

**NOW WEEKLY!**

A New Series

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# Bulletin

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**Where  
Progressive  
Labor Really  
Stands**

BY  
LUCY  
ST. JOHN

# WORKERS FIGHT BACK AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

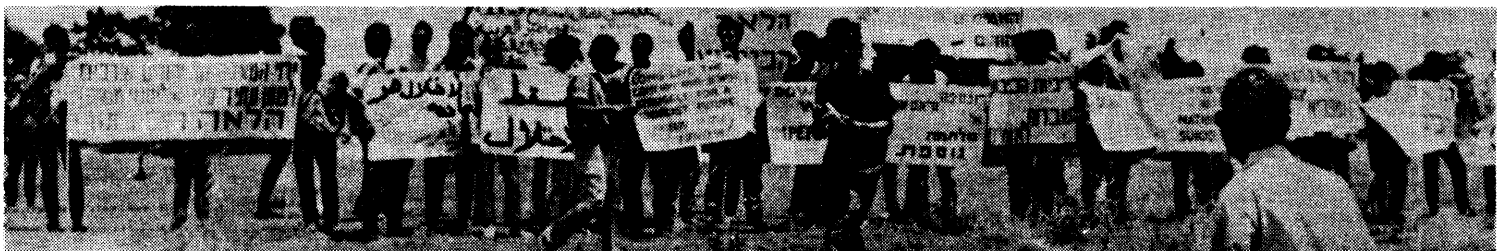
**TRADE UNIONISTS: ALL OUT NOV. 15!**



ABOVE: AMERICAN TROOPS WEAR BLACK ARM BANDS ON MORATORIUM DAY. RIGHT: COPS AND PICKETS BATTLE AT LYNN, MASS. GE PLANT

# LABOR TAKES ON GENERAL ELECTRIC

## Israel Jails Revolutionaries



HOLDING SIGNS IN HEBREW, ARABIC AND ENGLISH ISRAELI SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION PROTESTS OCCUPATION

## MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

With this issue the Workers League proudly launches the Bulletin as a weekly paper.

The spirit with which we launch this weekly was expressed very well in a letter we received from a longshoreman with his contribution to the weekly fund: "I read your publication. I think it will hit where it will benefit the working class, where it will be most helpful...Where and when do we start blasting? Don't worry. You will get your publication out by November 1st because you socialists are mighty dynamic fighters!"

The weekly Bulletin appears at a time when the workers throughout the world are on the offensive against capitalism which is seeking to drive them back and make them pay to save a decaying system.

For many decades now the objective conditions have been ripe for the struggle for world socialism. This struggle today is an absolute necessity. The task posed to the working class is the construction of a revolutionary party capable of leading this fight to victory. It is to this task that we dedicate the weekly Bulletin.

The American workers are following the road of the European workers and the workers and peasants in Vietnam, as more and more they move into battle with capitalism. In this period of crisis it is no longer just a question of economic struggles against the employers in one plant or one industry, but of struggles which involve a political confrontation between the entire working class and the employers' government.

This is what underlies the growing hostility of American workers to the Vietnam war which has been expressed in the mobilization of whole sections of the labor movement on Moratorium day and the support being built within the trade unions for the November 15th march. While anti-war sentiment expresses the desire on the part of the working class to end a war for which it has paid dearly, it is also a reflection of the increasing pressures which the workers are feeling in the factories as a result of the measures taken by the capitalists to deal with their economic crisis.

It is this elemental hostility to capitalism which the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties try to divert into safe channels through their leadership of the Moratorium, in order to prevent the workers from relating their opposition to the war to the attacks at home and taking up an independent class battle against capitalism.

### GENERAL ELECTRIC

For while these capitalist politicians are behind the anti-war movement, they also stand four square behind Nixon's "bitter medicine" for the American workers. The workers are getting their first taste of this poison in the confrontation now in progress at General Electric.

The unions have made it clear that this is not an ordinary strike in the call for the resignation of Secretary of Labor, Schultz. This strike is a strike not just against GE but against the Nixon government. This is a showdown which involves the entire labor movement. It is the test case.

This is why the strategy for the working class must be a plan which deals with these attacks head on, which unites the class and poses the direct political confrontation with the government. It means that the fight against the war must be led by the working class on a class program

# Forward To The Mass Revolutionary Party

which raises demands to meet the attacks at home. This program must raise the basic demands of the class as a whole against the government's attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions through inflation and unemployment. We must demand big wage increases with an escalator clause in every contract, the thirty hour week, workers control over working conditions, and end to the war in Vietnam as well as at home. Above all this requires the construction of a powerful political arm of the labor movement, a labor party which through this struggle can unite all sections of society behind it and pose an alternative to the rule of the employers.

It is around this strategy that the weekly Bulletin and the Workers League will campaign week in and week



LUCY ST. JOHN

out in every major struggle. The Bulletin as the organ of the Workers League will be the instrument of the working class in the fight to create a party independent of the Democrats and Republicans, a party to fight for the interests of the working class. This is the most pressing task as the capitalist politicians in these parties openly admit that there will be no reforms forthcoming. The only thing the workers will get is "bitter medicine."

### ROTTEN

The weekly Bulletin will "tell it like it is." It will expose the bitter truth about the plans of the employers and the government. It will expose the whole lot of the capitalist politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties down to their very rotten cores.

Every corner of the capitalist house is beginning to reek with corruption, from Kennedy to Haynsworth, to Lindsay, to Procaccino, to McCormack, to Cahill and Meyner. These politicians openly reveal their bankruptcy and the decline of capitalism. Their interests are completely opposed to the interests of the working class. The weekly Bulletin will wage an unceasing struggle to pose the political alternative to defeat these scoundrels.

The weekly Bulletin will be devoted to the struggle of the working class for political power internationally as well as in the United States. It will bring the lessons of the struggles internationally into the struggles of the working class in the U.S.

The fight for the working class requires a vicious battle against all those trade union leaders and revisionist tendencies that seek to confine the struggles of the workers and the youth within capitalism. This means a fight against those sell-out trade union leaders who capitulate to the employers, who tie the trade unions to the Democratic and Republican parties. It means a struggle against the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and Pro-

gressive Labor who seek to mobilize the working class behind capitalism through the CP-SWP Moratorium alliance with the capitalist politicians, and PL's alliance of the workers with middle class protest politics. We will wage a vicious battle against those who seek to mislead the youth, who like Rudd and his cohorts try to mobilize the youth against the working class.

The weekly Bulletin has been the product of a five year struggle by the Workers League as an independent organization after the expulsion of our tendency from the Socialist Workers Party. This struggle was possible only because we fought for principled politics, for Marxist theory in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International and against the betrayers of Trotskyism with the SWP and the United Secretariat.

### THEORY

It is this battle for theory which is central to the building of a leadership of the working class. The development of theory will play a major role in the weekly. The development of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions and among the youth is key to arming the revolutionary cadres for the struggles ahead. Central in this fight is the struggle against revisionism, against the Stalinist and social democratic betrayers who led the working class into bloody slaughter in this century.

This epoch of capitalist decay and this period of the undefeated struggles of the working class is the period of Lenin and Trotsky, of the strategy hammered out in the first five years of the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. It is the era of the Transitional Program developed by Trotsky on the basis of this strategy and the fight against the treacherous policies of Stalin. The Transitional Program laid the basis for the founding of the Fourth International and is today the heart of the strategy of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

### TROTSKYISM

This is indeed the epoch of Trotskyism and the construction of mass revolutionary parties as part of an international movement. This is the meaning of the first daily Trotskyist paper published by our British comrades. The publication of the weekly Bulletin is the first step towards the building of a mass party of the working class in the U.S.

The weekly Bulletin marks the re-establishment of a Trotskyist weekly in the U.S. The Socialist Workers Party, once the party of Trotsky, has betrayed every tenet of Trotskyism and has sought to relegate Trotsky to the archives in order to enter into collaboration with the most bitter enemy of Trotskyism and the working class -- Stalinism.

In conclusion the Workers League wishes to extend its greatest thanks to all our supporters who have made this weekly possible, who have contributed so generously to the financial support of the weekly. We urge everyone who has not contributed to do so as soon as possible.

We also want to thank everyone for their encouraging letters. We urge all of our readers to write to the Bulletin, sending your suggestions about how we can improve the paper as well as about the struggles in which you are involved.

## FROM THE WORKERS PRESS (ENGLAND)

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Editorial Board of the Workers' Press, we send our warmest greetings and congratulations to comrades of the Workers League on the occasion of the Bulletin becoming a weekly paper.

This is a truly remarkable achievement for our young movement in the United States. This is a tribute to their devotion and dedication to the principles of Marxism as embodied in the Fourth International.

The Workers' Press will do everything possible to assist you in publicising news of the American Labour Movement and especially the activities of our own party.

Once again, our congratulations and warmest regards.

M. Banda  
Editor



MIKE BANDA

## ISRAELI SOCIALISTS

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

We have just received word direct from Israel that four members of the Israeli Socialist Organization have been arrested by the police on the charge of "incitement to rebellion" against the government. Among those arrested was Y. Beneki, a supporter of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The ISO publishes the paper "Matzpen" and opposes Israel's occupations, calling for a united struggle of Arab and Jewish workers for socialism. The arrests follow the suppression of an Arabic edition of Matzpen in August and September. The current issue of the magazine which has reached us is printed in both Hebrew and Arabic.

This action comes on the eve of the Knesset Election, which is expected to produce a further swing to the rightist military elements within both the ruling Labor Party and in the opposition Gahal party.

### LEBANON

At the same time the Arab masses have no intention of giving up the struggle because of the military retaliatory policies of Israel. The armed clashes between Palestinian guerilla forces in Lebanon and the government will undoubtedly force the Lebanese government to stop

# GREETINGS TO THE WEEKLY

## From Keep Left (england)



AILEEN JENNINGS

Dear Comrades,

The Keep Left sends fraternal greetings and congratulations to the weekly Bulletin, paper of the Workers League.

