

# Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5, NO. 16-105

APRIL 7, 1969

TEN CENTS

A CLOSE  
LOOK AT  
THE ILA  
CONTRACT

## THERE WILL BE NO PEACE AS LONG AS BOSSES RULE

### Vietnam War



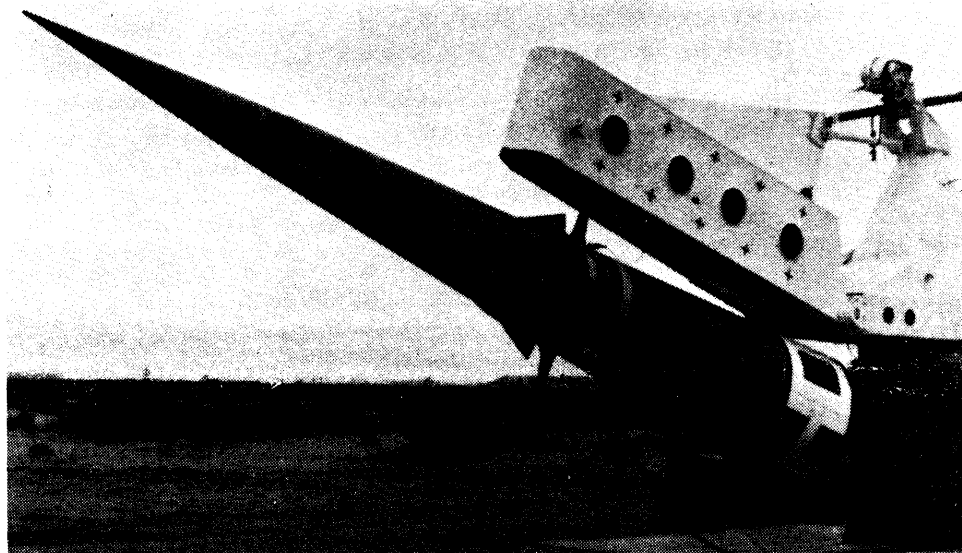
BY LUCY ST. JOHN

It appears these days from reading the revisionist press, namely the Daily World and the Militant, that they have been caught up in the spirit of the religious season. Not only are we told by the SWP that peace on earth is almost upon us but that the peace movement has indeed been the saviour. Just to make sure, the CP and SWP have united in true brotherhood to again bring us one of those marches. While these organizations are turning the other cheek, in the real world the bourgeoisie has other things in mind but peace.

It was just a year ago that the U.S. ruling class made its turn about on Vietnam, the details of which are only now being revealed.

The Tet Offensive launched by the Viet Cong

### Anti-Ballistic Missile



struck heavy blows against U.S. imperialism forcing them to face up to the realization that there would be no military victory. At the same time the ruling class was faced with an ever deepening economic crisis, the world monetary system was teetering on the eve of Johnson's announcement. Faced with a trade war with Europe and a rising working class, the ruling class was forced to get its house in order for a battle against the working class at home. Getting out of Vietnam, at least in part, was the price they had to pay for establishing economic equilibrium.

DECAY

But the point is that there can be no stability for imperialism in this epoch of decay. Every

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

## TWO ATTACKS ON TROTSKYISM - A REPLY



A Reply To 'Who Benefits From A Resurrection Of Trotskyism?' By D. Ivanov (Sovetskaya Rossia) And 'Trotskyism And The Theory Of Dual Power' (Vanguardia Obrera)



# imperialists plan permanent war

## US AIMS MISSILES AT REVOLUTIONARY CHINA

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

move to establish economic equilibrium in turn disrupts the political equilibrium forcing the working class on the offensive all over the world. this is why U.S. imperialism cannot afford peace-- cannot simply withdraw from Vietnam without giving it to the working class. U.S. imperialism has no more intention of handing over Vietnam to socialism than it has of giving the means of production to the working class in the U.S.

It is with this understanding that we must view the present situation in Vietnam and the ABM controversy. Nixon's position on the ABM is clearly a warning- the U.S. is negotiating, may withdraw some troops but is not giving up Asia.

While the U.S. is sitting in Paris, it is also concentrating on a military buildup, reflected in their plans for the ABM. The main target of the ABM system as stated by Nixon and his mouthpieces is China. Melvin Laird is beginning to sound more and more like his fellow Wisconsinite Joe McCarthy as he warns of the yellow peril. The U.S. rulers are aware that any withdrawal from Vietnam will mean gains not only for the NLF but also for China in Southeast Asia. Their hope is to hamstring the NLF with the aid of the Soviet bureaucracy in Paris.

### CHINA

The stated purpose of Nixon's ABM plan is "to cope at least in theory with Red China's limited potential. It will give little or no protection to people in case of a Soviet attack." As one Nixon aide said, "It is tailored to reassure the Russians."

The Workers League stands unequivocally for the defense of the Chinese Revolution and warns that the ABM threat is only a prelude to further threats to and attacks on the Chinese Revolution.

The threat to the Chinese Revolution as well as the victory of the Vietnamese Revolution is posed by the growing collaboration of the U.S. and the Kremlin. Nixon has been very careful lately in his remarks about the Soviet leaders, making it clear that he is very thankful for their help in getting the Paris negotiations going. Meanwhile the Kremlin is making secret overtures to Chiang Kai Shek. The bourgeois press has been quietly cheering on the Kremlin in its recent border dispute with China.

While Chiang has been made the main target of the ABM threat, Nixon has also said that no "provocative" steps will be taken against the Soviet Union as long as the Kremlin keeps in line and agreement is found in the disarmament talks. While the Soviet bureaucracy conspires with U.S. imperialism against China, it threatens the Soviet Union as well. As long as U.S. imperialism exists, there will be no safety for the workers' states, no matter how much the bureaucracies capitulate. In fact the Kremlin is disarming the Soviet state.

Only fools could believe for one moment that the U.S. is giving up, is being moved closer to "peace." The policy of the U.S. ruling class is to continue its domination. If they cannot achieve this end through the talks in Paris with the aid of the Stalinist bureaucracy, then they will achieve it through their military power.

It is within this context that the role of the revisionists, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, becomes so dangerous. These organizations perpetuate the illusion that some how the bourgeoisie can be reformed, can be won over to "peace" and thus they prevent the independent mobilization of the working class for the destruction of U.S. imperialism. At the same time they threaten the Vietnamese revolution.

### WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

TORONTO: RM. 27 165 SPADINA

NEW YORK: RM. 7 243 E 10 ST.

MINNEAPOLIS: P.O. BOX 14002 UNIV. STA.

SAN FRANCISCO: 644 OAK ST.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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



U.S. IMPERIALISM WILL NOT STOP THEIR DRIVE TO CRUSH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS STRUGGLE IN ASIA

The peace movement has refused to take up the slogan "Victory for the Viet Cong!"

The Daily World throughout the fight over the ABM has given open support to Fulbright, seeing his opposition as a move towards "peace." At the same time the SWP seeks covertly to support the same section of the bourgeoisie. Mr. Hansen has recently written a lengthy article on the changes in policy of the ruling class. Despite Mr. Hansen's protestations at the end about the "Eastern Establishment," Clifford comes out smelling like a rose.

Things become even clearer upon reading the editorial in the same issue of the Militant, entitled "How the Antiwar Forces Knocked out LBJ." The editorial states clearly the purpose of the peace movement- "to bring pressure to bear on Washington." It further states that the revelation on the change in policy by the bourgeoisie is "a powerful confirmation of the tremendous effect of the organized anti-war movement and the massive demonstration it has staged." It ends with the statement that "The antiwar movement must continue to mobilize masses of Americans against the war until every last man is home. And the revelation of how it put LBJ on the ropes demonstrates it can be done."

### PRESSURE

One's immediate reaction to this is that, having "knocked out LBJ" we can thank the peace movement for electing Mr. Nixon. What is being expressed by the SWP is very dangerous and has absolutely nothing to do with Marxism but a lot to do with reformism. The SWP, together with the CP, bases its policies on the belief, in the first place, that there can be peace under imperialism, and secondly, that the mobilization of the middle class to "pressure Washington" is the way to achieve it. The method of struggle, in the words of the SWP, is to "take advantage of the rifts in the ruling class," or to put it in clearer terms, to side with one section of the ruling class in the hope of getting a few concessions.

The peace movement of which the SWP is so enamored accepts the premise that there can be "peaceful coexistence" of the working class with the bourgeoisie. The job of the peace movement is then to mobilize the middle class in support of the bourgeoisie. This was most blatantly revealed at last spring's gathering when the SWP-CP coalition invited Lindsay to their march. We wonder who the fair haired boy of the ruling class will be this year--perhaps Mr. Fulbright.

Workers can not give one ounce of support to such openly counter-revolutionary policies. This is why we oppose completely the latest maneuvers of the anti-war movement on April 5th.

The SWP has joined hands again with the CP for this latest adventure. The SWP seeks to cover the completely reformist nature of this movement with the G.I. struggles. What is so criminal is that the revisionists use the struggle of the G.I.s as a gimmick to keep their rotten movement going. The G.I.'s become the center of attraction at a zoo. All the middle class radicals are asked to come down and stare at them.

### PROTEST

Marxism has nothing to do with this protest politics. U.S. imperialism will not be overthrown by "pressuring Washington." Such policies only lead the working class to defeat. In this period there can be no reforms under capitalism. Reformism is dead. That is the lesson of the demise of Johnson, the split in the Democratic Party and the election of Nixon. Perpetrating the illusion that reforms can be won only misleads the working class and paralyzes it, keeping all struggle safely within the bounds set by the bourgeoisie.

The Workers League sees that the U.S. sought the bargaining table only after being beaten by the Vietcong on the battlefield and not because of the middle class peace movement. We say that every blow struck by the NLF against the U.S. is a victory for the U.S. working class and we stand for the victory of the Vietcong.

### PARTY

Likewise we state that the only way to really fight for the Vietnamese workers and peasants is for the working class to struggle here and in every capitalist country for power. What is required is not protests here and there on whatever issue happens to be popular, but rather a revolutionary strategy to defeat imperialism. This requires the construction of a revolutionary party. It requires the building of a Marxist leadership in the working class, in the trade unions. It means fighting for the transitional program, raising the demand for a workers government, which alone can end the war.

It appears that the SWP thinks that the bourgeoisie can be downed with just a few more marches; after all, it didn't take too many to "knock out LBJ." Let us remind the SWP of a few words from Trotsky: "It may be said that politically the bourgeoisie attains its greatest powers, its greatest concentration of forces and resources, of political and military means of deception, of coercion, and provocation. i.e., the flowering of its class strategy at the moment when it is most immediately threatened by social ruin... The greater the danger, all the more does the class, like the individual, exert its vital forces in the struggle for self-preservation."

# MINNESOTA PLANS DRACONIC STATE ANTI-LABOR LAW

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS - The most vicious anti-union legislation in Minnesota in decades has just started through the state legislature. Aimed at beefing up the state's current no-strike law against public employees which dates back to 1939, the new law is a virtual declaration of war on public workers and their unions.

The new law stipulates that any public employee who strikes shall have his wages frozen for one year at his pre-strike level. Further, that after a strike he shall serve a two year probation period with respect to his

civil service status, tenure, and terms of contract.

Strike penalties include loss of dues checkoff for the union for two years. During this period the union cannot petition the state conciliation office for help during any dispute.

Finally, a loaded arbitration panel consisting of one representative from the union, one from the government agency and three other members selected by the legislature for three year terms, will have binding power to dictate a settlement. The mathematics involved here is greater than 4/5.

This new bill follows by scarcely a week severe revisions in New York's infamous Taylor Law which now make that reactionary act the most precedent setting anti-union law in the nation.

CUE

The Minnesota legislature obviously took the cue from New York. The new bill they are considering even goes beyond the Taylor Law in areas.

Only the Workers League has consistently warned of the imminence and severity of such anti-union legislation. Now it is coming down hardest on public employees. In Minn-

nesota these number over 100,000.

We say: public employees today, all workers tomorrow. As the Bulletin warned last issue in reference to the new Taylor Law: "The tens of millions of American workers and trade unionists not directly affected by this attack will very soon live to regret any illusions that their own interests are not at stake right now."

