

Bulletin

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INSTITUTION

ONLY LABOR ACTION CAN STOP THE WAR!



THE ROAD HOME FOR GIs IN VIETNAM LIES
THROUGH THE INDEPENDENT STRUGGLE OF LABOR

WE DEMAND

**all u.s. troops out
of vietnam now!**

**beat back inflation
with wage gains!**

**fight unemployment
with four day week!**

**break with two
parties of war,
inflation,
unemployment—
build a labor party!**

**GE —WESTINGHOUSE— AUTO
CWA — HOSPITAL — LONGSHORE**

EDITORIAL

Only Labor Action Against Capitalism Can End The War!

Only the labor movement leading the youth and the vast majority in the United States in a political confrontation with capitalism can put an end to the war in Vietnam. The thousands upon thousands that will march in Washington and San Francisco on November 15th represent the gathering hostility to U.S. imperialism. But this protest must be turned into political action.

U.S. imperialism has declared that it will intensify the struggle against the world working class. Nixon made it clear in his answer to the Moratorium that he has no intention of surrendering the interests of U.S. capitalism. The war in Vietnam is a class war. While Nixon maintained his position to crush the struggle of the workers and peasants in Vietnam, at home all the forces of the government are consolidating for their attacks on the American workers.

G.E.

While Nixon spoke on November 3rd of bringing down the full military might of U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese, he is preparing to bring down the forces of the state in the form of Taft-Hartley and government strikebreakers to crush the G.E. workers. **THE WAR AGAINST THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN VIETNAM IS THE SAME WAR THAT G.E. AND THE NIXON GOVERNMENT ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE G. E. WORKERS.**

In the past two weeks the Nixon Administration has done everything possible to crush and divert the

growing opposition to the war. This has included everything from the Justice Department's violence scare to Agnew's and Volpe's communist mongering Joe McCarthy tactics. Meanwhile the second moon shot has conveniently been scheduled for the weekend of the march.

AGNEW

Mr. Agnew, in particular, has become the spokesman for the most reactionary forces in the U.S., forces which are completely hostile to the interests of the American working class. However, Mr. Agnew is removed from reality if he thinks that the thousands who will come from the campuses and the trade unions represent a "carnival in the street" by "a strident minority." More and more the response represents the reaction of the majority and in particular the working class.

It is the working class that the rulers fear the most. While whole sections of the labor movement are mobilizing in Washington and one ILWU local in San Francisco talks of a strike against the war, the workers are fighting back in the

factories and confronting Nixon's recessionary policies at each point.

The leaders of November 15th in the Moratorium Committee from Goodell to Dr. Spock along with their supporters in the trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party seek to channel the dissent into safe channels of protest and support to the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties. They seek to separate the war in Vietnam from the war against the workers at home. Not one of these leaders can pose in light of Nixon's intransigence the way this war can be ended.

POTENTIAL

The mobilization on November 15th will mean for the first time the potential to go way beyond the simple middle class protest politics that have controlled the anti-war movement.

This is the meaning of the intervention of the Workers League on November 15th. We say that the workers and students in Washington must march under the banners of a real program to end this war and all

wars against the working class, on a class program which confronts U.S. capitalism directly, which takes it on not just with protest but with political action.

LEAD

The Workers League says that above all the labor movement must take the lead in the anti-war movement, fighting for the interests of the working class internationally by challenging the giant of world wide oppression--U.S. imperialism. This means entering into political conflict with the Democrats and Republicans by marching on November 15th under the banner of the labor party--a party to counterpose the interests of the working class and the youth to capitalism. The November 15th march can be an important step forward towards the building of such a party.

The Workers League urges all workers and students to march with us on the only program for victory--to fight for leadership of the struggle against the war in Vietnam as well as the war at home.

**ALL OUT ON NOVEMBER 15th!
ALL U. S. TROOPS OUT OF
VIETNAM NOW!**

**BEAT BACK INFLATION WITH
WAGE GAINS!**

**FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT WITH 4
DAY WEEK!**

**BREAK WITH TWO PARTIES OF
WAR, INFLATION, UNEMPLOY-
MENT--BUILD A LABOR PARTY!**

Election Results Show Decay Of Two Party System

NEW YORK-- The recently concluded elections here and in other parts of the country were a victory for neither party, nor can any of the individual politicians take much comfort in them. Rather than reflecting a swing to "liberals" like Lindsay and Stokes, or "conservatives" like Cahill, they reflect the extreme degeneration of America's two capitalist party system.

Underneath all the confusion and demagogy, party splitting, break-up of ethnic voting blocs, law and orderism and left wing demagogy, stands the real political crisis in the United States. Lindsay, repudiated by his own party, was able to win the election through a real demagogic campaign aimed at youth, the minority

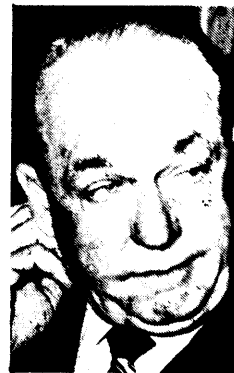
workers, the middle class. He openly supported the Moratorium and peace in Vietnam to get youth votes, played up the racist character of his opposition to get black votes, even got the very trade unionists he had jailed in the past to endorse him to cover up his anti-labor record, and topped it all off by stealing the "law and order" thunder with his fourth platoon of police.

"LITTLE MAN"

Mario Procaccino played the role of the "little man." Not only did he base his campaign on an unstated "law and order" racism, but at the same time he also opposed the Vietnam War and talked of the big monied interests around Lindsay. Clearly

many workers voted for Procaccino because of Lindsay's anti-labor record, the galloping inflation and the general decay of the city, and Lindsay's upper class ties--not just because of racist fears.

Throughout this country there have been similar break-ups of old party ties and alignments. In New Jersey, Republican Cahill was able to win only because of support from the tottering Kenny Democratic Party machine in Hudson County. It would be a mistake to think that the question of implied racism around "law and order" has emerged as the single road to power in American politics. Part of Cahill's victory was also due to working class dissatisfaction with over a decade and a half of



BILL
CAHILL

Democratic Party rule in the state, and Stokes and Lindsay won despite law and order-type oppositions.

SOLACE

That in many cases the Republicans were major gainers in local and state elections should be no solace to this big business party. What it reflected was a dangerous process for the bourgeoisie--growing demoralization with the Democratic Party among large sections of workers in the large cities where most Americans live.

All these politicians are finding what is increasingly difficult to cover--whether with candlelight processions or talk of more boys in blue--that neither party can offer workers anything but continued war internationally, more inflation and unemployment, further decay in the cities, and new blows against the trade union movement. The spectacle of city and state police aiding scabs to enter General Electric plants across the nation is but a brief glimpse of the future for all American workers.

Now, more than ever before, we must urgently take up the struggle to build a new party in the United States based on the great power in the trade unions, to pose a class program against the two parties of the bosses. Only the Workers League takes forward the struggle for a labor party into the trade unions and on to the campuses and fights on this basis for a socialist America and a socialist world.

Protest Sentence Of Seale!

The sentencing of Bobby Seale in an unprecedented action to four years on contempt of court charges stands as a warning to all workers. It is an expression of the extreme contempt for even their own laws and democratic traditions which the rulers of this country have.

On October 29th Hoffman ordered Seale to be gagged and shackled to a chair so that he could not speak in court. Leather binds were substituted for metal ones after Seale persisted in rattling and clinking his cuffs.

This is a clear example of the savagery of which the capitalists are capable. They will gag and manacle a militant who dares to ask for his so-called constitutional rights in court, and sentence him to four years in prison for "contempt."

What is required right now is the strongest possible protest from all sections of the working class against Judge Hoffman's action and the previous gagging and shackling of Seale.

"I recall no case in the entire history of Anglo-american jurisprudence in which a sentence of this length has been handed out for criminal contempt," states Alan Dershowitz, a professor at the Harvard Law School.

The sentencing comes at a time when police forces throughout the country are being bolstered in preparation for new attacks on the working class. As Seale and scores of other Panthers face hundreds of legal actions, the police are being used against G.E. strikers to keep plants open so this giant corporation can continue to make a profit. Clearly this blow against Seale is a preparation for future blows against broad sections of the working class.

Seale's lawyer, Charles Garry, was undergoing an operation at the time of his trial and was not able to defend him. Since his lawyer was not present, Seale insisted upon his constitutional right to defend himself, which was repeatedly denied by Judge Julius Hoffman.



G.E. TRIES COURTS, COPS, TO BREAK STRIKE

BY DAN FRIED

The strategy of the General Electric Corporation and the Nixon administration to smash the current strike of 150,000 production workers and at the same time prepare for war against the entire labor movement is becoming clear. Behind all the talk about the "government not intervening" and Nixon's so-called "hands off policy", General Electric, with the blessing of Nixon and the corporation bosses, is getting court orders and injunctions to keep the plants open.

Needless to say, local courts are obliging G.E. with strikebreaking injunctions and local police forces are letting in scabs, roughing up pickets, and wherever possible creating provocations to give a cover for the court injunctions. At the Burlington, Vermont G.E. plant six strikers were arrested after defying a court order limiting picketing to 10 men at the main gate. Governor Davis prepared to bring in the National Guard after shipping fifty state troopers into Burlington to reinforce the local strikebreaking police force. At Waynesboro, Virginia police ganged up on U.E. pickets who were reportedly doing their routine picketing of the G.E. plant and arrested all 10 pickets.