With the growing revolutionary offensive of the working class internationally, both against imperialism and bureaucracy, the publication of the weekly Bulletin is a great step forward in the building of the revolutionary leadership of the working class in America.

We are sure that the weekly Bulletin will become the focal point for the growing tide of revolutionary youth who aspire to become Marxists and follow in the footsteps of Leon Trotsky to take up the struggle for the victory of the Fourth International.

Keep Left and the Young Socialists will follow with the greatest interest and attention the activities of our American comrades and their weekly paper. We look forward to the daily Trotskyist paper of the United States.

Yours fraternally,  
Aileen Jennings

Editor, on behalf of the Editorial Board.

## JAILED BY REGIME

restricting guerilla operations or face being overthrown in a mass revolution.

This expresses not only the determination of the Arab working people and peasants to regain the occupied territories, but also the deepening hostility of the masses against the capitalist regimes which serve the interests of American imperialism. Fear of the Arab Revolution is compelling Nasser and the other phonies to intervene and negotiate a settlement between El Fatah and the Lebanese government.

### UNITY

Now more than ever the socialist program of Jewish-Arab worker unity in a common struggle for a socialist Middle East based on the right of self determination of all peoples becomes a burning necessity. This attack of the Israeli government against the Matzpen group and against Trotskyists must be viewed as a serious blow against the international working class.

It is particularly important in the United States to take up a campaign of protest against these jailings. We must solidarize with our working class brothers in Israel who have stood up against all the Zionist chauvinism in a battle to unite Arab and Jewish workers in a common international struggle.

## FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE (ceylon)

Dear Comrades of the Workers League,

The Revolutionary Communist League of Ceylon sends you its warmest revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the publication of the weekly Bulletin. Although it has been preceded by the Daily Workers' Press of the SLL, it is no less an occasion for rejoicing by Trotskyists all over the world.

Comrade Trotsky declared long ago "There is no enemy of Bolshevism more principled and more savage than American capitalism". In order to fight and overcome its class enemy the American working class will, therefore, need to develop Marxist theory to an unprecedented level. The Bulletin has shown its capacity to fulfill this need for the ideological arming of the American working class and its international allies with the most up-to-date weapons from the arsenal of Marxism.

The American bourgeoisie has made itself the master of the entire capitalist world. In doing so it has called into being the most powerful working class in the world judged by its organizational standards but politically the most backward. In keeping the working class ideologically disarmed the American bourgeoisie has had the wholehearted assistance of the labour bureaucracy. The SWP which under Comrade Trotsky's guidance showed such promise of its ability to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership has renounced its revolutionary heritage and gone over to the camp of the Pabloite revisionists. With the aid of the revisionist theories of Hansen and Germain in the tradition of Pablo, it has tried to liquidate the Trotskyist movement in so-called "Castroist currents". Its newspaper the Militant has become the propagator of pacifism, guerillaism and Black Nationalism, the ideological refuges of the incorrigible petty bourgeoisie.

### CONTINUITY

Only the struggle of the Workers League in solidarity with the International Committee for the continuity of the Fourth International has prevented the SWP from helping Stalin to destroy the tradition of Bolshevism with the murder of Comrade Trotsky. The growing support for the Bulletin by the American working class prepares the ground for the complete eradication of Stalinism and its Pabloite co-agency.

We cannot forget the manner in which the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India was liquidated, thus killing an incipient Trotskyist tendency and leaving a void which was filled for two decades by the petty-bourgeois nationalist LSSP masquerading as a 'Trotskyist' party under cover provided by the International Secretariat of Pablo-Frank-Germain until the betrayal of June 1964. Out of the resulting crisis was born a new Trotskyist tendency which developed in struggle against Samasamajism and its 'left' manifestation in the LSSP(R) into the Revolutionary Communist League profiting from the theoretical gains of the struggle of the International Committee against Pabloite revisionism.

The radicalisation of the American

masses as symptomised by the anti-Vietnam war movement presages the resurgence of the working class as the effects of the crisis of international capitalism reach its heart in the U.S.A. Only the Workers League stands ready to seize the opportunity for revolutionising the consciousness of the American working class as it prepares to move into the mighty class battles that are now on the order of the day.

Over 40 years ago Comrade Trotsky predicted that the more the United States puts the whole world under its dependence all the more does it become dependent upon the whole world with all its contradictions and threatening upheavals. But precisely in this power of the USA is its Achilles' heel; in this power lies its growing dependence upon countries and continents economically and politically unstable. The USA is compelled to base its power on an unstable Europe and on the national-revolutionary movements of Asia and Africa. In order to maintain its internal equilibrium the USA requires a larger and larger outlet abroad; but its outlet abroad introduces into its economic order more and more elements of European and Asian disorder.

### THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Today, as we can see, American imperialism is compelled to embrace the 'powder-kegs' of the whole world. Only those who have fought relentlessly for the continuity of the program of the Third International of Lenin and Trotsky, through the struggle of the Left Opposition and its continuity in the founding of the Fourth International, only those who adhere to the International Committee are capable of standing up undaunted by the apparent might of the American capitalist colossus whose 'Achilles' heel' was shown to us long ago by Comrade Trotsky.

All the quacks, charlatans and unsolicited teachers of morals who talk about socialism and live in deathly

fear of revolution, the Deutschers, Marcuses and Sartres, the Hansens, Germains and Pengs and their Pabloite co-thinkers in Ceylon crawl on all fours before the 'might' of Yankee imperialism and refuse to recognize any sign of a capitalist crisis. The crisis, however, will not only not fail to recognize them, it will sweep them out of the way of the international working class as it rises to its feet under the leadership of the International Committee. The publication of the weekly Bulletin following closely on the Daily Workers' Press announces that the hour of the Fourth International has struck.

We of the Revolutionary Communist League reaffirm our solidarity with the sections of the International Committee. We reiterate the pledge we gave before the international working class on the occasion of the publication of the first Trotskyist daily. Our Sinhala newspaper Virodhaya will become a weekly and our Tamil newspaper Ethirppu will become a fortnightly after the end of this year.

Like the Workers League we too started with a tiny handful of Trotskyists determined to uphold the banner of the Fourth International. Basing ourselves on the theoretical gains of the struggle of the International Committee we too shall go forward with the help of the Ceylonese working class to provide it with the Trotskyist daily newspapers it needs.

In our struggle to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership the Bulletin, just like the Workers' Press, is a great source of inspiration and a school of Marxism. We eagerly look forward to the day when the Bulletin becomes a daily.

ALL POWER TO THE WEEKLY  
BULLETIN

VICTORY TO THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL

Yours fraternally,

Keerthi Balasuriya

for and on behalf of The Revolutionary Communist League (Ceylon)



REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE HOLDS MARCH THROUGH GAMFAHA, CEYLON

# workers-all out against vietnam war

BY FRED MUELLER

Now is the time for the American working class to play an independent and decisive role in the fight against the war in Vietnam. There must be a fight within the trade unions for the largest possible contingents on the November 15 demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

This is not our war, it is a war being waged against our interests, against our brothers in Vietnam. It is part of the same war being waged against us in the shops and factories at home. It is a ruthless imperialist adventure aimed at keeping the world safe for the bosses so that they may continue to exploit the working class in the U.S. and all over the world.

More and more workers are turning against a policy which sends them and their sons and brothers to fight against an "enemy" possessing a revolutionary determination like nothing they have ever seen before. More and more workers are coming to see the way in which the capitalists make them pay for the war through inflation and higher taxes. Millions of workers are preparing to enter the struggle against the war, with their own demands.

## DEMANDS

Trade unionists must fight this war and fight it consciously. **ALL OUT TO WASHINGTON AND SAN FRANCISCO ON NOVEMBER 15th**--with the following demands on behalf of American workers:

**IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM!**  
**BEAT INFLATION WITH ESCALATOR CLAUSES IN EVERY CONTRACT!**

**FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT WITH THE SHORTER WORK WEEK AND JOBS FOR ALL!**

**BREAK WITH THE PARTIES OF WAR, UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE**



TRADE UNIONISTS OPPOSE WAR DURING 1968 LABOR DAY PARADE. ALL OUT ON NOVEMBER 15TH!

## BOSSSES--BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

We must give no support to the October 15th Moratorium Committee or to the New Mobilization Committee leaders who are planning the November 15th demonstrations. We must march on November 15th in spite of these leaders, not because of them.

The liberal capitalist politicians behind the Moratorium Committee are the enemies of every worker in this country. They want to extricate themselves from Vietnam only to order to attack us further. They want to make sure the protest remains just that: a middle class protest and a plea for reforms. We will have nothing to do with these spokesmen for the bosses.

## ENEMIES

The New Mobilization Committee including representatives of the Com-

munist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, collaborates with these same enemies of the working class. They act as a transmission belt for capitalist politics. The Communist Party does this openly, carrying forward the Popular Front policies of the 1930s, arguing that it is necessary for the workers to ally themselves with the progressive bosses on the basis of the bosses' program.

Now the Socialist Workers Party plays the same role as the Communist Party. No matter how they may squirm and maneuver, no matter how much they may talk about immediate withdrawal and mass demonstrations, nothing can disguise the fact that these leaders have gone over completely to the policy of the Popular Front, of working with the bosses.

The massive outpouring for Moratorium Day reflected in part the

attempt made by liberals like Lindsay and Goodell and even many more closely associated with the policies of the Johnson Administration, to channel the growing movement against the war into the safest possible channels, into the Democratic and Republican Parties and away from the working class.

But the Moratorium also represented, in spite of its leaders, real and growing opposition to this war from American workers. Millions saw through and went beyond the plans of the leaders, they seized the opportunity to make their own dissatisfaction with the growing crisis known.

## ARMY

Especially important was the tremendous sympathy for the anti-war protest inside the army. GIs all over Vietnam expressed their anti-war views. There is a tremendous class difference between the Wall Street bankers piously praying for peace and the soldiers in Vietnam wearing black armbands in protest against the aggression which has sent them thousands of miles away from home to kill their brothers in the interest of the bosses.