When we warned in our last issue that the new provisions in the Taylor Law were actually probes in the direction of providing the bosses all over the country with new weapons to deal with the workers, we didn't have long to wait for confirmation of this.

SERVANTS

The political servants of the bosses in the state legislatures all over the country watched the Taylor Law revisions closely. No doubt they were emboldened by the pitifully timid fight back by the New York AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Here in Minneapolis the AFL-CIO "Labor Review" reported the Taylor Law changes as a news article seemingly oblivious to the threat it represented (and just one week away) to Minnesota workers.

Without a fight back against such legislation the union movement is going to find itself on the receiving end of one hell of a beating politically.

When President David Seldon of the AFT labeled the new Taylor Law "out and out class legislation" and said

that "teachers and other public employees will now be forced to enter in politics on a much more extensive and far wider scale than in the past." he got right to the point.

CLASS

This CLASS legislation can only be battled against by the CLASS it is being directed against. Labor cannot entrust the struggle against such legislation to the "liberals." In New York, the Democrats have proposed a slightly less brutal version of the Taylor Law to achieve the same effect—bind public workers hand and foot. Tying labor to the Democrats is the policy of the union bureaucrats. They presume that workers in America have two and only two choices before them. To be knifed in the back, or stabbed directly in the heart.

We say there is an alternative and it is the struggle for labor to fight back politically through the launching of a labor party. The Workers League combines the struggle for a labor party with a struggle in the unions now to fight back against such anti-union laws as the Taylor Law and the current Minnesota version thereof.

The Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly must act immediately to mobilize Twin Cities Labor against this bill before it is passed. Mass meetings and demonstrations and a one day general strike are the only means labor has and only this can stop this reactionary legislation.

## FIGHT FOR SHORTER WORK WEEK IS ANSWER TO AUTO LAYOFFS

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

The U.S. economy still seems to be going full steam ahead with no let up in the rising cost of living. But don't worry--Nixon's plans to "cool off" the economy could mean, according to one Administration aide, "almost a million more people out of work"!

The first round of what could become mass unemployment has already hit the auto industry where Ford has laid off more than 1,500 workers who had recently been hired from among the "hard core jobless."

The leadership of the UAW under Walter Reuther absolutely refuses to fight the layoffs. Instead they have come up with another Reuther gimmick-- "inverted seniority." According to the "inverted seniority" scheme which the UAW is trying to negotiate with Ford, when there are layoffs, the workers with the highest seniority have the option of being laid off first while the newest workers stay on the job.

DIVERSION

The purpose of this scheme is to create a diversion from the growing demand for a fight on the shorter work week-- 30 for 40. "Inverted seniority" does not fight unemployment. It accepts both layoffs and structural unemployment. It

means that for the thousands of low seniority "hard core unemployed" hired by Auto's Big Three from the big city black ( and white) ghettos, there is to be no let up in the grueling, life destroying speed-up on the "worst" jobs that these workers have no escape from.

Even the prospect of the 30 hour week is now denied them, as the high seniority workers have the choice of layoff while getting near normal wages based on SUB, which runs for up to 26 weeks. The door is open for the resentment of the young against the old workers and for this resentment to be exploited along racial lines by both Wallaceite and Black Nationalist elements.

The bureaucracy under Reuther, by not fighting for the shorter work week or for an end to the intense speed up which hits the ghetto recruits the hardest, thus plays into the hands of the black nationalists. What hypocrisy is Reuther's attack on the nationalists for "dividing the union."

PERMANENT

But for the 'high seniority' worker, "inverted seniority" is certainly no utopia. The door is now open, even if only slightly, for the auto bosses to extend the "temporary" into a permanent lay-

off. There is no doubt that the bosses would like to dump a certain number of the older, more privileged workers while more and more of the work is absorbed by low seniority workers who have not worked even the one year required for SUB eligibility. This fits in with their plans for over all job elimination and intensified speed-up. And after the 26 weeks of SUB payments are over, where does this leave the older worker who does not return to work?

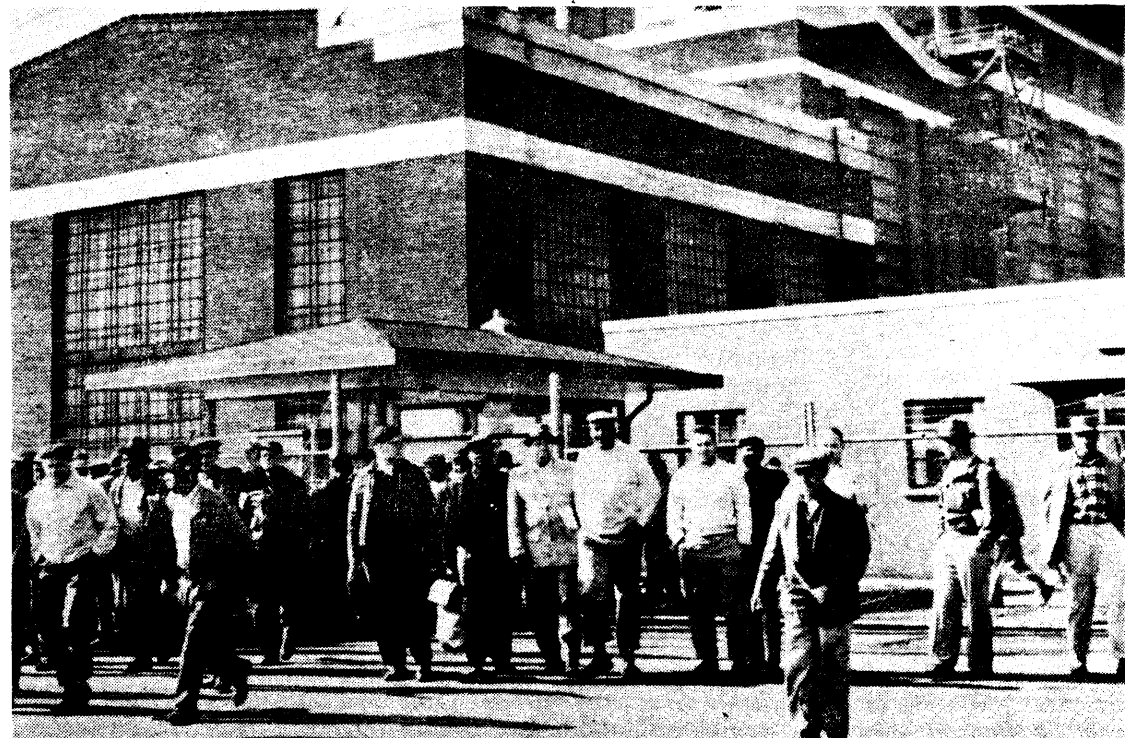
Instead of "inverted seniority" what must be demanded along with the shorter work week is "early retirement" after 25 years of service--with lifetime security guaranteed. It is clear that Reuther will never fight for this or for the shorter work week, which he vigorously opposed at the 1967 Special Convention.

Out with Reuther--Build a New Leadership!

No Layoffs--Fight For 30 for 40, 25 year retirement.

End the Speed-up--On the Job union control of working conditions!

End All Racial Discrimination --Unity of black and white, young and old!



AUTO WORKERS LEAVING THE FORD ROUGE PLANT IN DEARBORN. FORD HAS LAID OFF 1500 WORKERS.

## MILITANTS LAUNCH DRIVE AGAINST DIVISIONS WITHIN LOCAL 1199

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK-- A campaign for the unity of the hospital and guild divisions within New York's Local 1199 has been launched. A petition containing at least 250 signatures is necessary to place a constitutional amendment before the membership providing for the unification of workers in the voluntary hospitals into one division. Such a petition is now being circulated in many hospitals in a campaign initiated by the Rank and File Committee of Local 1199.

Workers in voluntary hospitals organized in 1199 are now divided into the hospital and guild divisions, the guild division containing technical, professional and clerical employees. Unity in the fight against the employers is severely hampered by the organizational division between the more highly skilled and the blue collar workers. Union delegates meet together only rarely, and almost never on a local hospital level.

DIVISIONS

The divisions thus serve the additional function of hindering the development of any militant rank and file opposition within the union. Policies affecting the entire

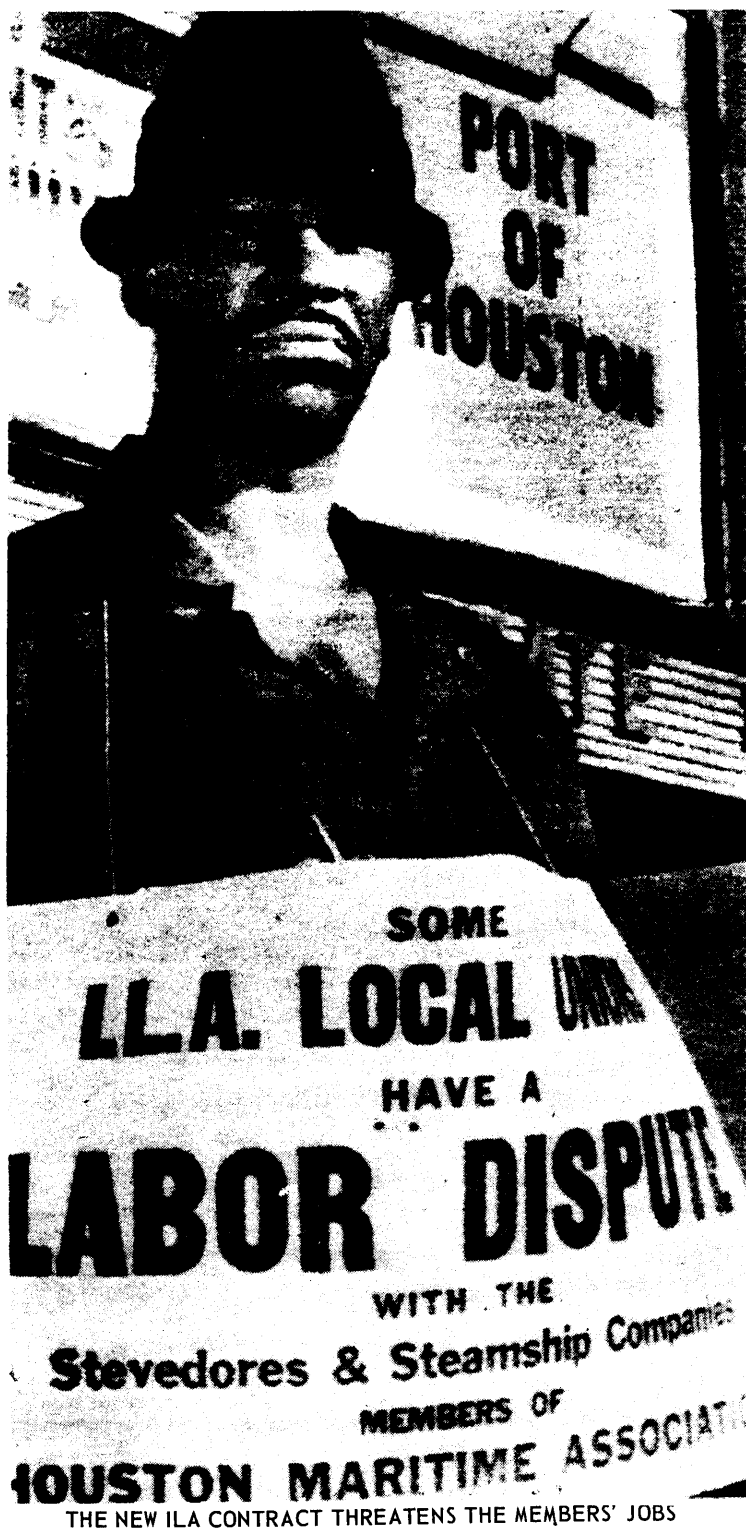


LEON DAVIS

union are discussed at separate division meetings, and an opposition within one division is prevented most of the time from even presenting its views to the entire union. The Davis leadership constantly reminds everyone how democratic it is. The term bureaucracy can never be used in relation to 1199, they say. Why then do they prevent the workers from meeting and deciding policy together?

