

Bulletin

weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

From
Our German
Correspondent
**Trotskyism
and the
1953
Uprising**



Cleveland & Chicago Conferences Must Decide

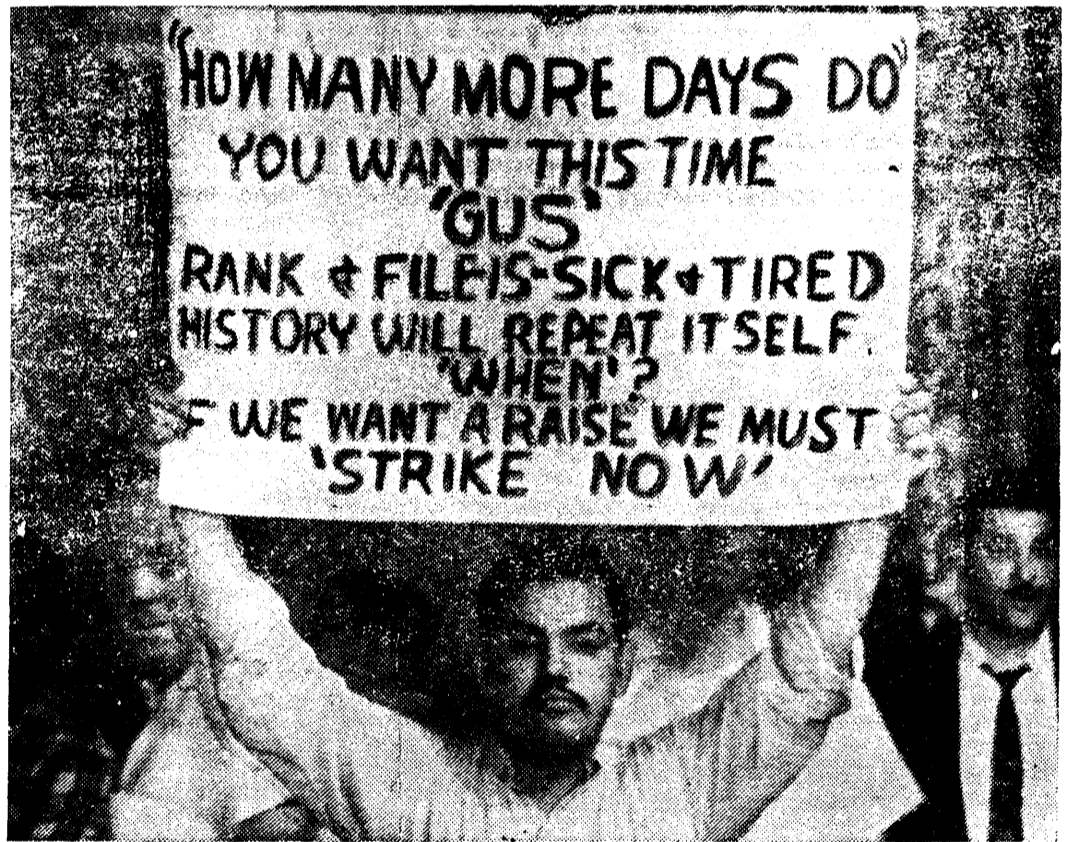
BUILD A LABOR PARTY NOW!

EXCLUSIVE

INTERVIEW WITH

BRANCH 36

LETTER CARRIER



Rank and file postal worker at Branch 36 meeting demands a strike to win raise.

Nationwide

Strike Looms As

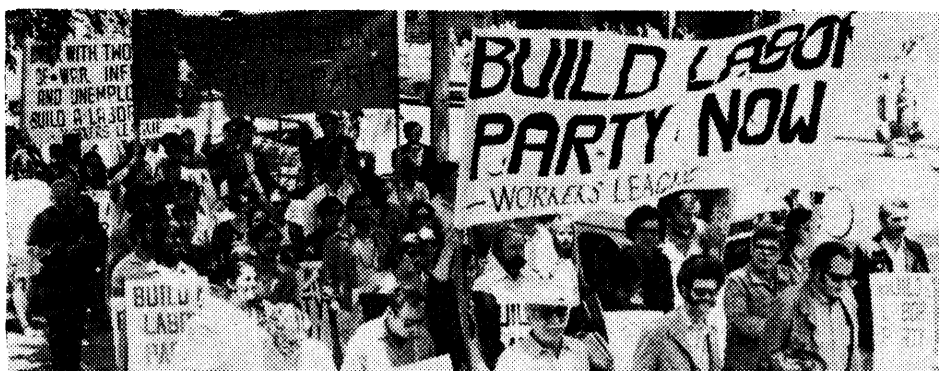
NYC Letter Carriers Call For New Walkout

BEGINNING OF A NEW SERIES

WHAT IS SPARTACIST?

By Tim Wohlforth

PART ONE— The Split in the Minority Tendency



Workers League carries forward the struggle for labor party in the antiwar movement

CP Pushes Popular Front At Chicago Conference

BY FRED MUELLER

More than 300 delegates are expected to attend the National Rank and File Conference called for Chicago on June 27 and 28. The conference was called in late May, and is said to be bringing together trade unionists from New York, Illinois, California, Michigan, New Jersey and elsewhere

The stated aims of this conference are summarized as follows by a New Jersey committee which has been formed to support it:

"Our immediate program is three-fold: to expose racism as the single most devious tool of bosses to carry out their anti-labor programs, to identify the Indochina war as the greatest cause of inflation, and to build, revitalize and democratize our present labor movement—to strengthen rank and file power."

Unquestionably the working class is on the move more aggressively than at any time since the post World War II upsurge. The wage offensive continues to deepen in the face of continuing inflation, dissatisfaction with the war in Indochina is growing, and the rank and file is searching for leadership and the weapons with which to carry forward the fight against the bosses.

PURPOSES

Any rank and file militants who come to the Chicago conference looking for a program to take this fight forward however, are going to be very disappointed by the official line. For the real purposes of the "rank and file conference" are the exact opposite of what is required in the face of the deepening capitalist crisis. The organizers of the conference seek to tie the working class to the liberal section of the labor bureaucracy and through this section of the bureaucracy to the bosses.

What is needed in the face of the deepening recession and political crisis is a political counterattack by the labor movement. Nixon's policies of unemployment, racism and repression can only be fought politically and this means first of all recognizing these policies as the policies of a class, not just an individual.

In order to take up the fight against anti-working class policies at home and abroad, in order to take up the fight against inflation, unemployment, and racism, an independent labor party is required. This is the most urgent question facing every trade union militant and opponent of imperialist war in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. The fight for a labor party must be taken into the labor movement immediately.

The National Rank and File Conference however, says nothing about this question and it does not even raise the demand for a shorter work week or for industrial action against the war in Indochina.

REFORMISM

The organizers and supporters of the conference, including the Communist Party, do not want a class break from the Democratic Party and the liberals. This is the popular front policy of Stalinism in action. The CP's *Daily World* claims that it is the only newspaper campaigning for the Chicago conference. It is proud of its campaign for reformism and liberalism.

The Seattle Rank and File Committee decided to participate in the Chicago conference, reports the *Daily World*. One of the leaders of the Seattle group, William Perry of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, stated, "The sole purpose of this conference is to encourage the development of rank and file committees and participation in local unions." He stressed that the committee was not

a "dual union" nor "anti-leadership."

This is syndicalism of the crudest sort. Hundreds of militants are supposedly converging on Chicago to discuss ways and means of greater rank and file "participation," that is "the only purpose," apart from any political struggle within the unions or even from any struggle against the trade union bureaucracy.

"We had no idea how much unrest there is among the rank and file," said Rayfield Mooty, co-chairman of the conference Arrangements Committee, in discussing the response to the conference call.

Precisely! The Stalinists and their allies in charge of this conference consciously seek to limit the aims of the conference to those acceptable to the liberal section of the union bureaucracy. That is why the conference aims and program remain so vague and completely unpolitical. This is expressed by the statement of the conference Arrangements Committee back on May 19 that the objectives for which Walter Reuther fought are the basis for the convocation of the Rank and File Conference.

Thus the conference is clearly limited to the kind of reformism which has been used for years to tie the working class to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system.

Reuther was of course a devoted adherent and upholder of the capitalist system. He consistently sold out the auto workers while maintaining the image of liberal labor statesman concerned with economic planning and social goals.

The *Daily World* reveals quite clearly how the Communist Party uses economism, the conception that the spontaneous economic struggle of the workers is sufficient to fight the employers, and syndicalism, the outlook that politics do not belong in the labor movement, and that militant trade union struggle is adequate. The Stalinists return to these revisionist conceptions fought by the Marxist movement because these ideas help to tie the working class to capitalism within the framework of reformism. This is the outlook of the Communist Party, which is devoted to peaceful co-existence and the maintenance of the world status quo in the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

DANGER

The CP represents a big danger facing the working class as it moves into action in response to the deepening crisis. The CP moves to head off this action. It adapts its slogans to the beginnings of struggle, to the stirrings of discontent among the workers. The temporary and very superficial coincidence between the reformist policies of the Stalinists and the demands of the workers moving into struggle poses the gravest dangers. The CP consciously acts as a brake, as a rearguard.

After the invasion of Cambodia, after the murders at Kent and Jackson State, after the betrayals of the union bureaucracy in one struggle after another, from the teamsters to the postal workers, the National Rank and File Conference proposes a program which ignores the burning question of a labor party in opposition to the bosses. Even further, this conference proposes to deal with the most serious crisis facing American capitalism and the American working

EDITORIAL

Answer Stalinist Attacks With Fight for Labor Party

The Communist Party has opened up a vicious slander campaign against the Cleveland Conference. At the heart of this slander is an attack on Trotskyism.

The Stalinists fear the entrance of the working class into the struggle against the war. They fear the real potential of this development—the movement towards independent action by the working class and a political break from reformism and the capitalist parties. Their fear of the working class is expressed openly as a fear of Trotskyism.

stalinism

The historical role of Stalinism has been to prevent the struggle of the working class against capitalism. This is why today as in the 1930s the Stalinists spearhead their betrayals with an attack on Trotskyism.

The *Daily World* in its June 13 issue uses as its frontman Sidney Peck, leader of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, who was the keynote speaker at the February Student Mobilization Committee Conference. Peck has called for an "Emergency Action Conference" in Milwaukee on June 27-28. As the *Daily World* reports, Peck has made clear his reasons for not participating in the Cleveland Conference: "He condemned it as a maneuver of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and the Student Mobilization Committee."

"The Cleveland CAPAC conference, he declared, reflects the Trotskyite program.... He declared that the Cleveland conference has the potential of becoming a divisive factor at a time when we cannot afford serious divisions within the ranks of the movement."

anti-trotskyist

Neither Peck nor the CP have political differences with the Cleveland conference call but what concerns them is the SWP's Trotskyist cover. The whole pacifist cabal, the same Pecks and Dellingers who were the close allies of the SWP, have joined in the anti-Trotskyist campaign. These forces which are completely hostile to the working class now gather around the Communist Party as the force within the working class which they hope can contain it and keep it tied to the liberals.

