

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

**WHY THE NEW
LEFT
LOVES
ERNEST MANDEL**

DRIVE WALLACE POISON OUT OF TRADE UNIONS

VICTORY TO FARM WORKERS WITH UNITED LABOR ACTION



*LINDSAY OFF HOOK
AS TEACHERS AND
COMMUNITY FIGHT
EACH OTHER*



COMMEMORATION MEETING

30th Anniversary of the Fourth International

SPEECH

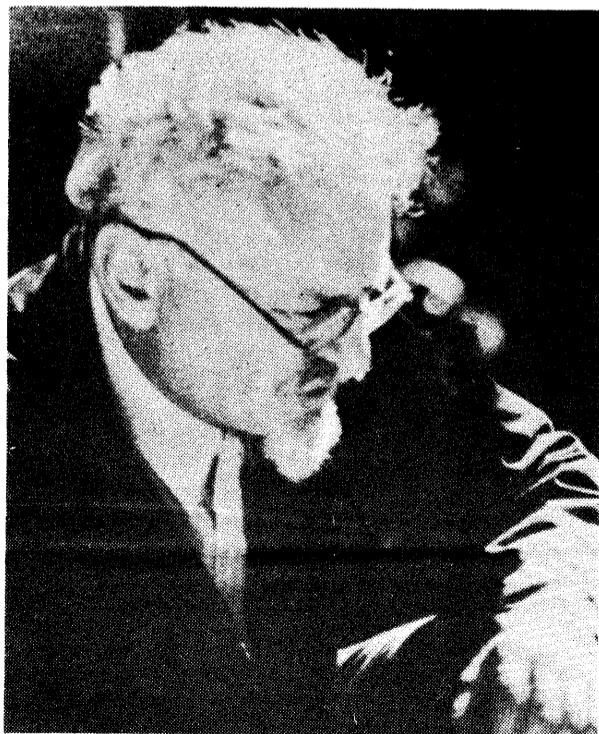
FORTY YEARS OF TROTSKYISM IN THE UNITED STATES--THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM TODAY. SPEAKER: TIM WOHLFORTH, NATIONAL SECRETARY, WORKERS LEAGUE.

FILM

EXCLUSIVE SHOWING OF FILM OF ACTUAL WORKERS OCCUPATION OF SUB-AVIATION PLANT IN NANTES, FRANCE DURING MAY, 1968 GENERAL STRIKE

RECORDING

RARE RECORDING IN ENGLISH OF LEON TROTSKY SPEAKING ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE U.S.A.



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RALLY HITS WALLACE POISON



TIM WOHLFORTH, WORKERS LEAGUE NATIONAL SECRETARY, CALLS FOR LABOR TO FORM ITS OWN PARTY.

George Wallace's strength is growing among industrial workers throughout the country. In Flint, Michigan, a UAW local has endorsed Wallace, while support for Wallace in UAW plants in New Jersey is reported to be as high as two-thirds of the workers.

This represents the gravest danger to the American working class. Wallace seeks to pit the frustrations of workers, their anxiety about the war, the inflation here, their future jobs, in a reactionary way against the Negro workers and "communists". It is the bosses, the bosses' government and the bosses' system which sends American boys to die needlessly in Vietnam, which makes American workers pay for it with inflation and taxes, which cannot improve the lot of the Negro masses thus laying the basis for the ghetto uprisings. But this is all blamed by Wallace on those who feel the oppression the greatest, the Negro people, and those who fight this oppression.

Wallace shows what he really has in store for American workers by the way he runs Alabama. The Southern white workers just as much as the Negro workers have been forced to pay for racism with no unions to protect them, with wages one-third to one-half what they are in Michigan and New Jersey. Under the call for "law and order" Wallace rallies workers to extend the open shop and the oppression of Alabama into the Northern industrial states.

He is the enemy of all workers. His poison must be battled in the unions be-

fore it succeeds in crushing the unions.

NOTHING

Wallace grows because the liberals have done nothing while in power to tackle the oppression of the Negro masses, end the war in Vietnam, relieve the growing economic pressure on all workers. They have had their chance under Kennedy and under Johnson. The leadership of the AFL-CIO seeks to fight Wallace only to support Humphrey. But Humphrey represents the bankrupt policies which have led to Wallace's strength. Therefore he feeds Wallace, not fights him.

Either Nixon or Humphrey could undercut Wallace's str-

ength in the working class by offering a real program to end the war and end the oppression at home. Both candidates refuse to do this because the system they defend is in crisis and can no longer offer any real reforms even to the American people.