SCABS

At the company's largest plant at Schenectady where a massive force of scab "salaried personnel" were successfully kept out of the plant for the first two weeks of the strike, the company obtained an injunction from the Federal court at Auburn which ordered the IUE to provide "a reasonable corridor" for the entrance of these scabs into the plant. The injunction was requested by the NLRB which claimed that the union's keeping the scabs out of the plant was "an unfair labor practice". For the NLRB, the courts, and the whole apparatus of local and federal government, what is "fair" means what is good for the employers. While the leadership of Schenectady Local 301 of the IUE said the strikers would accept the decision pending an appeal, it remains to be seen if the workers will stand by idly while G.E. organizes a force of strikebreakers to enter the plant on Monday, Nov. 10th.

G.E. intends to open these plants and keep them open. While they are not actually trying to hire scabs to replace the production workers at this point, the company is trying to score some points--big ones--by establishing the so-called "management prerogative" of an open shop. They, along with the government and the other big corporations, are looking ahead to the growing unemployment when they will try to break strikes and smash unions by bringing in scabs from among the unemployed to replace union production workers. The days where token picketing could keep plants shut down are numbered. This ties in with the company's insistence on leaving the second and third year wage agreements open to nego-

Cicero Strikers Shut Out Scabs

BY STEVE SCHULTZ

CICERO, ILL.--After a difficult struggle General Electric has been forced to close its Hotpoint plant here. This is a significant victory for the workers who are now more determined than ever to carry forward their struggle with General Electric.

There are some 2,200 unionized workers in the plant with 1600 non-union workers. The Cicero police have been escorting scabs through the plant gates by the hundreds in an attempt to break the strike and



POLICE HAUL OFF STRIKER AT LYNN, MASS.

tations after the first year of the contract.

SLASH

Expecting much greater unemployment due to the government's recessionary policies at that time, their strategy is to try to SLASH wages through these negotiations using the fear of unemployment and the threat of plant closings to bludgeon the workers. Behind the hard line which they plan in these wage negotiations is their plan to provoke a strike and break the union with scabs if they can.

This is why the attempts to open these plants today is such a danger to the strikers and to the entire labor movement. We can't have the slightest illusion about the strikebreaking role of the government, the NLRB, and the courts--all the courts--in this strike. I.U.E. can get absolutely nothing from its appeal for an injunction against G.E. based on the decision of the Federal Court which ruled G.E. guilty of unfair labor practices in a 1960 case. This ruling is just a smoke-screen behind which the courts do their dirty work.

TAFT-HARTLEY

The courts and the police are not the only weapons in G.E.'s arsenal. While still maintaining his phoney "hands off" posture, Nixon stands ready with the Taft-Hartley 80 day cooling off period which he is prepared to use to help G.E. out when the company starts hurting. Let there be no mistake. This IS a political strike--the workers, in order to win, have to win not only against G.E., but against the entire capitalist class and the government which backs G.E. to the hilt.

Money and solidarity with the strikers are absolutely necessary to win.

keep this large plant open for General Electric. In the course of this struggle many union men have been arrested for "mob action", which in most cases was not moving out of plant driveways fast enough.

Despite all this, despite the traditionally deep racial divisions in Cicero, despite the conservative character of the union involved--Local 571 of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association--General Electric has been delivered a real blow here. Now the main fight lies before the workers.

When Walter Reuther says that this is a strike that has to be won in the interests of the UAW as well as the G.E. workers, we agree. When he

pledges \$5 million to the strikers on behalf of the UAW and asks that the AFL-CIO put up another \$45 million, we applaud. But when Reuther, Meany and Jennings say they can beat back G.E. without a fundamental struggle against the government and the Republicans and Democrats who compose the government, we say they are dead wrong. The proposal by these labor leaders of a consumer boycott against G.E. while trying to sell the Democratic Party to the workers--a proposal echoed by the Communist Party's Daily World--is a policy of defeat.

STRATEGY

This proposal does not tackle the basic strategy necessary to defeat G.E., Nixon, and his supporters who make up the Democratic and Republican parties. Labor must raise its power by threatening to bring out the entire AFL-CIO and ALA in support of the G.E. workers if necessary. The struggle by labor against the government's strikebreaking and against the government's unemployment policy cries out for the building of a labor party as never before. The unions must raise this demand NOW and show the government strikebreakers that labor intends to meet their attacks with a political battle.

BRIDGEPORT IUE OFFICIAL SPEAKS OUT ON STRIKE

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

BRIDGEPORT, Nov. 4-- According to an IUE Local 203 official interviewed by this Bulletin reporter, the strike by 3000 GE workers in Bridgeport remains 98% solid.

The key issue in the strike, according to this official, remained the question of wages. GE workers want no part of the second and third year reopener scheme. They want 35¢, 30¢ and 25¢ in each of three years respectively, an escalator clause and not a penny less. These mean a head-on clash with Boulwarism, a more fundamental battle than either the struggles in 1946 or 1960.

FRAMEWORK

Other issues could, in the opinion of this official, be negotiated within the framework of Boulwarism. For example, certain benefits, in particular liberalization of sick and personal business leave credits as well as increases in vacation time, come due only in the second and in some cases third year of the contract. As it was explained to this reporter, GE had offered the union a number of benefits that it had demanded, but had given all the inexpensive benefits the first year while holding the really important items that cost money until 1971 and 1972.

What this means is that the company's paltry offer of 2 days sick leave after 5 years of service beginning January 1, 1972 would require men currently with 5 years seniority to work over 7 years for this benefit. In the past GE has not considered it contrary to the spirit of Boulwarism to move up the dates for such benefits in negotiations with the union.

The other issue really emphasized by this official was the union's demand for protection for GE pieceworkers. According to this official 85% of GE workers are pieceworkers. According to a recent 203 leaflet pieceworkers in GE are their "own worst enemy...the met'ods men, engineers, time study men and MTS analysts for the Company." Piece work rates charted on the back of the

leaflet show how GE uses the pieceworker to develop new labor saving techniques and then through periodic job reevaluation robs the worker of his increased productivity. In response the IUE is demanding the complete elimination of Measured Day work in GE.

Although the Local 203 official we interviewed was well versed in all aspects of the specific demands in dispute, the lack of any overall strategy upon the part of the very highest IUE leadership came through in a number of remarks made by this official.

The October issue of the company newspaper "GE News" given to this reporter by the official during the interview states the following in its lead article praising the GE contract offer: "Our offer will be read with interest (perhaps even concern) by government officials and others who have been urging both business and labor to heed the danger signs of the economy. We have all heard the warnings of higher government officials (Labor Secretary George Schultz for one) that this is not the time for excessive wage settlements and that the economic climate may be quite different in a year or two."

Yet when this same official was asked by this reporter what connection he saw between Nixon's economic policies and the GE strike, his answer was that there was no connection.

Likewise when asked if he had any opinion as to whether or not GE was preparing for a protracted strike like the copper bosses last year his response was that the strike could last 6 weeks or 6 months.

If a 6 month strike is in store (and this may well be the case) then a lot more attention is going to have to be devoted by the ranks to the question of forcing the leadership to take up the kind of fight that can win--a campaign to mobilize the entire AFL-CIO in an all out political struggle against Nixon's policies which are at the heart of the whole G.E. struggle.

UAW plans auto battle

BY DAN FRIED

The United Automobile Workers of America held a special convention in Detroit over the weekend of Nov. 8-9 and went on record for a real fight against the Big Three auto corporations over the 1970 contract. UAW President Walter Reuther vowed: "We are going to the bargaining table in 1970 to get our equity and we don't care what business' attitude may be or the attitude of the Nixon Administration may be". The delegates backed up their determination for a major struggle by raising the strike benefits from \$20-\$30 a week to \$30-\$40 a week.

The increase in strike benefits is part of the UAW's preparation for a long, hard strike next September when the old contracts expire. The current strike against G.E. has brought home the necessity of preparing for such a long battle against General Electric's blood brothers--G.M., Ford and Chrysler. The plans outlined at the convention for a \$5

major catch-up wage increase", but are up in arms over the agreement by Reuther in the 1967 contract to allow a ceiling on the cost-of-living escalator clause.

Dissident delegates at the convention claimed that by the end of this contract, the members will have lost an average of \$1,000 each over the three year period, and that it will take an immediate 50¢ an hour increase in 1970 simply in order to make up for the losses. The militants are demanding that the money the workers lost be paid BEFORE the 1970 contract and that it be entirely independent of the total 1970 package. Needless to say, they are also demanding that a cost of living escalator with FULL protection--no ceiling--be fought for in 1970.

Among the other demands voiced by militants at the convention are the "early retirement"--after 25 years of service regardless of age, and the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. These demands take on increasing

up and automation has sky-rocketed since World War II.

Behind the militancy of the delegates which forced Mr. Reuther to talk tougher than he has in years, lies the relentless oppression of the life-destroying speed-up in the shops. The speed-up and accumulation of safety hazards has taken a sharp upward turn with the production of the 1970 models. This is revealed in the production of the 1970 Dodge Challenger which requires 82 operations an hour as compared with the 64 operations an hour on the old 1969 Dodge-Charger. All of the General Motors 1970 models are regarded as speed-up models.

The new speed-up has resulted in numerous local official and wildcat strikes at Chrysler and G.M. units. The General Motors Fisher Body plant in Flint, Mich. is still shutdown by a six week strike over the Company's insistence that the workers swallow the new production standards. G.M. is using the Flint strike as a dry run for the 1970 contract fight. The Company says it will hold out forever if necessary and is threatening the workers with moving the body work out of Flint unless they return to work.