Peck's statement in the *Daily World* only reveals why the Stalinists are building "Rank and File" conference in Chicago and the Milwaukee conference called by Dellinger's New Mobilization Committee. The "divisive factor" which the CP and the pacifists are concerned with is the break of the working class and the youth from the Democratic Party and the construction of a labor party. This is the real threat that the Trotskyist program poses. The Chicago and Milwaukee conferences are being called in direct opposition to Cleveland to discredit Trotskyism.

labor party

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have opened the door to the CP. The call for the Cleveland Conference, its warning that there will be "no politics" and no discussion of "revolutionary strategy" is a complete capitulation to the Stalinists.

The only alternative to the CP's popular front is the fight for the independence of the working class and its leadership in the struggle against the war. This means that the Cleveland Conference must resolve to fight for the labor movement to call a demonstration of a million workers and youth on Washington on a political program which thrusts it against the entire capitalist class. This means that the Cleveland Conference must raise as the central demand in the struggle against the war—the demand for a labor party.

class since the 1930s by proclaiming that it is not "anti-leadership."

The combination of the terms "dual union" and "anti-leadership" is a conscious effort to equate the two, to imply that a struggle against the union bureaucracy means a break from the unions. This is the most dangerous argument, the complete opposite of everything that Lenin fought for in his appeals for communists to work inside the trade unions.

In essence it means equating the unions themselves and the bureaucracy which functions as the agents of the bosses. This is quite consistent for the Communist Party which equate the Soviet Union and the Russian Revolution which gave birth to it with the reactionary Moscow bureaucracy. This is the international perspective of the Stalinists. They build

up the labor bureaucrats as potential friends of the Soviet bureaucrats, against the working class.

The CP's talk of labor action against the war is the exact opposite of the kind of action required to defeat Nixon and U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. The only way to defeat imperialism is the stepping up of the class struggle at home. Instead the Stalinists seek to contain and moderate the class struggle. They hope to turn the developing rank and file discontent into a cheering section for the bureaucrats who carry on in Reuther's tradition. This is a complete betrayal of the interests of every worker. Let no militant mistake the real policy of the Communist Party and how it is expressed at the National Rank and File Conference.

What Workers League Proposes To The Antiwar Movement

This is the proposal which the Workers League brought before the Expanded National Steering Committee of the SMC in Boston. This is the motion we will fight for at the Cleveland Conference and at the SMC meeting which follows it.

That the SMC center its work on bringing the labor movement into the lead of the fight against the war.

That it do this by fighting for a massive march on Washington led by the labor movement around the demands:

- Immediate Withdrawal of all U.S. Troops from Southeast Asia!
- Protest the killings in Augusta, Kent and Jackson!
- Stop Nixon's Anti-Labor Offensive!
- Build a Labor Party Now!

The demonstration of over 50,000 workers and students, called by over 15 unions in New York City, is unprecedented in the history of the antiwar movement and in the history of this country. For the first time the labor movement in its own name called a rally against war and repression.

The war in Southeast Asia is a class war, an imperialist war. The fight against that war cannot remain isolated on the campuses or in demonstrations dominated by the middle class. It has to penetrate deep into the working class, as a class issue, to move workers into massive independent class action.

The trade union bureaucracy will try to take these first independent steps of the working class against the war into support to the Democratic or Republican "peace" or "friend of labor" candidates. It is absolutely crucial that a political alternative to the capitalist parties be posed in the fight against the war, in order to take this motion of the labor movement forward. This is the importance of the call for the labor movement to form an independent political party based on the strength of the trade union movement.

To talk of the "Red University" reaching out to the "American people" is middle class student power-ism. It poses no working class alternative for students to act on, and creates the illusion that the war in Southeast Asia is not a class war, that it is not a crucial issue facing the American working class. It poses no way forward for the tens of thousands of American workers who are now under attack at home (as in the Post Office strike, the General Electric strike, the Teamsters strike, through unemployment and inflation.) and who have a deepening hatred for the war in Southeast Asia.

We propose that the SMC mobilize thousands of students across the country and throw itself into the fight to reach the labor movement with a working class program for massive independent class action against the war.

ST. LOUIS HARD HAT PARADE ATTACKS VETERANS

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

ST. LOUIS, June 7—A right wing "hard hat" parade supported by reactionary construction union bureaucrats, Wallacite elements, and the anti-labor St. Louis Globe Democrat failed today to bring out the 100,000 people that its organizers had boasted of.

Even the pro-war police department estimated that the march had only fifteen to twenty thousand participants. Parade organizers were forced to fill in large gaps in the march with cars and even huge construction trucks loaned by the bosses.

The "support America" demonstration was deliberately designed as a provocation

to anti-war students as the parade route was from Washington University to St. Louis University, both scenes of student activity against the war this spring. On Lindell Boulevard, the main street of the parade route, Tim Kirby, a G.I. who had just returned from active duty in Europe, was sitting on his front lawn with a sign reading 'Veteran for Peace.' He was sent to the hospital by a gang which also beat up two neighborhood women.

At St. Louis University, when students held out a peace sign, about twenty goons with police support began working over bystanders. An ex-Green Beret veteran and a woman reporter were among the victims of these "opponents of campus violence."

DIVERT

Although the press played up "trade union" participation, this participation was largely confined to the labor aristocracy in the construction trades. The labor bureaucracy attempted through jingoism to divert attention from the class struggle. Last year's long iron workers' and this year's two month hoisting engineers' strikes have virtually halted new building in the St. Louis area during the peak summer period.

The ranks of St. Louis labor must demand that labor leaders such as Teamsters' Vice-President Harold Gibbons re-udiate this action promoted by backward elements in the trade unions. There must be a fight among the rank and file to drive the Wallacites from the labor movement and for a massive march on Washington by the labor movement against the war and against the attacks on the unions and the students.

Bulletin

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Motorcade of Arab commandos honoring casualties of recent fighting in Amman, Jordan

Civil War Breaks Out In Jordan As Guerrillas Fight Hussein

BY MARTY JONAS

The civil war which went on for five days last week in Jordan shows the direction the Palestinian masses must take in their fight against Zionism.

The fight is not only against Israel and imperialism, but against Hussein and all the rest of the Arab bourgeoisie who stand against that fight.

The five day war which erupted between the Arab guerillas and the Jordan army began when Jordanian forces under the command of King Hussein attacked Palestinian commando units on the outskirts of Amman. This was reportedly the biggest clash between Arab guerillas and the army of the feudal monarchy of Jordan. In the midst of the struggle as an assassination attempt was made on Hussein.

Hussein is the most obviously compromised of all the Arab ruling class. The U.S. is the main provider of arms for the Jordanian army. Hussein was the first to back away from any fight with Israel after the six day war.

SOLIDARITY

In Lebanon on June 12 thousands demonstrated in solidarity with the guerillas in Jordan and against Hussein. The struggle of the guerillas who have the support of the workers and peasants contains within it the potential for unity of the masses and the seeds of revolution against the Arab forces of reaction.

During last week's fighting the various political forces sorted themselves out. This outbreak has revealed the deep divisions in the leadership of Arab nationalism.

On June 11 a message signed by Nasser and Al-Gaddafi, the heads of Egypt and Libya, was sent to Hussein and Yasir Arafat, head of Al Fatah, calling on them to cease the fighting. The Iraqi government also remained neutral. Only Syria declared it would support the Palestine resistance movement.

It was Yasir Arafat, who intervened to draw up a cease-fire with Hussein and promised that the commandos were in no way interested in his overthrow. He stated that the guerrilla movement had no interest in "administration" just in fighting Zionism. Arafat sent a telegram to Hussein congratulating him on his escape when his car was under attack in Amman. His diplomacy with Hussein follows only a few weeks after his conference in Moscow with the Soviet bureaucrats.

FOREFRONT

But the masses would not settle with handing everything back to Hussein, and went beyond Arafat's cease-fire to threaten the Hussein regime. Leading this struggle were the Popular Front for

the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the smaller and more radical Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP). Both the PFLP and the PDFLP call for civil war against the ruling classes of the Arab countries in order to carry on the war against Israel. Due to the failure of Arafat and other commando leaders to carry through the fight against Hussein, the PFLP and the PDFLP came to the forefront of the struggles in Jordan last week.

The battles were fought until a concession was gotten out of Hussein—the dismissal of two top Jordanian army chiefs who had carried on a wave of terror against the refugee camps and had collaborated with U.S. intelligence.

As major as these concession may seem, they reveal the limitations of the PFLP and the PDFLP leaderships. It still leaves the Jordanian ruling class and their holdings and all the U.S. oil property untouched.

CLASS

It is hardly a time for the leaders of the PFLP and the PDFLP to liquidate themselves into a so-called "central committee" of all commando organizations (including Al Fatah and the rightist Ba'ath Party) as they did last week. Their membership can only serve to give a left cover to the further deals and betrayals of elements such as Arafat. What both the PFLP and the PDFLP refuse to raise is the class issues in the struggles.

This is what the imperialists fear most of all—that the struggle against Israel will go beyond the strictly nationalist demands to raise the class questions and in particular the question of land ownership. Only through these demands can the masses be mobilized in a successful struggle against imperialism. It is the potential for this struggle which was raised in the fighting last week.

PARTY

Al Fatah, by keeping the guerilla struggle under the political control of Nasser and the Soviet bureaucracy, is preventing the independent mobilization of the Arab masses and is holding back the Arab revolution.

The recent events have shown to whole sections of the Arab masses that the fight against world imperialism is inseparable from a fight against their own ruling class. A party must be built that can carry on that fight as well as to unite it with the fight that is now emerging in Israel of workers and students against their own government.

Davis Prepares Sellout Of 1199 Contract Fight

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK—With less than two weeks to go until the contract deadline President Davis of 1199 is determined to squash any opposition to his plan to keep the door open for compromise on every major demand.

His job will not be easy. He faces a strong and militant rank and file who will stand firm and are not afraid to strike to win their wage demands.

At the June 10 meeting of Hospital and Guild Division delegates, Davis reported in a very casual way that there had been absolutely no progress in negotiations. His intention was to give only an "informational" report, and to prevent any discussion on how the union will fight for its demands.

The Rank and File Committee distributed leaflets to the delegates calling on them to support the proposals to make

the demands for \$140, the cost of living clause, 35 hour week and classifications non-negotiable, and to prepare for strike action citywide July 1, to reject arbitration on these demands and to have a mass membership meeting to ratify any settlement.

"VILLAIN"

Davis attacked this proposal in his opening report by claiming that such demands will make the union look like the "villain." He accused the Rank and File Committee of trying to divide the

union and of trying to "tell delegates what to do."