LAW

So they "me-too" Wallace which will only lead to his growth not his defeat. Law and Order is the cry now of all three politicians-- and they are making it clear whose law and order they have in mind. Nixon yells "law and order" but opposes enforcing the law barring school segregation in the South. This makes clear just what kind of

NEW YORK--On Friday, September 13, the Workers League sponsored a Labor Party Rally, which was attended by about 70 persons, most of whom were trade unionists.

Dave Van Ronk, nationally known folk singer, opened the Rally with several songs. Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, gave the major talk of the evening, centering around the pressing need for a labor party to be built by trade unionists as a working class alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and to the reactionary threat posed to the class by the Wallace candidacy. A vote for Halstead and Boutelle, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, was urged as the first step in building a labor party.

Fred Mazelis, delegate of Local 1172, of the Drug and Hospital Union, which won a \$100 per week minimum wage in contract negotiations this year, spoke on the situation facing city labor. Special emphasis was given to the meaning of the Teacher's strike and the necessity for supporting the UFT as part of the defense of the trade union movement and the Negro people.

The following are excerpts from Wohlforth's speech.

law and order Nixon wants. -- law that oppresses the Negro people and the working class and an order which preserves the profits for the bosses.

Humphrey says "law and order plus justice" and then shows what he means by "justice" by defending Daley's cops in Chicago as they beat demonstrators and Johnson's troops in Vietnam who are murdering the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

We say enough of the "law and order" of big business. The Workers League fights to establish the harsh and just law and order of the working people of all lands-- the law and order of a socialist society which will make poverty not the fight against poverty a crime, the making of war not the fight against war a crime, the spewing of racist poison not the fight

against racism, a crime.

STEP

As a great step forward in this election we call upon the working people to refuse to vote for the law and order of Humphrey-Nixon-Wallace and cast their vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates Halstead and Boutelle who stand on a program calling for the formation of a labor party in America. We must fight this racist poison in the plants which pits worker against worker. We must unite all labor into one great army to build its own party and throw all the rascals out.

The "Militant" weekly paper of the Socialist Workers Party omitted to print an ad submitted by the Workers League for its Sept. 13th rally. The rally was called in support of the SWP's candidates, Halstead and Boutelle and the demand for a labor party. Even though notified of this, the "Militant" refused to print the ad.

victory to farm workers!

by Jeff Sebastian

The UFWOC is waging an all out struggle to win its demands for farmworkers by boycotting grapes throughout the country. The decisive struggle will be waged in California where all the strength of the growers is being mobilized to smash their union.

Some idea of the ferocity with which the growers are reacting to the boycott is the increasing campaign of violence against the farmworkers. Shortly after the announcement that grapes would be boycotted in New York the growers made clear their ideas on how to conduct labor negotiations.

On the Freeman Ranches in Coachella Valley over 1100 workers walked out on strike. Only 27 remained. These 27 were contractors and "coyotes", who make their living by smuggling in wetbacks at \$50.00 a head and then charging the growers another \$50.00 for supplying the strikebreakers.

The response of the growers was to drive trucks into the picket lines, running over a 14 year old and breaking both his legs. Supervisors beat one picket with 2x4's and kidnapped a seminarian into the fields where they broke his nose and cheekbone and caused internal injuries. The police stood by offering no protection to the pickets. At the same time the newspapers have been conducting a smear campaign against the farmworkers for their "il-

legal" boycott while covering up such acts of violence.

The growers have even more powerful allies in the politicians. Both Nixon and Reagan have openly condemned the farmworkers and are working for their defeat.

The fight of the farmworkers is of vital importance to the entire labor movement. Precisely at a time when decisive sections of the capitalist class are moving rapidly to the right and preparing to take repressive measures against the entire working class, the farmworkers find themselves in a life and death struggle for survival against these very forces. At stake is the very right of unions to organize and exist. This struggle must be won!

Yet the UFWOC under the leadership of Cesar Chavez is conducting the fight as though we were still living in the days when significant concessions and reforms could be won from the capitalists.

Reliance on capitalist politicians like Kennedy, McCarthy and Humphrey has not even given the farmworkers the legislation they have begged Congress to enact. Reliance on pacifism, the Church and fasting has only resulted in a situation in which the picket lines are threatened by the growers. And, finally, reliance on labor bureaucrats like Meany only serves to cut the farmworkers off from

the one force that can really aid their struggles, the organized working class.