Just as unity is needed within 1199 in order to take on the bosses, it is needed within the entire labor movement in order to fight back against the political and economic attacks of the employers and the government. The fight for unity within 1199 must be linked to the fight against a split by 1199 from the AFL-CIO, for a one day general strike against New York's Taylor Law and for a labor party, which must be struggled for within the labor movement as a whole.

# a close look at longshore contract



## Some Loopholes Through Which The Union Can Be Destroyed

be cheaper for the employers. They will never qualify for the Guaranteed Annual Income, since the ILA and the New York Shipping Association will team up to prevent any new man from working the 700 hours needed to qualify. Temporary men will be used to scab on men qualified for the Guaranteed Annual Income, and will get no protection themselves.

### WILDCATS

All men face stiffer discipline: "Whenever an employee is discharged by his employer...he shall be suspended from all further employment in the industry." This rule is a plan to get rid of rank and file militants and wildcatters. The no strike rule in the 1964 contract is still in effect. By using the powers of the Waterfront Commission to ban from the piers anyone who goes on strike, any men who wildcat or otherwise violate discipline can be fired, barred from the piers, expelled from the union as provided for in the 1964 contract, and replaced with cheaper new men.

The wildcat is the best bargaining weapon longshoremen have, so Gleason, Scotto, and Co., are trying to take it away. Grievances are supposed to be decided in an NYSA-ILA board or by an arbitrator. These deals always work against the men and for the shippers, and it takes months before a decision is reached.

The phony container clause only covers over this sellout. Not one container out of ten meets the complicated requirements needed before it can be stripped and stuffed by ILA men. To be stripped and stuffed, a container must be owned or leased by an NYSA member; contain LCL or consolidated loads; come from or go to a point within fifty miles of an Atlantic District port; and come from or go to someone who does not own the cargo. How many containers have you seen that meet those conditions? This and the new pension rule are designed to fool the public and ease men out of the industry.

### PROGRAM

We propose the following

#### MUST READING!

Discussions With Leon Trotsky 35¢  
On The Transitional Program

Leon Trotsky On Labor Party 20¢  
(The only complete edition)

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS  
243 E. 10th St. NYC 10003

program to meet this attack:

**NO JOB CUTS.** There is a temporary boom in New York, Hampton Roads, and Baltimore, since these will be the big Atlantic container ports. But since 9 container ships instead of the present 80 general cargo ships, will be able to haul all North Atlantic cargo, the future holds nothing but job cuts, especially in the outports. The job loss will be bigger than the one engineered by Harry Bridges in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

**EQUAL RIGHTS, WORK RULES, AND WAGE GUARANTEES FOR NEW MEN.** Older men who get the Guaranteed Annual Wage can be forced out of work by worsening work conditions and by excessive discipline. New men could then be brought in and forced to accept any work anywhere. But by fighting against job cuts, older men protect themselves and the union. And by fighting for equal rights for any new men hired, including the '66 men, the rank and file will help build a solid ILA against the attacks of piecarks, shippers and the government.

In the ILWU, "B" carders who have no votes, and who get no benefits, are used as a weapon against "A" carders. "B" carders, like the '66 men, are hired only in peak seasons and can be used

to break any wildcat. By dividing the ranks, Bridges was able to help cut out jobs in return for \$34,500,000 paid by the shippers into a fund he controls.

**30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY.** Work-sharing will give jobs to all longshoremen at reduced hours with no pay cut.

### UNION DEMOCRACY.

Throw out Gleason, Scotto and Co., who are responsible for this contract. Only rank and file control will get the Container Fund paid out. Only rank and file control will set up a strike fund for the next battle.

Teddy, Tony and Co., talk tough before negotiations but don't provide a strike fund. They sent New York back one week before unemployment compensation was due. Staying out longer would have allowed the ILA to win job guarantees, as long as the rank and file were willing to fight for them.

The rank and file must build a long-term alternative to Gleason and Scotto.

Men interested in this fight should contact the Workers League at Room 7, 243 East 10th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone 212-254-7120. The Bulletin will be happy to print letters commenting on this article.

## INDEPENDENT BLACK UNION FIGHTS TWU FOR BARGAINING RIGHTS

BY DAN FRIED

The plans of the Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the NYC Transit Authority to seek NLRB certification for a new "Independent, Democratic Union" against the TWU can only weaken and divide workers in their fight against the City.

The City, newly re-armed with the Taylor slave law and fortified by the smoldering embers of racial hostility which erupted in the teachers strike, moves in for the kill against the Welfare workers, and soon the teachers and transit workers themselves.

But how does the Rank and File Transit Workers group under the leadership of Chairman Joe Carnegie prepare for this confrontation? By fighting for unity of the TWU and City employees against the City and the Taylor Law? Not at all. Carnegie proposes instead, a course which will mean at least two unions in transit, with his union separated from the AFL-CIO unions, which represent almost all the workers that negotiate with the City.

Instead of unity of the workers in a fight against the labor bureaucracy, a struggle that must be fought WITHIN the unions, Carnegie looks toward the "riding public" and the struggle of "the black community."

### BLACK

Carnegie's orientation to-

ward the "black community" and his belief that black workers must "first" organize themselves separately from whites indicates that he hopes to build a black caucus which white workers will be welcome to support. This is the logic of black nationalism in the unions which prevents a united fight of black and white workers against Guinan and the city. What is needed instead is a united fight to back the demand for a one day general strike by the New York trade union movement in defiance of the Taylor Law.

It is impossible to fight the bureaucratic stranglehold over the unions by throwing in the towel and setting up an isolated "independent" union, as Carnegie proposes. As opposed to this policy of withdrawal, we stand with Trotsky who wrote in his "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay": We cannot "renounce internal systematic work in trade unions of totalitarian and semi-totalitarian type... because the bureaucracy deprives the revolutionists of the possibility of working freely within these trade unions. It is necessary to conduct a struggle under all those concrete conditions which have been created by the preceding developments, including therein the mistakes of the working class and the crimes of its leaders."

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- Teddy Gleason and Tony Scotto are teamed up with the Waterfront Commission and the shippers' associations, as usual. The contract voted on January 12 proves it. Buried in the complicated wording of the new contract are the following deals for breaking the union:

"The Waterfront Commission register shall be opened permanently. New men shall be brought in as needed in each zone." Since containers cut the time it takes to turn around a ship from 7 days to 15 hours, Gleason and Scotto

are letting new men in to force present ILA men out of work. New men shall be paid at union scale but "shall not receive any other benefits or income guarantee for the life of the contract," unless they work at least 700 hours in the preceding year. New men shall not get travel pay. They "... must accept any and all work offered them. On a single refusal to accept any such assignment their employment status shall be terminated in the industry."

Since new men will be paid less, and will work under stiffer discipline, they will

## publish transitional program discussion with trotsky

The National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party has just issued a bulletin entitled "Discussions with Leon Trotsky on the Transitional Program". Two of the three discussions included in this pamphlet, reprinted from the Internal Bulletins of the SWP of 30 years ago, have never before been available for public distribution.

These discussions, from May and June of 1938, shed further light on the continuing battle of Trotsky for the theoretical development of the SWP. Over and over again Trotsky stresses the importance of the dialectical method,

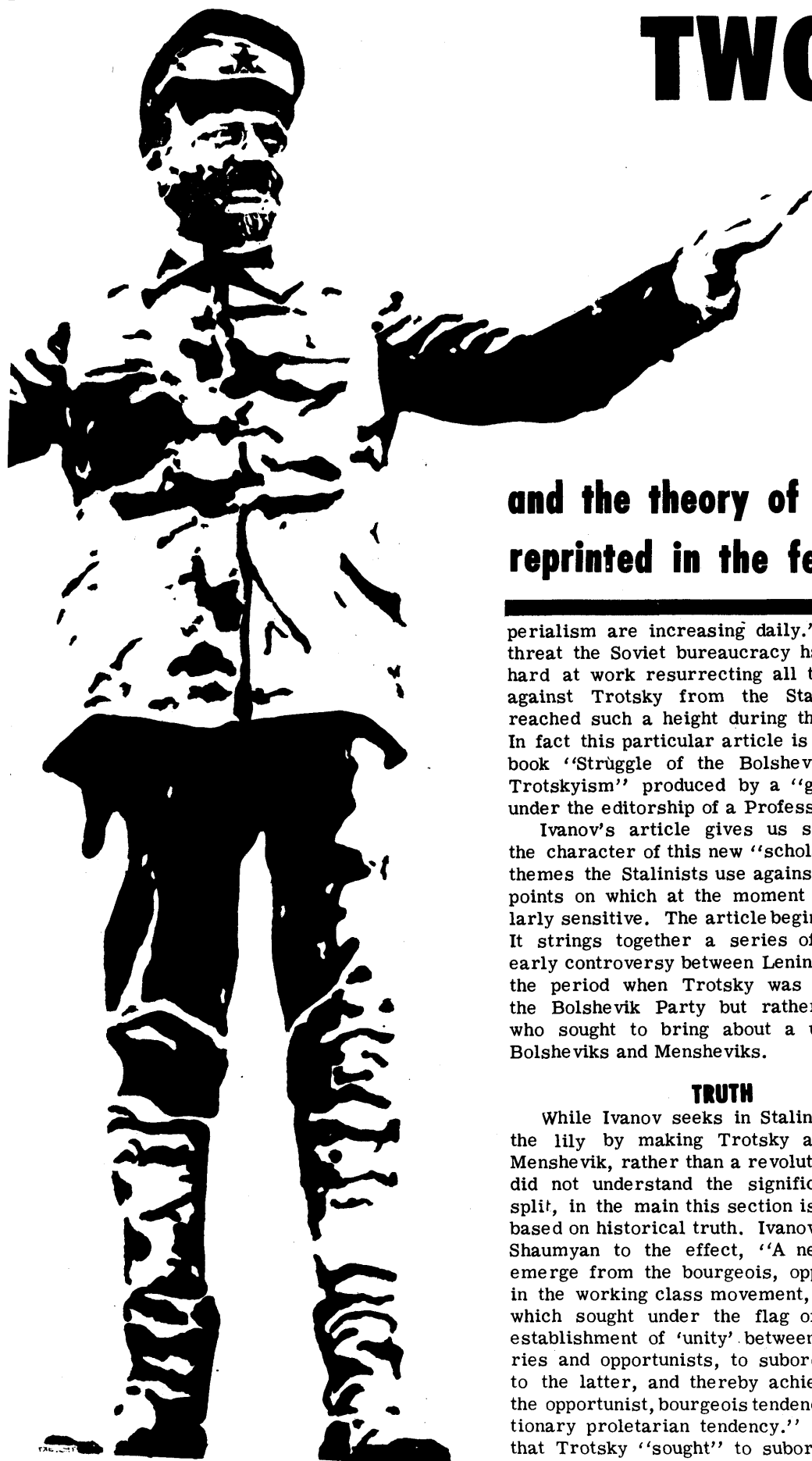
of beginning our work from the objective conditions and not from the present "mentality" of the workers or what we imagine it to be.

For many years now the leaders of the SWP have equated the objective conditions with the present moods and level of consciousness within the working class. Trotsky polemicalizes against this directly, anticipating the degeneration of the SWP, if there were no fight for theoretical development.

Last summer the Workers League reprinted the three 1938 discussions on the labor party question between Trotsky and the leaders of the

# TWO ATTACKS ON TROTSKYISM

a reply to 'who benefits from a resurrection of trotskyism?' by d. ivanov (sovetskaya rossia) and 'trotskyism and the theory of dual power' (vanguardia obrera and reprinted in the february issue of challenge)



BY TIM WOHLFORTH

As the world capitalist crisis intensifies so, too, does the crisis of Stalinism. This in turn requires of the Stalinists, not "liberal reform", but an increasingly embittered struggle with Trotskyism, with the whole heritage of Marxism, of Leninism.

We have recently come across two examples of this, one from the Soviet Union and the other from the Maoists. Stalinist circles on the West Coast are distributing an English translation of an article "Who Benefits From A Resurrection of Trotskyism?" by D. Ivanov which originally appeared in the November 27th issue of Sovetskaya Rossia. The February, 1969 issue of Challenge, publication of the Progressive Labor Party, carried in its Spanish language section only an article "Trotskyism and the Theory of Dual Power" which originally appears in Vanguardia Obrera, organ of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L).