The Flint strike is also a test case for the UAW. Evidently, Mr. Reuther does not include this in his preparations. Missing from his fine fighting words was any reference to a struggle in support of the Flint workers. Such a struggle MUST take on G.M., but not just in Flint. The UAW has to make threats of its own against G.M., posing a plan to shut down the whole of G.M., lock, stock and barrel unless they come to terms in Flint.

CAUCUS

The most important step in the battle for these demands of the militants in the 1970 contract is to organize a united caucus to fight for them at the special UAW bargaining convention next April. Reuther, for all his talk, has a long record of talking out of both sides of his mouth and bargaining away the necessary demands of the ranks.

The auto workers can't afford any more of Reuther's "flexibility" in the 1970 contract. The only way is to NAIL DOWN these demands at the April convention and fight for them to the finish next September.



AUTO WORKERS FACE FANTASTIC INCREASE IN SPEED-UP WITH NEW MODELS. HERE ARE GM WORKERS AT WILLOW RUN

million offer to the striking G.E. workers and the request that the AFL-CIO put up an additional \$45 million are part of this preparation. It is clear that, as Reuther pointed out at the convention, the outcome of the G.E. strike will have a tremendous impact on all contract negotiations in 1970, especially on the auto negotiations.

list of these delegates was the question of wages. Not only do they want "a significance as part of the fight for jobs at a time when the government and corporations are using growing unemployment as a club against the trade union movement. It must also be remembered that there has been a steady loss of jobs in the auto industry as production through speed-

MILITANTS

One thing was clear above all else at the convention. Reuther was under fire from many militant delegates who reflect the anger and bitterness of the rank and file over the deterioration of wages and conditions during the course of the present contract. Many delegates, organized into various groups and caucuses made it known through banners and literature that they felt the Reuther leadership was to blame. Number one on the

Wildcat Strike Hits Brooklyn Hospital

BY AN I199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- On October 27th, 500 workers at the Jewish Hospital and Medical Center of Brooklyn walked out when the administration refused to honor an agreement made earlier that the security sergeants would be represented by the Drug and Hospital Union, Local 1199. 1199 is the bargaining agent at the hospital.

At the request of the hospital bosses, 1199 President Leon Davis obligingly furnished a letter stating "...that this stoppage was unauthorized by the union or by any officer of the union. We consider the use of stoppages in adjusting disputes between the League and its members and the union as completely inappropriate and we are particularly concerned about the repetition of similar acts which do not only embarrass the management, but may jeopardize the welfare of the patients. We will take whatever steps that may be necessary to advise and inform our members of their responsibility as employees of a hospital dealing with patients to use the channels provided in the agreement in resolv-

ing such disputes as may come up..."

This letter was circulated in the hospitals via the administration newsletter to chastise and demoralize workers. It is hard to know who is speaking--the union or the hospital bosses.

The walk-out occurred after a security sergeant was fired after having signed a card authorizing 1199 to represent him. His signature gave the union a majority among the sergeants and this majority was destroyed when he was fired. Only pressure from the rank and file got this worker re-instated. It was when the administration backed down on a previous agreement to let the sergeants be represented by 1199 that the walk-out occurred.

It certainly appears that a deal was made between the union leaders and the hospital management during the last contract for a stronger no-strike clause in return for wage gains. Now we see where this leads--to the complete disarming and shackling of workers in their struggles against the bosses. How are workers expected to trust a union leadership which takes the side of management

IUE Leaders Call Off Westinghouse Strike

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

The immediate prospect of a nationwide strike against the Westinghouse Corporation was averted after an eleventh hour agreement between the corporation and the three major unions involved. The union agreement to stay on the job while negotiations on a new contract continued came after Westinghouse made a minor concession on vacation time. The company has not budged however on its stand like that of G.E. for wage reopeners in the second and third years of the contract. All it was willing to offer was a 20 to 40 cent (for skilled workers) wage increase the first year.

John Shambo of the IUE claimed that the company's concession proved the union "had been able to accomplish something we haven't been able to at G.E.". Shambo argued for extending the contract on the grounds that it would aid in the fight against G.E. by putting pressure on G.E. sales while Westinghouse was free to produce. But Mr. Shambo came up against the resistance of militants in the IUE who do not believe that they have to back off from Westinghouse in order to fight G.E.

PRESSURE

IUE officials reported: "We had a hell of a time selling this plan" to local IUE leaders who were feeling the pressure from the ranks for a strike. Paul Carmichael, President of Local 601 in East Pittsburgh, said that many members of the local had argued for a "no contract, no work" policy. "It was a rough meeting," he said, "A lot of our people felt that we should strike now." Despite the agreement, indications are that there will be a number of walkouts over local disputes at Westinghouse plants.

The concern of Shambo and the other top IUE leaders over the fight against G.E. is understandable. But if they think the strike can be won by buying Westinghouse instead of G.E. products while the Westinghouse workers are kept under leash, they'd better think again. There is no getting around the need for a united struggle against both G.E. and Westinghouse, and the government which stands behind them.

against its own members?

It is time that Davis be informed of HIS responsibility. A fight must be made within the union to repudiate Davis' stand and for support of the workers at Brooklyn Jewish. Furthermore the bosses must be stopped from using Davis' "channels" to intimidate workers with the threat of long arbitrations and possible arbitrary discipline. That means a fight this spring to eliminate the no-strike clause from the contract.

What happened at Brooklyn Jewish is not an isolated incident. Davis has stated that the union will call a citywide strike of all hospitals to protect the workers from layoffs. In light of what happened at Brooklyn Jewish such threats are just so much empty talk. Davis is now on the defensive--the job security of hospital workers is seriously under attack and despite the militancy of the ranks, Davis has refused to call any action, preferring to go through "legal channels." The ranks must force Davis to fight and have nothing to do with the bosses propaganda about the welfare of "the patients".

Bulletin

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WHERE PROGRESSIVE LABOR REALLY STANDS



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

Progressive Labor claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist" party, and claims to fight for the working class but underneath this phrasemongering is a movement that subordinates the struggle for a proletarian revolution to middle class protest politics. Its program is based on Stalinism and the Popular Front, the policies that led millions of workers to bloody defeat in this century, in China in 1927, in Spain, in Germany and in Indonesia. PL's road to revolution is the road to betrayal of the coming revolutionary struggles.

A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY LUCY ST JOHN



PART ONE-- STALINISM VERSUS TROTSKYISM (CONTINUED)

mao and the bloc of four classes

Progressive Labor is stuck with the Popular Front and its toll. As with its approach to Stalin it finds some merits as well as demerits. Everything is "on the one hand" and "on the other hand". "Marxism-Leninism" is reduced to a middle course incapable of taking a clear, sharp stand on anything. PL establishes its line by trying to stick together bits and pieces of everything instead of making an independent scientific study of the whole.

First PL seeks to separate out the Popular Front and Dimitrov from Stalin and Stalinism. It attacks Dimitrov and denounces the program of the NLF as "a variant of the Dimitrov 'popular front' theme of the 7th World Congress of the C.I." which "envisions the peaceful transition to socialism". While denouncing the Viet Cong for receiving aid from the Soviet Union, it praises the Popular Front or alliance Stalin made with U.S. imperialism during the Second World War. According to PL, "socialist leadership" was given during this period and the "socialist revolution did advance".

On the other hand they are not completely satisfied with Stalin's line in the 1930's - he "deviated" - "as

part of a deal with the anti-Nazi imperialist powers Stalin unilaterally dissolved the Comintern."

But PL still maintains that WW II was a "just anti-fascist war". It was correct for the American CP to support this "just anti-fascist war" but the problem was that the CP "glossed over the class antagonisms".

The point is that the Popular Front and the conception of a "just anti-fascist war" were what glossed over "class antagonisms". The problem with the American C.P., says PL, is that it "did not help the working class understand the necessity to defend communists." The real problem of the American C.P., as well as the Popular Front as a whole, is that it prevented the mobilization of the working class against capitalism and for the struggle for political power. This exposes the centrist character of PL. They defend capitalism, defend the brake on the working class in its struggle for power under the cover of propaganda about "class antagonisms" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat". In other words it is correct to defend capitalism as long as you propagandize against it.

PL turns against "all class unity"

and admits "we have learned that you cannot unite with the so-called liberal bourgeoisie." But then on the other hand they contend: "Communists strive for unity in the anti-imperialist struggle". Such unity can take place "around an immediate ANTI-IMPERIALIST PROGRAM-- 'U.S. Get Out of Vietnam Now!' or 'Smash the Imperialist aggressors!' (our emphasis). This unity can be "with all who genuinely oppose the imperialist enemy, whether they are nationalists, reformists or liberals." All of this is fine as long as "communists" propagandize against "nationalist and bourgeois ideology".

While PL attacks the Popular Front in France and Browder in the U.S., it continues to support Stalin against Trotsky. But it was Trotsky who fought against the Popular Front. How does PL stand on Trotsky's analysis of France in this period? Where does PL stand on the defeats in Spain? We can predict that they will be full square in back of Stalin, for it was in Spain that Stalin defended his crushing of the revolution on the grounds of wiping out "Trotskyism".

PL can pick away at Dimitrov but it cannot give up the Popular Front or "all class unity" because it is

precisely on this basis that PL maintains its political bloc not only with Stalin but also Mao, and it is on this basis, as we will see in the rest of this series, that PL carries out its work.