This has been very sharply reflected in the UFWOC boycott campaign in S.F. The fight was launched with a march and mass rally on Sept. 8. Nearly 2,000 people poured out to demonstrate their solidarity with the strikers. This is an indication of the sort of mass support that can be built in the Bay Area.

Nevertheless the march was dominated by pacifism and religion. The largest contingents were turned out by the Church and except for a sizeable turnout from the ILWU there was virtually no labor representation. Only the Workers League and the Revolutionary Youth Movement intervened in the march with a political alternative. Carrying banners reading: Workers of the world unite, The land belongs to those who work it, Viva Zapata, Growers parties out, build a labor party and calling for defense of the picket lines and a turn to the rank and file of labor through a demand for the boycott of grapes from the ILWU, IBT, and retail clerks, tremendous impact was made on a large number of people.

The speeches during the rally, while stressing solidarity and calling for support, gave absolutely no lead as to how the campaign was to be carried forward to victory.

Now that the march is over

the fight goes on. The farmworkers are trying to get grapes removed from all markets by campaigning for a consumer boycott and picketing the supermarkets. It is extremely important that mass support be mobilized for this struggle. Picketing takes place every day from 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. at the Mayfair Supermarket on Geary near Fillmore. Information can be obtained from the farmworkers by calling 626-7954 or 626-7955.

The Workers League is committed to campaigning to bring out the largest possible forces onto these picket lines. Nevertheless the consumer boycott is the most difficult way to conduct the struggle. It is essential that the campaign be taken to the trade unions.

While this fight goes on grapes are still being handled by longshoremen, carried by teamsters and sold by retail clerks. The leadership of the farmworkers refuses to take the struggle to the rank and file of these unions. We say that the only guarantee for the success of the strike is the support of these unions for the boycott as well as the active intervention in the rest of the labor movement with support and financial aid. We intend to demand that the ranks of these unions refuse to handle the scab grapes. We say that the threat of state injunctions will not move the grapes if the union movement is prepared to stand solid on this.



FRED MAZELIS, 1199

defend black panthers!

by Marty Jonas

The capitalist assault on the Black Panther Party has been stepped up recently.

The trial of Huey Newton has resulted in the verdict of "voluntary manslaughter", the minimum guilty verdict that could be brought in. It is clear that the ruling class wishes to put Newton away for as long as they can (term is 2 to 15 years), but fear the possibility of mass uprisings in ghettos across the country. Hence, the compromise verdict.

Two days afterward, taking their cue from the frame-up trial, a duo of trigger-happy cops fired from a police car into the window of Black Panther headquarters in Oakland. Fortunately nobody was hurt.

In Los Angeles, three Black Panthers were killed by police in August. On September 1, the cops in L.A. followed this up with an orgy of verbal abuse, beatings, and false arrests of a group of Panthers.

In Brooklyn, New York, on Sept. 4, in the very halls of a courthouse 200 cops attacked with fists and black-jacks a small group of Panthers and their white supporters from SDS. All cops were off-duty and wore Wallace for President buttons. Some were recognized as members of the Law Enforcement Group, a new ultra-rightist policemen's organization which was originally formed to protest a judge's supposed coddling of Black Panthers.

This is only the beginning. Defense of the Black Panthers is elementary. There

is nothing that the ruling class fears more than the working class in arms. That is the meaning of the bourgeoisie's panic over gun control. The Black Panthers are a section of the working class who are under attack for daring to defend themselves. As the rest of the working class comes under attack, they too will rise to defend themselves. They will defend themselves with their unions, with their building of a new political alternative; and the ruling class will come down on them as hard as if they had used guns. The working class must be ready for all such attacks.

The ruling class is feeling very bold in its attacks on the black workers; that is the meaning of the impunity with which a Newton can be framed up and cops can shoot at Panther headquarters. The working class, through the power of its trade union movement, must organize protests to show the bosses that it will not stand for this assault on other workers.

TWIN CITIES PLANS FARM WORKER DEFENSE

by Paul Martins

"Every bunch of grapes that you buy helps pay the strike-breakers and scabs who picked and packed the grapes that are now arriving in the midwest markets." This is one of the points in a leaflet being passed out to Minnesota shoppers by the Minnesota Friends of the United Farm workers.

The Friends kicked off their Minnesota campaign in earnest on September 4, when a rally was held in support of the strike and boycott.

The meeting concentrated on whipping up support by dwelling on the moral atrocities that are being staged against the workers and the moral responsibility of the audience to do what they could to help.

