures of the revolutionary movement following World War I, degenerated. The administrative bureaucracy of that state triumphed over the working class establishing its own privileged rule, finding in Stalin the personification of its narrowness, the defender of its privileges, the dispenser of its terror against the class in whose interests it supposedly ruled. The triumph of Stalin not only meant an end to workers democracy within the Soviet Union but revolutionary internationalism without--the transformation of the Third International from an instrument of revolution to what its remnants are today, the propagators of socialism in one country and peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world.

But reaction in Russia was not complete and therefore it would not be permanent. First of all the new privileged bureaucracy while it stood in opposition to the policies which had led to the October victory and undermined the social foundations of the first workers state was incapable of completely overturning the new property forms. The socialist property forms thrown up in October by great revolutionary sacrifice of the Russian working people remain distorted, undermined--but remain.

TROTSKY

Just as important the program of October,

deserted by the new bureaucrats, found a champion in one of the leaders of the October Revolution--Leon Trotsky. Starting in 1923 he took up the struggle against Stalin and the bureaucracy fighting for workers democracy, for proletarian internationalism, for the defense of the workers state against the ruling bureaucracy itself which endangered it.

From 1923 to his death in 1940 Trotsky's whole life was devoted to the defense of the revolutionary program which had led to October and to the fight against the Stalinist grave-diggers of this revolution in order to prepare for new Octobers all over the world. This was no simple matter of formally posing Lenin's positions against Stalin's. Nor was it an organizational matter of gathering all those who opposed Stalinism around some sort of vague program. It was above all else a theoretical question - a programmatic question and thus fundamentally the question of development of theory through the Marxist method.

Trotsky's great achievements in this period were thus in the theoretical field. It is not that he turned his back on the building of a movement, retreating into his study to come up with new theories. At every moment his battle for theory was linked with the difficult struggle to develop an international organization on the basis of these theories to fight within that organization for an understanding of the theories, to struggle so that after his death the ideas developed would live on in the only way living Marxist theory can live, embodied in men organized into parties striving every day to implement the theories--to link theory and practice through the construction of the revolutionary party.

MARXISM

Trotsky faced theoretical challenges of an extremely complex character. Of all those who sought to develop Marxism after the death of Lenin, Trotsky and Trotsky alone was successful. First and foremost was the degeneration of the Soviet state itself. An understanding of this was a central key to the ability of the working class to carry forward the struggle both against the bureaucratic usurpers of the first workers state and against the capitalists to establish new workers states. And then there was fascism that mass movement of counterrevolutionary frenzy that destroyed the organizations of hundreds of millions of workers. Only through understanding fascism and Stalinism and the relationship between the two could the working class develop a program for socialism.

Neither fascism nor Stalinism existed in Lenin's day. These were new phenomena; there were no old formulas to be applied. Only the creative development of Marxist theory could explain these phenomena and arm the workers with a program to fight back against them. All those outside the Trotskyist movement and many inside abandoned the Marxist method when confronted with these new developments, going over to their impressions, rigid formal formulas like state capitalism, etc. All who followed this course ended up either out of politics or in the capitalist camp. Witness Max Shachtman who now supports Hubert Humphrey.

STALINISM

True Trotsky learned as much as he could from Marx, in particular Marx's understanding of Bonapartism under capitalism and Caesarism in Rome. But he did this not to pick up old formulas but to get at Marx's method and develop a new theory on the basis of this method. In this manner he developed his theory, to be found in 'Revolution Betrayed', of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state which had moved back towards capitalism but had not succeeded in overturning the property forms thrown up in October. Thus the Soviet bureaucracy was seen by Trotsky as a regime in permanent crisis, with a deep contradiction between the privileged bureaucracy and the new property forms. This contradiction could only be resolved through a political revolution in which the working class would rise up, destroy the bureaucracy and together with the extension of the revolution in the capitalist countries, develop the productive forces to new heights.

The whole postwar period has amply confirmed this analysis. The extension of this Stalinist system into East Europe and China, rather than resolving its internal contradictions only deepened them leading to the internal dissension among the workers states and the uprisings in Hungary and



THIS CARTOON WAS PRINTED 30 YEARS AGO IN THE SOCIALIST AP

elsewhere and turmoil everywhere. The counter-revolutionary character of the bureaucracy was revealed in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in the capitalist countries in the role of the French Stalinist party last May. Trotsky's theory has been completely vindicated. There is no other objective judgment which can be made.

FASCISM

Trotsky was also the only one to develop a Marxist understanding of fascism and flowing from this a Marxist program for the struggle against fascism. Trotsky saw the relationship of the petty bourgeoisie to the capitalist class and to the working class as critical to the development of the revolution. The capitalist class is incapable of ruling without the cooperation in some form of other classes. Traditionally the capitalists have ruled with the help of the petty bourgeoisie and sometimes through the petty bourgeoisie with the help of the working class itself.