NEW DEMOCRACY

Despite PL's railings, particularly in the August, 1969 issue of PL, against the "stage" theory and "all class unity", it is these premises upon which PL is built. In the November, 1969 issue of PL they reaffirm these conceptions:

"Mao Tse-tung developed the strategy of the Peoples Democratic Dictatorship, or New Democracy. He believed that to win victory over imperialism three weapons were essential: 'a well-disciplined party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of people, an army under the leadership of such a party, a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party.'"

Now the strategy of the "Peoples Democratic Dictatorship" and the "New Democracy" were in fact not developed by Mao but by Stalin and before him the Mensheviks, in the

form of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants and the 'bloc of four classes'.

Stalin through his representative in China, Borodin, used these conceptions in order to justify the Chinese Communist Party's entry into and subordination to the nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek. Stalin and later Mao held that the revolution in China was a bourgeois democratic revolution. Stalin, following the Mensheviks' position after February in Russia, said that first China had to go through the democratic revolution. The instrument for this struggle was to be the 'bloc of four classes' - i.e., workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The revolution in China therefore was to take place not through a Bolshevik Party but a 'workers and peasants party' as Stalin named the Kuomintang. 'We are convinced', said Stalin, 'that the Kuomintang will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundations of rule of the imperialists in Asia.' The Chinese Communist Party was ordered to enter the Kuomintang and submit to its leadership. Stalin's representative in China said: 'The present period is one in which the Communists do coolie service for the Kuomintang'. Stalin admitted Chiang Kai-shek into the Comintern with only one opposing vote--Trotsky's.

LININ

Stalin completely broke from Leninism on this question. Lenin had before February formulated the concept of the 'democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants' in relation to the democratic revolution. After the February revolution he abandoned this formulation and took up very sharply all those who wanted to continue it and to limit the program of the Bolsheviks to the democratic revolution. In April he fought this out with a whole section of the Bolshevik party including Stalin. Lenin said: 'Whoever now talks only about the 'revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' has lost touch with life, has, in virtue of this circumstance, gone over, in practice, to the petty bourgeoisie against the proletarian class struggle; and he ought to be relegated to the museum of 'Bolshevik' pre-revolutionaries (or, as one might call it, the museum of 'old Bolsheviks')'

In abandoning this formulation Lenin stood firmly with Trotsky on the question of the permanent revolution. Trotsky's basic work on this question, 'A Review and Some Perspectives' was in fact published by the Communist International in 1921.

Later, at the First Congress of the Communist International, Lenin again took up this question of posing the dictatorship in terms of 'democracy in general' and 'dictatorship in general' 'without posing the question of the class concerned'. Lenin said that this 'non-class' and 'above-class' presentation of the question was 'an outright travesty of the basic tenet of socialism, namely, its theory of class struggle.' In his remarks Lenin makes this crystal clear: 'There can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations.'

It is these lamentations that went out from Stalin, from Mao, and now from PL. The 'People's Democratic Dictatorship' is nothing but the formulation of 'dictatorship in general' or 'democracy in general'. 'People' is not a class presentation of the matter--the capitalists are people too, remember. PL wants to cloud the issue by stating that the 'essence of a People's Democratic

Dictatorship' is a 'form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.' But there is no third road--as Lenin put it--the dictatorship of the proletariat means precisely that and nothing else--any other formulation is reactionary and is a cover for the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.'

This petty bourgeois road to revolution is completely tied up with the conception of the 'united front of all revolutionary classes', the 'bloc of four classes' or 'all class unity'. From Marx to Lenin, the Marxist movement never had any other conception outside of the working class being the ONLY revolutionary class. This is pointed out clearly in the Communist Manifesto: 'Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class.' The middle class and the peasantry, Marx and Engels said, were 'conservative', even 'reactionary'. To become revolutionary, the Manifesto states, these classes must 'desert their own standpoint' in order to place themselves with the working class.

Lenin even during the period when he spoke of the 'democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants' never equated their class interests. He continually warned that there would have to be a struggle against the peasantry. Above all, Lenin pointed out the absolute necessity for the working class to organize separately from all other classes.

Lenin stated explicitly that there could never be a 'fusion of the different classes or parties of the proletariat and the peasantry' or 'even any sort of lasting concord'. This he said would be 'fatal' for the revolutionary party of the working class. The proletarian revolution could be carried through, according to Lenin, only on the basis of the working class organized in a separate party and on the basis of a working class program, leading behind it the other classes.

It was Stalin's rejection of this basic strategy, his tactics of the 'bloc of four classes' which led to the bloody defeat in China in 1927, the murder of thousands of workers and communists at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek. Even after the defeat Stalin affirmed that his perspective had been correct.

In 1937 the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung again entered into a 'bloc of four classes' with the Kuomintang to fight Japan. Mao gave full expression to Stalin's formulations: 'Is the anti-Japanese national front merely a united front of the two parties-- the Kuomintang and the CCP? No, it is a united front of the whole nation.... The two parties are undoubtedly the leading elements within this great united front....' The revolution according to Mao was for the establishment of a 'united democratic republic.' The agreement imposed in the united front required that the CCP abandon its policy of overthrowing the Kuomintang and its land reforms and that it put the Red Army at the disposal of the Nationalists.

Chiang Kai-shek used the 'united front' to direct most of his attacks against the Communists and not the Japanese imperialists. Chiang received the complete support of Stalin all the while. When a group of Kuomintang military leaders defected with 170,000 troops to the Communists, Stalin denounced it as a Japanese plot. But Mao welcomed the revolt.

After the war Stalin tried to get the Chinese Communist Party to negotiate an alliance with Chiang at the very same time that Chiang's army was attacking Communist strongholds. Mao broke from Sta-

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lin's collaborationist line realizing that there was going to be no possibility of a coalition with Chiang--either it was going to be the victory of the revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party or the victory of Chiang and reaction. While Mao was denouncing Chiang as a 'fascist chieftain', Stalin was praising him as a 'democrat' and was supplying him with war goods which he used against the Communists.

BREAK

It was Mao's break with Chiang and with the policies of the 'bloc of four classes' and the independent mobilization of the masses by the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army that achieved the great victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949.

It was Mao's break from Stalin's policies which directly led to the victory of the revolution in China. But this represented only an empirical break from Stalinism. After the Chinese Communist Party came to power, it began to establish a new bureaucracy and continued to put forward the very same policies of Stalinism: socialism in one country, the democratic dictatorship and the bloc of four classes or the 'new demo-

cracy.' Theoretically Mao and the Chinese Communist Party defended the very perspective which if it had been followed in practice by the CCP would have led to the defeat of the revolution and the victory of Chiang.

It is only Trotskyism which today bases itself on the strategy that actually led to victory in China, and the strategy of world revolution which alone can guarantee the victory of the revolution in China.

Like Stalin, the Maoists today maintain the position that socialism can be built in China or has been built in China without the spread of the revolution to the advanced countries. Why is it that Mao has not called for the formation of a new international? Mao like Stalin seeks to substitute alliances with the nationalists rather than to mobilize the working class for the overthrow of capitalism.

INDONESIA

The same policy that led to the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in 1927 was urged on the Indonesian Communist Party by the Chinese Communist Party--support to and a bloc with Sukarno who in turn opened the way for the generals and the massacre of a million people. Clearly Mao did not evaluate and draw



PART TWO PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND THE TRADE UNIONS

nationalism, internationalism and the capitalist crisis

Adherence to "socialism in one country," meant for Stalinism a complete break from the traditions of the Marxist movement, and in particular, from the program of the Third International in its Leninist period. It meant a return to the politics of the Second International--to a nationalist and reformist program. This called for the subordination of the working class and the communist parties to the reformist leaders from the trade union bureaucracy to the bourgeois nationalists through blocs, fronts and alliances.

This perspective stands in bold contradiction to the program developed by the young Communist International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The Third International in its Leninist period represented the highest expression of the class struggle and the development of an international strategy for the working class.

Lenin, as we have said, was not content to rest on the laurels of October but saw the primary task of the working class in the Soviet Union to be the fight for the international revolution. The struggle to construct the Third International was begun by Lenin in 1914 against the betrayers of the Second International, who based their "socialist" programs on a national perspective, on reformism and collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The International was for these strictly "national" parties a gathering to exchange experiences and proclaim solidarity with one another with no common international party. The parties of the Second International did not renounce the goal of socialism or even Marxism; they just put that goal away for the rosy future.

Stalinism represented a return to the outlook of the Second International. The need for the international revolution was not openly rejected in its propaganda; it was just put into mothballs and thus removed from the practice of the parties of the Comintern. "The movement," i.e. building socialism in one country, became everything; the "goal," i.e. the international socialist revolution became "nothing." During the Second World War the parties of the Comintern in the major capitalist countries were instructed to support their own "progressive" bourgeoisie. Stalinism threw aside all of the analysis and strategy for the socialist revolution which had been hammered out during the first five years of the Communist International.

NARROW NATIONALISM

PL today bases itself on "socialism in one country" and the narrow nationalist outlook that flows from it. The "American Exceptionalism" for which it attacks Browder and

What is missing from all of this is an international strategy based on an analysis of the objective world and an international party to put this strategy into practice.

Marx and Engels saw the development of capitalism not as an isolated national phenomenon but as an international process. The "Communist Manifesto" was written as an international program. It contained much more than just the slogan "Workers of the World Unite."

LENIN

Lenin deepened this understanding with his work on imperialism. With the growth of monopoly capitalism and the export of finance capital, the national economies had become inextricably linked in an international system. Lenin saw Russia not isolated from the world economy but the weakest link in the chain. He saw this epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions internationally. All the objective conditions for socialist revolution had been created. It was this understanding that laid the basis for the program of the Third International.