Now is the time for action! The opposed class interests within the anti-war actions must be separated and exposed. The positive content within these movements, the growing but still not organized opposition from the working class must be brought forward through the trade union movement. Students must join these demonstrations in support of the interests and demands of the working class both in the U.S. and in Vietnam. On this class program a mighty and decisive blow against the imperialists can be struck.

**ALL OUT NOVEMBER 15th!**  
**THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WHILE THE BOSSES RULE!**

# ANGRY WORKERS SHUT DOWN G.E. GIANT

BY DAN FRIED

Nearly 150,000 employees of General Electric are out on strike. The world's largest electrical corporation was shut down at 12:01 AM, October 27th, by a coordinated strike of the IUE (AFL-CIO), and UE (Ind.) representing the bulk of G.E.'s workers together with the UAW, Teamsters, and nine smaller craft unions.

With the full backing of the Nixon administration and the rest of the major U.S. corporations and banks, G.E. declared war on the unions and demanded "unconditional surrender." This is intended as a declaration of war not only on the G.E. employees but on the entire trade union movement.

As in the past, following the technique known as "Boulwarism" (after retired G.E. Vice President Lemuel Boulwar who developed and perfected it) the Company made its one, final, first and last, "take-it-or-leave-it" offer to the unions. The key point of this so-called offer is a 20¢ an hour across the board wage increase for the first year of the contract. G.E. refused to make an offer for the second two years, proposing instead, wage re-opener negotiations for each of those two years.

## INSULT

If there ever was a strike that a company wanted, this was it. The 20¢ wage offer was an unabashed insult to the workers which G.E. knew could never be accepted by the unions.

Meanwhile, striking G.E. workers have clashed with police at a number of plants. The attitude of the work-

ers who stood up to the police as they escorted scabs into plants was expressed by a strike leader at the huge Schenectady plant who told a cop, "If you want a war, we'll give you a war."

With the rank and file having lost more than 30¢ an hour during the life of the last contract, the union leadership had to make wage demands of 35¢ an hour the first year, 30¢ the second, and 25¢ for the last six months of the 30 month contract.

The union leadership has promised to fight "unconditionally" for four demands which they say are non-negotiable: the wage package; a cost of living escalator clause pegged to the consumer price index; withdrawal by G.E. of its demand that each plant be a separate bargaining unit; withdrawal by G.E. of its demand for the right to lock out workers if there is a strike over local grievances.

There can be no backing down on these demands. The G.E. workers have been the victims of inflation and high-handed company tactics for too long and are ready to answer G.E.'s declaration of war with a war of their own. The ranks have their eyes on the union leaders, particularly Paul Jennings of the I.U.E. and Albert Fitzgerald of the U.E. While they have promised to fight on these demands "unconditionally", they have already bargained away other demands, including the 37 1/2 hour week.

## NIXON

This is a strike for the entire labor movement against Nixon's call for labor to hold the line on wages. The

outcome of this strike will have a big impact on the bargaining in major industries where contracts will be fought out in the months ahead: trucking, meat packing, rubber and auto. Nixon and the bosses are trying to maintain the position of the dollar and corporate profits by pushing back the wages and conditions of the workers. The G.E. strike is a "test case" for their attacks on ALL the unions.

I.U.E. President Paul Jennings has demanded the resignation of Secretary of Labor Schultz, angrily accusing him of being "a partisan spokesman for General Electric Co."

Jennings' attack on the government is simply another confirmation that this strike against the fourth largest corporation in the U.S. is more than an economic strike against the Company. It is a POLITICAL strike--a fundamental showdown between the unions and the Nixon government which represents the entire capitalist class.

We can easily see how G.E.'s strategy dovetails with the government's unemployment strategy. G.E. expects that in the second year of the contract there will be a slacking of production and far more unemployment. G.E. wants to use the expected growth of unemployment and the workers' justifiable concern over job security to try to club the unions into accepting a wage freeze.

## SHOWDOWN

G.E.'s plans to use unemployment and layoffs to beat the workers into submission must be opposed NOW with a fight for job security. The key in this fight is to bring the de-

mand for the shorter work week--for the 4 day week at 5 days pay--back into the contract fight. The retreat of the union leaders on the 37 1/2 hour week gave aid and comfort to G.E. at the very time they are using unemployment to weaken the unions. The time to fight is NOW while the strike is on.

This is the first strike against G.E., the world's fourth largest corporation, since 1946. But it is more. It is a showdown between the bosses and the working class in which G.E. is running interference for Nixon and the entire capitalist class. They will try to beat the G.E. workers in order to beat down every member of every trade union in the country. That is why the trade unions must see this strike as a fight to the finish for every union member. There is only one way to win this fight--every local of every union of the 18 million strong labor movement must pledge full financial support and solidarity with the striking G.E. workers.

## Bulletin

EDITOR: Lucy St. John

ART DIRECTOR: Marty Jonas

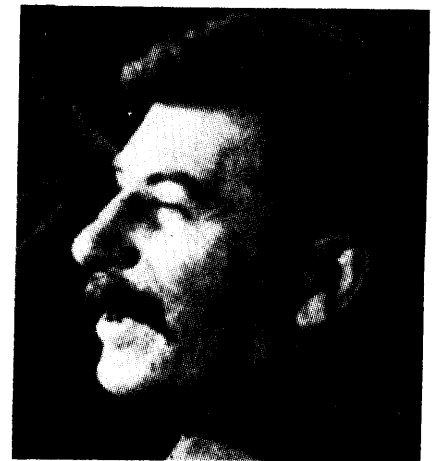
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# WHERE PROGRESSIVE LABOR REALLY STANDS



PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY LEADERS  
( FROM LEFT ): FRED JEROME,  
BILL EPTON, MILTON ROSEN, AND  
MORTIMER SCHEER

## A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY LUCY ST JOHN



# INTRODUCTION

Today the international working class from the metropolitan countries to the colonial world are moving on the offensive against the capitalist class and its decadent system. In this period of world-wide crisis the question of who will hold political power is being raised. Socialism is not a long range solution but is more and more becoming a burning necessity for today. Either there will be socialism or the barbarism of fascism.

This struggle requires above all the independent mobilization of the working class internationally to take power. A mass disciplined party of the working class based on the experiences of nearly two centuries of struggle against capitalism must be built to lead this struggle to victory.

### LESSON

There can be no substitutes--this is the central lesson not only of the victorious October Revolution but of the bloody defeats suffered by the working class in this century. All kinds of "fronts", "coalitions", "blocs" and "alliances" have in the past been thrown up by those who seek to prevent the independent mobilization of the workers and to keep them under the leadership of the middle class, thus tying the working class to capitalism.

The American working class in particular has historically been tied to the capitalist parties through middle class reformism. Herein lies the

deep contradiction between the immense power of the trade union movement and its failure to develop an independent political party.

It is the central task of the Marxist party today in the United States to break the working class from its traditional leaderships to build a political arm of the powerful organized workers movement as an essential and immediate part of the struggle for state power.

It is precisely this task which the centrists and revisionists refuse to take up--substituting "broad coalitions", "anti-war movements", "united fronts against fascism", "left-center coalitions." These forces consciously turn their backs on the working class and begin to look for new arenas and non-working class organizations in order to build anti-Marxist fronts.

### ALLIANCES

By far one of the most dangerous tendencies in this direction is the Progressive Labor Party with its Workers-Student Alliances and its Left-Center Coalition. These "alliances" seek to give a working class cover to middle class protest politics. On the campuses the Worker-Student Alliance means that by the students raising a few demands for a few campus workers and/or by demanding the subway fare be decreased or housing for community residents can continue their strictly student struggle under the guise of helping the

workers. The Worker-Client Alliance has meant in practice that workers are asked on the basis of moral sympathy to join client demonstrations. In the meantime at the "point of production" in the welfare centers PL completely supports the trade union bureaucracy. PL supporters in the Social Service Employees Union in New York never uttered a peep against the sell-out contract which cut out 9,000 jobs and allowed for a tremendous speed-up.

This working class cover serves to divert the struggles today away from the working class, away from the trade unions and the fight for an independent political struggle by the workers. It seeks to keep the workers under the leadership of the middle class.

### WORKING CLASS

Marxists begin with the understanding that the working class is the only revolutionary force in society. All other sections are mobilized behind the working class. It is only in the context of the independent mass mobilization of the working class on its own demands that we can speak of alliances and united fronts. The program of the working class is not, we repeat not, a matter of tacking on a few workers' demands to students' and clients' programs--it is a program which mobilizes the workers to take the power.

The program of the working class is not something that can be sucked

out of one's thumb to meet the immediate tasks at a particular campus or demonstration. Rather it is the product of the struggle of the Marxist movement for over a hundred years and the strategic experiences of the working class historically, its defeats as well as its victories. This body of experience is the most precious thing the working class possesses.

### HISTORY

This is the nub of the question for Progressive Labor. Like the New Left, PL has no history. PL has had to erase over 50 years of struggle, 50 years of bloody battles by the working class internationally.

Basing itself not on the working class but on Stalin and the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally PL dares not confront history, for it was the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally that led the working class to defeat. At each point PL would have to confront Trotskyism. Only Trotsky and the movement he built, the Fourth International which today lives only in the International Committee of the Fourth International, have been able to draw the lessons of these past struggles and it is only on this basis that a revolutionary party can be built.

It is the purpose of these articles to expose those, namely Progressive Labor, who use the language of socialism and communism but who in reality serve the capitalists and their

allies in the middle class. An objective understanding of the historical and methodological roots and role of

this tendency is absolutely essential in arming the workers and students for the tasks ahead.

# PART ONE STALINISM VERSUS TROTSKYISM

Lenin once heaped heavy abuse during a discussion of the question of self determination on those "who had never learnt anything or even read any Party history," who thought it fashionable "going about in the nude. . . as far as knowledge of the Party and everything it stands for is concerned." Nothing could be more appropriate to describe the outlook of Progressive Labor. This is not, however, just a dislike for history and cynicism towards the experience of the working class, but represents a disdainful attitude towards theory in general.