These slanders, coupled with appeals to unity (unity around whatever the leadership wants to do) have always been used by the leadership to avoid the issues and are now used to avoid the question of why the wage demands are not negotiable as they were in 1968. When a delegate made a motion to adopt the proposals, Davis refused to allow discussion and then claimed that there was no motion. The same man who had just accused the Rank and File Committee of disregarding majority rule refused to allow delegates to vote on the motion! He prepared for this maneuver by not having a microphone on the floor so that he could dominate the only microphone in the hall and cut off discussion.

POWER

This action by Davis is a clear indication that he is afraid of a fight. His arguments must be exposed for what they really are. He claims that the union does not have to take a firm stand this time because we are more powerful and we should not "abuse" our power. The logic of this is that the more power we have the less we should use it.

Davis says that the hospital workers will not pay for the crisis. But he refuses to back this up by turning the tables on the hospitals, showing that they are the real villains who are willing to shut down hospitals in order to break the demands of the union.

Davis talks militant now only because the hospitals have given him no choice. He is only too willing to sit down and see things their way. On May 12, the League of Voluntary Hospitals President Norman Metzger, held a press conference in which he once again denounced the union and accused the union of preparing for a strike. The union's reply to this was to meekly claim that they had no such intentions at all.

GUARD

A strike is becoming more and more a probability. As the deadline draws nearer the ranks must be on their guard. Davis is only waiting for a sign from the bosses that they are ready to negotiate to bend over backwards to bargain all the important demands away.

At the mass rally on June 16 and the next delegates meeting the rank and file must make it clear that they will not allow any retreat on their demands and that they are prepared for a citywide strike to win them.

ST. PAUL IAM RANKS OPPOSE ROTTEN DEAL AT AMERICAN HOIST

BY MICHAEL ROSS

ST. PAUL—Leaders of IAM Capitol City Lodge 459 gave up the fight for a decent contract at American Hoist and Derrick and pushed through the company's offer by a 17 vote margin at a contract meeting on June 7.

There had been no official notification, either by mail or telephone, of this meeting.

Members of 459 had shown complete readiness to fight for their demands long before the contract came up. Their demands are: a one dollar an hour wage hike, full cost-of-living clause, improved vacations and holidays, a dental plan and a one year contract.

The company's first offer had been a 7% annual hike over three years and some sort of a dental plan. This was overwhelmingly rejected, with only 20 out of some 500 voting for it.

American Hoist now upped its offer to a two year contract, with 9% raise the first year and 7% the second. From this point, 459's leadership began to mobilize support for this proposal. These leaders, headed by business agent William Morris, based themselves on the older, skilled workers, who had the most to gain by percentage raises.

OVERTIME

To back Morris up, shop committee-men had gone through the plant persuading workers to end an unofficial ban they had imposed on overtime. When the strike came on June 4, many were working up to 55 hours a week to fill some of the biggest orders.

With this sort of leadership, the vote to strike was only by a 66 vote margin.

Backed up by Nixon's federal mediators, American Hoist and 459's leaders now came up with a third offer—the same as the second offer, with one additional holiday.

That they were able to pull this off by only a 17 vote margin, shows the willingness to fight for the union's official demands.

Morris's betrayal has also seriously weakened the fight for a sizeable wage hike by the Molders union, which organizes the 300 foundry workers at American Hoist. These men have been among the highest paid foundry workers in the area.

The fight for decent living standards at American Hoist can continue only as part of a fight to build a new leadership in 459 and the rest of the unions—a leadership that will not take the road of leaders like Morris.

LETTER FROM AN NMU MILITANT

Meany And Curran Suppress Union Ranks

Dear Editor:

I have read several times in the past and present, the "Workers League" organ "The Bulletin." I noticed at the Memorial Day rally your program for a Labor Party. The idea is good, but will this idea live or die?

RANK AND FILE

The task is one of the most important. It must be understood that Meany and his clique of die-hard labor aristocrats in top AFL-CIO posts have not reflected the powerful surge of rank and file sentiment. The need for the development of people's democracy can only be achieved by a struggle for expansion and improved democracy. It must always be understood that a guarantee lies in the rank and file. In fact, all guarantees lie in the rank and file, in all situations at all times.

However the rank and file does not have the guarantee. There does exist union internal affairs, between the rank and file and union officials. Consequently struggle between the rank and union officials becomes the central issue of the labor movement. That the central issue of the labor movement in recent decades has been suppression and repression of the rank and file. I am a member of the National Maritime Union—AFL-CIO. The president since May 1937 and only president has been Joseph Curran. Like George Meany, he is a treacherous labor leader.

SALARY

On May 17, 1965 the U.S. News and World Report magazine stated the enormous salary of union presidents for the year 1964. Joseph Curran topped the list. His salary was \$102,637, expenses \$3,186,



George Meany, President of AFL-CIO and Joseph Curran, head of NMU, center

total \$105,823. When you look at salaries today its hard to tell a union leader from a company executive. Joseph Curran's salary in 1964 was double what it was in 1960. Joseph Curran's salary is fixed in an unusual way. His union guarantees him his yearly salary, to assure a tax-free income, on both state and federal levels. Frank Hoffman, Chief lobbyist in Washington for the Steelworkers, in 1964 made \$16,000 while his expenses were \$50,469 which proves that union officials have the rank and file coming and going. The report for the year ending June 30, 1969, filed with the U.S. Department of Labor reported that Joseph Curran's salary was \$91,519.11 reimbursed \$1,959.60 total \$93,478.71. Joseph Curran's pension dead or alive is \$750,000 guaranteed. His chauffeur, Mignel Quiones made \$16,255. Bernard Raskin, his publicity Director, pocketed \$24,378 for glorifying Joseph Curran. Curran's son, named Joseph Paul Curran, payments on wages are missing; he is also riding the gravytrain. Joseph Curran is still

the National Maritime Union AFL-CIO "Dictator" as well as Vice-President of the AFL-CIO.

FEAR

With treacherous labor leaders like Curran and others, you will never have a "Labor Party." There exists fear among the rank and file in the N.M.U. as well as other unions. You must concentrate on this treacherous move on the part of the labor leaders. A union, a labor leader and a rank and filer are all different today. I have fought Joseph Curran since 1956 and I am still fighting Joseph Curran. My blood and guts are not enough. I must definitely reach the rank and file. How are you going to have a labor party? Without fighting and struggling? Lets all wake up, there is no freedom of speech, press and etc. in unions today. Sincerely, Joseph Padilla Member of N.M.U.

JOIN THE WORKERS LEAGUE!

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Calif. Warehousemen Face Strike

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Twenty-five thousand warehousemen in Northern California face a situation similar to that of their union brothers in the southern part of the state who took to massive wildcat strikes in an attempt to overthrow the national Teamster leadership's sellout.

The warehouse workers, members of eight Teamster and five ILWU locals are working under the Northern California Warehouse Agreement, a contract jointly negotiated by the two unions three years ago, and which expired May 31.

The contract covers 1,000 shops in the area. Many of the larger ones have been moving out of the Bay Area to Nevada and other places where cheap non-union labor is available. In this way they hope, with the aid of government strike-breaking, to break the traditionally powerful hold of organized labor in this section of the economy.

The increasing loss of jobs and seniority and the lowered pay scales which result, are producing the effect desired by the employers: increased job competition among the workers and conservatism among the older workers with

seniority jobs. But the union bureaucrats are also aware of the potentially explosive frustration that is also produced, especially since the \$3,715 to \$3,965 pay range has been drastically eroded by inflation and taxes.

It is for these reasons that the union leaders in over a month of negotiations at the plush Jack Tarr Hotel have not uttered a peep about the major issues. They claim that there is a stalemate over "language" in the pension, health and welfare packages. Whistling in the dark to dispel fears of unrest, they announce that pay and job security are not at issue and that there is no potential strike situation. But the recent struggles in Los Angeles and nationally give lie to this outlook, and have increased rank and file militance.

If warehouse workers are to save their jobs and earn a living wage, they must take up a struggle against the leadership's footdragging with demands for a substantial pay increase. They must prepare to mobilize the active support of Labor Councils and unionists up and down the entire state for a strike with official sanction.

However the collaboration between the American minority and the SLL as well as the French section of the IC did not begin at this point nor was it based on the question of Cuba. It was only after we issued a statement of perspectives to the Political Committee of the SWP on the question of the international movement (7) that we had a basis for common collaboration with the British and French sections of the International Committee. It was this common agreement on international perspectives which was the principled basis upon which we then proceeded to build a caucus of supporters within the SWP.

Writing in an introduction to the reprint of "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective," the document of the minority presented to the June 1962 SWP Plenum, the Spartacist Editorial Board states:

"The nucleus of the RT (Revolutionary Tendency, the name Robertson gave to his faction after the split in the minority) originated in the central leadership of the Young Socialist Alliance, and first came together as a left opposition to the SWP Majority's uncritical line towards the course of the Cuban Revolution. This preliminary dispute culminated in the adoption of a thoroughly revisionist position by the SWP Majority at the June 1961 party convention. The party's theoretical revisionism, together with its abstentionist and opportunist practices, were carried into the party's general international line and began to turn the party away from a revolutionary perspective in the United States as well." (8)



Above: Farrell Dobbs touring Cuba during his 1960 election campaign. In 1961 the minority learned from the international that Cuba was only an expression of Pabloism.

Here Spartacist confuses the origins of the individuals who led the American minority with the origins of the minority itself. The minority had its origins in common agreement with the majority of the International Committee on international perspectives not on the question of Cuba. Not only did our tendency not begin with the Cuba question but it is just as incorrect to state that this dispute "culminated" in "a thoroughly revisionist position" at the June 1961 convention and that this "theoretical revisionism" was "carried into the party's general international line. . ." What Spartacist is saying is that the SWP made a revisionist error on Cuba which then culminated in a more general revisionist position six months later and was then carried into the party's international perspective.

What actually happened was that the SWP leadership presented simultaneously with its Cuba position a whole political perspective and proposal for reunification with the Pabloites at the very plenum in January 1961 at which it also presented its Cuba position. From the very beginning the two were interlocked. Cuba was an expression of an international perspective developed by the SWP leadership through its theoretical degeneration, its turn away from the political struggle with

Pablo after 1953, and its pragmatic method.

PERSPECTIVE

The SWP majority did not begin with an error on Cuba which it then developed into an international perspective. It began with a method and an international perspective which found its clearest expression in its position on Cuba. The SWP minority became an organized minority as part of an international tendency with the British and French sections of the International Committee only when it, too, saw Cuba as an expression of a whole international perspective and method known as Pabloism.

It is significant that Spartacist is incapable of comprehending the principled basis upon which the minority actually was formed or what exactly it was fighting. Perhaps Robertson and his friends, who were later to form their own faction separate from the International Committee, were fighting another battle all along?