Trotsky in the Manifesto for the First Congress as well as in his other works during this period outlines these developments in the context of World War I and the decline of imperialism. The program of the communist parties was based not on sympathy but upon a characterization of the present epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism. The international program was not seen merely as a collection of national programs or of their common features. Rather it was based on an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions. The national orientation of the proletariat flows only from an international orientation and not the other way around. This is the difference between proletarian internationalism and "socialism in one country."

TROTSKY ADDRESSES FOURTH CONGRESS OF 3RD INTERNATIONAL ON THE QUESTION OF STRATEGY



the lessons of the very revolution he led. It is precisely the fact that Maoism cannot get to the roots of Stalinism (or even Maoism) that endangers the revolutionary movements under Maoist leadership and the future existence of the Chinese Revolution.

PL today admits that it made a mistake about Indonesia--this is almost five years later--but it cannot probe the causes or the basis for this defeat without totally rejecting Stalinism. Just as China of 1927 was repeated in Indonesia because of the Maoists' failure to grapple with these questions, so history can repeat itself again under the leadership of such forces as PL.

PL's bloc with Maoism is a bloc not with the actual practice of the Chinese Revolution but with the ideology which if implemented would have led to the defeat of that revolution--"alliances" with "liberals", with the middle class, hamstringing the working class under the leadership of reformist forces.

This political bloc, the bloc of four classes, and the fight for "peoples democracy" as opposed to the fight by the working class independently for power, is at the heart of all of PL's actual practice-- all its "alliances and 'coalitions'".

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PL uses Mao and China to hide what are really pretensions to internationalism. Neither PL nor its mentor, despite their propaganda, concern themselves with the real task of internationalism, building a party, an international leadership, capable of guiding the working class to power.

CRISIS

Having rejected an international strategy, PL can have no understanding either of the past, the present or the future. While it talks abstractly about the contradictions of capitalism it cannot relate these to the objective world.

Nowhere, we repeat nowhere, in all the seemingly endless copy of Progressive Labor and Challenge can we find a serious, objective historical analysis of capitalism and its development today. A serious analysis does not consist of merely quotes gleaned from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal.

The best it can offer for this period is that the crisis of U.S. capitalism is a product of the war. "The failure of the elections farce (Presidential elections), as we said previously, was caused by the inability of imperialism to disguise its crisis. The core of that crisis is the peoples war... The Vietnamese people's war severely battered the U.S. economy, developed the political consciousness of the American workers, brought many into actions in strikes against bad, war-induced working conditions, produced working class opposition to U. S. aggression..." (Progressive Labor, February, 1969).

The war is an expression of the crisis not its cause. The fight of the Vietnamese workers and peasants has deepened the political crisis of imperialism. Is PL saying that if the war ends, there will be no crisis? Is it not true that large sections of the ruling class in this country want a settlement in order to get their house in order to drive back the offensive of the working class in Europe and the U.S.?

We might add here that Miss Jewell's attempts in the November, 1969 issue of PL are not much of an improvement. She sees that war as the way in which imperialism has somehow avoided this crisis.

It is the same simple minded empiricism which prevents PL from having any understanding of the May-June events in France which according to PL ("Inside The French Rebellion" World Revolution, Summer, 1968) were sparked off or "helped along by a militant student movement," or even

the struggles in the U.S. which in many cases they see as being sparked off by the "national" struggles of black workers.

REFLECTION

The Vietnam War, the May-June events in France, the struggles in the U.S., Czechoslovakia, and in fact all over the world are a reflection of the deepening crisis of capitalism. Capitalism has not remained the same since the days of Marx. The First World War marked the decline of imperialism, the inability of capitalism to develop the means of production progressively. The crisis today is in part an accumulation of capitalism's attempt particularly since WWI to overcome its historical crisis --the tendency towards the falling rate of profit.

Each step capital has taken in this direction has merely deepened the crisis of the system as a whole. All of the measures taken during the boom period after World War II to rebuild and expand capital are now coming home to roost in the form of a tendency towards a crisis of overproduction, a contracting world market, and a liquidity crisis. This is what underlies the severe monetary crisis, the recessionary policies of the capitalist governments, and the upheavals in the working class.

The international capitalist class

must take on the working class to stave off this crisis. In the U.S., as in other capitalist countries, the impact of Nixon's recessionary moves are already being felt by the working class in the form of unemployment which rose to 4% in September and speed-up. Inflation continues to soar.

The strategy of the capitalists is to hack away at the power of the trade unions through unemployment creating conditions under which wages can be slashed and the standard of living of the working class lowered. This is why today the wage struggle and the struggle against unemployment take on a new meaning--they pose directly the struggle not just against individual employers but against the state itself. These struggles pose the question of the need for the working class to fight for political power.

This is a different period. The boom of the '50s is over--reforms are not forthcoming. The working class must fight today just to maintain what they gained in the earlier period.

This present crisis poses not just the question of a recession but every measure that is taken to control the situation could very well act as a springboard for bringing the whole rotten structure down on the order of 1929. This is why new methods of struggle are required. There is no room for complacency and the

PL SEES VIETNAM

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talk of "long range" mobilizations.

It is this understanding that flows from the whole development of Marxist political economy from Marx, to Lenin, to the analysis made of this epoch during the first five years of the Comintern.

LONG RANGE

Cut off from this analysis PL cannot begin with an objective world view of the class struggle. Rather it begins subjectively--with Progressive Labor. Its perspective is designed to advance not the working class but Progressive Labor. Therefore the goal of socialism is conveniently pushed to the "long range." An objective analysis of the development of capitalism and the crisis today is replaced with idealism. For PL the fundamental premises for revolution are not social and economic but moral.

"The fight for socialism," says PL in the August, 1969 issue of FL, "will probably take a long time. In the course of this struggle the workers will recognize socialism as the only course to their salvation." It sees no real crisis, so it sees no urgency in the present situation. Eventually the workers will just realize that socialism is a better idea.

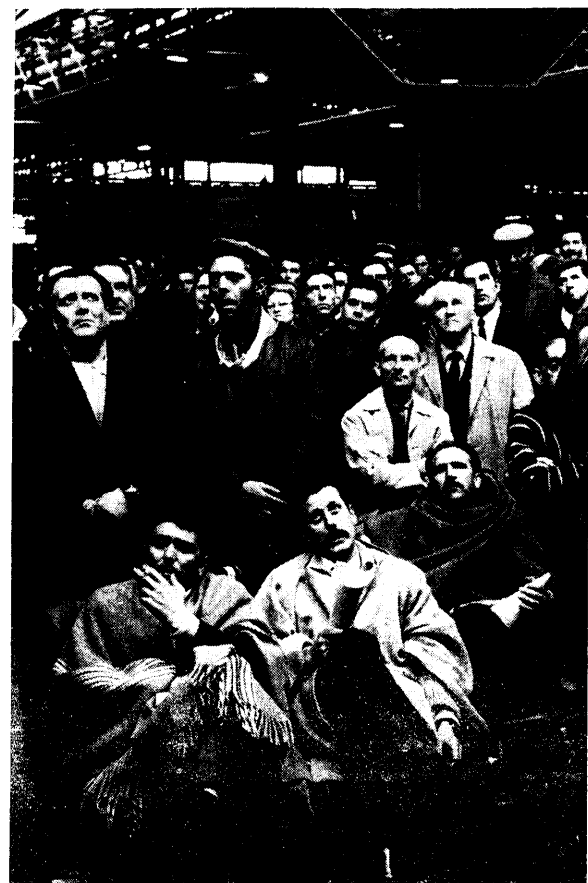
This comes with all the accoutrements appropriate to the Salvation Army missionaries but hardly to the class fighters of Marxism. Communists become the preachers, even martyrs at times, "serving the people," bringing correct ideas but not struggle. Such an outlook is the outlook not of a proletarian revolutionary but a middle class radical which sets himself above the class and seeks to do "a favor" for the workers.

All this insipid middle class whining is a cover for opportunism, for PL's refusal to take up the struggle to mobilize the working class for the struggle for power now. For this is precisely the task posed today. Capitalism faces today not just a "business as usual" situation, as PL would have it, but a crisis of breakdown on the order of 1929. The working class paid heavily then and it will pay even a dearer price this time.

NEXT ISSUE

Part Two-- Progressive Labor and the Trade Unions (Concluded)

PL HAD NO UNDERSTANDING OF WORKING CLASS CHARACTER OF MAY-JUNE IN FRANCE. RENAULT SIT-DOWN (RIGHT) AND WORKERS IN PARIS (BELOW)



NASSER TALKS TOUGH BUT STABS ARAB MASSES IN BACK



FROM NASSER TO ARAFAT WITH LOVE

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

President Nasser is using talk of "Fire and Blood" together with shellings of Northern Sinai to cover up his complete sell-out of the Arab guerrilla movement, and his plans to collaborate with the U.S. and USSR in a broader sell-out of the whole Arab Revolution.

The events of this past week have proceeded at an extremely rapid pace confirming the deep state of revolu-

tionary tension in the region.

First came the Lebanese-Palestinian guerrilla deal arranged by Nasser. It became clear within days of the cease fire that what Nasser had actually arranged for was an agreement that Arafat abandon any serious military action against Israel in return for Lebanese guarantees of supply routes and bases in Lebanon. In other words Arafat could have his bases as long as he didn't use them.