This collaboration of the capitalists with the petty bourgeoisie has taken historically three forms reflecting three different periods of capitalist development. In its revolutionary period, the capitalists mobilized the petty bourgeoisie as a revolutionary force against feudalism as in the French Jacobin movement. In its period of growth and maturity the capitalists rule with the aid of the petty bourgeoisie through democracy and reform. In the period of the death agony of capitalism the capitalists mobilize the frenzy of the panicked petty bourgeoisie into a fascist

**The Death Agony of
Capitalism and
the Fourth
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The death agony of
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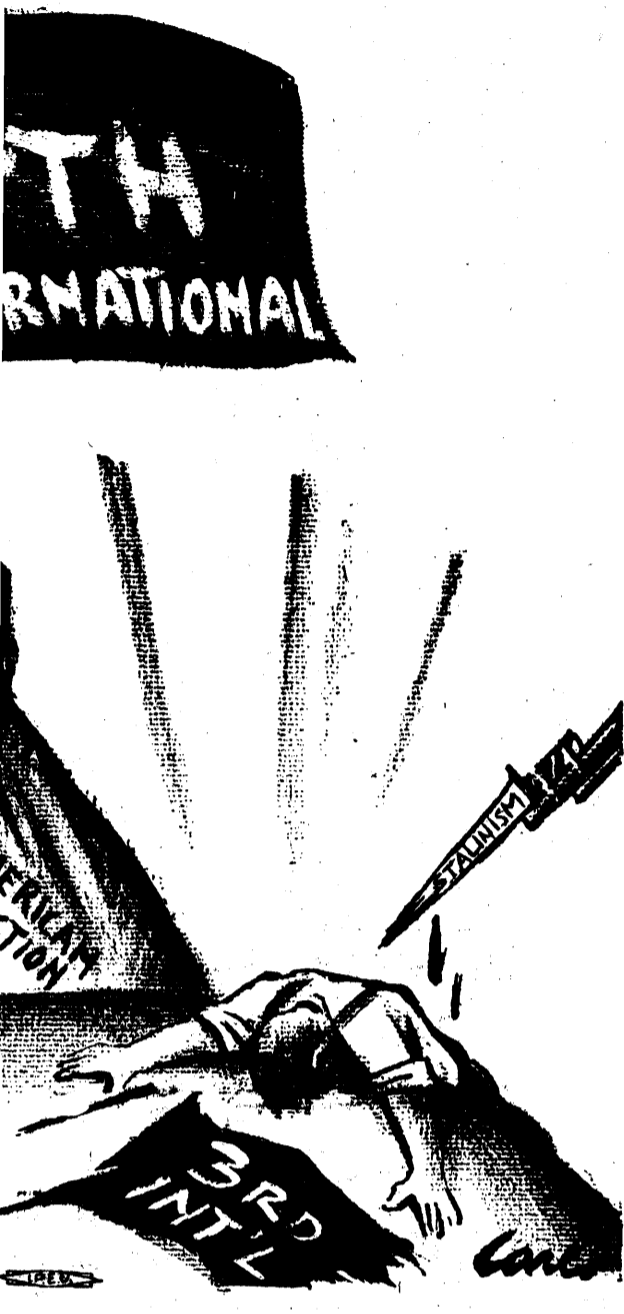
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army to destroy the working class organizations. Flowing from this is the strategy of the working class to break the petty bourgeoisie from the capitalists by offering an alternative leadership, an alternative solution to the capitalist crisis--that is by fighting for a socialist program and in the course of so doing showing the petty bourgeoisie its determination, its combativity, its strength. For the working class in a period of crisis faced with fascism to show lack of leadership, division, confusion, or to support the very reform policies the petty bourgeoisie is turning from when it joins the fascists will only aid the fascists rather than undercutting them.

These two theoretical positions then come together in the concrete program for which Trotsky and his supporters fought during the 1930's. Stalinism, by decapitating the working class, rather than giving it leadership, aids and feeds rather than undercuts fascism. Thus the struggle against fascism required a struggle against Stalinism to provide an alternative leadership for the working class.

BATTLEFIELD

The battlefield for this struggle was first Germany, then France and then Spain. These countries, each in their turn, became the center of the international struggle between fascism and socialism. In the first confrontation Trotsky fought for a policy of a united front of the German Communist and Social Democratic parties against Hitler. He fought for the Communist Party to give leadership to the working class as a whole

The Fourth International has already arisen out of great events: the greatest defeats of the proletariat in history. The cause for these defeats is to be found in the degeneration and perfidy of the old leadership. The class struggle does not tolerate an interruption. The Third International following the Second, is dead for purposes of revolution. Long live the Fourth International!

The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the

against Fascism by posing united action with the Social Democrats against the Fascists. The Stalinist-led CP underestimated the danger of Fascism and prattled in an ultra-left way that social democracy was the same as fascism. This ultra-leftism became an excuse not to fight effectively against Fascism or for the allegiance of the Social Democratic-led workers. The end result of this policy was the rise of Hitler to power and the destruction of the working class organizations in Germany.

In France and in Spain the question then centered around the popular front. Within a year of Hitler's coming to power the Communist International did a complete about-face in its policies swinging from ultra-leftism to outright opportunism. Frightened by Hitler, it proposed a policy of a political bloc between the working class parties and the liberal bourgeoisie -- around the very program which the petty bourgeoisie was fleeing from--reformism. These policies, rather than countering fascism, fed it and prepared the way for World War II.

ALTERNATIVE

Every policy of Trotsky's was vindicated in this period--but vindicated by the defeat of the working class. It was not that Trotsky was a Cassandra simply predicting defeat and then feeling satisfied when his gloomy predictions came true. Quite the contrary--in reading his writing of the 1930's one cannot help but be impressed by his unbounded optimism, his refusal to bow to defeat unless it was unescapable, his constant posing of a road out for the working class even when the time was very late, the forces of reaction tremendously powerful, the audience who would listen to his appeals miniscule. He always posed the revolutionary alternative in the situation and sought for that alternative to take on the flesh and blood of conscious revolutionaries fighting for it and millions following their lead.

It is this aspect of Trotsky which is so incomprehensible to those who respect his accomplishments when in power, are impressed with his theoretical work when he was out of power, but who cannot understand his relentless struggle to transform these politics into living beings in action--if only a handful of people, understanding the program but little.