CORRESPONDENCE

If we go back to the correspondence of that very early period in which the political collaboration between our minority, which was only in a formative stage, and the Socialist Labour League the principled basis for that collaboration will become even clearer. In a letter dated January 23, 1961 to Gerry Healy, this writer stated:

"As I mentioned in my letter to Cliff, I agree with you essentially on the questions you raised in your letter on Pabloism.... Thus while there may be seeming agreement at times, in abstract political formulations in real life the gulf is as wide (possibly wider) as it ever was. I am not at all sure there is a complete understanding of this here but I feel Jim understands it." (9)

The "Jim" referred to in the letter was James Robertson and as the letter made clear this question of Pabloism was being worked out by us within our own minority.

On February 9 this writer wrote: "I am sure that you will follow the discussion as it unfolds. I feel that you will note that it does involve some rather important questions for the international movement as a whole. The question of Pabloism is also of vital importance and --from the standpoint of the world movement as a whole it is probably more important than the Cuba question. However, rightly or wrongly, the Cuba question will probably be the pivotal one during the period of the pre-convention discussion here." (10)

In answer to this we received the following letter:

"I thank for your letter of February 9.

"Of course I quite appreciate that it is unavoidable that a discussion on Cuba will take place in the SWP, especially

before the convention. In our opinion, this is not the central problem.

"You will be shortly receiving a reply to the latest communication we have had from the SWP. Unfortunately it appears that we have differences on many important questions. We consider the Cuba problem entirely subordinate to these. It cannot in any case be cleared up without an understanding of the role of Pabloism." (11)

Then we wrote back on February 20:

"I have just received a copy of your International Resolution ("World Perspective of Socialism"--TW) and have read it thoroughly.

"I want you to know that I feel it is an excellent document and that I am in complete agreement with it. The emphasis on the conscious role of the vanguard and on the central import of the working class of the advanced countries is critically important. In this context I feel you quite properly give weight to the Belgium experience. Cuba is properly dealt with in relation to these broader questions as it should be. The attitude towards Pabloism flows inevitably from the political line of the document as a whole.

"It is my feeling that this document will play a central role in the process of the reorganization of the world Trotskyist movement. This reorganization must quite naturally begin with the reaffirmation of our fundamental politics. I am sure you are aware of the critical role that the SLL must play in this process. While one can, at times, get depressed at the extent of the problems our movement as a whole faces, there is an optimistic side to it all. We are now seeing the beginnings of a process which will lead to the rearming and rebuilding of the International. Luckily for us the relative stability of world capitalism is giving us the time to carry this out--not much time, but some time if we act quickly." (12)

And in answer to this letter:

"Thank you for your letter of the 20th. I am glad that you approve our document. You should encourage every comrade to study it carefully and let us have your amendments and suggestions. It is still but a rough draft of what we want. We are preparing even now some further amendments and additions to it ourselves. The main thing is that it begins a discussion which is long overdue." (13)

MEMORANDUM

Then on March 8, after internal discussion in our tendency and the kind of discussion outlined above with the British, we submitted to the National Committee of the SWP "Memorandum on the World Movement." This document states in part:

"The Open Letter of the SWP and the world-wide split that it precipitated was an extremely necessary step not only to counter the organizational methods of Pablo but to reaffirm the fundamentals of Trotskyism in the face of the political revisionism of Pablo which lay behind the organizational methods."

"If one looks at Pabloism as a centrist tendency which theoretically minimizes the role of the vanguard and in practice destroys the vanguard then Pabloism has not changed--rather its nature has become far clearer over the past seven years. . .

"But if one still has doubts about the reflection in theory of the revisionist approach of the Pabloites, one only has to look at the level of the concrete tasks of building the revolutionary party and there is no room left for doubt! Pablo has effectively dulled the revolutionary independence of his own forces and done his best to destroy those vital Trotskyist forces (e.g. England and Japan) that have shown their ability to grow. A political tendency which attempts to destroy the revolutionary vanguard is our mortal enemy no matter how much this tendency vows loyalty to Trotskyism! Just as Lenin had to struggle against every centrist tendency which attempted to dull the revolutionary consciousness, to throttle the independence of the party in order to build the party that led a successful revolution, so must we today follow in his footsteps." (14)

In response to receiving this document Healy wrote:

"Your enclosed statement to the National Committee should assist the discussion. . . I think your document will be very helpful to the comrades in the SWP." (15)

If we look at this discussion process between our tendency and the SLL, just a section of which is reproduced up above, several points become clear. While the American minority began its opposition on the question of Cuba from the very



beginning of its discussions with the SLL, the SLL sought to bring our tendency around to an understanding that Cuba was no more than an expression of more fundamental questions. In fighting to bring to our group an understanding of the central importance of Pabloism the SLL leadership was fighting for us to begin with the tasks of the international movement--with the problems of the construction of the Fourth International, not with questions as the SWP majority posed them within the American party.

In this respect it becomes crystal clear that Spartacist long after this period seeks to return to conceptions which the tendency as a whole broke from in February and March of 1961. At the same time the SWP continues to try to make it appear that the split in the International Committee occurred only over Cuba. (16)

It also makes clear that from that early period the American tendency embraced the International Resolution of the SLL and IC "World Prospects of Socialism" as well as drafting its own international statement. This statement, while drafted and submitted by this author, was written in consultation with and with the approval of our minority grouping specifically including James Robertson and Shane Mage.

What also comes through is some indication of the kind of relationship which existed within the international tendency, one based on patient explanation and discussion, not order and fiat as Spartacist and the SWP were to assert later. Above all the British proceeded from the burning necessity of an international discussion to clarify the international movement recognizing that our young group was in as much need of clarification, perhaps more so, than anyone else. The relations between the SLL and the American movement have always been of this character.

FACTIONALISM

There is another theme which ran through this correspondence from the very beginning, and in the light of the subsequent dispute in our tendency as well as charges on the part of the SWP leadership, it would be well to reproduce this as well. At every point the SLL proceeded from the perspective of a serious international discussion and counselled us against any form of factionalism. The deeper it was revealed the political divergence was, the greater was the concern of the British for this discussion and that this discussion was unimpeded by organizational and factional considerations.

March 8, 1961:

"As far as we are concerned the stage is now set for a very thoroughgoing discussion which we feel confident could be carried to a successful conclusion because of the desire of comrades in many countries for such a discussion.

"We must be extremely careful not to fritter away our forces in any kind of factionalism. It is my belief that with patience and firmness on principles the world movement can be reorganized within the next two or three years." (19)

March 22nd:

"We are very much of the opinion that the discussion in the SWP must be handled in the most objective way. I am speaking as one who has been in many factional struggles and I have no hesitation in en-



The Belgian general strike (left) which Pabloite Mandel (above) betrayed was an expression of the new period of class struggle opening up in Europe at that time. The SWP majority denied this seeing only colonial revolts led by middle class elements.

dorsing wholeheartedly all the warnings which Jim Cannon has made from time to time against factionalism."(18)

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"Our anxiety about factionalism does not spring from a misunderstanding of the goodwill which we know exists on both sides, but from the fact that we are seriously perturbed over the fundamental nature of the political differences."(19)

April 24th:

"There is one thing you need have no hesitation about so far as the Socialist Labour League is concerned, regardless of whom might designate us as factionalists, this is absolutely wrong, and we will insist upon a political clarification of the issues concerning our international movement. On this we will yield to no one. I feel that we have wasted far too much time up to now in avoiding theoretical clarification....

"I agree with your decision to avoid at all costs any aggravation of the factional situation. Please continue with this policy and let there be no talk about anyone breaking from the SWP, no matter how difficult you might feel the situation to be. Your problem is not one concerning the SWP—it is fundamentally an international problem. We need to clarify questions internationally. I fully realise the responsibility of our section in this respect....

"We must lean over backwards in our quest for political clarification. You have a great responsibility in this respect and it is a real test to have to face up to the difficulties and the endless discussion at meetings and at the same time bear in mind the great responsibility which we all bear for the future of our American movement."

"I think it is a mistake for anyone to imagine that by simply saying we are factionalists it will be possible to avoid a discussion of questions on Pabloism and centrism in general."(20)

Such was the advice we received in that early period. We did our very best to carry it out and, of course in the process, made many an error. But our minority as a minority did try to learn through its principled international collaboration in that period. In this respect everyone, including the future leaders of a split from our tendency Robertson and Mage, can claim credit.

COMMON

In that period we stood together and in common with the International Committee. We sought to learn from the IC and first of all learned the central importance of the international movement and the struggle against the revision of Trotskyism internationally in the form of Pabloism. We also learned the importance of patiently putting forward the clarification of principled politics before factionalism and an understanding that this perspective flowed from the international character of the discussion and the long historical origins of the problem of revisionism in the movement.

SPLIT

It was in the fall of 1962 that the split occurred within the minority tendency, the split which the 1966 International Conference sought unsuccessfully to heal. A discussion broke out within the minority over the nature of the SWP. A faction headed by Robertson declared that

the SWP was a "Rightward-Moving Centrist Party."(21) It thus sought to change the position the tendency had taken in its resolution "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" submitted to the SWP Plenum a few months earlier in June of 1962.

This resolution was the product not only of an extensive discussion within the American minority but with the International Committee as a whole. The Spartacist Editorial Board itself admits this when it states: "The need for such a statement was first advanced by Tim Wohlforth in the fall of 1961 with the advice of Gerry Healy in Britain. Geoffrey White authored the first draft; comrades Shane Mage and Cliff Slaughter contributed sections and criticisms on Marxist method and theory; Wohlforth furnished general editorial expansion, and several others made lesser contributions."(22) Truly, it was an expression of our tendency as part of an international tendency, the products of collaboration with our co-thinkers, and not just a statement of an American group.

STAND

Point ten of the concluding "Where We Stand" section of the document stated: "Finally, we regard the SWP with the YSA, in the political sense, as the American section of our world party. In our party are to be found the most principled and developed Marxists in our country and the embodiment of the rich experiences of our 30 year battle for Leninism and Trotskyism. In presenting our views to the party on these critical issues we are acting in the most fundamental interests of the party and world revolutionary movement. This document, taken with the IC International Resolution, expresses the essentials of the political outlook to which our party must return."(23)

This point makes clear that our orientation was to struggle within the SWP to return the SWP to a revolutionary course, not to simply reject it as already centrist and beyond our reach politically. At the same time the document reflects the international character of our struggle. We make it clear we are not only fighting for the principles put forward in the document "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective" but for the International Resolution of the IC.

This perspective was not simply based on characterizing the current positions of the SWP or even its political movement. As the polemics of our international tendency made absolutely clear at the time, we considered the current positions of the SWP to be centrist and revisionist and its movement to be back into the petty bourgeois revisionist Pabloite camp under pressure of alien class forces. But we saw the SWP in its historic evolution and within the context of the development of the Fourth International as a whole.