## RESURRECTION

The Ivanov article is important, not because of any original content or any content at all that can be considered serious argumentation, but because of the reasons given for its appearance and the place such an anti-Trotskyist campaign plays in recent developments within the Soviet bureaucracy. As the title suggests the article is concerned over the "resurrection" of Trotskyism. It is in fact quite frantic about this: "Attempts to renovate Trotskyism, to pass it off to the working class and the communist movement today, to rehabilitate it among the fighters against im-

perialism are increasing daily." Faced with this threat the Soviet bureaucracy has its professors hard at work resurrecting all the old calumnies against Trotsky from the Stalin period which reached such a height during the Moscow Trials. In fact this particular article is a review of a new book "Struggle of the Bolshevik Party Against Trotskyism" produced by a "group of authors" under the editorship of a Professor S. S. Shaumyan.

Ivanov's article gives us some indication of the character of this new "scholarship," the main themes the Stalinists use against Trotsky, and the points on which at the moment they are particularly sensitive. The article begins on safe grounds. It strings together a series of quotes from the early controversy between Lenin and Trotsky from the period when Trotsky was not a member of the Bolshevik Party but rather a "conciliator" who sought to bring about a unity between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

## TRUTH

While Ivanov seeks in Stalinist fashion to gild the lily by making Trotsky appear as an open Menshevik, rather than a revolutionist who wrongly did not understand the significance of the 1903 split, in the main this section is at least partially based on historical truth. Ivanov quotes Professor Shaumyan to the effect, "A new trend began to emerge from the bourgeois, opportunist tendency in the working class movement, namely centrism, which sought under the flag of struggle for the establishment of 'unity' between the revolutionaries and opportunists, to subordinate the former to the latter, and thereby achieve the victory of the opportunist, bourgeois tendency over the revolutionary proletarian tendency." While it is untrue that Trotsky "sought" to subordinate the revolutionaries to the opportunists there is absolutely no question that this would have been the objective political meaning of his unity proposals, something he fully admitted in a later period.

It is a little more than ironic that these paid ideologists for the Soviet Union are fighting against the dangers of subordinating the revolutionary movement to the opportunists when they themselves have long since become opportunists who seek to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie in every country. But these professors in their cushy seats in Russian universities are most orthodox men when it comes to the period from 1903 to 1917.

Ivanov and his professors, following Stalin's footsteps, brings up this past period in order to claim that Trotsky remained what he started out as, a conciliator to Menshevism if not in the actual pay of the imperialists. They, therefore, face considerable difficulty in explaining how Trotsky was admitted to the Bolshevik Party in 1917, why he was allowed to play such a leading role in the party during the October Revolution, why he was entrusted with the organization of the insurrection and the defense of the Soviet Republic during the Civil War period, why he was allowed to play such a prominent role in the first period of the Communist International, etc. Was it perhaps that Lenin, too, was a conciliator - that he conciliated with this centrist conciliator?

## MYTH

It is precisely starting with 1917 that Soviet history leaves any basis of fact and goes over to pure mythology - a mythology enforced by a state apparatus which bans Trotsky's works, and jails anyone who mentions his name favorably. How easy

it must be for these eminent professors to teach in a Soviet university where a student who questions S. S. Shaumyan and his colleagues may find himself in jail.

But still our D. Ivanov and his professors are having some difficulty. It seems that a number of "bourgeois historians" like Isaac Deutscher, are maintaining "that the Bolshevik Party was victorious in October 1917 supposedly because it renounced the policy it had previously pursued and accepted Trotsky's 'permanent revolution' theory and that it was Trotsky, and not the Communist Party headed by Lenin who was the inspirer and organizer of the October Revolution." "Echoing Trotsky," Ivanov goes on, "bourgeois falsifiers repeat that the Leninist theory of socialist revolution supposedly is the 'permanent revolution' theory, that Lenin himself allegedly said that in 1905 Trotsky was right, that Trotskyism, far from being hostile, was the trend of socialist thought closest to Bolshevism." Does Ivanov answer these "bourgeois falsifiers"? Not at all - he simply points out that they are "bourgeois" and that thus the bourgeoisie is supporting Trotskyism as a fifth column within the communist movement.

Of course other bourgeois historians claim quite the opposite - that Stalin and the present regime in the USSR are the true inheritors of Lenin. They do this to destroy the very concept of proletarian revolution by equating it with Stalin's crimes and the present bureaucracy in the Soviet countries.

## RECORD

What is exactly the truth on this critical question? The documentary record is available -- if not to the public in the USSR, then everywhere else. What is Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution"? As first advanced in his pamphlet "Results and Perspectives" in 1906, Trotsky stated: "Once in power, the proletariat not only will not want, but will not be able to limit itself to a bourgeois democratic program. It will be able to carry the revolution to the end only in the event the Russian Revolution being converted into a revolution of the European proletariat. The bourgeois-democratic program of the revolution will then be superseded, together with its national limitations, and the temporary political domination of the Russian working class will develop into a prolonged socialist dictatorship." It is important to note that this very same pamphlet was reprinted in 1921 by the Communist International itself in Moscow in an English and a Russian edition.

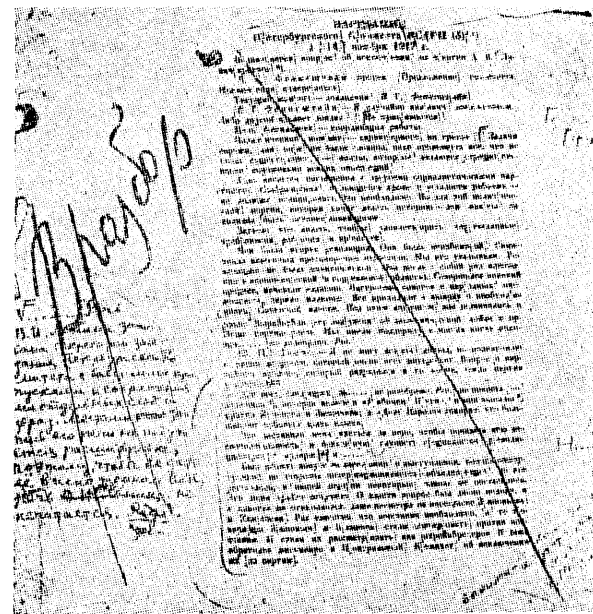
What was Lenin's position on this question? Lenin agreed with Trotsky that the bourgeoisie was no longer capable of revolutionary tasks in Russia. It therefore fell upon the working class together with the peasantry to carry through the democratic tasks which historically the bourgeoisie had carried through - the destruction of Czarism, land reform, the establishment of a democratic republic. However he felt these tasks could be carried through by a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" and that only after these tasks were completed could the struggle for socialist tasks take place. Trotsky on the other hand felt that the democratic tasks would immediately go over to socialist tasks and that from the very beginning one would have a proletarian dictatorship.

## APRIL

This theoretical question was resolved in life in April 1917 when Lenin arrived in Petrograd.

A reading of the "April Theses", the article "Dual Power" and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution" which was the draft program of the Bolshevik Party, all reveal that Lenin's program in this period was precisely a program which fused the democratic and socialist tasks. The April Theses speaks of the establishment of a "commune state," that is a proletarian dictatorship modelled after the Paris Commune. Such a state would nationalize all land, amalgamate all banks into a single national bank under the control of the Soviets, "bring social production and the distribution of products at once under the control of the Soviets of Workers Deputies." Lenin was no longer posing democratic tasks but proletarian tasks for the new government. And of course it was such socialist tasks which were carried out in the first days after the October Insurrection.

It was on the basis of the April Theses that Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party. As Lenin said later that year, "As for compromise - I cannot even speak about that seriously. Trotsky said long ago that unification is impossible. (He is referring to unification with the Mensheviks - TW). Trotsky understood this and from that time on there has been no better Bolshevik." It is with



STALINIST CENSOR'S WRITING IN MARGIN OF MINUTES REPORTING LENIN'S REMARKS ON TROTSKY: 'JUNK THIS'

reason that a Soviet censor removed this comment from the minutes of the Petrograd Committee of Bolsheviks. The recently issued Collected Works of Lenin contains no mention at all of this speech.

**BOLSHEVIK**

To note Lenin's mistake on this theoretical question in no way deprecates his role nor that of the Bolshevik party in the Russian Revolution. Certainly Trotsky never attempted to do this. It would even be wrong to say that both Trotsky and Lenin made mistakes and thus to equate their mistakes. Trotsky's position on the party was a far more fundamental one than Lenin's on the democratic dictatorship. While it was possible for Lenin to correct his mistake in April 1917 and still carry through a revolution in October of 1917 if their roles had been reversed and Trotsky's methods of building the party had triumphed in the early period there would have been no Bolshevik party to correct.

The October Revolution has actually prepared through Lenin's long struggle to build the Bolshevik Party. In order for the Russian working class to come to power it was first necessary to break the Russian workers completely and in every way from any kind of subordination to the Russian bourgeoisie. Lenin understood the reactionary role of this bourgeoisie from the beginning. The break with Menshevism was essential because Menshevism acted as a transmission belt for the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. This was expressed both organizationally and politically. The Menshevik opposition to a disciplined combat party simply expressed in organizational terms their political conciliation with the bourgeois parties in Russia.

There are important lessons in this period for revolutionaries today. Lunacharsky notes of Lenin of 1905-6 "for him the Mensheviks had overshadowed the much greater struggle against the monarchy." But it was precisely through this extreme pre-occupation of Lenin's with the struggle against Menshevism that a party was built capable of not only overthrowing the monarchy but capitalism as well. His "obsession" with Menshevism was an absolute precondition for the October Revolution and so, too, the "obsession" of the International Committee of the Fourth International with the struggle against revisionism

will prepare us for new Octobers in the coming period.

**TODAY**

This question of the relation between Lenin and Trotsky and the October Revolution is of the greatest political importance to the revolutionary movement today. Ivanov goes into it for very good political reasons on his part. Stalin took Lenin's mistaken theory of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" and utilized it as a formula to subordinate the working class to the bourgeoisie. His first experiment along this line was in China in 1927 when he subordinated the Communist Party to the Kuomintang which was supposedly a "peasant" party. The Kuomintang then turned around and massacred the Communists postponing the socialist revolution in China for several decades.

In time this position was transformed into the theory of the "popular front" whereby the Communist Party would enter into governments with the liberal bourgeoisie and subordinate its program to a bourgeois program. This is what paved the way for the defeat of the Spanish Revolution and today continues to be the policy of all Stalinist parties, even the Maoists.

Trotsky's position on the permanent revolution, enriched by the experience of the October Revolution, is today the program of the Fourth International which fights in the spirit of Lenin to break the working class from every and all forms of subordination to the bourgeoisie, which battles mercilessly against all revisionist and opportunist groups within the working class who seek to maintain this subordination, and which struggles at all times around a program which leads to the socialist revolution.

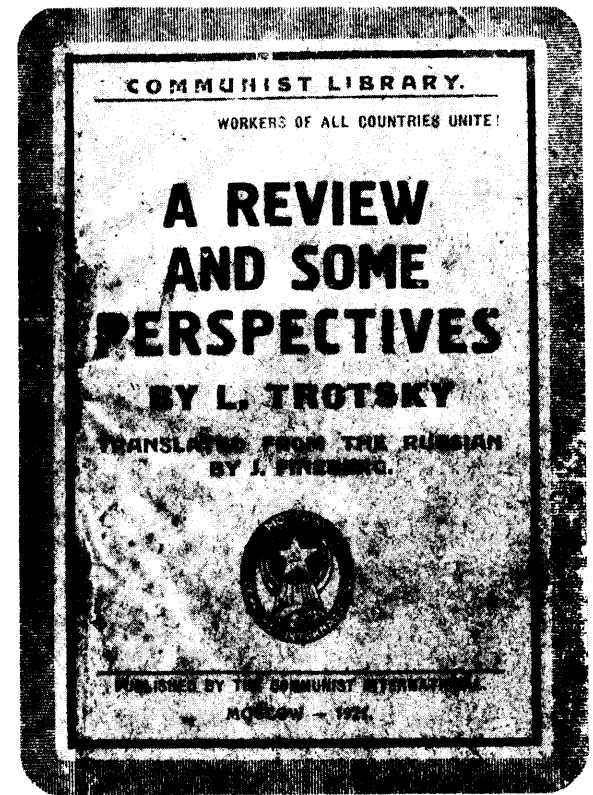
**DEFENSE**

Ivanov ends his little essay with an attempt, stolen from the Moscow Trials, to accuse Trotsky of seeking the defeat of the USSR in war. He paraphrases Trotsky: "In 1936, Trotsky asked whether it could be expected that the Soviet Union would emerge undefeated from the impending war. He said to this frank question he would give a similarly frank answer. If the war remained only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable. Technically, economically and militarily imperialism was incomparably stronger. In Trotsky's opinion, if imperialism was not paralyzed by the revolution in the West, it would wipe out the socialist system born in the October Revolution." From this Ivanov concludes: "That was Trotsky's cherished aim, namely to defeat Leninism, to defeat the USSR in a war, setting the entire capitalist world against it. Indeed, there is no getting away from Lenin's apt characteristic of this man - Judas!"