TRANSITIONAL

Trotsky as we have noted, fought under all conditions for an alternative program around which a new leadership for the workers could be built, a leadership which could bring the workers to power. This program represented nothing more than the development of the program of the Communist International deserted by Stalin. The highest expression of this program, the result of a decade of struggle, was the Transitional Program adopted just 30 years ago by the founding conference of the Fourth International.

The conception of a transitional program goes back to the first five years of the Communist International and is based on the prior development of Marxism particularly within the Bolshevik movement which made possible the October Revolution. It is contrasted to the minimum program of the reformists and the pure maximum program of sectarians.

For instance in a pamphlet entitled 'The Fundamental Problems of the Young Communist Movement' published in 1922 by the Young Communist International it states: 'Even in their contents our demands are absolutely different from the reformist demands put forward by Social Democracy. These people have drawn up a program in which they set forth their minimum demands, and in which they have allowed themselves to be guided by the principle of going out for only those that can be carried out under the rule of capitalism. We, however, in fighting for our demands, do not think it necessary to stop to consider whether or not they can find a place in the profit-making system of the capitalist class. Indeed we make a full turn about and make

Fourth International, show their class the way out of this crisis. They offer a programme based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner.

Workers--men and women--of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory!

--Transitional Program of the Fourth International

demands of such a nature as will spell the doom of capitalism.' These demands 'are not to be considered individually, but as going to form a system.' The demands are to be linked at all times with the struggle of the party for socialism: 'All our agitational work and other activities are inspired by the consciousness that no lasting improvement can be brought about in the position of the masses of the proletariat and no reorganization of youth labor is possible as long as capitalism remains in existence.' We raise these demands in order to take the working class through a struggle so that the masses of workers will realize, if they are to be able to live, the capitalist society must die.'

This is the way the early Communist movement approached the question of program. This was the method Trotsky used in the Transitional Program of 1938.

The Transitional Program begins with the crisis of capitalism: 'The economic prerequisite for the proletarian revolution has already in general achieved the highest point of fruition that can be reached under capitalism.' What is holding the working class back is not these ripened objective conditions but the need for a revolutionary leadership: 'The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat.' The Fourth International has been created to fulfill that need.

But the mere proclaiming that there is a need for leadership and we are the ones who will fulfill it is empty tub-thumping unless such a statement is linked with a program around which the working class can struggle and in the course of this struggle the Fourth International develop into the leadership of millions of workers. The document then poses a number of programmatic demands which link the current struggle of the working class with the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism such as: shorter work week, sliding scale of wages (escalator clause), workers control of industry, nationalization, defense guards, the struggle against war, and finally the formation of a workers and farmers government to carry out such a program.

LINKS

It is important to note that the Transitional Program always links each specific demand with the political question--the need for workers to form their own government to implement this program. Secondly the program is the program of an international movement and the fight for the program is linked at every step with the fight to build the party which can implement the program. Finally the program is counterposed to the false programs of the Stalinists, Social Democrats and others and the struggle for this program is linked at all times with the struggle against these false leaders of the working class.

At the same time as the Transitional Program was written Trotsky engaged in a series of discussions (see: Trotsky on the Labor Party) with the SWP leadership on the question of the labor party. This was quite natural for while the labor party slogan was not included in the Transitional Program because it related to conditions in one specific country, the implementation of the Transitional Program in the United States was inconceivable

(Continued on page six)

History of the Fourth International

FILM--Exclusive showing of film of actual workers occupation of Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes, France during May, 1968 General Strike
RECORDING--Rare recording in English of Leon Trotsky speaking on the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition in U.S.
SPEECH--Forty years of Trotskyism in the United States--The struggle for the Transitional Program. Speaker: Tim Wohlforth

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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20c

LEON TROTSKY ON LABOR PARTY

stenographic report of discussion held in 1938 with leaders of socialist workers party



THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM OF 4TH

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THIS CARTOON WAS PRINTED 30 YEARS AGO IN THE SOCIALIST APPEAL ON THE FOUNDING OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

elsewhere and turmoil everyplace. The counter-
 revolutionary character of the bureaucracy was
 revealed in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia
 in 1968 and in the capitalist countries in the role
 of the French Stalinist party last May. Trotsky's
 theory has been completely vindicated. There is
 no other objective judgment which can be made.

FASCISM

Trotsky was also the only one to develop a
 Marxist understanding of fascism and flowing
 from this a Marxist program for the struggle
 against fascism. Trotsky saw the relationship
 of the petty bourgeoisie to the capitalist class
 and to the working class as critical to the
 development of the revolution. The capitalist class
 is incapable of ruling without the cooperation in
 some form of other classes. Traditionally the
 capitalists have ruled with the help of the petty
 bourgeoisie and sometimes through the petty bour-
 geoisie with the help of the working class itself.

This collaboration of the capitalists with the
 petty bourgeoisie has taken historically three
 forms reflecting three different periods of capi-
 talist development. In it's revolutionary period,
 the capitalists mobilized the petty bourgeoisie as
 a revolutionary force against feudalism as in the
 French Jacobin movement. In its period of
 growth and maturity the capitalists rule with the
 aid of the petty bourgeoisie through democracy
 and reform. In the period of the death agony
 of capitalism the capitalists mobilize the frenzy
 of the panicked petty bourgeoisie into a fascist

army to destroy the working class organizations.