Thus we recognized the central role the SWP had played in the construction of the Fourth International and that its degeneration was therefore the central problem facing the reconstruction of the Fourth International in the new period. Therefore we were in no hurry to come to a definitive conclusion on the nature of the SWP seeing this as being resolved in the course of the political struggle itself. The longer the struggle, the more drawn out the discussion, the better. What was at stake was the very future of the Fourth International and what was in dispute was all the theoretical capital accumulated since the Communist Manifesto of 1848.

DIFFICULTY

The Spartacist Editorial Board has some difficulty explaining the contradiction between point 10 of "Where We Stand" and the position of the "Rightward Moving Centrist" party put forward only a few short months later by Robertson. In fact, strange as it may seem, they seek to blame the change in line precisely on the International Committee comrades who resisted and opposed this change. They write:

"Yet the co-thinkers of the RT in Britain, the Socialist Labour League, felt obliged in July 1962 to attack the SWP in a major document significantly entitled 'Trotskyism Betrayed—The SWP Accepts the Political Method of Pabloite Revisionism.' In September of the same year IC representatives at an international meeting officially stated that 'they did not politically represent the SWP.' Since the IC which thus repudiated its earlier ties with the SWP was then equivalent to the world party, the relation of the SWP Majority to the RT in the U.S. was rendered moot. Thus within the American tendency arose a necessary political discussion to examine the nature of the SWP

and clarify the relation of the RT to the SWP Majority."(24)

ABSURD

This is completely absurd. The Spartacist Editorial Board seeks, as Robertson did at the time, to confuse the sharpest political fight against the revisionism of the SWP with the political conclusion that the fight was over, the basic cadres of the SWP could not be won back to Trotskyism and thus a split must take place internationally as well as internally.

It even goes so far as to assert that the IC was repudiating "its earlier ties with the SWP." It does so even though it was precisely in this period that the SLL



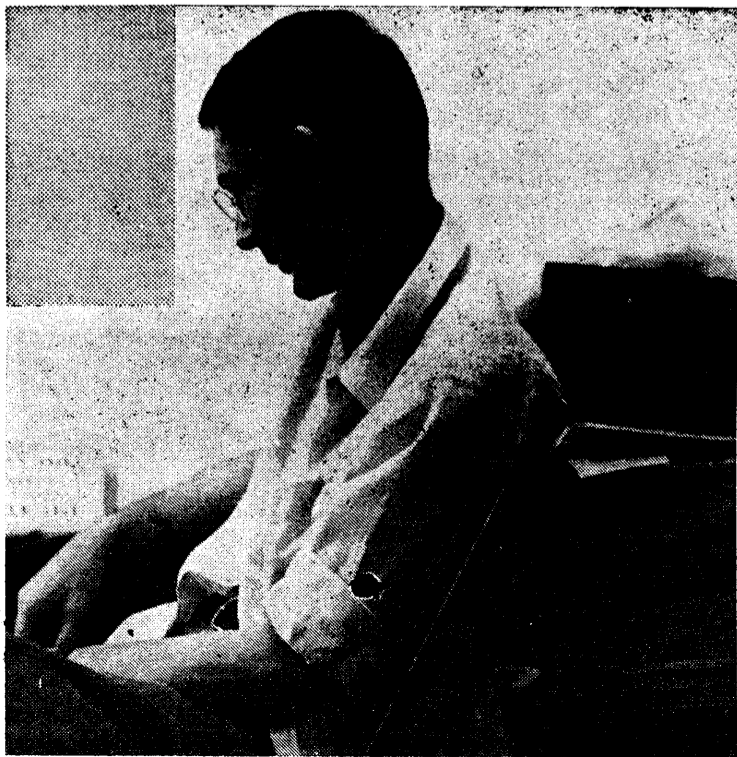
Tim Wohlforth (above) led a minority of the minority which stood on internationalism.

took the initiative and proposed parity discussions even with the Pabloites directly in order to facilitate the process of clarification within the IC. What this statement does is to obscure the real movement of the SWP itself to break off any serious discussion within the IC and to split from the IC in order to carry through its unification with the Pabloites. It was the SWP which repudiated its ties with the IC not the IC which repudiated its ties with the SWP. It was the British and French sections which carried forward the struggle of 1953 while it was the SWP which was turning its back on this struggle. Thus Robertson's rationalizations for his actions in 1962 act to obscure the real character of revisionism rather than to reveal it. This, as we shall see, has been the classic role of the Robertson group ever since.

SHARP

A sharp struggle broke out inside the minority tendency over the summer and

Robertson (below) led the majority faction of the American minority which reacted in an hysterical way refusing to subordinate tactical questions to the international tendency.



fall of 1962 producing an extremely intense factional situation. From almost the beginning, Robertson, reflecting the defeatist moods of the young comrades in the tendency, gained a majority for his faction in the New York tendency and in the Bay Area tendency as well. The minority was very much isolated within the SWP and its social competition worked against it contributing to subjective moods to simply withdraw from the struggle and split from the SWP.

A representative of the minority, Comrade Philips, went over to Europe for consultations on the internal situation as well as on perspectives in general. In England a meeting was held attended by representatives of both the British and French sections which drew a basic statement of policy for the functioning of the International Committee tendency internationally. In essence it supported the position taken in point 10 of the "Where We Stand" statement that we were still struggling for the SWP not writing it off as centrist.

STATEMENT

The IC proposed that all those who wished to be part of the International Committee tendency must sign this statement and those who signed it would constitute the tendency. What it proposed was that the comrades in the United States who differed in their evaluation and thus in their tactical line for work within the SWP subordinate themselves to the position of the International Committee as a whole, go along with a decision based on the many years of experience of these comrades. It was also proposed that an international tendency discussion bulletin be published and it was made clear that the comrades in the United States with tactical differences could and should continue a discussion of these differences but within the international tendency as a whole.(25)

If this step was not taken then the tactical approach towards work within the SWP of the minority claiming to be in solidarity with the IC internationally would be constantly undermining the political struggle of the SLL and French comrades. The stakes were too high to permit this: There had to be a willingness to subordinate tactical differences to the overall political struggle and to the judgment of the majority leadership of the international tendency as a whole.

HYSTERIA

The reaction of Robertson was to wage an hysterical campaign aimed at justifying a split from the International Committee. In the course of this campaign everything was done to obscure the real nature of the situation—to pose the question completely falsely and thus to justify a split from the international. For instance the November 4th statement of the "NYC Tendency Majority," signed by Robertson and four others (only one of which is presently still in Spartacist) stated:

"It is to the enormous credit of the NYC comrades that they stood fast and refused to bow to a device literally borrowed from the arsenal of bureaucratic-centralism which facilitated the downfall of the Communist International in the Nineteen Twenties. . . What is completely and entirely intolerable and unacceptable is the method of intervention by the Brit-

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of all learned the central importance of
the international movement and the strug-
gle against the revision of Trotskyism
internationally in the form of Pabloism.
We also learned the importance of pati-
ently putting forward the clarification of
principled politics before factionalism and
an understanding that this perspective
flowed from the international character
of the discussion and the long historical
origins of the problem of revisionism in
the movement.

SPLIT

It was in the fall of 1962 that the split
occurred within the minority tendency,
the split which the 1966 International
Conference sought unsuccessfully to heal.
A discussion broke out within the min-
ority over the nature of the SWP. A
faction headed by Robertson declared that

the SWP was a "Right
ist Party." (21) It
the position the tend-
resolution "In Defen-
Perspective" submit-
num a few months ear-

This resolution was
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American minority
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tacist Editorial Board
when it states: "The
statement was first
Wohlforth in the fa-
advice of Gerry Hea-
frey White authored
rades Shane Mage
contributed sections
Marxist method and
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several others made
tions." (22) Truly, it
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We Stand" section of

"Finally, we regard
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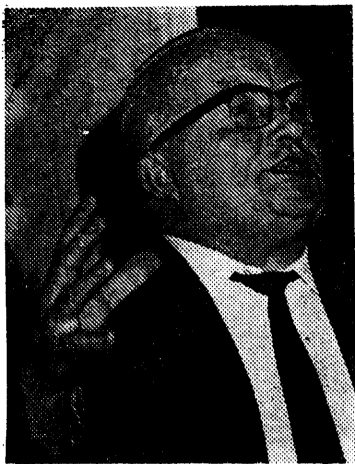
This perspective
on characterizing the
the SWP or even its
As the polemics of
tendency made absolute
we considered the cu-
SWP to be centrist
its movement to be
bourgeois revisionism
pressure of alien c-
saw the SWP in its
within the context of
the Fourth International

Thus we recognize
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drawn out the disc-
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in dispute was all th-
accumulated since th-
festo of 1848.

DIFFICULTY

The Spartacist Edit-
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blame the change i-
the International Com-
resisted and opposed
write:

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Britain, the Socialist
obliged in July 1961
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titled "Trotskyism
Accepts the Political
Revisionism." In Se-
year IC representative
meeting officially sta-
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IC which thus repu-
with the SWP was th-
world party, the r-
Majority to the RT-
dered moot. Thus
tendency arose a nec-
cussion to examine t-



Gerry Healy (above) pointed out that while Robertson wouldn't subordinate himself to the IC he would do so to the revisionists.

ish leadership and their demand for a recantation of views on the SWP by us. Independent of the incorrectness of the British opinions about the revolutionary nature of the SWP and the petty-bourgeois nature of ourselves, their laying down the law without a completed discussion and vote by all of us is dead wrong. We have stated clearly that should we lose in such a discussion we would loyally abide by the decision. Wohlforth can't even abide by the process of democratic discussion and has instead inveigled overseas comrades into an ultimatic intervention. What we will not do is repudiate our political convictions --i.e. we will not capitulate, (The acceptance of this course, even as a "tactic," means the end of comrades as revolutionaries, since afterwards one can never raise or act on one's real (?) views without being denounced and disciplined as a deceiver.)" (26)

It is absolutely clear that Robertson and his supporters were neither asked to recant their views nor were they question of whether the discussion would be one organized on an international level and who would make the decision as to the tactical line of the tendency while the discussion persisted? The IC proposed that the American tendency neither recant nor repudiate but subordinate its tactical views to the international tendency as a whole. At the same time it opened up a discussion within the international tendency. It proposed in the very statement Robertson was screaming about:

"All discussion and disagreement within the tendency is part of the discussion within the international tendency. Patience will have to be exercised so that while time is allowed for such differences to be adequately discussed internationally, the political aims and functioning of the tendency remain unimpaired. For this purpose, there will be facilities available for all members of the tendency to express their opinions in a special inter-

national tendency bulletin to be published by the Socialist Labour League. This bulletin will have a limited circulation amongst the leaders of the international sections who will be invited to comment and participate in the discussion inside the tendency. All written discussion must be carried out within this bulletin." (27)

What Robertson rejected was precisely the international movement. No matter how much he ranted and raved about "recantations" and "bureaucratic centralism" the truth is he was asked to do no more than he did each day for the "Rightward Moving Centrist Party" he was a member of--present a common line to opponents with the right to discuss differences within the organization or tendency.