How Ivanov got from Trotsky's view on the possibility of defeat of the USSR in a war with



THE MOSCOW TRIALS



CI'S 1921 EDITION OF RESULTS AND PROSPECTS imperialism to his conclusion that his "cherished aim" was such a defeat is something that can only be explained not by the power of Ivanov's logic but the power of the bureaucracy's police. What Trotsky clearly was saying is that what is needed is a revolutionary struggle in the West precisely in order to DEFEND the USSR. And he devoted his whole life to this perspective - to defend the Soviet Union through the extension of the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. This continues to be the policy of the Fourth International.

**CONTEXT**

We must put Ivanov's little effort and the book he is reviewing in its proper context. First came the French Revolution of May-June 1968 which made clear for all to see that world capitalism has entered a period of mortal crisis, that we are now in the period of the European Revolution. The French Communist Party did its dirty work in dissipating the whole struggle and turning it into safe parliamentary channels. Such is the role of Stalinism today. Then came the Czech events with the Soviet Union rolling in the tanks and occupying a fellow workers state before the working class of Czechoslovakia could get out of hand. Now we have the Soviet-Chinese border clashes coupled with increasing talk of a new detente between the USSR and the United States. Meanwhile trial after trial of dissident intellectuals takes place within the USSR while Soviet historians are hard at work resurrecting Stalin's tattered image and simultaneously bringing up all the old much of the Moscow Trials era against Trotsky.

What does it all mean? It is a vindication of what the International Committee has held all along. There will be no real "liberalizing" of Stalinism. This compels the Stalinist bureaucracy to reinstitute all the hated methods of Stalin at home while it deepens its collaboration with imperialism internationally. They are but two prongs of the same policy.

**SHOWDOWN**

The showdown is being prepared and it will be a showdown between the bare brute police power of the Soviet bureaucracy and the working class under Trotskyist leadership. This is why the Moscow trials cannot be relegated to the past or weaseled out of by the "liberal" Stalinists of the West, or our Maoists like Progressive Labor.

Every question of the past must be cleared up in order to prepare the working class for the future confrontation with the Stalinist bureaucracy and the capitalists. The question of the Leninist party, of the permanent revolution, of the origins of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the lessons of China 1927, of Germany 1933, Spain 1936, Indonesia 1966, France 1968 must be absorbed by the new generation of working class fighters.

It is therefore natural that Trotskyism is being "resurrected," "renovated." Its resurrection will spell death to Stalinism and to capitalism.

**MAOISTS**

Now we come to the Maoist article "Trotskyism And the Theory of Dual Power" which appeared in the February 1969 Challenge reprinted from Vanguardia Obrera. Here Trotskyism is attacked from another angle - from an ultra-left stand-

point - but the political meaning of the attack is the same. The ultra-leftism of the Maoists is symmetrical to the opportunism of the pro-Russian Stalinists and in fact in the politics of Progressive Labor we find both trends eclectically joined.

"One of the aspects of the counter-revolutionary doctrine of Trotsky which most interests some of the petty bourgeoisie today", our Spanish writer begins, "is the theory of dual power. It is interesting that this theory constitutes in reality the point of connection between Trotskyism and pacifist social reformism and for that reason demonstrates the anti-revolutionary nature of Trotskyist conceptions."

Again we see the writer is forced to polemicize against Trotsky because his theories, far from something confined to the misty past, are playing an important role internationally - in this case within the political life of the clandestine workers movement in fascist Spain.

### REFORMIST

The thrust of Vanguardia Obrera's argument is as follows: "According to him, (Trotsky) under the yoke of the monopolist bourgeoisie and without moving out of the framework of capitalism, the proletariat could constitute its own 'workers power' ... With this theory the Trotskyists hold naturally that in the framework of bourgeois society workers power in the factories can gradually develop and the central power of the bourgeois state begins losing force until it no longer represents anything and can be substituted automatically by workers power on a national scale. As one can see, what is being dealt with is a variation of the revisionist conception of 'gradual and peaceful transition towards socialism'."

In opposition to this reformism Vanguardia Obrera poses its own program: "There is only one way to establish people's power, armed struggle, the people's war... Mao Tse Tung sums this up: 'Every Communist should understand this truth: power resides in the gun.'"

The writer in Vanguardia Obrera has a certain disadvantage over D. Ivanov and his professors. While D. Ivanov has at his disposal the full powers of the Soviet bureaucratic state to both propagate his attacks on Trotsky and to suppress Trotsky's writings, Vanguardia Obrera is published in a fascist capitalist state which suppresses with equality the Maoist press, the official Stalinist press and Trotsky's writings. Under such circumstances workers will have about as much access to Vanguardia Obrera through clandestine channels as will the Transitional Program the Maoists attack.

### TRANSITIONAL

Upon reading the Transitional Program a Spanish worker will find that Trotsky's conception of factory committees, soviets and dual power has nothing in common with the reformist distortions attributed to him. Perhaps there are some groups in Spain who claim to be Trotskyist who put forward the reformist garbage Vanguardia Obrera attributes to Trotsky. This we do not know. But we do know what the Transitional Program states.

Trotsky in no sense saw dual power as some gradual peaceful process of eroding away the capitalist state. He states in the Transitional Program "Dual power in its turn is the culminating point of the transitional period. Two regimes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are irreconcilably opposed to each other. Conflict between them is inevitable. The fate of society depends on the outcome."

This is why Trotsky linked in the Transitional Program the demand for factory committees and workers councils with "the necessity of creating workers groups for self defense...." "The arming of the proletariat is an imperative concomitant element to its struggle for liberation." Trotsky, the organizer of the October insurrection, Trotsky the leader of the Red Army least of all needs lectures from Maoists on the importance of guns.

But we must put this question within the context of the history of Spain - in particular the period of the Spanish Civil War and the current situation within Spain. The Spanish Civil War was precisely a "peoples war." The working class had guns and they used them. But the Spanish Civil War was led to defeat because of the political program around which it was conducted, a "peoples" program but not a class, socialist program.

### STALINISM

Here the role of world Stalinism was fundamental. The Stalinists fought to contain the Spanish Revolution within a bourgeois framework of the popular front government of Spain. This made it impossible to undermine Franco's army.

In fact the popular front government wasn't even able to come out in favor of self-determination for Spanish Morocco which would have had a real impact on many Moroccans in Franco's army.

There existed all kinds of factory committees, armed worker detachments and the like in Spain of that period and thus a nascent dual power situation. Trotsky fought against the Stalinists and the centrists demanding that these representative organs of the working class become the state overthrowing the bourgeois Popular Front state supported by Stalin

The Maoists have learned absolutely nothing from the crushing of the Spanish Revolution. The official Russian Stalinists advocate a new popular front government without talk of arming while the Maoists want the same kind of government with arms. But arms in and of themselves do not make the fundamental political difference.

### COMMITTEES

Today there exists in Spain a widespread organization of clandestine factory committees (CCCO). Under these conditions it seems some people in Spain are raising the slogan of "All Power to the CCCO". This slogan Vanguardia Obrera attacks as "crazy." It is true that this

when the arms are in the hands of the workers.

As far as the first point is concerned this "momentary" phase lasted almost eight months between February and the end of October of 1917 and the second point rather than answering the question just raises it all the more forcefully. The question it poses is how does one get from the present situation in Spain to a situation where dual power really exists? The answer does not lie in denouncing the theory of dual power as "stinking" and simply advocating a "peoples war" as an alternative. The task is to link the present consciousness of the Spanish working class which already has taken a very important step forward in organizing these illegal factory committees and advance it to a point where dual power and revolution are real. To raise the question as just a matter of arms without linking such arming with an alternative state form as posed in embryo in the CCCO is simply to seek to repeat the tragic history of the Spanish Civil War. But this is precisely what our Maoists do.

### REVOLUTION

A revolution in Spain or anywhere else does not occur by snapping one's fingers or calling for it in a paper. A revolution of a far deeper character



THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM IS BASED ON THE FIRST 5 YEARS OF THE CI. ABOVE IS LENIN AT THE 3RD CONGRESS

slogan in and of itself will not bring the working class to power any more than Lenin's slogan of "All Power to the Soviets" brought the Russian working class to power-- in and of itself. It is also true that these committees do not yet represent the same advanced stage of dual power as existed in the period of February to October 1917. How could they under conditions of fascist tyranny?

Vanguardia Obrera is well aware that the question of dual power was not something Trotsky thought up on his own but was the common conception of the Bolshevik Party during the period of the Revolution. But this is of no significance in Spain today in its opinion for two reasons - first Lenin spoke of dual power as only a "momentary" phase and secondly he characterized it as a period

than rocked France last May-June is presently being prepared in Spain today by the crisis of Spanish capitalism. Franco is fully aware of this but is paralyzed to do anything about it. He tries a little moderation and then swings back to repression. Now once again he plans to let up a bit on the repression.

But his seesawing solves nothing. All the time the workers prepare for the right moment to strike. And strike they will. But most important --the vanguard must be prepared, too, each day seeking to educate the workers in the necessary tasks not by standing aside from their struggles but participating deeply in them bringing into these struggles the very conception of workers power. This is the importance of the slogan "All Power to the CCCO" if properly used.



WORKERS MILITIA ON THE WAY TO THE FRONT DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR.

Factory committees represent elements of dual power within the factory. The existence of such committees is a mark of the pre-revolutionary character of the period. This is certainly true in Spain today. When workers organize such committees they are objectively vying with the bosses for control of the productive apparatus itself. Thus the very existence of such committees poses the necessity of workers power and such committees are definitely transitional in character. Either they go over into a full scale revolution which establishes a workers state or in time capitalism must reestablish its autocratic rule within the factories and crush these committees.

### EMBRYO

If we see such committees as representative of an embryonic form of dual power we recognize not only their potential but also their weakness. The embryo must develop into a child and the child into an adult. This is how the slogan of workers councils or soviets, for a workers and farmers government, and the role of the revolutionary party fit in. If our Maoists would study the history of the Russian Revolution they will see that all was not accomplished overnight in one blow but rather some eight months of struggle around transitional demands made the final blow possible.

By raising the slogan of "All Power to the CCCO" we pose that these factory committees become more than committees limited to single

factories and to defensive strike issues. Rather we are proposing that such committees become the actual nucleus of an alternative state to the Francist capitalist state. At the same time it is also a way of posing the slogan for a workers and peasants government - again we might point out a slogan embodied into the original program of the Communist International, not just some special program Trotsky thought up later.

We can expect that today, and in fact during the early stage of an actual revolution, these factory committees or any similar bodies which spring up will be dominated by centrist and reformist political parties or unaffiliated workers who reflect a centrist or reformist outlook. So it was with the Soviets up to September 1917. By posing that these committees actually struggle to take the power we will be exposing the incapacity of these political parties to do just that and paving the way for the revolutionary party to become a majority within these committees - a prerequisite to organizing the revolution.

At the same time there must be merciless battle in Spain against anarchist and syndicalist notions that the bourgeois state will somehow evaporate on its own. The struggle to build an alternative state power in Spain requires a struggle to crush the existing state power. Thus at every point the workers must seek to build up their defenses against the Fascists and seek to demoralize and disintegrate the army of the fascists.