Of course it is the duty of every member of the working class to support the struggle of the UFWOC, but it is a class duty, not a moral one. All of the unions in Minnesota have made statements supporting the strike and boycott, but ACTIVE support in this struggle has been confined to a few statements in the labor press and sending two clergymen to the California vineyards on a factfinding mission. Boycott picketers have been almost invariably young students and liberals instead of the unionists whose vital rights are being attacked every day in California.

If the boycott is to succeed, if the strikes are to be resolved quickly and favorably, then the entire trade union movement must place its active support behind the farm workers.

LINDSAY OFF HOOK AS BLACKS FIGHT TEACHERS

by Lucy St. John

We say: ALL OUT SUPPORT OF THE TEACHERS STRIKE! All those who are scabbing or advocating scabbing are scabs and are fighting for the enemy - the bosses and their government, are fighting for the oppression of the Negro people and the destruction of the trade unions.

We say: THE REAL ENEMY MUST BE FOUGHT! We say the fight is not a fight between the teachers and the Negro people, but a fight against the bosses and their government whose main task is to attack the working and living conditions of all working people, black and white, organized or unorganized. The teachers are fighting to protect that organization, the trade union, which has fought to raise their standard of living and protect their working conditions. The teachers are not fighting against the improvement in the educational system; this has been a central part of the union fight, the fight for smaller classes, more and better trained teachers. The "community" is fighting against the deplorable situation in their schools; it is a fight against the decades of economic oppression represented by the existence of the ghettos.

The real enemy - the ruling class, the capitalists and their political representatives are getting off in this struggle scot free. They and they only are responsible for the deplorable conditions in the schools. It is they that in order to preserve their profits attack the working class; they use racism to keep the workers fighting each other. Lindsay the man who represents the bosses in this city is smelling like a rose. He and his cohorts in the Democratic and Republican parties are the ones that must be attacked.

DECENTRALIZATION

We say: DECENTRALIZATION IS AN INSTRUMENT OF OPPRESSION! Decentralization and "community control" is a tool in the hands of the bosses and their government. Decentralization was designed, perpetrated, and paid for by the big business interests under the name of the Ford Foundation for their needs not for the needs of the teachers, the parents, or the students. That is why this program is supported by the most reactionary bourgeois politicians including Nixon and William Buckley. There is absolutely nothing progressive or good about decentralization.

Decentralization serves three purposes for the ruling class.

First it is a method of rationalization and part of the reorganization plans in city government to lower labor costs. It involves the hiring of workers outside of union control to do the same jobs union covered workers have done for half the pay. This is done under the guise of hiring unemployed from the



SHANKER AT UFT RALLY.

ghettos. What it means is lowering the standard of living of all workers and unemployed. Combined with this is decentralization as a tool to destroy the unions which have fought and were formed to raise the standards of living of the whole working class. It is a means of throwing back all those gains made by the organized labor movement since the turn of the century and to turn back wages and working conditions to levels existent before the formation of these organizations. Decentralization completely destroys those protections of workers under civil service, a reform which the unions fought for for decades. It takes away any control over hiring and job security from the unions turning back employment conditions to the arbitrary decisions of individuals who remain in the pay of the bosses government.

Second, decentralization is the method of involving the oppressed in their own oppression. The bosses and their government have absolutely no intention of improving the living standards of those who live in the ghettos. There will be no more economic concessions; they must save their system. This is the meaning of the cuts in welfare, medicaid, and the poverty programs. The government, instead of pouring billions of dollars into the school system is seeking to pacify the Negro people with "community control." What this means is that the ghetto schools and the basis on which they are built - poverty, unemployment, discrimination are to continue indefinitely. The Bundy Plan makes this clear:

"Reorganization will not give New York the additional funds it needs to improve schools in all parts of the city. It will not wipe out the generations of deprivation with which hundreds of thousands of children enter the schools. It will not meet the great deficits in health and welfare services that beset many families. It will certainly not wipe out the poverty and physical squalor to which too many children return when they leave school every afternoon. It will not wipe out the shortage of qualified, imaginative,

and sensitive teachers and supervisors."

So what does this plan accomplish? Instead of wiping out the ghettos and with them the ghetto schools, ghetto control over the schools is substituted - let the ghetto community supervise its own misery instead of removing the source of the misery.