Flowing from this is the strategy of the working
 class to break the petty bourgeoisie from the
 capitalists by offering an alternative leadership,
 an alternative solution to the capitalist crisis--
 that is by fighting for a socialist program and in
 the course of so doing showing the petty bourgeo-
 sie its determination, its combativity, its strength.
 For the working class in a period of crisis faced
 with fascism to show lack of leadership, divi-
 sion, confusion, or to support the very reform
 policies the petty bourgeoisie is turning from when
 it joins the fascists will only aid the fascists
 rather than undercutting them.

These two theoretical positions then come
 together in the concrete program for which Trotsky
 and his supporters fought during the 1930's.
 Stalinism, by decapitating the working class, rather
 than giving it leadership, aids and feeds rather than
 undercuts fascism. Thus the struggle against
 fascism required a struggle against Stalinism to
 provide an alternative leadership for the working
 class.

BATTLEFIELD

The battlefield for this struggle was first
 Germany, then France and then Spain. These
 countries, each in their turn, became the center
 of the international struggle between fascism and
 socialism. In the first confrontation Trotsky
 fought for a policy of a united front of the German
 Communist and Social Democratic parties against
 Hitler. He fought for the Communist Party to
 give leadership to the working class as a whole

The Fourth International
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ALL PROCEEDS GO TO FIGHT THE FRENCH STATE

CHE'S THEORY OF GUERRILLA VANGUARD

by Fred Calhoun

(This is the second part of a series on Che Guevara's Diaries and their significance to revolutionary struggles today.)

Che Guevara's Bolivian Diary poses certain distinct problems to radical organizations and individuals who looked to guerilla warfare as a means to achieve "revolutionary action" in the U.S. First of all, how is it that Guevara, prime theoretician of the "new-left" could produce a diary of actual combat so completely devoid of political content? To answer this question, we must return to Guevara's conception of his role in Latin America.

Although disappointed at the development of the Cuban revolution, Guevara saw the need to extend revolution, "two, three Vietnams" into Latin America. With this idea in his head, he commenced his journey to Bolivia (why he chose Bolivia instead of Argentina, Brazil, or Uruguay is never made clear) to begin fighting the Bolivian army with a handful of men.

IMPATIENT

Guevara is exposed, not as a great revolutionary theoretician, but as a petty bourgeois intellectual, impatient, impressionistic, and full of ideas which he could not relate to the world around him. For Guevara, the necessity of revolution would guarantee its success. For this reason, his expedition had only the most rudimentary planning. And none of the tasks which took the Russian Bolshevik party thirty years to complete: the slow and patient development of well-trained cadres capable of producing the leadership necessary to unite the working class and the peasantry in a struggle for state power--seemed important to Guevara. His guerillas would learn as they went along. "Now (January 1967) is when the actual guerilla period begins: we shall test the troops and time will tell the results and what the perspectives of the Bolivian Revolution are."

Of course, the nature of waging isolated guerilla warfare made political clarity a luxury which could not be afforded, both for reasons of security and in order to make liason with other guerilla bands: "The newcomers should be trained according to the general regulations, but they must not know any more than is absolutely necessary..." In seeking a rapprochement with Moses Guevara, a rival guerilla leader, Che Guevara stated: "I put forth my conditions to Guevara: group dissolution, no ranks for anybody, no political organization yet and the necessity to avoid polemics about national and international discrepancies."

Again and again, theory and practice are seen



GUEVARA (MIDDLE FOREGROUND) WAS A "PETTY BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUAL, IMPATIENT AND IMPRESSIONISTIC."

as completely separate entities; theory being fine at the universities, or when inveighing against political opponents, but having absolutely nothing to do with the physical struggle, the "real" struggle with arms against the state. Is it any wonder that there is no political content in the Diary?

Faced with the absolute and total collapse of Guevara's mission, many middle-class intellectuals have set about answering a second question: why did Guevara attempt something so obviously doomed to failure? The response of Georgie Ann Geyer in an interview with Regis Debray in the August 24 issue of Saturday Review can be taken as typical: "It almost seemed as if 'El Che', widely known as the greatest guerilla fighter in Latin American history and unquestionably an attractive and flamboyant personality, had set out to fail. Indeed, his diary reflects over and over a fatalism--strange for a supposedly modern man--and a dire expectation of failure..." Unable to understand Guevara's mission objectively, in terms of the class struggle, this writer is forced to seek the reasons for Guevara's incredible shambles in terms of Guevara's subjective responses alone. This is not surprising, for the diary itself is completely subjective.

However, Marxists cannot afford the "luxury" of indulging in psychological explanations as the motivation for objective occurrences in the world. We do not approach this question as commentators. Guevara's personal hang-ups are of no concern to us; his complete and absolute failure is of great concern to us.

LAST

Historically, the Castro take-over in Cuba in 1959 proved to be the last in a series of nationalist-led revolutions in the colonial world. Since that time, the American ruling class has staked its existence as the dominant force in world imperialism on the containment and hurling back of colonial revolution--even risking the collapse of the entire world monetary system in its futile effort to maintain its rule in Vietnam. Today more than ever the task of revolution in the colonial sector goes over to the working class,

and is linked to the question of revolution in the advanced countries. Guevara's essentially classless conception of revolution in Latin America, which he considered separate from revolution in the US and Europe meant that revolution was to be accomplished by a small group of men, rather than by the working class, or any other class. Indeed, he was oblivious to the 120 year struggle to build a world revolutionary party in order to lead the working class in all parts of the world to power.