### PARTY

It is of the greatest significance that Vanguardia Obrera does not once raise this critical question of the party - so central to the struggle in Spain with its long anti-party syndicalist traditions which still seem to be strong among the workers. The construction of such a party will require a relentless struggle against Stalinism so that the working class can draw all the lessons from the defeat of the Spanish Revolution. For this a reading of Trotsky's works will be absolutely indispensable. This is why it is so important that his writings are becoming a center of discussion within the clandestine movement inside Franco Spain today.

Now we come to the question of Progressive Labor today. What do they have to say about the lessons of the Spanish Civil War? Where do they stand on Stalinism, its real history? They are absolutely silent on these issues. They are completely bankrupt on these questions. They have never seriously come to grips with Stalinism nor confronted the question of the Moscow Trials. They, like their Spanish friends, attack the Transitional Program as "reformist" but have no alternative to it.

What lesson is a reader of Challenge to gain from this article for struggles in America today? That he should go out and buy a gun? What then? And if this is not a propitious period for a "people's war" how then is a revolutionist to function in the trade unions, in the universities?

### SIMPLICITY

Progressive Labor's answer is simplicity itself, the simplicity of emptyheadedness. Talk about how nothing will be solved without revolution and then go about your business of everyday reformist politics. For instance in New York City's welfare union they issued a leaflet informing the membership that the city's planned cutting of 9,000 jobs in the department is not to be fought against. We must go along with the union bureaucracy on this, they counsel. After all only a revolution will solve the problems of the workers and the welfare clients. Thus talk of revolution becomes a cover for refusing to fight TODAY for the working class.

Trotsky approached the question differently. The Transitional Program was designed not only for situations like Spain, where an open dictatorship exists and where an armed insurrection is on the agenda, but also conditions as exist in the United States where certain democratic liberties still exist but where, when seriously threatened by the working class, we can expect as much democracy from the government as the Spanish workers now get from Franco.

He developed a series of transitional demands which break completely from reformism but link the current struggle of the working class with the goal of socialism. This way in the course of fighting against job cuts, speed-up, inflation, workers will learn the necessity of creating their own mass party to take the power in the country themselves.

### STINKING

The Spanish Maoists conclude their article by stating: "Thus the workers movement in Spain should throw aside - and the sooner the better - this stinking theory of dual power and muzzle the neo-Trotskyist ringleaders, that are using it to deceive the popular masses." (While Ivanov's regime is muzzling Trotskyism, these Maoists can only dream of being in a similar position). By not raising any transitional demands to link the existing workers committee movement to the goal of establishing a workers state based on such committees, these Maoists are actually acting to assure a continuation of capitalist rule in Spain when Franco is overthrown. So, too, in this country Progressive Labor's rejection of the Transitional Program means that it actually functions in the unions as a prop to the existing labor bureaucracy and in this way a prop to capitalism itself.

No matter how you look at it, whether through Ivanov and the Russian bureaucracy, through the French Communist Party, through groups like Vanguardia Obrera or Progressive Labor, Stalinism functions as an ally to the bourgeoisie. The deeper the capitalist crisis and the greater the possibilities for building the world revolutionary party the more desperate become the Stalinists and all the old anti-Trotskyism is dug up, dusted off, and thrown out again to confuse the working class. But the workers are not going back to the Moscow Trials and they will not permit another crushing defeat like the Spanish Civil War. They are going forward to the socialist revolution through the building of the Fourth International!

## NOW AVAILABLE!



price: \$ .75

The author, a reporter for the British Trotskyist paper, The Newsletter, was on the scene in France during the tumultuous days of the revolution in May, 1968. He gives a full story of the Stalinist betrayal and an alternative program for victory.

ASPECTS OF PRODUCTIVITY DEALS by Bernard Franks

price: \$ .15

Questions and Answers on the new methods of exploitation in British industry

BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS

243 E. 10th St. New York, N.Y. 10003

## Essential Reading With This Article



MOSCOW TRIALS ANTHOLOGY 1.75  
117 pages including: Krushchev's 'secret speech', Trotsky's 'Kirov Assassination' and 'Stalin's Frame-up System' and the Moscow Trials', recent articles and documents from the Soviet Union.

BEHIND THE MOSCOW TRIALS 1.00  
by Max Shachtman. One of the definitive Trotskyist analyses of the Moscow Trials.

PLATFORM OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION 1.00

This document, the product of the 'joint opposition' of 1927 sums up the experience of an entire period of struggle against the Stalin faction and the Soviet bureaucracy.

THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION 3.00



THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION 2.75  
This volume also contains the brilliant work first published in 1919, Results and Perspectives. New translation.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED 2.00  
What the Soviet Union is and where it is going.

DEATH AGONY OF CAPITALISM AND THE TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM) .20  
Basic programmatic statement of World Trotskyism adopted in 1938 by the founding conference of the Fourth International.

The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the 4th International

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



# SAVAGE BLOWS AGAINST POOR

## rockefeller cuts welfare, medicaid and raises sales tax

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK--The \$128 million cut in Welfare costs, resulting in an overall slashing of about \$500 million, including Federal aid, was passed last Saturday, but the Republican-controlled state legislature. Simultaneously a 1% sales tax increase and "slight reduction" in education were enacted in order to balance Rocky's budget, putting the State slightly in the black.

The cuts in social service spending amount to more than Rockefeller's 5% cuts projected early in the year. The spectacle in the State Assembly, accompanied by the liberal democrats "crocodile tears" over the poor, is a stern warning to all workers that the capitalist system is in severe crisis not only in America but internationally, and governments will just have to tighten their belts.

These cuts come at a time when the Republicans and Democrats pass the vicious Taylor law against the trade unions and when the city and state hospital workers and administrators are clamouring for more funds.

### CUTS

Basically the cuts, amounting to \$140 million statewide

and about \$80-90 million in New York City (which has by far the largest Welfare population) reduces welfare payments by \$14 per month for a family of four (with no differentials for families with school-age children), eliminate the \$100 per person per year flat-grant payment, raise Medicaid eligibility by "requiring certain patients to pay 20% of their medical costs before they can receive government aid", limit nursing home care for the elderly to 100 days in order to make legally responsible relatives foot the rest of the bill, compel an unwed mother to surrender her child to the court for foster care or adoption if she proves unwilling to bring the putative father to court, presume "that applicants who have been in this state LESS THAN A YEAR have come here to get on welfare--and are hence ineligible unless they can prove otherwise", reduce the number of home relief cases (unemployed, unattached males and females) by sharply cutting state aid for this category. Under current procedure, only certain types of cases are eligible for Federal reimbursement, the rest of the money must come from that state or city.

Both Lindsay and Rocky

complain about lack of funds. Yet the legislature votes salary increases to top aides of the governor and increase the state tax by 1% in order to balance the budget. The only reason for education categories escaping this year was simply through increased cuts in Welfare spending.

Despite complaints from Democrats that they were not apprised of the contents of the laws, a march to Albany was organized by client organizations along with the SSEU-welfare workers union nearly 6 weeks ago in order to dramatize the cutbacks.

Not one of these liberals sought fit to appear at the public rally or publically confront Rockefeller on the proposals (see Bulletin, March 10).

Not a word in the press from the organized labor movement, many of whose members either work with Welfare recipients, receive supplementary assistance and all of whose members stand to lose by the increase in the state tax. Victor Gotbaum talks about the possibility of a hospital workers' walkout, but hands Welfare employees the most vicious contract ever offered. Caseworkers, under the new reorganization scheme will be attrited as



WELFARE CLIENTS PICKET GOVERNOR'S OFFICE PROTESTING CUTS

a "progressive" measure, clerks can be laid off, and supervisors are transferred en masse to and from Welfare Centers.

### HOSTILITY

The social service cuts will only intensify hostility between workers and recipients and the anger promises to make last summer's demonstrations look like Tory tea parties. One worker told this reporter that "I won't be around this summer when the dung hits the fan". The New York Times adds to this hostility, after remorseful remarks about Rocky's "liberalism," with an attack on the wage increases of 6-10% won by workers, and David Livingston, head of DC 65 and Rocky's pal, threatens to leave the AFL-CIO.

Black nationalists have taken up the cudgels of community leaders like Hulbert James (who waited in vigil outside the state legislature as the laws were enacted) with demands for community control of Welfare (and capitalist control of City Hall, we may add) by throwing out supervisors, middle-class caseworkers ("parasites on the poor" they quip) and replacing these with members of the community.

The union bureaucrats capitulate completely to this. The SWP and PL, despite the revolutionary left cover for the bureaucrats, not only demand attrition of staff as progressive and revolutionary but demand community control. Not a word from these reformists about the Taylor Law or of the need for workers to fight for their own political movement against Nixon, Rocky and the Democrats.

### UNIONS

We say the trade unions, not client action groups must take the lead against vicious cuts in Welfare by organizing the most massive strike this city has seen against the Taylor Law and all social service cuts. We demand that bureaucrats like Gotbaum make good his promise and pull hospital workers out along with all municipal workers in the city and the state fighting for decent contracts against the Republican and Democratic legislature. We warn Gotbaum, Rogoff,

Morgenstern and Critchlow of the growing rank and file opposition to the rotten contract offers and agreements. Workers League members have begun a petition campaign against the SSEU contract and we have found increasing opposition to Goldberg and Gotbaum's reorganization from the ranks of all three unions.

### LEADERSHIP

The importance is now being understood by ever increasing numbers of workers of the need to build an alternative leadership in DC 37 and the AFL-CIO. This growing rank and file opposition must be channeled into a no vote on April 11, SSEU contract ratification day.

The ranks will not stand harassment and deterioration of working conditions for a few extra bucks. We appeal to all activists in 371, SSEU and 1549; help us in our fight against reorganization and its crass acceptance by the bureaucrats.

Attacks on workers and poor people by the Republican and Democratic bootlickers in the Federal, State and City governments pose concretely the need for the organized trade union movement to prepare the groundwork for the organization of its own political party, representing workers, students, farmers, the poor, a labor party, dedicated to serving the interests of the working class by fighting for nationalization of the basic industries under workers' control and for the political power of the working class. There is no other way to expunge the cancer that is welfare.

## District 65 Moves Towards AFL-CIO Split



DAVID LIVINGSTON

BY FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK--District 65, representing 30,000 retail, wholesale and department store workers in this area, is heading towards a split from its international union and the AFL-CIO. '65' is withholding all per capita dues from its parent union, the RWDSU, and has demanded the right to collaborate with the Alliance for Labor Action in organizing efforts and in "community action projects."

It is also demanding that the international union have some black and Puerto Rican officers and that a wholesale department be established within the union. Until these demands are met per capita dues will be withheld, and thus a split is a very strong possibility

### SPLIT

What do these demands have to do with the membership of District 65, and what stake do these workers have in this split? President Livingston of 65 suggests that the aid of the UAW-Teamsters-sponsored ALA is necessary for

the organization of the unorganized. This is a completely phony argument which is being used to prepare the membership for a split. For years Livingston has been big on talk but slow on action as far as organizing work is concerned. The organization of workers in the small shops in 65's jurisdiction poses many serious problems. It is directly related to the fight waged in the organized shops.

The fight against poverty wages has been begun in earnest by Hospital Workers Local 1199. It has shown that the financial and organizational resources for very large organizing efforts can be found within the union itself. Livingston talks about the ALA, which has also talked a lot about organizing and revitalizing the labor movement but actually has done almost nothing. This is all a substitute for the kind of fight which will pose District 65 as a fighting alternative for unorganized workers.

### CONNECTED

District 65's moves are undoubtedly closely connected to those of its sister local in the RWDSU, Local 1199. It can be assumed that Leon Davis and Dave Livingston are acquainted with each other's plans and policies. The latest moves of 65 thus take on even added significance in the light of the recent dispute between 1199 and the RWDSU and AFL-CIO.