Marxism is historical materialism. Marx did not develop his theory in isolation or based on what he saw even during his lifetime but on a study of the whole history of man. Marx and his followers in the labor movement spent years, decades, in studying every phase of the Paris Commune just as the Bolshevik Party took up the problems of the defeated Russian Revolution in 1905. The present cannot be understood unless the past in which it is rooted is understood.

We are often told by members of Progressive Labor that they do not have "time" for such matters, that they are too "busy" with "what's going on now." This is not just a question of the opinions of a few members but is evidenced in PL's press.

## FORMULAS

PL seeks to substitute formulas and "Marxist-Leninist" double-talk for theory. It evades problems and never gets to the roots of any question. For example, after nearly four years and many attempts PL still is incapable of giving a materialist understanding of the degeneration of the Soviet Union.

In the August, 1969 issue of Progressive Labor we are given an example of their approach to theory. "In the past we have made the serious error (that is being made today by others) of supporting struggle--any struggle. We were confused. . ." On the question of Cuba PL says: "It all seemed good to us and to other radicals."

Far more revealing however is their complete lack of understanding of method in dealing with the national question. Somehow or other they came to the belief that nationalism is reactionary but this is put not in the context of any real understanding of the discussion of this question in the Marxist movement or an attempt to deal with the question of self determination through an historical, political, socio-economic analysis. This is what we are told:

"We readily admit that it has been difficult for us to grasp the complexities of Lenin and Stalin on this question. We don't pretend that what

we do or say is necessarily what they meant or did themselves. And we don't feel that quotations we present are the final authoritative answer on the national question. We simply ask you to consider these ideas and see how they apply to the American and the world scene.

"The important thing for us to see is how liberation can be accomplished. We should not consider Marxism-Leninism as a collection of ossified rules, but rather apply it creatively to present political circumstances."

In one fell swoop the editors have actually thrown Marxism-Leninism out the window. What PL says essentially is this: "We tried to read Lenin and Stalin but it was too hard, we just could not comprehend it, and anyway we cannot be bothered with these ossified rules. What really concerns us is our immediate needs now."

## CONTEMPT

This contempt for theory, this ideological superficiality and theoretical sloppiness has a lot to do with Stalinism but absolutely nothing to do with Marxism and Leninism. There is an old saying in the Marxist movement, made by Lenin in fact: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This idea cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand and hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity."

It is precisely PL's substitution of immediate gains and mindless activity for struggle based on serious theoretical analysis and principled politics which has put it in the position it has been in almost since its birth--correcting mistakes. This does not mean that Marxists do not make mistakes. But there are mistakes and there are mistakes.

Revolutionary theory, as Lenin said, is absolutely essential to the building of a party and the leadership of the working class. It is a guide to practice; it enables the leadership of the class to understand developments and their movement; it enables them in some degree to exercise foresight to prepare the class for future struggles. Correct policies are essential for correct practice. Correct theories alone are not enough. They only really become "correct" and can only be developed in the actual struggles of the working class.

## STRATEGICAL MISTAKES

PL however has not foreseen the inevitable results of developments on major strategical questions. This is something far more serious than tactical errors. It has been caught napping at each point and its "theories" have been created after the fact and with little or no regard for what it was saying yesterday.

So now four years after over a



million workers, peasants and communist leaders were massacred in Indonesia. PL says it was wrong, but cannot probe the cause nor put forward a solution. This is true of Cuba, Algeria, not to mention Black Nationalism. Breast beating and apologies are not enough. The world class struggle where strategical mistakes mean the loss of life to millions of workers and the beheading of the leadership is not a confessionally booth where, if you confess, your sins will be absolved. Absolution comes only through the struggle to learn from these mistakes, to take them up theoretically and to carry forward the fight.

This PL cannot do. We say PL will continue its zigzag path learning after the fact and that this policy can only lead to the defeat of the working class. It will be a fine day, after fascism has taken its toll, that PL announces it made mistakes.

This is the history of Stalinism. Defeat after defeat was suffered by the world working class--each time the Stalinist parties continued on their treacherous course.

If PL could face history it would see that history repeated itself in Indonesia. The same policies that Stalin carried out in China in 1927, which led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution and the murder of thousands of workers and communists in Shanghai, were carried out by the Indonesian Communist Party.

## STALIN

PL cannot get to the bottom of

PROGRESSIVE LABOR, LIKE MAO, CANNOT CONFRONT HONESTLY THE QUESTION OF STALIN

these "mistakes" until it confronts Stalin. Thus it is totally incapable of dealing with not only the degeneration of the Soviet Union but also with the American Communist Party.

In its 1964 document "Road To Revolution" PL sees the origins of revisionism as a result of the CP's theory of "American exceptionalism." Separating the degeneration of the American CP out of its international context, PL does not explain why the same policies carried out by Browder were carried out by every Communist Party in the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin. The American party in that sense was not "exceptional."

In the same document PL allows itself a brief analysis of Stalin, taking up the attacks on Stalin by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

"Both in content and in the manner it was presented this report had nothing in common with a serious Marxist analysis and evaluation of Stalin's true role. It did not place both his enormous contributions and his serious errors in their historical context, but offered instead a subjective, crude, total negation of a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary. It did not examine the source of Stalin's errors, many of which were matters of principle and others in the course of practical work.

"This is not to say that Stalin's

errors were not serious and without severe consequences. A heavy price is being paid both within the Soviet Union and in the international working class movement for errors contrary to socialist principles.

"Thus it can be seen that Stalin's errors and their sources are not being studied and corrected, but are only being opportunistically used. Stalin's contributions, which an overall historical evaluation of his life demonstrates to be primary, are being

thrown out."

#### TRUE ROLE

Where then is this "serious Marxist analysis and evaluation of Stalin's true role?" Where is the analysis of "his errors in their historical context." What in fact were these errors and their historical and methodological roots for which the working class is paying "a heavy price?" Surely, if the working class has paid heavily, it is deserving of more than

a paragraph or two about Stalin's inconsistency.

PL did not take these questions up in 1964 and has not tackled them since. PL merely uses Khrushchev's remarks as a cover to defend Stalin. Instead of a "serious Marxist analysis" PL sets up a tally sheet listing various abstract errors on one side and abstract good deeds of Stalin on the other side. These errors and deeds are completely removed from the actual struggles in which they took

place, and the resulting consequences. PL concludes that Stalin was a "great proletarian revolutionary."

What in fact was the historical experience of the working class in the days when Stalin was the leader of the international Communist movement? What about China in 1927, Germany in 1933, France in 1935, the Spanish Civil War, the era of the Popular Front? "Truth," as Lenin said, "is concrete."

## on 'socialism in one country'

Unable to answer these questions, today PL is haunted by Stalin. In the August, 1969 issue of Progressive Labor in an article entitled "Revolutionaries Must Fight Nationalism" all of the chickens have come home to roost.

First PL states: "In the Soviet Union workers' political power has been overthrown. . . Simply to ascribe this development to past bureaucratic practices begs the question . . . The main problem has been that once socialism has triumphed in a particular country a new working class culture has not automatically taken the place of bourgeois culture . . . There is nationalism that has flowered into a socialist state and helps turn socialism into its opposite or tries."

Secondly, the editorial goes on: "We say that self determination can be accomplished under socialism. . . The slogan 'all class unity' is a cover-up for perpetuating capitalism."

Thirdly, the article admits: "We were confused by the concept of the two stage struggle, which claimed that first there is the battle for national liberation and then communists transform it to the battle for socialism. . . . Communists have no business advocating national liberation movements that do not openly proclaim socialism as a goal."

#### PANDORAS BOX

Unknowingly in these three sections PL has opened a Pandora's Box raising some of the central questions which were taken up in Trotsky's struggle against Stalin--socialism in one country, the "bloc of four classes" and the theory of the permanent revolution. This is not to say that PL understands these questions in the least. In this article no sooner have they cleared up their "confusion" then they have reaffirmed it in the next paragraph. But to get to the heart of this matter, we must go back to the basic discussions on these essential fundamentals.

This is how PL describes the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky on the question of "socialism in one country," in "Road to Revolution II."

"It is not new to say that primarily by its own efforts a working class of any one country must defeat its own national bourgeoisie and establish its own working class state power. It is not new to say that primarily by its own efforts a working class of any one country must defeat its own bourgeoisie and build socialism. Stalin's historic struggle to defeat Trotskyism was precisely over this question. Trotsky maintained that it was impossible for the Soviet Union by its own efforts to build socialism without the European proletariat winning state power. Yet Stalin, who fought to defend the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat and to build socialism in the Soviet Union, NEVER took the position that this was possible without the support of the world proletariat, nor could the victory of socialism be 'complete'--'final' in the Soviet Union as long as the world bourgeoisie was not overthrown. . . ."

#### ALLIANCE

"Again Stalin indicated that the proletariat in the Soviet Union could overcome its own bourgeoisie by ITS OWN EFFORTS ONLY IN ALLIANCE WITH THE PEASANTRY AND WITH THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. He said:

"Only in alliance with the world proletariat is it possible to build socialism in our country. The whole

LENIN BROKE OFF ALL RELATIONS WITH STALIN WHEN THE LATTER WAS RUDE TO KRUPSKAYA (SEEN HERE LEAVING A TRADE UNION MEETING WITH LENIN IN 1919)



point is how this alliance is to be understood. . . . The trouble with the opposition is that it recognizes only one form of alliance, the form of "direct state support..."

It is absolutely true that Trotsky contended that socialism could not be built in a single country without the spread of the socialist revolution.

PL does not deny the fact that Stalin contended that socialism could be built in one country. The question of the "final" and "complete" victory became for Stalin and the bureaucracy a cover for the logic of its perspective. In fact Stalin at various times proclaimed the "complete triumph" of socialism in the Soviet Union. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, in a resolution of August 20, 1935, the bureaucracy contended "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism and the all-sided reinforcement of the state of the proletarian dictatorship is achieved in the Soviet Union."