HEALY

As Gerry Healy wrote to Robertson on December 28th 1962:

"In your letter of December 15, you refer to the experience of the British Trotskyist movement between 1943 and 1950, and you conclude: 'We have always considered that experience a highly important one, and sought to learn from it. However the chief lesson you saw that you "refused under any circumstances to split no matter what the differences or to be driven out of the party," is precisely what is not in dispute within our tendency. We have said consistently, and repeat once again, we will not split, we cannot be driven, from the SWP.' (Your emphasis).

"By not accepting the proposals we presented to comrade Phillips, you, in fact, split from us. If you cannot remain in our ranks and discuss with us, especially since you claim to be closer to us politically, we fail to see how it is going to be possible for you to remain in the SWP unless, of course, you consider yourself closer to them in matters of method." (28)

FOOTNOTES

1. Spartacist West, Number 18, March 27, 1970, page 4.
2. Workers League Moves Ahead on West Coast." March 2, 1970 Page 12. Bulletin Weekly Organ of the Workers League Vol. 6, No. 21--135
3. Spartacist West op. cit.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. Bulletin op. cit.
7. "Memorandum on World Movement" by Tim Wohlforth, March 8, 1961, Internal Bulletin No. 3, International Committee of the Fourth International.
8. "Preface" In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective, Marxist Bulletin No. 1, January 1965.
9. Letter of Tim Wohlforth to Gerry Healy, January 23, 1961.
10. Letter of Tim Wohlforth to Gerry Healy, February 9, 1961.
11. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohl-

forth, February 13, 1961.

12. Letter of Tim Wohlforth to Gerry Healy, February 20, 1961.

13. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohlforth, February 23, 1961.

14. Memorandum, op. cit.

15. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohlforth, March 8, 1961.

16. See "Principled Basis of Trotskyist Reunification in 1963" Intercontinental Press Vol. 8, No 18., May 11, 1970.

17. Healy Letter, March 8th, op. cit.

18. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohlforth, March 22, 1961.

19. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohlforth April 5, 1961.

20. Letter of Gerry Healy to Tim Wohlforth, April 24, 1961.

21. "The Centrism of the SWP and the Tasks of the Minority" by James Robertson and Larry Ireland in the Nature of the Socialist Workers Party -- Revolu-

tionary or Centrist? Marxist Bulletin, No. 2, Page 22.

22. Marxist Bulletin, No. 3, op. cit. Page 2.

23. ibid. Page 18.

24. ibid. Page 2.

25. "Statement Presented by A. Phillips to NYC Tendency" in the Split in the Revolutionary Tendency, Marxist Bulletin, No. 3, Page 12.

26. Marxist Bulletin, No. 3, op. cit. Page 10.

27. ibid., page 12.

28. ibid., page 32.

CONTINUED

NEXT ISSUE

Around 1962 the SLL was intervening sharply in the Labour Party youth movement and (as shown below) fighting for class action in the anti-war movement. At the same time it did not hesitate to devote itself to the international struggle against revisionism.



Problems of the Fourth International by G. Healy \$.40

IN APRIL, 1966, the International Committee of the Fourth International called its Third Congress. At this gathering, representatives of Trotskyist organisations in several countries argued out the problems of building the international revolutionary movement.

The task of this movement is to resolve the crisis of leadership which has held back the working class from overthrowing capitalism on a world scale.

Cynics have often sneered at the many splits and disputes which feature in the history of the Marxist movement. This only reveals their adaptation to the bureaucratic apparatus which shackles the workers' movement, channelling its consciousness within the confines of capitalist society.

Fighting with the weapons of gossip they slander those who strive to break the working class from the bureaucratic stranglehold. They play their part in the attempt to debase the ideas of the revolutionary movement.

Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, each in his time, showed that, in order to liberate itself from capital, to establish its political independence, the working class had to become conscious of its historic role.

This involved a scientific understanding of the class struggle and, in order to achieve this, a centralised organisation, fighting to lead the workers in all their national and international struggles, had to be constructed.

The process of building such a movement is complex and contradictory. It raises problems whose solution embodies a distillation of the experience of the working class in active struggle.

The fight for theory within the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, whose importance is stressed continually in this pamphlet, is thus not an abstract, academic exercise, but is cradled within the living reality of the class struggle itself.



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SPECIAL REPORT FROM "JEUNE REVOLUTIONNAIRE"

Young Writers and Artists Oppose Stalinist Bureaucracy in Hungary

This article was translated from the May 30 issue of *Jeune Revolutionnaire*, organ of the AJS French Trotskyist Youth Organization. It is based on information from inside Hungary on the deepening struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers' states. It emphasizes the critical role the youth have to play in this struggle.

Recently a brief press release has announced the formation on March 10, 1970 of a "Work Committee of Young Creators." This followed decisions made by more than a hundred writers, artists and poets who met in August, 1969 in Lillafured to found an independent organization. Official information has also added that since the formation of the first assembly more than a hundred youth have joined the new organization and that thanks to the "good offices" of the Central Committee of Communist Youth a periodical will appear called the *Revue of Young Writers and Artists*.

Despite the considerable efforts of the Hungarian bureaucracy to minimize this formation and to present it as "a simple natural artistic event," it is a political event, and as Marxists and young revolutionaries we fully recognize its meaning. Who can ignore the political significance of the fact that young writers and poets in struggling for their own organization, in demanding independence have turned against the official literary organization? It is a question of a struggle of the youth and not of the bureaucracy's initiative. This is the essential thing. The youth wanted to live and create independently.

ROLE

Literature, poetry and art in general have in the past always played a very

important role in Hungarian society. The most conscious intellectuals, young writers and artists make up one of the principal poles of opposition fighting against the oppressive and exploiting bureaucracy. The traditions of this social consciousness have been greatly enriched by numerous writers, artists and socialist poets. In the past, the artists were always politically involved. This is how it was before and during the 1956 revolution.

After the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, one of the first decrees instituted by the Kremlin bureaucracy was to dissolve the Writers Union and to imprison and heap scorn on many of the writers and artists. One of the first measures of the counterrevolutionary Kadar regime was the reestablishment of censorship, the dissolution and liquidation by the police of organizations, tendencies, groups and literary papers which came into being in the 1953-1956 period and were active participants alongside the workers in the revolution. After a few years the battle has been renewed.

IMPULSE

The big class struggles of 1968-69, especially in Europe gave a decisive and indispensable impulse to the change in consciousness of young Hungarian poets and writers. The confrontation of the youth with the bourgeoisie in Paris, Berlin, Rome, Tokyo and New York, with the

bureaucratic power in Prague, Belgrade, Warsaw, and Moscow have left a lasting mark. The class struggle, and in this context, the first two years of the reform plan of the Hungarian bureaucracy posed clearly and imperatively to the youth this question: Is there a revolutionary situation in Europe? What is the revolutionary attitude of our epoch? What is the real nature of the class regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and what is their relationship with the revolution and socialism?

The young artists took advantage of a number of possibilities in the legal set up. As of 1968, the youth have literally invaded the meetings, regular and irregular, organized by KISZ of the Writers Union. They have transformed these boring meetings into passionate discussions where the idea was put forward of a conference of young writers and poets with the aim of founding their own independent organization.

The writer functionaries of official literature and the entire bureaucracy noted with anxiety the magnitude of the movement and organized their defense. When they realized that to let the conference go ahead in order to control it and defeat it would be a lesser evil for them, they were forced to publicly reveal that "a problem of young writers and artists" existed.

COMMON

It is important to quote a few declarations of the leaders of the main groups of these young writers. In describing the common features of the aspirations of the young writers and poets Maria Mezey emphasized: "The motives which I am familiar with and see and which one must discuss above all are the social and political concerns. For me the most important concerns are the desire for democracy in public life, to consider more seriously the freedoms of civic rights and of creativity. The poet Jozsef Utassy, speaking of the young writers said: "They can see a truly free country if the oppressed classes, nationalities and the nation had the right to determine their own destiny. They cannot imagine socialism without socialist democracy. They are against the lack of a control by the people over power. Democratic elections! Right to recall representatives!"

Another important group, led by the young poets Beres, Haraszti, Pass and Vida also formulated its declarations in the form of a program. Beres thinks that in the case of a greater freedom for the youth "Literary life would perhaps flourish again, one could talk more about fundamental questions, more publications would be filled with more lively discussions on questions of public life, on the contradictions of our social life, and eventually about poetry also."

CONFERENCE

The conference which the youth forced on the bureaucracy took place towards the end of August 1969. The youth attended in great number and in a determined mood. The functionaries of culture wanted to convince the youth to concern themselves much more with literature and less with politics. But the youth counter-attacked. One of the main points was precisely the literary and cultural policy of the regime. One of the interventions emphasized that the best works that appeared was not because of the help of the leadership of the Writers Union, but on the contrary, against it! The police role of the Writers Union and of the party as well as the social role of the writers were the principal themes. The great majority severely denounced the official art and literature which is filled with lack of principles, conformity, arbitrariness, the abandonment of the revolution, conservatism, the spread of a petty bourgeois way of life, corruption, opportunism, capitulation to the bureaucracy.

It was difficult for the bureaucracy to portray the youth as anti-socialist to the workers. Endre Rozsa, one of these young writers had already answered such insinuations at the conference: "But who fears for socialism because of us? In whose name? And where indeed did we come from? Didn't we come en masse from the working class, haven't we studied at the university in order to serve society better?"



Worker in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution

Working Class Behind Ouster of General in Argentina

BY DAVID ALEXANDER

The events in Argentina last week give further evidence of the increasing tempo of the class struggle in Latin America. Gen. Juan Carlos Ongania, the military dictator of Argentina for the past four years, was ousted from power in a palace coup last week by some of his former military associates.

This comes at a time of increasing unrest throughout Latin America as the international crisis of capitalism forces the bourgeoisie to attack the Latin American working class more and more openly. In recent weeks, there have been upsurges on the part of the working class in Brazil, the Caribbean, Bolivia, as well as Argentina.

Mass strikes and agitation by the working class of these countries, in response to the increasingly severe economic crisis which is being foisted on the working class, has been answered by the rise of Bonapartist military juntas, which suspend traditional bourgeois "democratic rights" so that the bourgeoisie can have a freer hand in the repression of the workers and peasants.

INFLATION

Through the use of police state tactics, the regime of Gen. Ongania was able to keep the rate of inflation down from its former 30% to 6.6% by enforcing wage cuts and freezes on the Argentine labor movement. However, the fighting spirit of the working class could not be so easily checked. As the *New York Times* notes: "While his hard-peso policy attracted foreign investment, there was mass discontent over rising prices and lagging wages..."

These actions against the working class were answered by a mass upsurge of workers in May of last year, followed by a series of uprisings and incidents which culminated in the kidnapping of a former President two weeks ago.