Both 1199 and the RWDSU

are now under sanctions because of a recent jurisdictional dispute at New York University Medical Center. 1199 intervened in proceedings before the State Labor Board and was awarded bargaining rights for a group of 200 dietary workers at NYU, where the rest of the non-professional workers already belong to 1199. After being placed under sanctions 1199 threatened to split from the AFL-CIO over the "principle" supposedly involved in this jurisdictional dispute. There has been no expulsion thus far but the union is still under sanctions.

It is becoming more and more clear that the leaders of both 65 and 1199, now representing 65,000 workers are involved in a power fight within the RWDSU and various pretexts for a split are being considered.

### OFFENSIVE

At the very same time as Livingston and Davis organize splits within the AFL-CIO the government is planning an intensified offensive against the working class. That is the meaning of the Taylor Law. What is needed today is unity not division. What is needed is a rank and file struggle against the policies of the labor bureaucracy as a whole, "progressive" and "conservative", for none of these bureaucrats are prepared for an all-out struggle in defense of labor against this new offensive.

### SUBSCRIBE TO THE BULLETIN

Enclosed 50c for 10 Issue

Enclosed \$2.00 for 1 Year Sub

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 STREET \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
 STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

BULLETIN 243 E. 10 St.  
 NYC 10003

# STUDENT WORKER ALLIANCE



COPS ATTACK STUDENTS AT S.F. STATE. STUDENT WORKER ALLIANCE IDEOLOGY LED TO DEFEAT OF THIS STRUGGLE

BY KAREN FRANKEL

"Fight Racism!" was the militant call which rang through the last N.C. meeting of SDS in Chicago. Led by the Progressive Labor Party, these were the fierce words which hung from the lips of hundreds of students as they marched out of the hall.

It is no accident that Progressive Labor's new slogan comes at the same time that they are pushing the "student-worker alliance." The February issue of Challenge (SDS N.C. Resolution against Racism) stated: "To refuse or fight against the building of an alliance with the working class around anti-racist politics is nothing but capitulation to imperialism."

#### RACISM

This statement warrants some analysis. The PLP in essence insists that the major battleground for socialist consciousness is in the fight against racism. Thus, the major problem facing workers today is not the struggle to maintain their living standards and working conditions, flowing from understanding the very material crisis in the capitalist system, but a fight only against one aspect of the moral ramifications of that crisis.

PL reveals its lack of understanding of the economic crisis by making the fight against racism its central focus. The student worker alliance is a central tool for PL's fight against racism. The idea is that this alliance is built

around "anti-racist politics." Students must fight racist ideology on their campuses, and, in the course of supporting a strike, make clear to the workers that racism is the key weapon of the bosses to hold all workers down.

PL, not understanding the critical meaning for, and the application in this period of the Transitional Program cannot, of course, see the high level political struggle involved in making economic demands which the system is incapable of granting. Rather, PL keeps the political demands confined to merely a struggle against racism. There is no linking of this fight on the campuses or in the unions to the understanding of the fundamental and worldwide economic crisis in the capitalist system, and much less, a posing of demands which challenge the basic existence of the system.

To struggle in a Marxist way, according to PL, is to bring students to support economist demands of the workers, while militantly stipulating that this alliance must be based on an anti-racist program. Thus, the alliance is forged on the basis of a reformist demand. Even the bosses, if pushed hard enough, could be forced to call for preferential hiring, at no expense to themselves. Preferential hiring would do nothing to alleviate the plight of the masses of workers who will be afraid for their very jobs in the face of Nixon's unemployment schemes. If the PLP does not mean preferential hiring, what, concretely, does the fight against

racism mean in this period of increasing strikes for job security and wages?

#### TRANSITIONAL

An understanding of the Transitional Program would show that the fight against racism concretely flows from demands such as "Jobs for All", "30 hour week for 40 hours pay", and the call for a labor party which would unite workers of all colors in a common fight against the bosses and their parties. To organize around one slogan, "fight racism" means an abdication of the struggle in all the concrete areas of attack on the workers as a whole. It becomes the hollow mouthing of a propagandistic phrase which misleads the students into thinking that just because they march on a workers picket line for a few hours they've formed an alliance.

The only way that the struggles of the students and the workers can be linked in a revolutionary way is on the basis of a Marxist program for power. The common fight, led by the revolutionary party, for a mass political party which will oppose repression on the campuses, speed-up in the factories, unemployment, and racism, a party which will call for open admissions to the colleges for all working class students, and nationalization of all industries which cannot afford to pay all workers decent wages under tolerable working conditions. This, and only this is the way Marxists fight for unity. Any other way is hollow and artificial.

#### COAT-TAILS

Unless it has a clear Marxist program for power, any alliance which poses as revolutionary will inevitably end up hanging onto the coat-tails of anything that appears to be moving to the left. PL could not help but tail-end the black nationalists under cover of "critical support." Because PL empirically reacts to the manifestations of the crisis, and pragmatically "gears in" to the going thing that deals with this manifestation, it chose not to fight the openly anti-working class ideology of black nationalism. Rather it adapted to these forces under the guise of "fighting racism."

Months after the fact we read in the latest issue of Challenge the following: "We in the PLP have made mistakes this past semester in relation to these struggles. While we have been critical of these nationalist demands, we still supported and helped build struggles for them. We did this as a part of fighting racism. But these struggles have taught us that uniting, even critically, behind nationalist demands doesn't fight racism, but only plays into the hands of the ruling class."

How much "playing into the hands of the ruling class" does PL have to do before it decides that it is wrong. After the fact is just too late. Will PL make the same statement a few months

## NIXON ENCOURAGES NEW ATTACKS ON STUDENTS RIGHTS



NIXON REVEALS PLANS

BY PAT CONNELLY

After his much publicized visit with President Hayakawa of San Francisco State, and his letter to the President of Notre Dame congratulating him on his "firm" handling of protesters, President Nixon has finally issued a policy statement on disorder in the

universities.

This policy statement marks the beginning of a whole new attack on the democratic and political rights of students. Nixon has drawn HEW Secretary Finch into the problem, and Finch has written a letter to college administrators across the country outlining the new policy.

#### LAWS

Two laws, which are already in the books to deal with political dissent, are going to be more strictly enforced. The first of these is the law which states that any student who is arrested for a crime in relation to campus disorders, or who has committed a "serious" offense against college rules, must be deprived of any federal loans or scholarships which he receives. The second law, which makes it a felony to cross state lines "to incite or par-

ticipate in a riot", will be used against non-students who become involved in campus disorders.

After outbreaks of protest on campus across the country, including the San Francisco State strike which lasted all winter, and the University of Wisconsin strike where the National Guard was called in to deal with the students with fixed bayonets and mounted machine guns, Nixon has prepared to tackle more effectively the problem of stifling student dissent.

#### MESSAGE

The New York Times of March 23rd quotes a "White House source" as saying that college administrators should "get the message" and begin enforcing these laws, or else more repressive legislation might be passed to deal with students.

The New York State Sen-

ate has already passed a bill denying state aid to students convicted of a crime on the premises of any college. The California State Senate has passed a law making it a felony to obstruct students from attending classes, and requiring the mandatory dismissing of faculty or students who participate in campus disorders.

#### FIGHT

Nixon's policy statement did not call for more new legislation at this time, but rather for the harsh enforcement of the repressive legislation which was passed last year; but it is clear that the ruling class will use every means at their disposal to try to suppress political dissent among student radicals.

The only way for students to fight back against the political attacks by the government is by struggling to build

a strong working class party which will unite students around a Marxist program capable of defeating the ruling class.

#### SAN FRANCISCO

#### • class •

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM (3 sessions)

BLACK NATIONALISM

LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE FIGHT FOR LABOR PARTY

STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY AND THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

Sunday, April 27 8:00pm

A series of 7 classes every Sunday

Workers League, 644 Oak St., S.F. 626-7019

# IS A COVER FOR REFORMISM

hence in regard to the black caucuses? -- after they have divided the struggles in the major unions in the country? Such pragmatism is of the utmost danger to the working class. PL and its reformist cohorts in the CP and the SWP, while bouncing around from struggle to struggle with no program for power, can do nothing but harm to the working class and those students who are seeking to ally with it.

The fight against racism, we repeat, flows from the fight against capitalism, which can only proceed on the basis of an understanding of the crisis of capitalism. If one proceeds in any other way, one utilizes the method of the capitalists (pragmatism), and thus aids them.

## EXAMPLE

The recent San Francisco State student strike and the oil strike in Richmond, California give us an excellent example of the real content which all the revisionists from PL to the CP to the SWP put into this worker-student alliance formula. First Progressive Labor came forward with the formula that a strike of students in support of black nationalist demands at SF State for a black studies department was in actuality a student-worker alliance for black nationalism is 'nationalist in form and working class in content' and thus formed the "worker" part of the student-worker alliance. In actuality this was a formula whereby all the radical tendencies on campus limited the struggle to the separatist and reform demands of the petty bourgeois nationalists.

Then the various radicals became aware of a violent and important strike on the other side of the Bay involving a small oil workers local which the giant Standard Oil Company was seeking to break with strikebreakers. Desperately needing help from any quarter Local 1-561 welcomed student support. So students joined the picket line. The local in turn supported the SF State student strike. The SWP organized a community support group of a number of these unionists who in turn endorsed the SF State strike.

Now what was the upshot of this great "student-worker alliance"? The students supported the workers and the workers supported the students. There is no question about that. But now the SF State strike is over having been DEFEATED precisely because Hayakawa was able to accept much of the black nationalist demands without in the slightest changing the repressive character of the university, or racism, or aiding in any way working class youth, or in fact changing anything. After all Nixon himself has come

out for "ethnic studies" in the universities.

The oil strike is in desperate straights. The workers have been presented with an ultimatum to return immediately to work or the scabs will be given permanent employment and the union will be completely busted. The union leadership and its student supporters have now come up with a "solution" to the question - a boycott of Standard Oil products. But this is a completely ineffectual cover for NO PROGRAM AT ALL for winning the strike. The International Union, the local labor council, the Third World types, and the Militant are all endorsing this boycott. It is the easiest thing in the world to endorse a boycott. It turns the whole struggle around nice little propaganda gestures and away from class struggle.

## PROGRAM

The Bulletin, the first socialist paper to report on the strike, proposed at the very beginning a different program. We urged that the unions in that highly industrialized area to man the picket lines in mass and organize defense guards so that the scabs and their police goons could not break through. We demanded that the Central Labor Council make good on its threat of a general strike in the county against the union busters.

Such a class struggle approach could have meant a victory for the oil workers a defeat for the bosses and posed in the very course of struggle the need for workers and students to go over into a political struggle for a labor party to replace those who use the state to bust up unions and smash student demonstrations.

We approached the SF State struggle in a similar way refusing to make the slightest concession to black nationalism, seeing in the struggle a real threat against the democratic rights of the students, an attempt to break the university teachers union and the need to fight on a class program against Hayakawa, Reagan, etc. In such a way a real unity could be forced for a political struggle against the capitalists.

It is clear in both cases what is required is a struggle against the existing leadership of the students and the workers and for the class program of the revolutionary party. Instead the revisionists of all stripes have transformed the worker-student alliance into a formula for maintaining worker and student struggles on a reform level and thus bolstering the existing leaderships of these struggles. The effect of this policy has been defeat for the students at SF State and impending defeat for the oil workers in Richmond.

Any alliance is meaningless if it is based on reformist politics. The Workers League seeks to fight for a revolutionary program which speaks to the needs of the workers and students who are coming under attack. Its fight is not only against the state but against the present petty bourgeois leaderships in these areas who seek, through their reformist demands, to tie the workers and students to the bourgeoisie. On the campus, we fight to expose such forces as the black nationalists, and their bedfellows, PL, the SWP and the CP. Only through a fight for an understanding of Marxist theory, from which flows a revolutionary program, can students become a meaningful part of the working class revolution.

## ALLIANCE

A united fight around budget cuts to the schools, for instance becomes critical in a period when the capitalists cannot afford even the mildest economic belt-loosening. These fights must be tied to the anti-labor legislation, and general deterioration of the standard of living of the working class.