No sooner did information on the pact reach the Palestinian guerilla rank and file and millions of Arab workers and peasants than widespread dissatisfaction and opposition spread like wildfire through the Middle East. The masses, raised to a level of revolutionary expectation by the rebellion of the guerillas in Lebanon, had their hopes destroyed by Nasser and Arafat. One refugee camp leaders stated, "Among Palestinians in the camps of Lebanon the name of Fatah is not being cheered at all since this agreement was reached."

SELL-OUT

On the heels of the Lebanese sell-out came news that an accord had been reached between the United States and the Soviet Union for settling the situation in the Middle East. Obviously Nixon and his Kremlin partners thought the moment propitious to move from the Lebanese guerilla sell-out to a sell-out of the entire Arab struggle with the aid of Nasser.

Their timing, however, could not have been worse. With the wrath of the Arab masses suddenly shifted to himself, Nasser was forced to make a blustering speech that the path forward would be one of "fire and blood" and that there would be no "half-solutions." Nasser knew that the Arab masses would see through the US-Soviet proposal even quicker than his Lebanese-Arafat deal. Gone was any clear statement calling for the unilateral withdrawal of Israel from all territories occupied in the 1967 war. Instead there was talk of a "binding and lasting peace" based on new frontiers "mutually agreed upon" by the Arab leaders and the Israeli government.

Now Nasser has intensified his shelling of the Sinai to cover up his own sell-out in Lebanon and his obvious implication in the new U.S.-Soviet initiative.

It is important that Nasser, in this very "fire and blood" speech, refers to the United States as assuming "the position of our enemy" but also to "our friend in the Soviet Union." He does not explain how it is that his enemy and his friend have reached an agreement on how to sell out the Arab Revolution. It is also of significance that Nasser, through the authoritative paper Al Ahram, urged the United States to continue its "peace" efforts.

ENEMY

There can be no question but that

the current U.S.-Soviet agreement had been secretly cleared with Nasser and, if it had not been for the independent intervention of the Arab masses around the Lebanese crisis, this initiative would have gotten open support from Nasser. This man Nasser is the enemy of the Arab Revolution and is waiting only for the Arab masses to be offguard to stab the revolution in the back. And those such as Arafat are ready to help him in this.

Meanwhile, back in Israel, the government is following up the right swing in the elections with an intensification of attacks on the Arab masses of the occupied territories. The New York Times, an ardent spokesman for Israel's imperialist policies, has seen fit to print for the first time some information on the anti-Arab terror within the country. It was no doubt motivated by fear that the right wing swing within the Israeli government might mean Meir would take too tough a stand towards peace negotiations with the Arabs, and thus its little expose was a nudging in the general interests of imperialism in the Middle East.

PUNITIVE

The Times reveals that the major policy of the government has been the

practice of blowing up houses of Arabs in occupied areas. At first this was more or less restricted to those "suspected" of being terrorists or supporting terrorists. This was later extended to those who were suspected of possibly being aware of terrorist activity without reporting on it to the Israeli army. Now clearly it has become a matter of punitive action against Arabs as Arabs.

Israel has thus stolen a page from the bloody book of the Nazi occupiers in Europe, from the French imperialists in Algeria, and the American occupiers of Vietnam. Recognizing the enemy as the Arabs as Arabs, retribution is directed against the Arab community if an Israeli soldier is shot.

LEADERSHIP

The need for a revolutionary working class leadership in the Arab countries and in Israel is becoming more urgent every day. The forces of imperialism, reaction and compromise are strong but the Arab masses and Jewish workers are stronger--IF they can construct a new leadership around the banner of the Fourth International. This is now a pressing international task. The growth of the Fourth International in Europe and the United States will contribute to this.

Pope Paul Acquires Interest In Fiat

BY ROBERT BLACK

Pope Paul took a hand in the class struggle last week when he spoke out against the harmful effect the current Italian strike wave is having on those not directly involved in the disputes.

Could His Holiness be referring to the Vatican's recently acquired interest in Fiat?

When the Lancia car firm ran into difficulties, the Vatican began to buy up its shares at bargain prices, distributing them to the upper clergy for personal use.

When the Fiat bid for Lancia became known, the Vatican emerged, with one third of its shares, as the largest single owner of Lancia.

All of this was known to Agnelli of Fiat.

It is thought in Italy that one of Fiat's main motives for taking over the debt-ridden Lancia firm is Agnelli's desire to win Vatican approval for his new tough anti-labor policy.

Pope Paul's attacks on strikers and their harmful effects on those not directly involved (i.e. shareholders) suggests that Agnelli's investment is already paying dividends.

This direct Vatican intervention on the side of the employers should help to educate Italian workers still under the influence of the Church on the class role of religion, and also expose to rank-and-file Communist Party workers the reactionary nature of the Stalinists' "dialogue" with the Vatican - now big business partners with Agnelli in the exploitation of the Fiat workers.

Indonesian Communists in Jail

In 1965 at least a half million communists were murdered in Indonesia when a military dictatorship came to power after the collapse of a left wing coup. Today, four years later, Antara, the Indonesia News Agency, reports that about 72,000 communists are in prison in Indonesia.

Despite these brutal attacks, the Soviet bureaucracy still maintains diplomatic relations with the Indonesian regime and supplies it with

military equipment. At the same time the Maoist parties, and in particular the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S., maintains the perspective of the "bloc of four classes" which led to the bloody defeat in Indonesia. This is the record of Stalinism. The only alternative for the workers and peasants internationally is the construction of mass revolutionary Trotskyist parties under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

London firemen rout leaders at meeting



LEADERS RETREAT FROM PLATFORM UNDER BARRAGE OF FLOUR, TOMATOES, EGGS

On the evening of November 4th the leaders of the Fire Brigades Union were driven out of a meeting of London Firemen under a shower of eggs, flour, tomatoes, and crushed up union leaflets. This was the answer the ranks gave their leaders when they called off the proposed one-hour strikes by London firemen over wages and working conditions.

The barrage was accompanied by shouts from the ranks for the resignation of their leaders. The leadership of the firemen's union considers itself "left." But clearly the ranks are fed up with what amounts to only "left" talk. The spirit of the ranks of the union against the leadership was expressed by one worker who jumped on to the platform as dishevelled bureaucrats retreated and shouted: "That's got rid of the

rubbish! Who's next?"

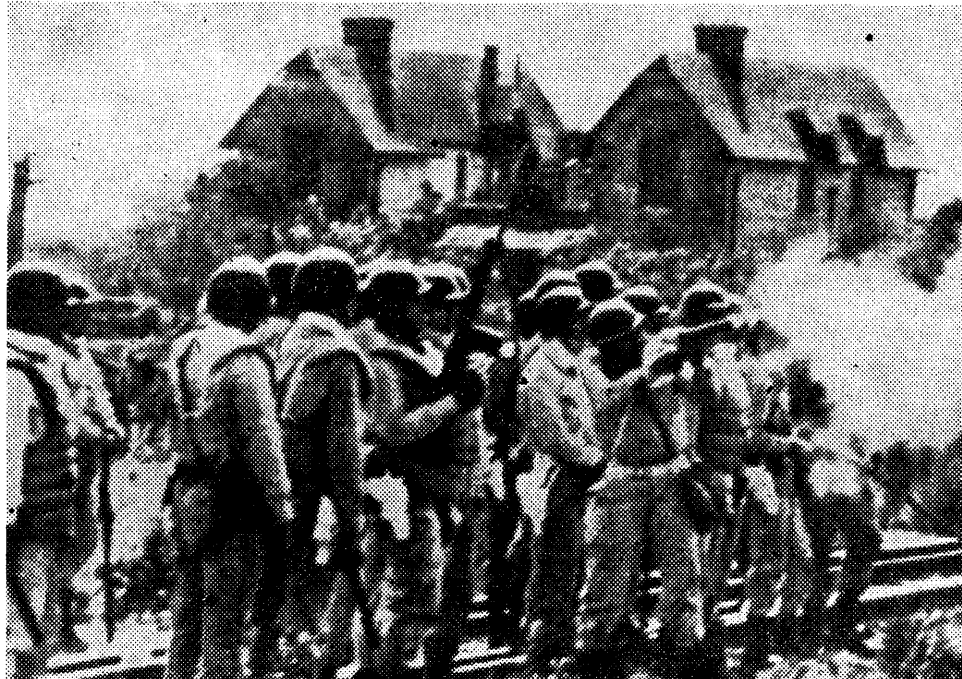
The action by the London firemen marks a new stage in the struggle of lower paid workers in England. Like the miners and the sanitationmen, the firemen are in a struggle against their bureaucratic leaders who seek to hold back the struggle against the attacks on the British workers.

It is the strength of the ranks combined with the building of an alternative leadership in the trade unions that is the key to the victorious struggles of the working class in Britain as well as throughout Europe and in the U.S. The publication of the first Trotskyist daily, the Workers Press, in England by the Socialist Labour League shows the way forward.

ROCKEFELLER FEARS LATIN REVOLUTION



ROCKEFELLER WORRIES OVER RISE OF MARXISM AND MILITANCY IN LATIN AMERICA (LIKE ARGENTINE RAIL STRIKE ABOVE RIGHT)



BUT NIXON CAN OFFER NO SOLUTIONS

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

This week the results of Rockefeller's disastrous "fact finding mission" to Latin America were laid bare. The perspective for U. S. imperialism in Latin America was rather gloomy, as Rockefeller warned of the dangerous and worsening economic, social, and political situation in Latin America and the growth of "Marxism" among the peoples of Latin America.

This is how Rockefeller put it: "Rising frustrations throughout the Western hemisphere over poverty and political instability have led increasing numbers of people to pick the United States as a scapegoat and to seek out Marxist solutions to their socio-economic problems."