#### SUPPORT

But the heart of this matter is elsewhere. PL contends that Stalin never took the position that this (victory of socialism in one country)

was possible without the SUPPORT of the world proletariat." (our emphasis) The character of this support is included in PL's quote from Stalin. It becomes not a question as Trotsky posed it, the spread of the socialist revolution and the taking of power by the proletariat, but a question of "alliances" with the peasantry and world proletariat.

The purpose of these "alliances" is not a question of struggle for state power on the part of the working class internationally but for the defense of the Soviet Union against intervention from outside.

#### NEUTRALIZATION

Stalin contended that the Soviet Union could be defended without re-

lism and the export of finance capital, Marx and Engels arrived at the conclusion that the unevenness of historical development stretches the proletarian revolution through an entire epoch in the process of which nations will enter the revolutionary struggle one after another. The organic interdependence of the several countries, the development towards an international division of labor excluded the possibility of building socialism in one country. The epoch of imperialism has only deepened these contradictions. More and more the fetter of the nation state inhibits the growth of the productive forces. The socialization of labor occurs not just within one factory or even in one country but throughout the world, creating an international working class within an international economy.

The Bolsheviks recognized the possibility of a seizure of power by the proletariat in a single country, while capitalist rule still remains undefeated in the others. From April 1917 they fought for the taking of power in Russia and achieved this in October. But they never, never confused the "dictatorship of the proletariat" with the "establishment of socialism." They never maintained that it was possible to build socialism in Russia, except through the international revolution. The dependence of the revolution in Russia was openly acknowledged by all leaders of the Bolshevik party (including Stalin before Lenin's death) in their writings and speeches both in the days of the October insurrection and afterwards.

#### LENIN

Lenin himself always proceeded from an internationalist point of view precisely because he understood the objective laws of capitalist development, beginning with the world economy and the international division of labor. Thus, he saw that the victory of socialism could only be achieved on an international scale--that the October Revolution would be in danger if the revolution did not spread to the advanced capitalist countries.

In March of 1918 Lenin warned: "This is a lesson to us because the absolute truth is that without a revolution in Germany, we shall perish." In April he said: "Our backwardness has thrust us forward and we will perish if we are unable to hold out until we meet with the mighty support of the insurrectionary workers of other countries."

In March, 1919 Lenin repeated: "We do not live merely in a state but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is inconceivable. In the end one or the other must triumph."

In July, 1921 Lenin spoke again on

volutions in other countries by way of the "neutralization of the bourgeoisie." Thus socialism could be built on the basis of a national state if only there is no intervention. It is from this conception that follows a collaborationist policy towards the international capitalists to avert intervention, thus guaranteeing the central task, the building of socialism in one country. The task of the parties in the Comintern then becomes auxiliary and a question of "alliances" with the working class the sole aim of which is to protect the Soviet Union from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power.

This as PL correctly states is where Trotsky differed from Stalin and we might add where Marx, Engels and Lenin differed from Stalin. This is why Stalin and his cohorts did not dare raise this "theory" until after Lenin's death.

The very idea that socialism could be established in a single country is completely alien to the literature of Marxism as well as the entire history of Bolshevism.

#### MARX

Even before the epoch of imperia-

this question to the Third Congress of the Communist International:

"It was clear to us that without the aid from the international world revolution, a victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. Even prior to the revolution, as well as after it, we thought that the revolution would also occur either immediately or at least very soon in other backward countries and in the more highly developed capitalist countries, otherwise we would perish. Notwithstanding this conviction, we did our utmost to preserve the Soviet system under any circumstances and at all costs, because we know that we are working not only for ourselves but also for the international revolution."

#### DANGERS

In 1922 Lenin warned against the dangers of having the gains that had been made in the Soviet Union taken away without the spread of the revolution. "We have not completed even the foundation of a socialist economy. This can still be taken back by the hostile forces of a dying capitalism. We must be clearly aware of this, and openly acknowledge it. For there is nothing more dangerous than illusions and turned heads especially in high places. And there is absolutely nothing 'terrible', nothing offering a legitimate course for the slightest discouragement, in recognizing this bitter truth; for we have always taught and repeated this ABC truth of Marxism, that for the victory of socialism the combined efforts of the workers of several advanced countries as necessary."

Lenin saw the main task of the Soviet Union as the struggle for the international revolution. At a Congress of the workers in the needle trades, he said: "We have always and repeatedly pointed out to the workers that the underlying chief task and basic condition of our victory is the propagation of the revolution to several of the more advanced countries."

Being a Marxist Lenin was more than just a man of word but also a man of deed. It was his understanding of the necessity for a world revolution not in the far distant future but as an immediate task for the day, that he spent half of his life building the Communist International.

#### THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Lenin began this struggle in 1914 in opposition to the betrayals of the Second International whose parties declared support for their respective bourgeoisies at the advent of World War II. After the October Revolution, Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not sit back and content themselves with building socialism in one country but began to prepare for the building of the Third International.

The First Congress of the Third International was held in March, 1919. In the "Manifesto of the Communist International" written by Trotsky and presented at this Congress, the CI outlined the task of the Communist movement: "We Communists, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the various countries of Europe, America and Asia who have gathered in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves to be the heirs and consummators of the cause whose program was affirmed 72 years ago. Our task is to generalize the revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thereby facilitate and hasten the victory of the Communist revolution throughout the world."

The Manifesto ended with: "If

the First International presaged the future course of development and indicated its paths; if the Second International gathered and organized millions of workers; then the Third International is the International of open mass action, the International of revolutionary realization, the International of deed."

#### STRATEGY

The first five years of the Communist International during its Leninist period and before the rise of Stalin dedicated itself to the tasks of the struggle for state power by the working class internationally. It was not conceived of as an "alliance" of various national parties that came to exchange their experiences and proclaim solidarity for each other, or merely a collection of national parties. The Third International at its Second Congress laid down Twenty-one Conditions for admittance into the International making explicit the positions which the parties had to adhere to.



LENIN BEGAN AT ALL TIMES FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF WORLD REVOLUTION AND ALWAYS OPPOSED CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY. HERE LENIN TAKES NOTES AT THIRD CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The new International was to be made up of parties which carried out a COMMON PROGRAM and STRATEGY according to the conditions which prevailed in each country. The first four congresses of the CI under the theoretical leadership of Lenin and Trotsky hammered out an international strategy and tactics. It is this material which must be studied by all Marxists for in it lies the basic strategic outline for the struggles in this epoch.

It is precisely this strategy which was destroyed by the policies of "socialism in one country."

Socialism in one country, however, was not just a theory developed by one man out of the blue but had real material roots in and was a reflection of the interests of a certain stratum of Soviet society. This stratum was the new Soviet bureaucracy. The roots of the bureaucracy lay in the conditions and problems which faced the Soviet Union after the civil war. While the civil war had been won, many of the finest workers and communists had been either killed or had been drawn into the administrative aspects of work. Thus many lost contact with the masses and with the political developments.

The masses themselves were weary after the years of war and wanted rest. Many previous enemies of the revolution as well as careerists entered the party, many of these working through the most conservative members and leaders of the party.

The basis for the growth of this theory and for Stalinism was in the economic weaknesses of the economy carried over from Czarism and in-

their privileges sacrificed for the world revolution. The suppression of workers democracy and democracy within the party flowed out of this. The privileges could only be preserved through force through the elimination of those Bolsheviks who fought for the principles of Marx and Lenin.

The defeat of the revolutionary struggles in the period after October, particularly in Germany, and the ebb in the revolutionary tide in 1920 and 1921 reinforced the conservatism within the party and the country.

However, the rise of the bureaucracy was not automatic. Lenin recognized the problem before his death and had begun a struggle against it. His chief target was Stalin. Lenin fought Stalin on two major questions. The first was the question of the state monopoly of foreign trade which was considered by the Bolsheviks to be essential to holding state power and towards the building of a socialist economy. Without this monopoly remnants of private capitalism and the peasantry would seek links to the capitalist market.

Stalin opposed this, thus putting forward a position which would open the door for world capitalism to link up with forces within the Soviet Union. After a heated battle on the Central Committee, Lenin won adoption of his policy.

#### GEORGIA

The second fight with Stalin was over the question of Georgia. Lenin on his sick bed sought the support of Trotsky against Stalin. The question of national minorities had been a central one in the October Revolution. In Georgia where the Mensheviks had influence, the revolution came only in 1921. Considering the years of oppression of the Georgian people by Czarism, Lenin approached the question of federation very carefully.

In a confidential letter to Trotsky, Lenin wrote: "I ask you urgently to undertake the defense of the Georgia case in the C.C. of the party. This case at present 'being shot at' by Stalin and Dzherzhinsky and I cannot count on their objectivity."

Stalin concerned only with the technical and administrative aspects of the federation conducted a brutal campaign against Georgian nationalism and even attacked those Bolsheviks who were working for unification along the lines approved by Lenin.

Lenin took up Stalin very sharply: "Political responsibility for this whole truly Great Russian nationalistic campaign should be placed squarely on the backs of Stalin and Dzherzhinsky." Explaining his position on the question, Lenin said: "I have already written in my works concerning the national question, that an abstract conception of nationalism is absolutely worthless. . . . nothing so much impedes the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity as national injustice . . . It is for this reason . . . that we never treat the national question in a FORMAL MANNER, but always take into account the indispensable difference which should exist in the relationship of the proletarian oppressed (or small) nation with the oppressing (or large) nation (our emphasis)."

Contrary to PL's contention, Lenin and Stalin stood far apart on the national question. This was due to Stalin's disregard of Marxist method and his substitute of formal, abstract reasoning to justify his bureaucratic practices.

TO BE CONTINUED IN NEXT ISSUE OF BULLETIN

tensified by the years of imperialist intervention. Stalin who was generally disdainful of theory and long term goals, a man interested primarily with the everyday administrative functions of the apparatus became the spokesman for those in the party, for the government functionaries which administered the country's wealth, and the more prosperous peasants, all of which sought to guarantee privileges for themselves amidst the general scarcity.