Police, backed by troops, are still on guard around the city of Cordoba, where last week they were used to clear the car factories, occupied by the workers



Gen. Ongania, ousted dictator of Argentina for three days, and later to attack the general strike called by the trade unions against police brutality.

The other leaders of Gen. Ongania's military government and the imperialist interests they represent felt that the General was letting the situation get out of hand. He was therefore replaced by a consortium of military leaders calling for a restoration of "law and order." There are some indications that in order to achieve this goal, the new regime is promising to make a few more concessions to the Argentine workers than Ongania had been willing to do in an effort to ease some of the unrest.

TASK

These generals will face an increasingly contradictory task in serving their imperialist masters, who demand increasing attacks on the working class. The deepening of the crisis of capitalism will force this regime to keep the workers in line by adopting increasingly repressive measures despite their promises. The class peace these generals claim to seek is not possible.

This is the lesson that the working class of Argentina and internationally must learn if it is to avoid being annihilated in the coming period. The only way forward against the attacks of capitalist rule is the struggle for power. This can only be done by giving the international working class a conscious revolutionary leadership.

POSTMEN PREPARE FOR MILITANT

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK—Once again the possibility of a national postal strike is on the agenda, triggered as before by the militants in New York in Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) and the Manhattan-Bronx postal union.

At a stormy meeting of Branch 36 on June 11, the militants who were pressing for an immediate strike vote nearly lynched Branch 36 President Gus Johnson after Johnson ruled that the vote for an immediate strike vote was defeated. Most reports indicate that although close, the majority was in favor of immediate strike action in opposition to Johnson who wanted to delay the vote on strike authorization until July 6.

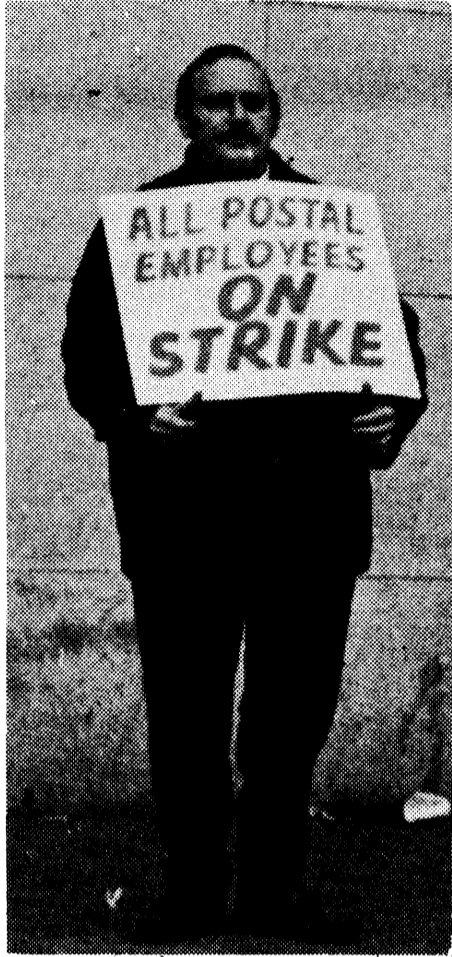
After two months of stalling by Congress on the postal reform bill which included the promised 8% pay raise, the ranks were fed up. An indication of their anger and frustration was that Johnson had to be rescued by City detectives when the militants rushed the speakers platform.

But Johnson was forced to a dramatic turnabout only a few days later in response to George Meany's endorsement of a substitute bill (the Udall bill) which not only would freeze out independent unions like the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, but would eliminate all retroactive pay and not provide for any area pay differentials. As one worker put it, when New York postal workers heard about the Meany statement, "they just blew up." Both Johnson and Biller of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union immediately came out with a call for an immediate strike vote to be held Friday, June 19.

DEAL

Moe Biller charged that the Meany statement was "part of a deal between him and the White House—a deal that says 'You will get recognition if we get lower pay!'" Of the various bills kicking around Congress now, the sentiment of postal workers is for the original Dulski bill which calls for retroactive pay to April 18 and for wage and benefit differentials in areas with higher living costs as opposed to the Nixon-Meany backed Udall bill which provides for continued recognition of the seven AFL-CIO unions only. The Udall bill calls for the 8% wage increase upon enactment of the bill and no area differentials. There is also a threatened filibuster by a bloc of Southern and conservative senators which aims at an "open shop" in the postal corporation, with no provision for recognizing any unions at all.

The retroactive pay question is the hottest issue, because many workers feel that the bill may not be passed until early July or even after the summer Congressional recess. The ranks in New York believe that a strike is now the only way to force action. Every indication is that strike authorization will pass overwhelmingly this Friday and that there will be a strike in New York either on Saturday, June 20, or some time the following week. The workers are fed up with the attitude of Congressmen which can be summed up as "They haven't got the guts to do it again



(strike) so we'll take our time and if they (the postal workers) don't like it that's too bad."

Even NALC President James Rademacher who led the sell out of the last postal strike has been forced to come out for a "nationwide work stoppage" if the legislation does not pass by next Friday, June 19.

Militants in New York feel that, regardless of what local leaders like Johnson have been saying in the past, the rank and file outside of New York is ready to break loose in response to strike action in New York.

These developments make especially timely the interview with a Branch 36 Letter Carrier which we print below. The interview was conducted in May at a time when the postal strike had been temporarily put on ice and Nixon was confronted with the massive student strike and protest over Cambodia.

Bulletin: Has there been any movement in New York for another strike by Letter Carriers?

Postal Worker: There was a meeting in April at which the New York Letter Carriers thought they were attending the meeting to take another strike vote. But it turned out that Gus Johnson called the meeting only to announce his plans to run for President (of the National Association of Letter Carriers).

Bulletin: What is the situation in Branch 36 of the Letter Carriers as far as rank and file opposition to the leadership of Gus Johnson?

Postal Worker: Well, Johnson was forced into the strike in the first place. He didn't want any part of it. So the militants just took over the microphone and demanded a strike vote. Then, after the three day period required by the union by-laws, he was forced to go along with the strike vote at the meeting the following Tuesday night. Then the union delegates tried to speak to the guys who they thought would vote against the strike to come to the meeting. But the militants brought down guys too. They got together and pooled their money and hired a bus to bring guys down to the meeting.

Bulletin: There was great power and militancy in the postal strike, although there was no central organization for directing the strike. Essentially, it was a huge, largely spontaneous wildcat strike, the first wildcat on such a scale in the history of the U.S. Then the bureaucracy, the National Guard, all the forces of the Nixon government were brought in to attempt to isolate the strike. The National Guard was key in isolating the strike.

Postal Worker: Yes, but if you follow the thing carefully, the groundwork was laid beforehand by redbaiting with the object of isolating the strike in New York, scaring the people in the midwest—and it worked. The National Guard would not have been so effective if it had not been for the feeling of isolation and demoralization that the bureaucracy had encouraged in New York.

They played up all the so-called back to work moves from cities all over the country. Wherever the bureaucrats in locals like Philadelphia, for example, were able to swing a vote to end the strike by hook or crook—this was used by Rademacher and the government to demoralize the strikers in New York. Rademacher, after consulting with Nixon, telephoned the local leaders in major centers like Chicago, and pleaded with them to get the men back to work, "to give me five days to get the demands, and if we don't get agreement then from the government, we'll call a national strike." Then, one by one, the heads of locals outside of New York area began to fall into line, in many cases ramrodding the men who wanted to stay out. In Chicago, the local leader, Henry Zeich who was tearing down the government one hour, the next hour after Rademacher came out with this five day deal, said, "tomorrow morning I'm putting on my uniform and leading my men back to work."

Bulletin: The postal strike seemed like the start of something, the beginning of a whole wave of struggle coming directly out of the ranks of labor. You have also

had a strike of all city employees in San Francisco, a wave of Teamster wildcats, and now the beginning of a massive student struggle against the war and in relation to the Kent State shootings. Some workers are beginning to see the connections between the strikes and the student struggles against the war and that these are really the same struggle.

Postal Worker: I would say that the rank and file are beginning to see this, but the leadership, even if they know it, don't want any part of it. They're afraid of what might happen. There's been a big shift in the attitude of workers toward Nixon—at least in the Post Office. He's probably the most hated guy in the country. Before the strike, some of the postal workers were willing to tolerate him, but after the strike began they did a complete turnaround. There may still be another strike. Of course it was a mistake to go back the first time. But the situation isn't solved at all for Nixon who is hoping that "time" will take care of the whole thing, will quiet the whole thing down.

Bulletin: What the postal workers did affected every other worker in the country. Now the postal strike is a new part of the mass consciousness, their bold action in defiance of the government led to changes in thinking throughout the working class.

Postal Worker: Yes, I think there was a tremendous reaction, a shock felt by other working people, most of whom thought that this was something that would never happen, that the post office employees would go out on strike. The strike exploded the myth that you can't strike against the federal government.

Bulletin: The strike also made a big impact on workers not only because it defied the federal government but also because of the crisis it threw the country into and the tremendous power and potential behind it. It was very important for the Workers League to raise the idea of a general strike by the labor movement in support of the postal workers. This is the kind of thing that Nixon and the bosses are afraid of, just as they are afraid that the students protesting the war in Cambodia today will connect up with the workers. This is the significance of reaction to the shooting of the Kent State students. Nixon is afraid that the workers will react to this by backing up the students.

Postal Worker: I think that they are going to twist the incident at Kent State, bringing in phoney stories about sniper fire in order to still keep the workers apart from the students. They use anything that will keep the white working class in line, keep the white workers apart from the blacks, to keep them ignorant of what's really happening. It's always the same tactic. They tell the workers "you won't get your letters from your loved ones" during a postal strike, trying to turn other workers against the strikers.

There still was tremendous support for the strike among ordinary working people. But as far as the support of labor "officials," the only one who really said anything was Reuther. Meany said "go back to work."

FRENCH COPS LEAD 'LAW AND ORDER'

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The recently-passed laws in France, designed to attack working-class organizations under the guise of protecting 'law and order', have soon showed their true meaning.



Police round up students at Grenoble University under the new "anti-smashers" law

At Grenoble University, in SE France, the CRS (riot police), gendarmerie and troops have moved into the town in thousands on the pretext of dealing with Maoist students on the campus.

On Wednesday, June 3, a truck-load of armed civilians moved into the campus in order to 'arrest' a couple known to be Maoists.

The whole press blows up this affair as a confrontation of police and Maoist 'trouble-makers'.

On June 7, the authorities issued a warning to students on the campus, telling them to leave their rooms immediately, whether they have anywhere to go or not, otherwise they could immediately be victims of the recently-passed law.

We publish below the declaration issued on June 7 by Pierre Broue, well-known Trotskyist militant and author of several Marxist works, and chairman of the Grenoble union of university teachers, in his personal capacity:

As a teacher, and an active trade union and political worker, I consider it my duty, in face of the serious situation in Grenoble, to make a public declaration without having first submitted it to my colleagues and my comrades.