Rockefeller would like it to appear that the developments in Latin America are part of some communist "conspiracy" and avoid confronting the real role of U.S. imperialism there. The truth of the matter is that the

U.S. is not just a scapegoat but together with the capitalist governments it bolsters in Latin America --the real cause of the poverty which the masses face. The workers and peasants are more and more turning to "Marxist solutions" because they represent their real interests. The unrest that has spread throughout this part of the world with the working class in many countries in the forefront, such as in Argentina, represents the refusal by the peoples of Latin America to pay for the world crisis of capitalism.

In order to meet this crisis, Rockefeller proposed trade tariff concessions, reorganization of policy making bodies, and the supplying of anti-subversion arms and equipment to the capitalist governments.

HYSTERICAL

Rockefeller's rather hysterical report and very modest proposals fol-

lowed by ten days Nixon's major statement on his program for the hemisphere. Nixon's speech revealed that the days of the Alliance for Progress, Kennedy's program for minor reforms to Latin America, were over. Nixon made it clear that rather than more aid, there would most likely have to be a slash in aid. He warned the capitalists in Latin America that they are now out on their own: "We have learnt that economic and social development is not the product of one nation, but something profoundly rooted in the traditions of each country."

Despite the fact that U.S. capitalism has vast interests in Latin America, protected by regimes dependent on U.S. support, economically and militarily, Nixon is stating bluntly that U.S. imperialism can no longer continue this kind of support. Despite the threat to American capitalism by the unrest in Latin America, the U.S. must get its own house in order, must tackle the deepening crisis within American capitalism.

Following the publication of Rockefeller's report, Nixon, on November 10th called on the industrialized countries to join with the U.S. in granting special trade preferences to all the underdeveloped countries, and preferential treatment by the U.S. towards Latin America.

At best what Nixon's "Action for Progress for the Americas" amounts to is the cutting of aid to Latin American regimes and trade policies which will continue to tie the Latin American economies to the U.S. with the U.S. using them to compete with Europe and Japan. This supposedly "far reaching innovation" is nothing but the perpetuation of the policies of the U.S. ruling class to make the workers and peasants starve for the growth of U.S. capitalism.

One of the main gripes of the Latin American regimes has been the conditions which have accompanied all loans from the U.S.--that this money be spent in the U.S. Nixon now states that this money can also be spent in Latin America. Latin America can still not turn to Europe or Japan where the prices are lower. The "tariff help" has the same purpose. It is highly unlikely that Japan or the European countries will reciprocate. Nixon is quite aware of this, and it is this supposition which lies behind his proposal. Thus, the U.S. will get the benefit

of Latin America's trade and will utilize it in competition with European and Japanese capital.

The result of these policies and the decay of capitalism on an international scale can only mean more of the kind of struggles by the workers, peasants, and students in Latin America which frightened Mr. Rockefeller so. The unstable regimes which rule Latin America in the name of capitalism are being threatened every day by the movement of the working class.

POTENTIAL

Rockefeller concluding his report said: "All of the American nations are a tempting target for Communist subversion. . . It is plainly evident that such subversion is a reality today with alarming potential."

The "alarming potential" is not in "subversion" but in the open movement of the working class internationally against capitalism. The target is indeed American capitalism as it is the giant that stands behind the perpetuation of a rotten system and the deepening attacks on the working class.

The real solution in Latin America lies in the joining together of the workers and peasants there with the American working class under the leadership of the parties of the International Committee of the Fourth International and the establishment of a United Socialist States of the Americas.

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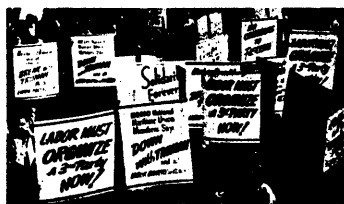
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wsa is thin cover for student power

BY PAT CONNELLY

The Workers Student Alliance's "National Action Against Racism" which has been publicized on most campuses as a day of solidarity with campus workers reveals the bankruptcy of the Progressive Labor-Worker Student Alliance perspective for the working class.

On the Columbia campus WSA is sponsoring a boycott of campus cafeterias and picketing, followed by a "Mass Rally Against Racism", after which they will confront a university official to demand adequate compensation for the family of Charles Johnson, a black worker killed at Columbia last year because of bad safety conditions for workers on campus.

Rather than fighting within the unions for a program for workers, including the demands for safe working conditions and an adequate pension plan, the WSA substitutes student power. Instead of fighting for them, the WSA spreads the illusion that the power of the students can win the demands for the campus workers--they substitute student power for the classaction of workers.

LEAD

WSA has no perspective for work on a class basis in 1199 or the TWU and the other unions on campus. Behind all the talk of "students can't lead, the workers must," they want students to lead the workers on the basis of a student power program that can only tie the working class to the middle class. They want to use the workers to provide a "working class" cover to their student movement.

The main thing which PL-WSA-CWSA cannot confront politically is the fact that the main class struggles DO NOT take place on the campuses but in the factories and plants. Rather than fighting for students to become part of a revolutionary party which penetrates these factories and plants and provides a Marxist leadership for the working class, PL-WSA-CWSA looks for gimmicks to substitute for that party. They want to link students as students with workers, in order to give their campus-based student movement a working class cover.

GE

That PL-WSA does not have a working class program, but rather a student power program is shown clearly in relation to the General Electric strike. At Columbia the WSA issued a leaflet on GE because a GE recruiter was going to be on campus. In part the leaflet said: "Students at Columbia are presented with an ideal opportunity to ACT in support of workers struggles and in opposition to imperialism. "To strike at the roots of imperi-

alist wars we must strike at the class which dictates imperialist policy. Clearly it is only the working class who produce the wealth of this country who are capable of dealing a damaging blow to this class.

"Students who honestly want to smash imperialism must therefore build a movement which will ally with workers.

"GE is sending scab recruiters to this campus on Monday. Imperialism will not be ended by talk alone--we must actively fight it. We must throw the recruiters off campus."

Because PL-WSA is only interested in building a student movement, they start from the point of view of the students on Columbia campus, rather than with the interests or needs of the working class.

They again use their concept that "students cannot lead, workers must lead", but in this instance they use it to justify the fact the WSA-PL can offer no political leadership for the working class, and can only trail along behind trade union demands. PL-WSA has no conception of the political significance of the GE strike for the working class. They see it as an adjunct to student struggles, as another gimmick to build a "pro-working class" student movement.

POLITICAL

They have no conception of the necessity for political leadership in the working class, no conception of transforming students into members of a working class party, to fight for workers to go beyond trade union consciousness to revolutionary class

consciousness; from the struggle for concessions from the bosses to a struggle around transitional demands for political power.

STUDENT

On the November 15th march in Washington, PL-WSA plans to march on the Labor Department, as their "working class" action against the war. But they are politically unable to relate the demands they are raising, "U.S. imperialism Out Of Vietnam" and "No Deals", to the class struggle at home. So long as they are incapable of raising political demands in the working class, and fighting for the political expression of the working class in a labor party, they might as well be marching with signs saying "STUDENT POWER".

wsa plays 'confrontation' at yale

BY BOB KUKIEL

NEW HAVEN--Clutching at the first thing they could get their teeth into, the Yale SDS (dominated by the Worker-Student Alliance) used the firing of a black woman campus worker as an excuse to confront the university administration. An estimated 75 (the SDS claims run from 100 to 175) student members and supporters of the Yale SDS seized Wright Hall on Monday afternoon, Nov. 3 and took two university administrators hostage "until Mrs. Williams (the campus worker) was rehired".

After five hours of impotent militancy during which time 47 of the demonstrators were suspended from the college, the students made a more or less orderly retreat out of the building and into a crowd of about three hundred supporters and on-lookers. One just-suspended WSAer summed up the meaning of the seizure very concisely: "We began it in order to demand the rehiring of Mrs. Williams, but our struggle has reached a higher level (!)--a confrontation between the students and the administration."

MUDSLINGING

The following day the Yale SDS sponsored a large meeting of students at the Silliman Common Room, a meeting which turned into a mudslinging contest between a black student and an SDSer after the black student accused the Yale SDS of using Mrs. Williams' plight for its own ends. Since this meeting, the WSAers have been busy holding meetings, passing out leaflets and dispensing all of their militant energy in trying to be reinstated into the university.

The university administration, in order to weaken the WSA's position but mainly because it feared a spread-



YALE SDS MEMBERS CONFRONT CAMPUS POLICEMAN

ing of the protest to the campus workers themselves, declared in a statement that it never actually fired Mrs. Williams but that the whole thing was a technical misunderstanding. Mrs. Williams, it seems, punched the time clock when she shouldn't have.

However, the facts in the case make it all too clear that Mrs. Williams was a victim of the worsening conditions of the campus workers as a whole. Speed-ups caused by the enlarged enrollment of students and the undermanning of the dining halls produce a situation in which the employees are harassed and overworked as a matter of course. Mrs. Williams, who was recently hired and was still on her 30 day probationary period (during which, according to the contract, she was not protected by the union) had an argument with the bursary captain over the amount of work she was forced to do and over his attitude toward the workers. The argument ended with her throwing cranberry juice in his face and two days later she was fired. Later, when the university "rehired" her, she refused to go back.

Mrs. Williams' case is typical of the plight of the campus workers at Yale and elsewhere, except that she was readier than most to openly express her disgust and contempt for her working conditions. Campus workers are underpaid (Mrs. Williams was grossing about \$76 for a forty hour week), overworked and "kept in their place"; and their union is ineffectual at best. These conditions cannot be allowed to continue! Yet the WSA's tactics have nothing to do with the welfare of these workers.