The "theory" of socialism in one country was a guarantee that the new privileged strata would not be upset,



# SWP-- A DISCUSSION MUST TAKE PLACE

The Workers League addressed some fundamental questions to the Socialist Workers Party at the time of the SWP's recently held convention. These were presented in the form of a series of articles in the Bulletin by Tim Wohlforth, in which he analysed the documents of the conference of the United Secretariat, the international body supported by the SWP. (See "Revisionists in Crisis")

The Workers League appealed to the SWP convention to take up all of the theoretical and historical questions raised by the deepening world crisis, and raised within the United Secretariat itself. Disputes had developed around the question of guerrilla warfare, the attitude towards Castroism and the accusation that the United Secretariat majority was pursuing a liquidationist course in Latin America, following its disastrous policies in Ceylon in 1964, an assessment of the defeat of the Algerian Revolution, and the Chinese Revolution and the Mao-Liu battle in China.

As we explained, political questions which it had been able to keep

in the background were now pushed to the fore by the deepening crisis. Precisely because there had never been any clarification of the original fundamental split in the world Trotskyist movement in 1953, because there had been no such discussion in 1963 when the SWP allied itself again with the Pabloites from whom it had broken in 1953, the political questions were now erupting all the more sharply for having been bottled up for so long. A discussion of the 1953 split was more necessary than ever. Otherwise there would be no clarity on why Cuba and Castroism, which had once been the "acid test" for unity, had now turned into a disputed question. Nor could there be any clarity on the defeats in Algeria for which some inside the United Secretariat itself now claimed that it shared some responsibility. Nor could there be any clarity on the other questions being raised within the organization or by the international class struggle.

But there was no discussion of the roots of the split within the Trotskyist movement at the recent SWP

convention. Little or no attention was given to discussion of the political differences with the single exception of China. Once again we must stress the need for clarification. This is just as important if not more important after the convention. The immediate political questions must be dealt with, and they must be probed to their historical and methodological roots.

## CASTROISM

The SWP has been the most energetic proponent of the cult of Guevara and his conception of guerrilla warfare. It has never gone so far as to publically criticize Castroism as it was criticized in the discussion within the United Secretariat. It has never made an attempt to analyse the developments in Algeria after having helped to create illusions in the FLN leadership for years. And it has certainly made no serious attempt to deal with the developing world crisis of capitalism in the light of its theory that the colonial world was the epi-center of the world revolution for this entire period.

New questions are being raised with every stage in the development of the crisis. The SWP has now gone further than ever before in carrying out a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie in opposition to the Johnson-Nixon policies in Vietnam. The October 15 protest is not even formally independent of the bourgeois parties. At the same time the Transitional Program of the Fourth International must be fought for as it has never been fought for before in the labor movement, in the Negro struggle and on the campuses in struggle against revisionism. But the SWP has completely abandoned this program. Where is its struggle independent from the student power advocates and the black nationalists?

These are fundamental questions of method, not simply tactical or political differences. There can be no building of a revolutionary party without clarity on these and all other questions facing the working class.

We urge the SWP and YSA to take up these issue without delay, to discuss all of the questions raised in the series in the Bulletin entitled "Revisionists in Crisis".

## NY DOCKERS THREATEN WILDCAT FOR CONTAINER \$\$

NEW YORK, OCT 27-- Rank and file longshoremen in the Port of New York are threatening wildcat strike action to force payment on the container royalties which they are owed. A leaflet circulated by "Dockers News" on the Brooklyn and New Jersey docks calls for a "container bonus holiday" on October 31st. The leaflet urges all dock workers in the Port of New York to "vote in favor of distributing the container money by staying home Friday, Oct. 31st."

It demands of ILA President Thomas Gleason that he "send a letter to each member, from your office, with your signature on it, saying exactly: HOW MUCH MONEY WILL BE DISTRIBUTED, and a DEFINITE DATE SET FOR THE CHECKS TO BE SENT-BEFORE BUT NOT LATER THAN CHRISTMAS".

### STALLING

Gleason and ILA Vice President Anthony Scotto have been warning the membership about "unauthorized" actions such as the threatened wildcat and pleading with them to have confidence in the leadership. But the rank and file are fed up with the stalling and empty promises of Gleason, Scotto, et. al. What kind of confidence can they have in a leadership that has given them a miserable \$98 per man since 1964 when the leadership itself admits there is nearly \$4 million in the container royalty fund? During the same time the shippers have raked in billions from containerization.

Many longshoremen also believe that the \$4 million represents only the interest in the fund and that the leadership and the NYSA are holding out on millions more dollars which by rights belong to the ranks.

Support for the "bonus holiday" is growing daily. What is needed to make the strike successful is coordination and leadership throughout the port with a perspective of STAYING out until Gleason puts a definite date and amount of money in writing.



HE'S AT IT AGAIN

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

President Nixon's folksy "fireside chat" with the American people on inflation, broadcast over national tv Friday, October 17, and a day later partially incorporated into a letter to 2,200 business and labor leaders stands as an insult to the intelligence of the American working class.

The whole method of demagogic, direct television appeals to the people which Nixon consciously links to the "fireside chats" of FDR become necessary in this period. As in the 30's demagoguery must substitute for a few crumbs of reform.

The American workers should not be taken in for one minute by talk about how the "American people are mature enough to understand the need for", as Nixon put it, "bitter medicine".

Nixon compared the "slowing pains" in the economy to "growing pains" in children. While they might be painful, he contended, they reflect a "healthy development". American labor already faces 4% unemployment and a decline in real wages. What Nixon has in store is not an alleviation but an intensification of both. Nixon's medicine is poison for the American working class and reflects far from a healthy development, the sickness and decay of the American and world econ-

## NIXON'S BITTER PILL: wage freeze, job cuts

omy.

The essence of the TV address and the letter consists of an appeal for co-operation on the part of labor in holding the line on wages. Unions are called upon to fashion their bargaining demands not in the light of the current rate of inflation which continued to rise in September at 6% annually, but in the light of Nixon's promises of an end to inflation in the months ahead. In other words, labor is asked to take a further pay cut.

This call is backed up with the threat that if wages are not held down labor can expect even heavier unemployment than the government now anticipates. This will take the form, according to Nixon, either of a situation where labor "prices itself out of the market," a euphemism for the action taken by Nixon in cutting back 75% in government construction last month to undermine high construction wages) or "huge unemployment" resulting from a "bust".

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Nixon's strategy is clear-- to use actual and threatened unemployment to force a general reduction of the wage level.

The latest step in the drive for unemployment came last week with the announced cutback of 212,000 jobs in defense related industry, complementing an earlier announced cut of 282,000 federal defense jobs.

Neither Nixon's call for reforms in the unemployment insurance system nor the Defense Department's promises that "attrition and transfers" rather than "widespread dismissals" would be used to cut these jobs do not give any ground for encouragement.

A key test of Nixon's whole strategy will come in the G.E. showdown. Nixon undoubtedly hopes that with the threat of big unemployment hanging over the head of George Meany, combined with the notorious intransigence of G.E. bosses, a settlement can be achieved that will set a precedent for scaling down wage demands in the coming months.

This is why a victory in this struggle and a new forward surge on the wage front is so essential to the whole labor movement. There is only one way for labor to fight inflation and that is with the demand for a 10% annual wage hike in every contract package.

At the same time if labor is not going to knuckle under to Nixon on wages it has got to be prepared to fight to the death against unemployment. The only remedy on this score is for labor to give Nixon some "bitter medicine" in the form of an all out war for the four day week at five days pay.

This means a fight not only in the factories and plants, but requires above all a political fight to put a labor party in power.

**where  
progressive  
labor  
really  
stands**

**marxism vs. revisionism  
series**

LECTURER: LUCY ST. JOHN,  
EDITOR OF BULLETIN

DATE: WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5

TIME: 8:00 PM

PLACE: ROOM 602  
HAMILTON HALL

AUSPICES: COLUMBIA WORKERS  
LEAGUE CLUB

(Columbia University, 116 St. & Bldg, NYC)

ALSO: STONY BROOK THURS. NOV. 6 8:30 PM EARTH &  
SPACE SCIENCE HALL AUSPICES: STONY BROOK WORKERS LEAGUE

# wildcat over firing hits dodge main



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## WestCoast Longshoremens Fight Bridges Sell-out

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO-- The Coastwide referendum on the Container Freight Station agreement was no victory for Harry Bridges. A significant minority stood up for a no vote. Over 20% of the longshoremens were in opposition and this included 700 workers in Bridges' HOME LOCAL IN S.F. and nearly 900 no votes in Wilmington. Coastwide nearly 2,500 workers were prepared to oppose the bureaucracy despite the absence of an opposition caucus. It is very clear that there now exists tremendous potential to build and organize an opposition that can rally the support of thousands.

Bridges admits as much in a vicious redbaiting article in the Oct. 1 'Dispatcher', that would do justice to the likes of Joseph Curran. The fear and contempt of the bureaucracy for younger workers rings loud and clear. "We hear a lot about younger men and their discontent. They can't be expected to know much about our early struggles or believe that past methods would necessarily work today...One point being made is that under the CFS supplement 'B' men or casuals will be working at so-called 'inferior wages', without travel time, without the six hour day, without the same differentials and much, much more. Well again it might be wise to recall to these younger men that in 1934 we went back to work with less than many of us wanted."

### ARROGANCE

It might be wise to recall to Bridges that in 1934 a tremendous struggle was made to mobilize the entire labor movement to win gains that smashed the employers' offensive against the unions. It is the height of bureaucratic arrogance to compare the general strike of 1934 with the present cowardly retreat of the lead-

ership which is all too aware that it is selling out.

Not only is the ILWU leadership prepared to negotiate away the gains of decades of struggle but it is preparing to act as the arm of the PMA in dealing with the opposition. Bridges goes on: "One thing that gets me right here is how the white so-called radicals and revolutionaries--especially in my home local in San Francisco-- went about to ding the CFS contract. These same people make a career out of claiming to want jobs and equality for black and other minority workers. This time they didn't make suckers out of the black people. Instead the minority people saw good jobs, steady work at good wages and fringes, which is why they beat a path to the docks in the first place."