There is no need to build an artificial link or alliance between the working class and the students. Their fight is the same. In France, students in the FER fought the Fouchet Plan on the same grounds that the workers fought in their factories. The alliance between the students and the workers was not simply a matter of "we support you" because we agree on a single, limited issue. The alliance was forged through an understanding that their enemies were the same. In the factories as well as the universities, Communist Party leaders had to be exposed for the role they played in channeling the revolution back into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In all of this, it is clear that the role of the revolutionary party is key. The revolutionary party embodies the program. If there is no program for socialism, the party hops pragmatically from one liquidationist situation to another. PL, the SWP, and the CP all find themselves abandoning their supposed role as the leadership party to whatever appears to be a militant leftward moving force.

Only through the party and its program can there be any real student-worker alliance. We are sick and tired of hearing the revisionists cry after the fact that they made a mistake. Mistakes flow from lack of program and are all too critical in this period.

## ADMINISTRATION REPRESSION QUEENS STUDENTS FIGHT

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER  
NEW YORK--April 2. Queens College has been shaken by a large scale struggle of students and some faculty members against blows by the Administration against the democratic rights of both students and faculty members. Presently over 1,000 students are sitting in a university building following the arrest the previous day of 39 student and faculty members by some 500 cops.

The protest stems from an incident on March 11th when SDS AND PL ran a recruiter from General Electric off the campus as a war profiteer. The Administration responded by dragging three SDS leaders before a student court. The militant students then insisted that all students be allowed to attend the court sessions. The students were barred but they pushed their way into the courtroom anyway.

At this point an incredible thing happened. The court turns around and finds the three defendants, not the students who had forced their way into the room, in contempt of court. The Admin-

istration then jumps in and suspends the three students from the university.

## FACULTY

In the meantime the Queens College Administration has been busily preparing similar attacks on radical faculty members. A Professor Sheila Delany had been notified that she would not be rehired by the college because of her "abrasive personality."

Related to this the CUNY Administration has issued a special Max-Kahn report which sets up a new more vicious procedure for getting rid of dissident faculty members. From now on faculty will not even be told the reasons for dismissal.

It was these events which touched off the sit in under the leadership of a broad student-faculty ad hoc committee and which involved some several thousand students at one point or another. Then at 3:35 AM on April 1st some 500 police showed up on campus and arrested those 39 protesters who refused to vacate the building. Among those arrested was Henry Lesnick,

a professor, who then was suspended from the faculty by the Administration. Now over 1,000 students are back in the building adding demands related to the new arrests and suspension.

## CUTS

While all this is going on Rockefeller and Lindsay are moving in with economic blows against the city university system. Buell Gallagher, president of City College, has resigned claiming that despite the restoration of some cuts by Rockefeller--at the expense of welfare recipients we might add--the combination of the cuts already made plus cuts in the planning by the city will mean no freshman classes next year and other drastic moves.

It is particularly important that one of the programs expected to be drastically slashed if not eliminated altogether is the SEEK program which brings youth from poor neighborhoods into the university. Only a couple of months ago black nationalists at Queens were demanding control over this program. Such is the futility of separatist

demands. The nationalists have now won some measure of control over a program to be dispensed with altogether.

## SPREAD

We must see these blows against the democratic rights of students and faculty and these serious economic blows as part of class attacks not only on students but workers as well. The very same legislature that votes education cuts also passed the vicious anti-labor Taylor Law. What is required is more than student power struggles--even on the militant level of those at Queens. We must spread the struggle to all university and high school students and link it with the battle of the trade unions.

It is particularly interesting that at one rally held by this ad hoc committee which this reporter attended there was no mention at all of the university budget cuts not to mention the Taylor Law and its meaning.

The struggle at Queens can be the fulcrum from which the struggle is spread throughout the colleges and high schools and linked with the fight of

the trade unions and welfare recipients.

ALL OUT SUPPORT TO THE QUEENS STUDENT AND FACULTY!

SPREAD THE STRUGGLE!  
BEAT BACK ALL THE CUTS!  
REPEAL THE TAYLOR LAW!



QUEENS COLLEGE SIT IN

## FORWARD TO DAILY PAPER FOR WORKERS IN ENGLAND

The recent sell-out of the Ford workers' strike indicates the depth of the crisis of leadership for the British working class. The shop stewards of local Ford factories, many of them members of the All Trades Unions Alliance, trade union arm of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, campaigned around a political understanding of the strike, against attacks on all sections of workers by the Wilson government.

Aided and abetted by the trade union leaders, many of them members of the Stalinist Communist Party, the Wilson government is planning legal attacks on shop stewards in the local factories through the introduction of laws designed to tie the trade unions to the state, setting up joint industrial committees. These committees will consist of trade union bureaucrats, capitalist politicians and "impartial" arbitrators.

### ATUA

The All Trades Unions Alliance fought for support of the Ford strike among other sections of workers, seeking to deepen the struggle through sympathy strikes and raising hundreds of dollars for the striking workers. The Halewood Ford plant, located in the middle of England, waged a magnificent campaign against the Ford management, tying the question of Wilson's betrayal in this period of crisis of international capitalism to the need to develop an alternative trade union leadership dedicated to fighting for socialism. The intervention of the reformist trade union leadership and its despicable sell-out prepares the way for a return of a Tory government, which promises even more vicious attacks against workers now on the offensive against Wilson.

### DAILY

The Socialist Labour League is struggling to develop into the mass revolutionary movement, and will be publishing a daily revolutionary Marxist newspaper in September. The daily paper will not only be able to provide a more expanded coverage of events, but will serve as an organizing tool for thousands of workers and students who are against Wilson's government and are being drawn more deeply into struggle.

We appeal to our supporters to help us in this fight by contributing generously to the fund drive to raise \$1000 for our English comrades.

# MILITARY TAKES OVER PAKISTAN

## absence of revolutionary leadership prevented socialist revolution



MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

Only the imposition of martial law of the most draconian character has temporarily stabilized capitalist rule in Pakistan. A revolutionary upheaval of the most profound nature has swept the country. After ten years the military dictator Ayub Khan had resigned and there was no confidence anywhere in any section of the population in the government. The mass of workers, peasants and students were taking things into their own hands. Ayub summed it up: "Everything is now being decided in the streets by the mob."

In the towns, mass strikes and demonstrations had forced huge concessions from the employers, many of whom had been besieged in their offices until they agreed to workers' demands. Sections of workers and students were demanding the nationalization of the banks and basic industries.

In the villages, hundreds of hated representatives of the Ayub regime were executed by enraged peasants. Landlords' houses were burned to the ground and police trying to intervene beaten to death.

The military were able to re-assert their authority because of the complete absence of any revolutionary leadership of the workers and peasants. And re-assert they have with ten years jail terms for even verbally opposing the regime, four years for striking, a ban on all meetings, etc.

### PARTY

Let there be no question of it--if there was a revolutionary party worthy of the name, Pakistan today would be ruled by a workers and farmers government not by a hated military clique. Such a party, faced with the military threat could have mobilized the masses in an armed defense of the revolution as did the Bolsheviks when threatened by the military dictator-to-be Kornilov.

The leader with the greatest authority among the masses was Maulana Bhasani but his program of "Islamic

socialism and democracy" left the masses defenseless before the capitalists and their military stooges. It will be Marxism not the Koran which will lead the Pakistani masses forward.

It was the Koran in fact which set them up in the first place for military rule. Now the Maoists limit themselves to riding the coat-tails of this Guru while the international Pabloite leader Tariq Ali swears allegiance on the Holy Koran. The current Militant lists the book shops where you can get the works of this famed leader--do they perchance mean the Koran?

### PARTITION

Military dictatorship came to Pakistan as a result of the partition of the vast Indian subcontinent upon the departure of the English after World War II. At that time the British systematically encouraged conflict between Moslem and Hindu to dissipate the great revolutionary wave of the Indian workers and peasants after the war. The result was the establishment of Pakistan as two provinces separated by over 1,000 miles and linked only by the reactionary doctrines of the Koran.

The East Pakistanis are primarily Bengalis, ethnically like their neighbors in the Calcutta area of India. The West Pakistanis have centuries-old cultural ties with Persian Islam but outside of this are highly diverse ethnically. Under the military dictators the West Pakistanis have been favored over the

more populous East so that petty bourgeois demagogues are today seeking to divert the struggle along lines of autonomy or independence for East Pakistan.

The road forward is not through further Balkanization of the Indian Subcontinent--India itself has had no small amount of similar autonomy moves throughout the country --but through the unity of all the workers and peasants of that great land mass into a mighty revolutionary army to wrest power from the capitalists, all the semi-feudal hangers-on, the reactionary gurus, he imperialists who they all serve in one way or another.

Truly the new military rule will solve nothing. It only reasserts itself because of the weakness of the workers vanguard. New explosions are in the making. There will be no stability in either India or Pakistan. There is no future in either country under capitalism. There will only be further chaos, Balkanization and economic decay unless the workers come to power.

### GHOSTLY

How ghostly quiet and still are the revisionists on the events in Pakistan. Only a short while ago they claimed the Third World was the revolutionary epicenter. They still peddle Guevara's guerilla adventure books and parade with his posters but when the workers and peasants move toward socialist revolution in Pakistan they have nothing to say. They are completely bankrupt men who worship



GENERAL KHAN

struggle in the colonial countries only as long as the petty-bourgeois nationalists are in charge. The moment the workers move they desert their beloved Third World for reformism at home.

The International Committee of the Fourth International has always maintained that the very center of the world crisis is in the advanced countries. Rather than this meaning no revolutionary struggle in the colonial world, it means quite the opposite. The deepening crisis of the imperialist powers requires them to squeeze all the harder their colonial and neo-colonial possessions preparing the groundwork for a new working class struggle in this section of the world as well.

The crying need today is to build sections of the Fourth International in India and Pakistan as well as elsewhere. This will be done, and can be done, only through an uncompromising struggle against the Stalinist and revisionist bankrupt misleaders of the workers.

## CRISIS HITS NEW YORK MUNICIPAL HOSPITALS

BY MARTY JONAS

The municipal owned hospitals of New York City are now being hit by a major crisis. Mayor Lindsay has ordered Harlem Hospital to cut \$8.8 million from its budget and freeze all jobs. A \$60-75 million cut in the cities hospital system is envisioned as a result of Governor Rockefeller's 5% overall cut in the State budget.

The heads of these municipal hospitals have threatened to close the doors rather than submit to the cuts. These cuts would mean the further worsening of an already disgusting situation.

In recent weeks Harlem Hospital has operated with a staff of seven nurses for 788 patients! More recently this number has been cut down to about 600, due to turning away all but the most urgent of emergency cases.

The chief of medicine at another municipal hospital frankly stated: "You come to this hospital and we're telling you somebody's going to take care of you. The fact is, you're going to lie in a pool of feces, develop an ulcer, septicemia and perhaps ultimately die because

of inadequate nursing care."

These cuts come at the same time as the cuts in welfare in New York State and the beginnings of major job cuts and wage cuts throughout the nation. The capitalists from Nixon on down are out to restore the economic equilibrium at whatever cost to the workers and the poor.

### DUMP

Lindsay will use this now as an excuse to dump the city's hospitals into the laps of private corporations --and escape the costs of running them altogether. This is what lies behind all the threats by the bureaucrats at Harlem Hospital to shut the doors - a deal brewing with Columbia University to take it over and run it for profit. This would further freeze out the working class and the poor from decent health care.

The way to fight this mess is not by community control of hospitals or a semi-autonomous "public" health and hospital corporation.

### STRUGGLE

As in the welfare cuts, it is up to the unions to take

up the struggle to protect jobs and at the same time fight for more hospitals and better health care. Victor Gotbaum, head of DC 37 AFSCME, has threatened to shut all 20 municipal hospitals if one is closed. This same threat must be made in welfare, where DC 37 is also the union involved.

Local 1199 has said that they will support any strike of the hospitals by DC 37. This solidarity by 1199 must be extended to more than struggles involving hospitals; and DC 37 must fight for the solidarity of the rest of the labor movement.

### NEW ISSUE!

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND REVISIONISM

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

INSURRECTION OR DEMOCRATISM

SEND 60c TO: BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS  
243 E. 70 STREET NEW YORK CITY 10003

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ on behalf  
of the DAILY NEWSLETTER fund.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

make checks and money orders to Bulletin of International Socialism