The attempt by armed civilians to remove two Maoist militants on Wednesday, June 3, followed by the massive and

provocatory intervention of police forces in the campus, around the Berlioz hostel, has in fact resulted in a situation of exceptional gravity.

This can legitimately be considered as the first concrete application of the so-called 'anti-smashers' law, which the trade union and political organizations of the working class have already denounced as meaning a future of repression in store for all of us: work will go on under direct police surveillance and in permanent fear of provocations.

On the one hand, the withdrawal of police forces from the campus, carried out on the evening of June 3, cannot be accepted as sufficient answer to the disquiet and even the fear of the university residents.

The massive presence of the CRS and 'gendarmes mobiles' in the town and its outskirts, as well as their daily actions of harassment, are an intolerable and constant menace weighing on the residents and workers on the campus.

On the other hand, the legitimate concern of the students for defence since June 3 has ended in a situation where elements totally foreign to the university and even from outside the region altogether are in control in the supposedly fortified area, where, under their protection, totally irresponsible and unconsidered actions are being perpetrated.

STRIKE ACTION

Bulletin: During the strike it seemed that the real power behind the militancy came from the younger workers. Is that right?

Postal Worker: The bulk of the thing was from the guys under 40. Thirty-five, thirty, twenty-five, and especially from guys that had just come into the post office in the past few years, particularly the black workers who comprise a majority of the new young workers in New York City. They couldn't wait to jump into the battle.

Bulletin: I noticed that a lot of black guys with some sort of nationalist button on were among the real militants. But when it came right down to it the idea of any kind of "nationalist" or "separatist" struggle was completely pushed aside. I saw this also among whites. There was a real solidarity, cutting across race.

Postal Worker: There was more solidarity than at any time I can remember on the job. Normally you've always had racism, both undercover and out in the open. Everybody looking at each other out of the corner of their eye, you know. But throughout the strike the solidarity was just tremendous. Even with the older workers who were putting their pensions on the line—they were ready to go out. I guess it was 30 years of pent up emotion being let loose. They'd been pushed around for so long. It was almost a total strike. It was 99% effective. People who were really afraid said well, the hell with it—nobody else is going in, why should I.

One of the main weaknesses of the strike which made it easier to get the men back to work later was the lack of coordination throughout New York. The Bronx was kept isolated from Manhattan, and so on. No one really knew what was happening at first. All you had was rumors. That's one of the reasons I raised the idea of a rank and file strike committee to take leadership of the strike. There was no coordination between the clerks, carriers, handlers and so forth.

In fact the strike started breaking up when some of these smaller unions that you have in New York announced they were going back to work and this was given a lot of publicity by the media—CBS, NBC, the New York Times, for instance. This was two days before the announcement was made of an agreement with the national unions. For example there was this tiny union of maybe 200 members at the Long Island City truck terminal whose president got a 5 minute interview on CBS, consisting of him telling his men to go back to work. Another president of a little union in New York did the same thing. His excuse was that they had brand new trucks which the National Guard might ruin "if my men don't drive them." All this publicity had an effect on the men outside, plus the pressure of the National Guard, plus this red baiting nonsense. It began to chip away.

Bulletin: Out of the strike a great sentiment developed among the ranks for a united union, or at least, as some of the members of the clerks union put it, all the unions "pointed in the same direction."

CAMPAIGN AGAINST STUDENTS

The actions of these groups is a direct menace to the liberty and safety of those who live and work on the campus. They give a constant pretext for renewed intervention by the police forces, which, as on June 3, would be turned against the mass of students.

A large proportion of the resident students have left the campus hostels to seek shelter elsewhere.

Still, many students remain who have no alternative accommodation. They find themselves faced with the double menace of grenades and baton charges on the one hand, and motorcycle chain attacks and robberies on the other, unable to know which is worst, and knowing perfectly well that each side only justifies its actions by the attitude of the other.

The joint trade unions on the campus (university teachers, students and technicians and other workers) on June 4 gave the first basis of a united reply by deciding to strike.

But on that day, unity could not be realized between the different trade union confederations and only this could have turned the situation: given these conditions, the situation could only get worse day by day.

The authorities of Universities II and III (at Grenoble) have decided to suspend all activities from Monday, June 8.

I believe that one of the main ideas that you have raised in the last few years is for the unity of the postal unions.

Postal Worker: This was my idea last year. A rank and file movement to force the leadership to merge the unions. 95% of the ranks are for it. Nationally you have three or four big unions. You have two major unions in New York and a number of smaller ones. What has happened is that only the AFL-CIO union is recognized by the government.

Gus Johnson and Moe Biller of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union (unaffiliated), which is the largest union in New York, were talking about possible merger. Nothing came of it. When the bill was worked out in Washington it was stipulated that once the postal corporation went through, the government would only negotiate with the recognized unions knocking out two large independent unions, the national postal union and the national alliance, a black union.

The Manhattan-Bronx postal union together with the national postal union (of which it is a part) originally broke with the AFL-CIO unions on grounds that they were too much like company unions.

Recently, Moe Biller announced that he was negotiating a merger with the Teamsters. The idea behind this was that the militant New York men were being told that the Teamsters alliance would make the government "listen" to New York and eventually they would knock out the AFL-CIO all over the country, starting in New York and spreading out. As far as I hear, negotiations with the Teamsters aren't going too well and he's in a panic. The ranks of the carriers are taking a "wait and see" attitude. Of course a lot of them are disenchanted with Gus Johnson because they see he's stalling. They are beginning to parallel him with Rademacher, which of course is correct. Each of the bureaucrats, Johnson and Biller, are having "a war of words," attacking and counterattacking each other, almost every day of the week, but it's all nonsense. As far as going on strike again, there's a feeling that they should wait a little while until the guys can say, look, they've promised us and its three or four months already and they haven't given us anything.

Bulletin: You say that the postal reform bill will be passed although it may take more than another month. What changes will this bring about?

Postal Worker: As far as rates, it will be 8¢ for a first class letter, a thirty-three percent increase on third class "junk mail" and probably a 50 percent increase on 2nd class. What it means is that the corporations and big mailers still get off easy while the private citizen gets the worst deal. Then they will establish what they call "priority" first class mail for 10¢ an ounce which only means that they will guarantee you the service that you are now supposed to be getting for 6¢, within 24 hours but at a 10¢ cost.

The bill also includes the 8% pay raise which they promised. As far as the other demands that the men wanted—that the

We are in the examinations period. Should these examinations be put off to an indefinite date, against the real wishes and clear interests of the students?

Are they going to have to be conducted in a campus with its entrances barricaded or under the 'protection' of those who, on June 3, threw tear-gas grenades into the Barnave restaurant, in an atmosphere of violence, of nervous tension and anxiety born of a very real insecurity?

In other words, are the students going to lose a year's work because of indefinite postponement of the examinations, or are they going to enjoy their future in the university in examination rooms where any sort of opposition—and this is already anticipated by the present situation—would constitute the pretext for a police intervention of which June 3 has already taught people to be fearful?

Today, everyone must take up their responsibilities.

On the side of the government, it is urgent to have a declaration of whether they are prepared to pursue a path leading directly to havoc and the destruction of the university of Grenoble, to a repression directed against the students as a whole.

The students would then be paying directly for the consequences of scandalous general policies and measures in the educational field, the responsibility for



Mass meetings of postal workers (above) after winning strike vote

government pay the cost for hospitalization, medical benefits, insurance and so on which the workers now pay—these demands are not in the bill but supposedly are open for later negotiation which is granted under the corporation.

The corporation will give you "collective bargaining" but still no right to strike. Compulsory arbitration is the basis for the so-called collective bargaining with a so-called impartial board making the decisions on the arbitration. This is completely phoney, since of course, all the members of the board will be appointed by Nixon. Meany accepted this and made a big point about "collective bargaining." He never said a word about the compulsory arbitration. He sat in the Postmaster General's office, with Blount, and said that this was the greatest step forward in labor history for federal workers.

But as far as the 8% increase goes—it's gone already. We're so far behind, it was eaten up two years ago.

Under the corporation they are going to survey every postal facility in the country starting in New York, in order to find out where and how they can cut costs. That's one of the main purposes of the corporation—to make it operate by producing a profit—at the expense of the workers. There's no doubt that they will trim labor costs by cutting down on new hiring and temporary labor and bringing in more labor saving machinery, automation and rationalization. The result can only be a tremendous speedup.

Bulletin: The question is that the movement for unity has to begin somewhere. Someone has to take the initiative and there can be a big response.

Postal Worker: Part of the problem is the conservatism of the old timers. Be-

fore the strike, there was a lot of fear.

It goes back to the McCarthy days. If you mentioned the word "strike," someone might call up the FBI. There's still this hangover. I know. I once hung up a strike sign and some old timer walked up, looked around but didn't realize I was watching him and pulled down the sign. I ran over to him and said: "What are you doing?" He said, "This isn't necessary." I told him, "It's none of your damn business, get lost," and I put the sign up again.

The strike broke through this type of attitude but we have to look for all the reasons why the strike collapsed. It collapsed because of lack of leadership more than anything else. The guys weren't starved out by any means. Of course they needed money during the strike but they could get by. Many of them had part-time jobs. It was lack of leadership and coordination that did it. Of course the leadership didn't want any coordination. They were sabotaging the strike.

Bulletin: What is the feeling among postal workers about the war?

Postal Worker: Well, a while ago, many of them went along with it, but now many of these same people are definitely turning around. In the past they never faced a situation where they had to strike to get more money. They simply said the government should raise the price of stamps. They were forced to strike. This got a lot of them thinking, well look at all this money being spent in Vietnam and Laos and places like that while they're not even giving us anything to live on. But it wasn't until the strike hit that these ideas actually came out in the open, even though I could see the change coming on earlier. Some of these are the same people that would have hung you a year earlier. The traditionally conservative postal worker who had a secure job, wanted to send his kid to college and wanted to imprison anyone who tried to "upset things" is a thing of the past.

But now, they, like other workers are beginning to look at things in a broader perspective than the "let them raise the price of stamps" attitude of the past. The protest against the war can't be stopped at the student level any more. Workers have to be tied into it, because workers are the thing. For the past few years, the majority in the student movement didn't want to bother with the workers or the labor movement. Now there is a turn. However, a lot of them are still adolescent and idealistic about it. Some group, one of the radical groups, possibly Progressive Labor, I know has sent people into factories without preparation and the guys were afraid to open their mouth. Some of the tactics used for "base building" by this type of group are ridiculous.

I think also that some of the radicals who regard themselves as "the intellectuals" who talk down to the workers have the wrong approach. You can't reach the workers either by tearing up the campus, burning books and so forth. The workers believe that education is something to be valued, something they never had and will fight for their kids to have. You've got to SIDE with the workers and find the issues on which to reach the workers. You can't talk down to them.

Grenoble, Sunday, June 7, 1970