There can be no doubt that a good part of this rotten redbaiting is aimed at the Bulletin and the Workers League which has campaigned unceasingly for an alternative to the ILWU leadership's betrayal in San Francisco. It would also be a grave error to see this as simply aimed at a few 'radicals' in San Francisco. This statement is meant to make it very clear that the leadership fully intends to police the ranks for the PMA by fighting to inject deep splits between white and black and older and younger workers and crush any opposition that might develop.

### OPPOSITION

The Workers League intends to continue its fight to build an opposition to the sell-out policies of Bridges. Such an opposition is a burning necessity. This was posed very sharply in the conflicts that broke out on the docks recently between longshoremens and teamsters.

We say the question of jobs is the burning issue before all transport workers. The task is to take the opposition that already exists in the ILWU and turn it into a fighting force that can mobilize the strength of the union to see to it that not a single job is eliminated. This means taking up the fight to build an alliance with rank and file teamsters to pose the shutting down of West Coast transport until the PMA gives a guarantee that no jobs will be eliminated. It means using the combined strength of these two unions to see to it that any decrease in work will be transferred entirely to the employers through the introduction of a shorter work week.

BY OUR DETROIT REPORTER

HAMTRAMCK, MICH.-- Production workers in the body shop at Dodge Main here went on a wildcat strike Friday evening, Oct. 10th, after the Company fired their chief steward William Moore. At a regular meeting the following day, trim shop workers voted to support the strike. A strike by the 9,000 man work force of the entire plant was averted only after UAW officials intervened, promising the workers that they would negotiate with the Company over the firing, but needed time.

Moore was fired after he advised workers that they had a right to refuse to work the 12 hour day. Moore claimed the Company had not given the men the 24 hours notice on overtime as required by the contract. Not only was Moore dismissed, but another chief shop steward was threatened with dismissal and 5 men who refused to work the overtime were disciplined with 5 day suspensions.

### ERRORS

The organization of the production on the new model, the Dodge Challenger, is in a shambles because of a huge quantity of engineering errors that led to the production of 3,500 defective cars. The Company wants the workers to compensate for these errors with their blood and sweat by producing the car at the rate of 60 an hour. As one militant at the plant said, "It's not only the repair men, but others working overtime,

six and seven days a week, till we are sick of it, dead beat and scared we are going to hurt ourselves because of feeling like that."

For years working conditions in Dodge Main were reputed to be the best. Of the Big Three, they were the only ones to have a steward system. It was the stewards and the workers on the job that wrangled over work loads. In most cases they did much better than the workers at Ford or GM who were on a time study system. This was all changed with the 1958 contract negotiated by the International Union. The contract gave the company the right to set production on the basis of time study. This had two effects. There was, first, the inevitable increase in work loads. The elimination of the line stewards system was the second effect. Because of time study, the steward's work load made it impossible for him to leave his job for a grievance. As a result, the line steward disappeared. The trim shop presently has only one chief steward for five hundred workers.

### ATTACKS

Because of this it was inescapable that working conditions would deteriorate, work loads increase and the bosses become more abusive. These attacks are now at a higher point than ever before as the Chrysler Corporation is feeling the effect of the profit squeeze and a shrinking car market. In the third quarter of 1969, while General Motors' profits climbed 26%, Chrysler's profits plummeted 87%. Obviously, the Company is trying to put itself back in the running with GM by cutting the throats of the workers.

But the Dodge and other Chrysler workers are not just going to lie down and let themselves get stepped on.

Chrysler seems to be heading for a probable bankruptcy or merger in which it could be swallowed up by GM with the resulting loss of thousands of jobs. The U.A.W. should campaign now for the nationalization of Chrysler with its entire facilities under the control and direction of the auto workers. Workers will maintain decent working conditions and make a better car than the present owners with all their fouled up engineering and chaos in production.

## NMU SEAMEN HIT BY LOSS OF JOBS

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- "I have not seen such bad hiring since before World War II", a member of the NMU said last week. During the week of October 17th, there were only pier jobs offered at several job calls, and no jobs at all at some other calls. The October "Pilot" Port Reports urge Group I men, with higher seniority, to prevent Group II men, with lower seniority, from getting enough jobs to qualify for Group I status. The thinking behind this is that since the number of NMU jobs are decreasing, the Group I men should keep first grabs on the few jobs left. Meanwhile, several ports report that more old freighters are going to the scrapyard.

The cut in NMU jobs is not just a temporary slump. As the ancient American fleet wears out, as the owners lay up more passenger ships, more and more seamen's jobs will be permanently eliminated unless seamen fight back.

The way to fight back is not to freeze Group II men out of work but to wage a struggle to get the passenger liners, with hundreds of jobs on each ship, back at sea with full manning. The rank and file Committee for NMU Democracy must be pressed to take up this fight, which should be the start of a battle to get Curran to prepare for a strike to force onto the owners the demands for full manning and operation of all passenger ships and full manning on automated cargo ships. This must be combined with the fight for the four watch system to provide JOBS FOR ALL.

We have placed an order for the most advanced photo-typesetting equipment available. This will be installed some time in December and will make it possible for us to produce technically the finest working class paper in the United States. The next issue will carry a full report on the Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive which has made this possible.

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SAN FRANCISCO WORKERS LEAGUE

# COAL MINERS STRIKE IN BRITAIN



YORKSHIRE MINERS HAVE BEEN IN FOREFRONT OF CLASS OFFENSIVE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Seventy-four out of 75 coal pits in England's Yorkshire mining district were closed last week when 80,000 miners went out on strike demanding higher wages and an 8 hour day for surface workers.

In this, the second week of the strike, over 130,000 miners have come out on the same demands as the Yorkshire strike spreads.

In defiance of both the National Union of Mineworkers' leaders and the National Coal Board, the strike has spread to the coal fields of South Wales and Scotland, as well as to Cumberland, Nottinghamshire and Kent in England.

The nationwide stoppage is the largest pit strike since 1926, and NUM leaders have refused to make the walkout an official strike. They have recommended that the miners accept the wage increase offered by the Coal Board (27s6d or about \$3.30)

and let the question of an 8 hour day for surface workers go into negotiations. This effort to split the workers on the question of hours while granting a wage increase has not been successful as the miners have refused to go back to the pits.

Mass meetings of militant workers have passed resolutions calling for the president and secretary of the union to resign, since they won't fight back against the bosses.

Since the 1947 'nationalization', the National Coal Board has kept wages down and maintained a 8 3/4 hour day, while paying the former owners of the mines huge compensation payments.

Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board has called the nationwide strike "anarchy" and has vowed that "anarchy won't pay off in this case."

The workers' response to this was typified by one angry miner when he said: "We've always been in a

position where its either take it or leave it. Well we're not taking it anymore."

The mining strike follows on the heels of the dustmen's (sanitationmen) strike in London, strikes in big sections of Britain's auto industry, and struggles on wages and conditions among steel workers, engineers, and dockers.

## POLITICAL

These struggles take the form of wage and job protection demands, but they cannot be viewed simply as separate incidents. The increasing crisis in international capitalism means more and more severe attacks on the living standards of the working class. The question posed by the strike wave sweeping England and all of Europe is the question of a political struggle to wrest power from the capitalist class. The fight back on wages is only the beginning of the clash.

Wilson has promised the International Monetary Fund that Britain will have a balance of payments surplus of 300 million pounds each year. The initial steps taken to achieve this surplus -- sharp attacks on the unions, combined with general deflationary moves, such as reduction in public spending, a squeeze on credit and higher prices--have resulted both in a temporary gain in the surplus balance, and in massive strikes by English workers.

When Wilson thought he could just shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the workers, he was very mistaken. A militant and undefeated working class is on the move in Europe and America, a working class which has made gains in wages and working conditions in the period of the post war boom, and which will not sit back and let these gains be taken away from them.

The key to victory for the working class is the construction of a mass revolutionary party of the workers. The Socialist Labor League, with the publication of the first Trotskyist daily, the Workers' Press, shows the way forward.

# ny elections - honest john and the gallo mob

NEW YORK-- As election day nears here the candidates are busy at work exposing each other, making the role of the labor movement all the more disgusting and intolerable. Never in the recent history of traditionally dirty American politics have such accusations been made--by all sides against all sides.

One can only conclude that they are all right in what they say about each other and that a working man cannot vote for any of them.

The latest polls indicate a victory for Mayor John Lindsay, the blue-eyed boy of the big financial interests in the City supported down the line by their spokesman, the New York Times. Particularly revealing is the close relationship between known figures in New York's underworld and Lindsay. Not only has Tony Scotto, reputed to be a captain in the Mafia, supported Lindsay, but he sits on a key campaign committee. More recently John Marchi has revealed that in the summer of 1966 Lindsay accepted the assistance of the Gallo Brothers mob in bringing "peace" to the East New York section of Brooklyn where Negro and Italian-American youths were fighting each other.

Lindsay not only admits this, but notes how effective Gallo was in dis-

arming the Italian youths and talking them out of fighting. One can only wonder what techniques of persuasion Gallo used with these Italian-American teenagers to help out the Mayor? No doubt Gallo wished "peace" in East New York as much as the Mayor did, as the gang fighting brought cops into the area and disrupted the Gallo Brothers' normal "business" activities.

Connections between such "respectable" politicians as "Smiling John" and criminal elements is simply a reflection of the whole decay of the capitalist class and the criminal nature of their whole system. It is part of the pattern with "respectable" Bostonian Representative John McCormack finding his office used by a close friend for illegal activities.

Even more disgusting is the support Lindsay has lately received from labor leaders he has in the past fought and jailed as part of his whole offensive against the City labor movement in the interests of the business and financial interests who run the City. We have John DeLury, jailed during the Sanitation strike and threatened with the National Guard, openly endorsing Lindsay, stating that he thinks Lindsay has "learned something" in the interim period. Albert Shanker of the UFT, while not openly

endorsing him, has also stated that he thinks Lindsay has changed since the days when Lindsay sought to use community control to break the union. Victor Gotbaum, who heads the District Council which represents the 15,000 Welfare Department employees where 9,000 jobs are being cut by Lindsay, is one of the Mayor's biggest boosters in the labor movement.