Guevara, and his successor Inti Peredo, have maintained that the guerilla band supercedes the party. In a declaration by Peredo we find that the guerilla force "is not an auxiliary instrument of some other 'higher form of struggle.' On the contrary, we believe--and international experience so proves it--that this form of struggle will lead to the liberation of our peoples." And: "In the heat of the struggle the different forces that have set themselves the goal of liberating their country will unite, and our National Liberation Army (ELN) will be joined by militants from various parties. Then the true alliance of anti-imperialist forces will be a reality." (from the August 9 Militant).

NOTHING

It is clear that Inti Peredo has learned nothing from his experiences. Guevarism in Bolivia, rather than being the focal point for all dedicated revolutionaries, became instead the burial ground for a few--with the party which contained many of the revolutionaries the Communist Party assisting the Government in the execution by actively opposing and isolating the guerillas. We repeat: the conceptions of Che Guevara are in fact designed to prevent the serious construction of revolutionary parties, are in fact only the expressions of petty bourgeois idealism designed to spread the anarchistic and pragmatic philosophies of the middle class into the working class movement, are in fact a fig leaf that will prevent any serious opposition to the Stalinist betrayers who have prevented the working class from taking power.

30 YEARS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM OF 4TH INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page five)

unless the programmatic demands were linked to the political solution by posing before workers the necessity to create their own party. As Trotsky's discussion reveals he proposed that we put forward our Transitional Program as the program for such a party and in this way raise the need for the workers to take up the revolutionary struggle--a struggle which can only be led by our party.

TODAY

The Transitional Program is a program for revolutionary struggle in this period of capitalist crisis. The capitalists with their war and the post-war boom were unable to pull out of their permanent crisis their system has been in ever since World War I. They were able only to postpone things a bit and now this postponed crisis comes down upon us with all the greater ferocity.

This is why we say we are in the period of the Transitional Program. There is no longer room for reform solutions to the problems facing American workers just as there is no room for reform solutions to the problems facing British or French workers. Let us look at the situation facing American workers. The workers want the war ended but the capitalists must continue the war in order to preserve their imperialist domination not simply over Vietnam but the whole of Asia and much of the rest of the world. The workers want inflation to stop but the economic crisis is such that any serious efforts to end inflation by the capitalists will mean recession or even depression with mammoth unemployment. The workers want job security and the millions without jobs want jobs. However the capitalists are forced to intensify their plans for automation and rationalization

of labor endangering the jobs of many employed workers while even in the boom of the 50's the capitalist economy was unable to expand enough to absorb millions of poor. The Negro people want an end to discrimination, the ghettos, rotten schools, joblessness, etc. The President's Commission of Civil Disorders makes some modest proposals to tackle these problems. No one seriously believes a single proposal will be implemented. In fact existing poverty programs are slashed.

It is this situation which has led to the present political crisis in the United States. Both parties have decisively defeated reformist oppositions because the capitalists cannot carry out meaningful reform. Wallace, the advance man of the American fascist movement of the future, grows in strength among the petty bourgeoisie and disoriented industrial workers precisely because he channels the frustration of those sections of the population in a reactionary racist way. Neither Nixon nor Humphrey can cut into his vote because they only me-too him. The only alternative to Wallace is not to offer Humphrey as does the labor bureaucrats--that is to offer as an alternative the actual cause of the growth of Wallace--but the struggle of the revolutionary party around the transitional program. How relevant Trotsky's struggles of the 1930's to today. How central is the program of the Fourth International adopted in 1938.

The task of the revolutionary party today is to pose the transitional program mobilizing workers around specific transitional demands, linking these demands together with the political alternative--the labor party--fighting at every moment to build the revolutionary party. This means a real politi-

cal fight in the unions for the shorter work week, for escalator clauses, against the war, against discrimination and for jobs for all to link the unions to the Negro masses, for a labor party as a political expression of this program, for defense of the class against the police attack now directed towards the Negro masses and soon to be directed towards the unions as well.

It is patently obvious that the Socialist Workers Party has totally deserted this fight. It only reflects current surface struggles and adapts to the present leaders of these struggles. It ignores the trade union struggles, the transitional program is absent from the pages of the Militant and the work of the party members, the labor party demand is buried in its election platform, the fight for the revolutionary party is subordinated to adapting to surface movement. Ernest Mandel, whom it hails as 'Europe's foremost Trotskyist,' tours America without mentioning the struggle for the transitional program or the revolutionary party. The SWP fails to even fight for support for its own election ticket in the Student Mobilization Committee or in the unions.

The fight for the transitional program is today carried forward only by the Workers League. It is the very center of our work. Because of our understanding of this program the fight in the trade unions is the central task of our organization. Because we take this fight seriously, we fight for the political program of the working class against all middle class tendencies on the university campuses. Because we understand this program we link it at every moment with the fight to build the Workers League as politically part of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

WHAT UAW TEAMSTERS BLOC MEANS

by Fred Mueller

September 30--The internal crisis of the American organized labor movement is deepening rapidly. This has been shown by developments in the short space of the last three or four months, since the United Auto Workers split from the AFL-CIO.

UNIONS BOYCOTT ELECTIONS

The recent convention of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union voted overwhelmingly for a resolution stating that the union cannot recommend support to any of the major Presidential candidates.

Several other important unions have taken the same position including ILWU, SSEU, Local 1199 and District 65.

While recognizing that Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace pose no alternative for the working class, the UE still urges workers to support "progressive" congressional candidates of the major parties.

These unions could give a real lead to all labor by going beyond this faltering half-step and taking up the fight for a labor party.

For several years Reuther carried on the most confused and hesitant battle with the old-line Meany leadership. He never sought to involve the ranks, to wage a serious struggle within the AFL-CIO, or even to clarify the issues in dispute. But finally, in June of this year, the fight came to a head with the suspension of the UAW for non-payment of dues to the federation.