After discussing the incident of Mrs. Williams with a number of

campus workers, the author was not surprised to discover that neither the WSA nor anyone else had tried to organize within the union (however corrupt it may be) or amongst the workers themselves in order to gain support for her. There has been absolutely no attempt to bring these workers into a struggle which affects THEM most of all. Instead, the Worker-Student "Alliance" has simply used this incident as a left cover for their middle class radical STUDENT politics.

This is best shown in a quote from one of their own recent leaflets entitled "Political Repression" ("Signed by 43 of the 47"): "We challenge the administration's right to rule on both the dining hall and the political direction of students. It is not merely a question of disciplinary proceedings, but rather it is one of out-and-out political repression."

It is unfortunate but inevitable that the WSA ignores the "Worker" part of the "alliance" and concentrates on the STUDENT. Rather than trying to organize the workers for demonstrations and even a strike against the university's action (of firing Mrs. Williams, that is), the so-called WSA again turned away from the workers and rushed--as always--into a blind alley. As long as the WSAers continue to run from the working class, they can be of no use to anyone but themselves, and can only do harm to the working class movement.

The Workers League calls upon the campus workers (and the students who are willing to JOIN THEM) to mobilize against all forms of speed-up and harassment, the decay of working conditions and the already low pay which drops daily as inflation eats it away.

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ILA FIGHTS TO KEEP JOBS WON'T LOAD LASH SHIP

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Orleans Longshoremen have successfully resisted efforts by the shipowners to force them to load the world's first LASH ship, the Acadia Forest. A Federal judge overturned the decision of the port arbitrator by ruling that loading procedures for the ship were not covered by the ILA contract with the New Orleans shipping association.

LASH (an abbreviation for Lighter Aboard Ship) ships are barge carrying ships. The barges are loaded down the river and then hoisted aboard in the same way containers are hoisted aboard container ships. The New Orleans ILA has been fighting the use of this ship on the grounds that it would sharply reduce dock work. The Acadia Forest can put a fully loaded barge in place in 15 minutes. This means that the ship's 73 barges can be loaded and the ship be away in one day instead of a week. Each barge is 61 feet long and can carry 370 tons of cargo.

BARGES

Actually, the barges are floating containers. The LASH ships are specifically designed to carry the barges and are considered a "radical" new method of shipping in much the same way as the container and the container ship were considered a "revolutionary" new development in cargo handling. The aim of the LASH ship is of course, like containerization, to increase the profits of the shippers by cutting out jobs on the docks.

The LASH ships--many of which are being planned to follow up Norway's Acadia Forest--are specifically designed for inland waterways such as the Mississippi-Missouri-Ohio river network. The present plans, which call for a crash program for U.S. production of these ships, will mean that a tremendous amount of cargo that presently is brought to East Coast ports, particularly New York, will be re-routed to New Orleans. This will result in the further elimination of jobs in the Port of New York.

But will this help New Orleans dockers? Not at all. It means less jobs for New Orleans longshoremen and for longshoremen anywhere that LASH ships, like containerization, are introduced.



NOTE BARGES ON DECK OF ACADIA FOREST AND HUGE CRANE USED TO HANDLE THEM

NY TELEPHONE REPAIRMEN STRIKE IN DEFIANCE OF CWA LEADERS

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- On Tuesday, November 4th, members of Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America refused to work overtime at the 140 West Street location of the Western Electric Company. Supervisory personnel were called in to do the job, the CWA members sat down in protest, and were carried out of the building by the supervisors. The company then locked out the CWA at West Street. Local 1101 immediately went on strike.

One district steward for Local 1101

said, "There's a lot of wildcats this year. The company has been looking for this--they don't pay for work done, they get supervisors to work alongside the men."

On Thursday, November 6th, the CWA called a strike for all New York State Bell Telephone, American Telephone and Telegraph, and Western Electric installations, putting 40,000 members on strike.

Faced with a threatened Federal civil contempt suit, leaders of the CWA have backed down and declared the strike a wildcat. But the ranks

of the CWA remain firm. "Even if I stood on the rooftop and shouted out, I don't think the men would go back to work," said Morton Bahr, vice president of the international.

On Friday, November 8th, one hundred fifty strikers proved Bahr right by marching through midtown Manhattan shouting "Don't pay your phone bills!" and "Ma Bell, go to hell!"

The men of Local 1101 refused overtime to protest the low raise offered by Western Electric in contractual reopeners. The Communication Workers are asking that starting wages, which now range from \$85 to \$100, be equal for all men. The CWA wants an escalator clause included in the re-opened wage increases, and also wants the company to speed up raises so that top wages are reached in two instead of four years.

Taking its cue from General Electric and President Nixon, American Telephone and Telegraph, parent company to Western Electric, made a reopener offer it knew was bound to be turned down, since it would have paid newer men more than those with three to six years seniority.

A.T.&T. is in fact one of the largest monopolies in the world. It is not satisfied with its record and near-record profits. This profit-hungry monopoly wants more and at the expense of the workers.

OFFICIAL

The militant ranks of Local 1101 have demonstrated that they are not going to bow to this giant. They have opened the struggle for all CWA workers. **THIS STRIKE MUST BE MADE OFFICIAL.** By not making this strike official, the CWA bureaucracy has isolated the workers and prepared the way for a defeat. The striking men of the CWA must call on their newly elected leaders to fight to make this strike official.

This means passing resolutions in every local to make the strike official, raising the demands for big wage increases for all workers, for wage rates equal to those paid to other A.T.&T. workers for the same work, for a speed-up in raises, for an end to supervisory scabbing, and for a cost of living escalator clause. At the same time the campaign should get started to protect workers against Nixon's unemployment plans by serving notice that the ranks of the CWA need a four day week at five days pay.

The rank and file of the CWA must continue to defy the attempts of the Brooklyn Federal District Court to break the strike.

LEADERSHIP BETRAYS HCI JOBS

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK--Recent developments in the battle by 1000 Hospital Care Investigators to save their jobs, make it crystal clear that both the SSEU-371 and District Council 37 leadership are hell bent on capitulating to the City's desire to see these jobs tossed out the window. In addition, the Committee for a New Leadership, which has campaigned both in BPA and BMA centers in support of HCI jobs has come under increasing attacks by the Morgenstern leadership--attacks of a most vicious political sort.

At the HCI chapter meeting on Nov. 5, CNL members, although they had been invited by several HCI militants, were refused the floor by Chairlady M. Pinkett, HCI VP, and Morgenstern-Coulthurst "straw boss".

At this meeting it was learned that DC 37 Executive Director Gotbaum, who recently refused to back up BPA workers in a city-wide case dumping until his man Lindsay was elected, met with Damski, Bureau of Personnel Director and Local 1549, representing clerical titles, and the BMA Director.

This meeting was held behind the back of the SSEU-371 local. Pinkett did her best to assure HCI's that the meeting was only "informational". But it must be remembered that according to the City's plan, clerical titles are to take over the HCI slots.

The City is implementing its plans by bringing over to Metropolitan Hospital 25 clericals and simultaneously transferring out of voluntary hospitals all HCI's. Clericals are already being offered provisional supervisory appointments. While Pinkett professed opposition to the scheme she made it quite clear, after several HCI's demanded answers, that Gotbaum and several SSE-371 officers feel that HCI's should be interested in such transfer, that when their contract expired they would have to leave anyway, and that it was best to make a move now.

ARROGANCE

Pinkett displayed the most tyrannical arrogance at this meeting, shouting down HCI's who wanted more information and doing her level best to isolate these workers by telling them that BPA workers didn't want non-degree people working with them (about half of HCI's do not have college degrees, but have seniority), but that this obstacle could be overcome. This lie is refuted by resolution after resolution passed in center after center in support of the HCI struggle and for united action on workloads, hiring and job security.

On the following day, one CNL member attempted to distribute leaflets at an HCI job location. The local shop steward, one of Pinkett's designees told us we would have to hand leaflets outside as the director wouldn't approve "non-union leaflets". One of the HCI militants told us later that he defended our

right to pass out leaflets and further that Pinkett and the other bureaucrats were telling HCI's that the CNL was a "communist front group" determined to take over the union and demanding nationalization of industry and the banks. He also assured us that he and other militants opposed to Pinkett would back us up, as our group was the only opposition to HCI job cuts and that our leaflets "made good sense" and "spoke the truth". (Morgenstern has not issued one leaflet in defense of HCI jobs) Other HCI's expressed their anger at Pinkett's refusal to let us speak at the chapter meeting and the union refusing to let us give out leaflets.

EXPOSES

The elimination of a job title and replacing caseworker titles with clerical titles not only exposes the Morgenstern-Gotbaum-Lindsay contract, but opens up the fight against its rotten provisions. It must be understood by all SSE-371 and 1549 members in all titles that such vicious reorganization opens up the possibility of the destruction of civil service and creates the kind of situation whereby thousands of jobs in Welfare can be eliminated at the drop of a hat.

The Morgenstern-Coulthurst leadership has no intention of taking up the fight for any title, and are dead set on opposing any unified struggle around workload hiring and preservation of HCI jobs. Their only scheme is to divide staff and red-bait the opposition.

CNL, on the contrary is building the kind of leadership in this union which fuses the struggle of all workers against the vicious job-cutting schemes of the City and bankrupt, mindless, parasitic bureaucrats who mislead this union.

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