Meanwhile another section of the labor movement, headed by Harry Van Arsdale, is supporting Procaccino. All Procaccino has to say for himself is that more cops must be put in the schools and the police department backed up more forcefully in its attacks on the people.

Procaccino's most recent election strategy is a direct rightist appeal to the reactionary Conservative Party voters urging them not to waste their votes on Marchi but cast it for Mario. In fact if a sizeable section of the conservative voters do swing to Procaccino, and he can hold a good hunk of the traditional Democratic vote with help from Van Arsdale, he could well win the election despite the polls.

Never has there been a more urgent need to fight within the labor movement for a complete break with all capitalist politicians and to use the strength of the labor movement to build a new party -- a labor party.

# Thieves Fall Out In Jersey Elections

Charges are flying back and forth so furiously in the New Jersey gubernatorial race that the only question left is how anyone in his right mind can vote for anybody next week.

Representative Cahill, the Republican candidate, is a former FBI agent. His hope was to center the campaign on "Crime in the Streets". The problem is that there has been so much crime in Representative Cahill's own office. The workers in New Jersey can well wonder if good old Bill Cahill will have any time to spare for crime in the streets considering his own dubious involvements.

Crime Fighter Cahill has been accused of:

Blocking an on-post liquor store at Fort Dix in behalf of Southern New Jersey liquor interests.

Being involved in Burlington County land speculation.

Making a deal with the old-line Democratic machine of Hudson County, led by Kenny. Hudson County is known for its virtually wide open rackets.

Running against Cahill is former Governor Robert B. Meyner. Good Old Bob had hoped to center his campaign on the fact that he is a man you can "trust" and the friend of the working man to boot. The unions in New Jersey have gone all out for Meyner.

## TRUSTWORTHY

"Trustworthy" Bob Meyner has been accused of:

Profiting off slave labor in South Africa. Meyner is a stockholder and director of Engelhart Minerals, which has extensive holdings in South Africa.

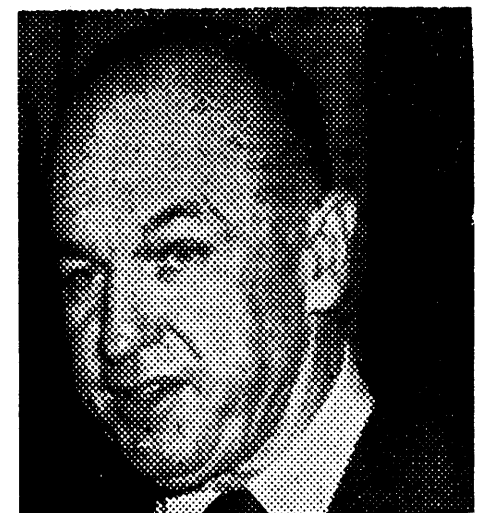
Fronting for the tobacco industry and helping them duck the cancer charges in his role as \$100,000 a year arbiter of the industry's own advertising code.

Being closely tied to Port of New York Authority interests, in particular the very same Cullman family which heads the tobacco industry as well.

Serving race track interests, having received a \$5,000 check from the Garden State Racing Association within 13 days of leaving office as Governor. It should also be mentioned that figures connected with Garden State racing are also supporting Cahill.

Giving away a mountain pond in northwest New Jersey to utility interests and receiving lucrative legal fees for this.

What both candidates are revealing is but a thin glimmer of what really goes on in American politics. Both political parties serve the interests of the capitalists. Corruption inevitably flows from this. Labor can give no support to any of these scoundrels.



CAHILL, CROOKED CRIME FIGHTER

# ROCKEFELLER'S TRIP TO QUEBEC

BY DAVID GODDARD

MONTREAL-- Several events of major importance have taken place in Quebec within the past month. They illustrate both the refusal on the part of the working class to pay for the economic crisis and also the reactionary and dangerous nature of French-Canadian nationalism.

The short-lived strike by Montreal firemen and policemen was yet another in a series of militant strikes by Quebec workers. The violence which rocked the city during the strikes reflected the growing hostility particularly on the part of the youth to capitalist rule.

Almost without exception the militant strikes have been defeated or broken by Provincial legislation. A large part of the blame must be placed on nationalist sentiment, particularly in the Teachers Union and the CSN (Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux).

ROCKEFELLER

The next events came virtually simultaneously. First, a visit to Quebec from nobody's friend at Chase Manhattan--David Rockefeller. At the same time the Parti Quebecois opened its convention. (This is the most respectable bourgeois separatist organization, led by Rene Levesque, a shrewd opportunist.)

Rockefeller's message was, in so many words: Let's get some order here, we (American capital) don't care whose order it is. A separate Quebec would not necessarily frighten off foreign (i.e. American) investors. (!!!)

Levesque's convention was notable for its decided turn to the right, towards "moderation". All left wing elements were explicitly excluded

from the Executive Committee. Levesque responded favorably to Rockefeller's comments, making it quite clear that he is more than willing to make a deal with American capital. The true face of separatism appears. A desperate move on the part of the French middle class for a larger share of the ever-decreasing spoils.

"LEFT"

Levesque plans to guarantee the passivity of the working class. In this he has the support of every "left" group who support some form of nationalism. The Workers League

has been the only organization to oppose separatism and call upon the unity of the working class against all sections of capitalism.

Whereas Rockefeller's comments were received most joyfully by Levesque, they produced a hysterical reaction from Prime Minister Trudeau. He made a speech in Montreal which consisted of a demagogic attack on the separatists. He promised to clear them out of the Federal agencies, and threatened to close down the French CBC Network if they didn't behave.

Trudeau was clearly expressing the sentiment of the Anglo-Canadian

business community and the Federal bureaucracy, who don't wish to be cut out of the Quebec pie. They fully realize that their American counterparts are more than willing to double-cross them, if necessary.

Separatism and nationalism must be fought and fought now. Central to this struggle is the building of the New Democratic Party in Quebec, under a socialist program to unite the workers and small farmers of Canada. This is absolutely essential for without it, the militant but disorganized and divided French workers will be dealt serious and far reaching blows.



RECENT MONTREAL POLICE STRIKE REFLECTS DEEPENED CRISIS IN CANADA

## SAN FRANCISCO TEACHERS LEAD WAY FOR CITY LABOR

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO-- Every municipal employee has a tremendous stake in the S.F. teachers' struggle. The teachers have begun a fight with the potential of shattering all the old relations of the City with its employees.

For years the City has been able to rule over its workers with an iron fist. Through a system of very close relationships with the union bureaucracy and a City Charter with laws prohibiting collective bargaining, the Board of Supervisors has been able to dictate settlements without having to contend with any organized resistance.

Such a system was tolerated as long as the City had a certain ability to buy off militancy with a few concessions. Now all this is changing. This year the city dictated a miserable wage increase of only 5% which actually represented a cut in the face of the rise in the cost of living. The union bureaucracy, true to form, accepted this with scarcely

a whimper. These bureaucrats refused to make the slightest move to win a real concession from the City in the form of fringe benefits.

EXPLOSION

The explosion was bound to come. The teachers who had the experience of a three day strike last year, and faced with the deteriorating conditions in the schools, the education cuts and the attempts of the state to impose

### Swing To Labor In Australian Election

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The Labor Party has swept ahead in the Australian elections, coming close to winning a majority in Parliament. As we go to press the Tories hold a slim lead of six or nine seats compared to 36 before the elections

The Labor swing must be seen not only as a reflection of opposition to Australian involvement in Vietnam--Labor is pledged to withdrawal--but as part of the upswing of the working class internationally. As workers go on the offensive, fighting back against capitalist attacks brought on by the economic crisis, this is first expressed politically in a growth in votes for the traditional working class parties. This brought Brandt to power in West Germany and a more left-wing Social Democratic government to power in Sweden.

But at every step as the workers fight on they will come into collision with the social democratic and Stalinist betrayers. Thus the absolute necessity to take up the fight for the alternative new leadership in each country--the fight for the Fourth International.

in the schools, were goaded into action.

For all the confusion on these issues, the essential questions are breaking through. Rafferty's "Soul On Ice" censorship provided the opening through which the real grievances would be expressed. Teachers are now demanding the right to collective bargaining, a wage increase of 7% to reflect the real rise in cost of living, equal pay and conditions for a number of teachers in special categories as well as a number of other demands. Indeed the struggle is rapidly escalating into a fight for the recognition of the AFT as bargaining agent in a battle with the fink Classroom Teachers Association, which up to now has monopolized negotiations with the City.

There is no solution to the crisis in education through community conferences, new disciplinary procedures or black studies programs. The only force capable of dealing with the power of the state is a militant AFT representing all teachers and fighting as part of the labor movement.

Teachers must be fully aware that their fight for collective bargaining and a breakthrough on wages poses the City with a tremendous crisis. Teachers are providing a militant lead for all City workers that threatens to take the struggle out of the comfortable channels of peaceful protest and polite requests for collective bargaining, so dear to the labor bureaucracy and its government friends.

ANYTHING LESS THAN A WRITTEN CONTRACT, THE LEGAL RECOGNITION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND A VICTORY ON THE WAGE QUESTION WILL REPRESENT A SMASHING DEFEAT FOR TEACH-

ERS AND ALL CITY WORKERS.

Teachers must fight for solidarity action from other sections of the municipal work force. Hospital workers, welfare workers, and thousands of other employees are faced with exactly the same problems. The struggle must be taken into the Council of Public Employees Unions which was originally formed to fight for collective bargaining and includes all major City unions.

ACTION

A dangerous retreat was accepted by the teachers recently in their decision to postpone immediate action while the City conducts a poll of the teachers. This poll is designed to destroy militancy and return control of the situation to the City and the trade union bureaucrats.

The City can be forced to give in on the major questions only through preparation for strike action to force them to negotiate. The preparation for this kind of action must be taken up by the union now.

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