ALA

First Reuther concluded an agreement setting up the Alliance for Labor Action, (ALA) linking the teamsters and the auto workers, the two largest unions in the U.S., with nearly 4 million members between them. The ALA issued a timid statement of purpose speaking about the revitalization of the labor movement, the need to organize the unorganized, and criticizing the Meany leadership for its stodginess.

In the last few weeks the ALA has begun to pick up some very significant support among AFL-CIO affiliated unions. Meany's response has been to threaten expulsion from the AFL-CIO of any union which affiliates with the UAW-Teamsters-sponsored grouping. On Sept. 17 the AFL-CIO issued a statement which included the change that 'it is apparent that the purpose of this action is the formation of a dual organization, rival to the AFL-CIO.'

This threat did not stop the International Chemical Workers, with 100,000 members, from affiliating with the ALA. As of now the expulsion of the chemical workers from the AFL-CIO appears very likely, although Meany has not set any date for this or taken specific action as yet. Furthermore, the 200,000 member United Rubber Workers has expressed interest in the ALA, as have the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, AFL-CIO, and the independent United Mine Workers. Other unions, including the Newspaper Guild, the Building Service Employees, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and the American Federation of Teachers, are also reported to be interested in discussions with the ALA.

The parallel between all of these developments and the beginnings of the CIO over 32 years ago is obvious. The labor movement is facing a crisis which is beginning to loom as large as the one which shook it from top to bottom at that earlier date.

BUREAUCRACY

The impact of the deepening crisis of capitalism is reflected in a distorted way through the trade union

bureaucracy. The workers are seeing their gains being eaten away by inflation, they are watching the bosses take a much stiffer line in negotiations, they see the unions being put on the defensive. They are fighting back. Meanwhile dissatisfaction with the war has grown tremendously within the unions, and disgust with the Johnson-Humphrey administration is almost universal. At the same time as the workers fight back in an offensive for higher wages and against inflation, millions of misguided and frustrated workers turn to the Presidential candidacy of George Wallace, in the absence of any class alternative, an independent labor party.

The union bureaucracy grew during the period of class peace, of political equilibrium. The conditions for its existence are quickly disappearing, and it is being thrown into a deep crisis. Sections of it are reacting in a defensive way to the growing crisis to rank and file pressure and to pressures upon the labor movement. This is the meaning of the Reuther-Meany split and its aftermath. This is just the beginning of tre-

mendous developments within the organized union movement.

It is obvious that Reuther will try to avoid any kind of serious struggle or mobilization of the union rank and file until he has little or no choice. It is clear that so far all of these moves have been taken on the top, and that the immediate result is a union movement which is further fragmented. Furthermore, Reuther and his allies dissent only very mildly if at all on the war, they also seek to drum up votes for Humphrey and the Democrats, and Reuther's own leadership of the auto workers has been one sellout after another. Within the UAW, now challenging the Meany bureaucracy, tremendous rank and file militancy and discontent with the Reuther bureaucracy itself.

REVITALIZE

This is not a leadership which begins a struggle to 'revitalize' the labor movement with very good credentials. But millions of workers are looking for a lead, are ready to struggle. We cannot abstain from this

struggle. It is our job to point out the tremendous importance of the organizational crisis facing the unions now, to insist that the ALA, now that it has been formed and is growing, take its own program seriously. It promises to tackle the organization of the unorganized. Money and energy must be poured into this drive. Let the ALA show that it means what it says. Millions of workers are watching, they want to see if this split among organized workers can lead to something positive, and not just a further fragmentation, a further weakness. Furthermore, the Meany critics are going to have to advance a political policy in opposition to Meany if this fight is going to mean anything. Trade union militants looking for a revitalized and fighting labor movement are going to see that this means a complete break with the Democratic fakers and the building of a labor party. Already the strength of millions of workers is represented in the ALA's limited criticism of Meany. There is a tremendous potential for campaigning for and mobilizing labor party sentiment among these workers.



HUMPHREY IS GREETED BY LABOR BUREAUCRATS IN TWIN CITIES.

by Bob Johnson

The 11th Constitutional Convention of the Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor met here during Sept. 23-25. As billed in its official publication "Minnesota AFL-CIO News",

the convention "will be called upon to sound the alarm in every ship, on every street corner, warning working men and women and their friends of the well-laid plans of the American Right to press for laws to reduce the U.S. labor movement to impotence as defender of the ordinary family's standard of living." The same urgent point is summed up in COPE's "If we blow Election '68...can we survive Assault '69?"

The Bulletin warns workers that such an assault, including a deluge of anti-union legislation has already begun, but we also warn that if the Democrats are re-elected in November, they will carry out this assault with the same ferocity as the Republicans.

But instead of sounding the alarm, of preparing labor for a political fight against the bosses and their attacks, the Convention was just a "drum up the vote for Humphrey" affair. These labor "leaders" have already "blown" it.

In a disgusting and shameful display, the bureaucrats in attendance, many long time buddies of their "favorite son" Humphrey, paraded Humphrey and the Democratic

MINNESOTA AFL-CIO IS GUNG-HO FOR HUBERT

Party as the answer to labor in the face of this all out war on the standard of living and on the organizations of the working class that is in the cards.

Their love affair with the bosses' Democratic Party is very one-sided. The Democrats have shown no similar affection for the working class. These bureaucrats do not at all speak to the real needs of workers, of unionists who are not so deliriously excited with the Democrats. Time is running out for this old horse trading between the Democrats and the labor bureaucrats, just as time is running out on the two party system itself.

The racist, union-hating campaign of Wallace has succeeded in gaining growing unionist support precisely because these labor bureaucrats refuse to lead a political struggle against the Democrats and the Republicans who represent the interests of big business alone. The growth of the Wallace campaign is a tremendous danger to the

union movement as well as to all workers. But the only way to fight this racist poison is to rally black and white workers in a political struggle for a new party, for a labor party.

LAYOFFS HIT TC SPACE

MINNEAPOLIS--A number of important Twin Cities firms will soon be laying off workers as the result of a \$100 million slash in federal spending on the space program. The firms effected include: Honeywell, Control Data, Durkee Atwood, Despatch Oven, Cinch-Nuline, Tescom, Transistor Electronics, Rosemount Engineering, R-I-Controls, and Vexler Engineering.

The space program slashes are part of a general budget trimming necessitated by the world monetary crisis which endangers the dollar. There can be no question that this is but a foretaste of more drastic federal moves effecting full employment after the elections. Workers must fight back now demanding a shorter work week and a federal program for full employment through the creation of labor's own party.

rally

**STOP THE
NIXON-HUMPHREY
RAW DEAL**

**Fight For A
Labor Party Now!**

HEAR: FRED MAZELIS
Delegate, Hospital Workers,
Local 1199 (New York)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18 8:30 pm

ANDREWS HOTEL (2nd floor)
4th & Hennepin, Mpls.

Admission: 75c

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CITY FINANCES ANTI-UFT UNION-BUSTING RALLY

by Lucy St. John

NEW YORK--All the chickens have come home to roost. All those organizations on the left who claim to be Marxists, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and Progressive Labor have found themselves sitting on the same fence in the recent Teacher's dispute.

The logic of the positions of all those who join in the attack on the teachers was best represented at the rally held on Wednesday, September 26th at Manhattan Center. This rally was bought and paid for by the government under the auspices of the City's Council Against Poverty. Clearly the aim of this rally was to pose the teachers and their union as the enemy of improvements in education and of the Negro people, while posing the ruling class in the form of the Council as the real ally of the community. The Council which is funded by Federal funds claims to be the "organized voice for and of the poor and dispossessed."

TAYLOR

While speakers condemned the use of law and order against the community, they advocated the use of the same law and order against the teachers by calling on the government "to enforce the state's Taylor law against

strikes by public employees."

This was a very clear attack on the unions, not just the UFT, which was again we emphasize conveniently paid for by the bosses government. There is absolutely no way to separate these attacks from the whole business of "decentralization" which was also formulated and paid for by the bosses government to destroy the unions and prevent the Negro and Puerto Rican people from waging the struggle against the real enemy not the teachers but the capitalists, their political representatives and their system.

That the government is using "decentralization" for this purpose was clearly demonstrated in a leaflet distributed at the rally which is printed here. This is the most anti-working class, reactionary piece of propaganda. Needless to say it was unsigned. This leaflet reveals very clearly what the purpose of decentralization is: 1. Destruction of the unions. 2. The destruction of all gains won by the working class since the beginnings of its struggles—leaving the working class absolutely defenseless in the face of attacks by the bosses and the government.

CHEERING

And where were the chickens. They were there cheering

the bosses on, helping them every inch of the way. The Socialist Workers Party printed an uncritical article in the Militant praising this rally, so did the CP. The rally was even jointly sponsored, by the capitalists Council and the New Coalition which is a caucus of teachers uncritically supported by the SWP. While the new coalition disagreed with invoking the Taylor Law, this protest is a complete sham as the New Coalition is indeed in the midst of a direct coalition with the ruling class.

Nowhere can these organizations explain how 'community control' is to solve the problems of the rotten ghetto schools much less the existence of the ghettos themselves. Not once do they raise the question of funds which are needed to wipe out these conditions but which the City has made very clear under community control will not be forthcoming. Nowhere do they take up the question of real control, of workers control of the government, of the Board of Education. They perpetrate just the illusion that the ruling class wants; that community control will somehow automatically solve all the problems within the present system. Nowhere do they point out that community

control within the present framework can be used against the Negro people in particular in all white communities where this demand can be used to keep the community completely segregated. This is exactly what Wallace uses his "states right", "local control" demogogy for.

NOTHING

Today the teachers are back to work. But nothing has been settled. The only way this dispute can be 'settled' is through a program of struggle uniting the teachers with the parents in a fight against the real enemy: the City of New York. This can only be done if the program provides for the defense of the working class as a whole both the organized as well as unorganized workers, black and white.

Unity can only be achieved around class issues. Workers control must be counterposed to community control and the question of a workers government must be raised. There can be no end to racism and there can be no real power for the workers, black and white, within the context of capitalist politics and capitalist control of the government.

ERADICATE

There is no half way house

WHO CONTROLS OUR SCHOOLS ??
SHANKER & DONOVAN !!
WHO CONTROLS THE POVERTY PROGRAM ??
LINDSAY & GINSBERG !!
IF PARENTS SHOULD CONTROL THEIR SCHOOLS
THEY
THE POOR SHOULD CONTROL THE POVERTY PROGRAM
CIVIL SERVICE MEANS CENTRALIZED CONTROL OF STAFFS
CIVIL SERVICE MEANS AN ANTI-POVERTY WORKERS UNION
CIVIL SERVICE AND UNIONS MEANS A STRIKE AGAINST
THE POOR SOONER OR LATER.
JUST AS CIVIL SERVICE KEEPS THE UFT ALL
WHITE, IT WILL MAKE SDA, MESA, PMA
ALL WHITE
CIVIL SERVICE IN THE NEW YORK ANTI-
POVERTY PROGRAM WILL SET A PRECEDENT
FOR EVERY LITTLE SOUTHERN TOWN IN
THE COUNTRY TO FENCE OUT BLACK &
LATIN PEOPLE.
AS A COMMUNITY SERVICE
FIGHT
CIVIL SERVICE

TYPICAL ANTI-UNION LEAFLET

in this struggle. If we are to have better schools then we must eradicate the material basis for rotten schools. We must fight for full employment, job training, multi-billion dollar programs to tear down the slums and to build new housing, hospitals and schools. This is the program which will really solve the schools dispute, this is a program that the ruling class cannot and will not carry out.

That is why we say that the trade unions must join with the unorganized workers with the unemployed to form a party, based on the power of the trade union movement, to carry out this program.

ernest mandel and the anarchists

by Pat Connolly

NEW YORK--Ernest Mandel, the Belgian economist, spoke last week at the International Assembly of Revolutionary Students, which was sponsored by the Columbia University SDS.

In a two hour lecture, during which he was warmly applauded at times by the stu-

group says that you must, "sit down, read books, study..." He was greeted here with laughter and applause by the New Left activists present who missed the point he went on to make, that "you cannot have one without the other."

LACK

Mandel's speech itself was



ERNEST MANDEL SPEAKS TO INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ASSEMBLY.

dent audience of 500, Mandel was distinguished by what has been called his "non-sectarian" approach. In short, at the conclusion of his lecture, it was hardly obvious to most of those present that he was supposed to be a Trotskyist, and is the leading theoretician of the Pabloite United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and its American Section the Socialist Workers Party.

The lecture dealt with the European student movement, and referred to the achievements of the German anarchist, "Comrade Rudi Dutschke" and his followers, in learning to unite theory and action. Mandel spoke of the "dialogue of the deaf" in which one group says that action and action alone is necessary, while another

a good example of his lack of understanding of the unity of theory and action. For although he is the leading theoretician of the Pabloite United Secretariat, he did not once, during the course of his lecture, mention the 4th International itself, or the need to build a revolutionary party! All that he said in reference to this was that students needed to form a "more tightly organized" group for the sake of efficiency and to assure that students leaving the universities would not be caught up in a bourgeois milieu and leave revolutionary activity. That was his mention of the revolutionary party during the course of his lecture!

The speech ended with a plea for all to join in the international days of protest

against the war on October 21-27, proposed by the Zengakuren, the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation, the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, and the Student Mobilization (at the mention of the SMC, there were boos and hisses).

The most illuminating part of the presentation was the discussion period which followed the main lecture. Mr. Mandel was asked from the floor if he meant a "Leninist party" when he spoke of the need of tighter organization for students, and if a Leninist party was necessary to make a revolution. He answered by describing what a revolutionary party was not, with an obvious description of the CPSU and Stalinist parties, and then said, yes, he thought a Leninist party was essential for building a revolutionary movement, (although it is evidently not so important as to merit a word in his lecture). Mandel was then asked by a member of the Workers League if he thought there was a viable Leninist party in existence in the world, and he countered with the thoroughly revisionist reply that since a party meant an organization large enough to move and influence the whole class, there were no parties, BUT that there were "nuclei", and that the Fourth International and the SWP were those nuclei. Here Mandel was cheered by the YSA and booed by that part of the New Left who broke from the SMC recently, by the anarchists and those students led by the reformist CP.

Questions continued to be raised from the floor, perhaps the most provocative concerning the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union, in which the questioner asserted that the USSR was imperialist. When Mandel attempted to point out that imperialism was a stage of decaying capitalism and the Soviet Union was not capitalist, the student and Mandel began interrupting each other and shouting until order was restored several minutes later. Mandel pointed out that to make the assertion that the USSR was imperialist and capitalist would lead to reaction. The student who asked the question and those supporting him refused to make more than an impressionistic analysis of the class nature of the Soviet Union. At no point was Mandel able to fight these anti-Marxists in the only way a Marxist can fight--by continually returning to dialectical materialism. When confronted by statements such as, "it seems to me that the USSR is imperialist because etc. etc.", Mandel would reply that the questioner was misinformed and would proceed to supply him with the correct information. Mandel talked a lot about "process" but to him process is not change based on underlying class forces, but a succession of facts.

After considerable confusion on the floor, in which there was shouting, and Mandel was told "Up Against the Wall" and "Listen, we're making a revolution at Columbia and we don't need any of this garbage", the audience cooled down somewhat, obviously

turned off by Mandel's concessions to Marxism. The audience was divided between those of the New Left who were suddenly aware that Mandel was not one of them, and the YSA.

WORKERS

One of the last questions raised from the floor was by a Workers League member who referred to Mandel's mention of the industrial working class, and asked him what he suggested the student movement in the U.S. do to reach the working class? This "noted Marxist," this "Trotskyist theoretician" replied that he didn't know everything about the United States, that he was an economist, and that those in the audience and in the student movement would have to decide what should be done! That we should be patient and realize that we can someday reach the working class! "Someday we can reach the working class, but for today, he suggests we demonstrate against the war in Vietnam with the Student Mobilization Committee.

What was most obvious at the end of the evening was that the very same people the SWP-YSA have been making coalitions with and adapting to, are utterly opposed and hostile to the need for Marxist theory and a revolutionary party. It was again clear that in all the time the YSA has spent in the anti-war movement, it has been incapable of fighting for Marxist theory or method and has adapted completely to the anti-Marxists of the New Left.