Third, decentralization and community control serve the purpose of dividing the working class, of pitting the "community" against the organized trade union movement, of white workers against black workers as that they fight each other rather than the real enemy. The bosses use racism under the guise of decentralization. While using it to break the unions, the bosses and their government use "Community control" to divert the struggle of the Negro people against the system of oppression playing on the legitimate aspirations of the people to control their lives and improve their living conditions.

The bosses face a powerful trade union movement; they face the Negro people who have organized to fight against oppression. The bosses must break down any resistance to their attacks on the working class by destroying the independence of the workers, by destroying their instruments of struggle.

We say: MCCOY AND SHANKER MUST BE FOUGHT! The struggle at its present level is being led by both the black nationalists and the labor bureaucracy not for the victory of either the teachers or the black community. Shanker while correctly defending the union against destruction also seeks to aid that destruction by failing to wage the fight against the real enemy of the teachers, Lindsay and the Board of Education. At the same time he refuses to fight for a program which will unite the teachers with the parents and the students. He refuses to take up the struggle against racism and pose the fight of the trade unions against discrimination and for

(Continued on page seven)

ILGWU WAGE REOPENER

The ILGWU announced this month the reopening of wage negotiations for some 250,000 workers. This is being done despite the fact that the contract negotiated in 1967 has not expired. This announcement comes at a time when the ranks are conducting wildcat actions against the bosses throughout the garment industry in New York. It reflects the growing pressure on the union leadership to confront the effect of the rising cost of living on the workers' paychecks.

The ILGWU represents some of the lowest paid organized workers whose leadership has consistently refused to wage the fight to substantially increase these poverty wages. But the ranks have shown that they will no longer stand for these sell-outs. The ranks of the ILGWU have been spurred on by the struggles of their brothers and sisters in industries such as hospitals and hotels. The victory by the 1199 hospital workers in gaining the \$100/week wage demand has set the pace for the workers' fight against poverty wages.

plan showing of french film

On Friday, October 18 the New York branch of the Workers League will present the first showing in the United States of a documentary film made in France during the Revolution in 1968. The film was shot inside the Sud-avation aircraft plant in Nantes. Unlike other films this is not a collection of footage of the students at the barricades. This is the only film which shows the occupation of a factory during the general strike.

The occasion for the first showing of this documentary will be a meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International.

Also on the schedule for the meeting will be talks on the events in Czechoslovakia and France: their importance to the continuity of the Fourth International and the building of the revolutionary party in America.

The meeting will also hear a rare recording of Leon Trotsky speaking on the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Left Opposition.

Keep the date open! October 18th at 8 PM. The place will be the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd St., New York City.

Watch for further information in these columns on when other Workers League branches will be showing the film.



by Fred Calhoun

The publication in English of Che Guevara's Diary (by Ramparts Magazine and Bantam Press as well as by Evergreen Magazine), will make possible for the first time an evaluation by large numbers of American workers and students of the real nature of Guevarism. For us, the Diary demonstrates clearly that Guevara's Bolivian expedition was a complete failure, and that the continuation of such methods--guerrilla warfare isolated from the struggle to build an international working class party--will only lead to the defeat and demoralization of the working class.

No revolutionary can be insensitive to the personal courage of Che Guevara and his followers--many of whom gave up comfortable jobs in the Cuban bureaucracy to give their lives in the fight against imperialism. But as the Diary makes clear, the romantic vision of a handful of dedicated revolutionaries, a small band of international guerrillas by their personal courage and moral conviction beginning wars of liberation throughout the colonial world can quickly turn to despair and cynicism.

BOLIVIA

Guevara and a group of Cubans (who ultimately included twelve members of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party) landed in Bolivia on November 7, 1966. His plans were to seclude his men in the most isolated spot possible, and await the arrival of others: Cubans, Peruvians, Argentinians, and Brazilians; to make contact with whatever existed of a native guerrilla movement; to gain support from the Bolivian CP and to train a band of men capable of beginning guerrilla warfare.

From this beginning, Guevara hoped to enlist the support of the Bolivian peasantry in order to begin a real campaign against the Bolivian army. Yet on August 31, 1967, two months before his capture and execution, Guevara was to write: "It was without any doubt, the worst month we have had since the war started...We continue without contacts of any kind and without reasonable hope of establishing them in the near future. We continue without any incorporation on the part of the peasants, logical to understand if we take into account the little contact we have had with them in recent times. There is a lowering of the fighting morale; I expect that it be momentary...Our morale and revolutionary legend have reached a new low..."

Isolated as they were, it was only a matter of time before the Bolivian campaign turned into a death march. For several months, they fled from the Bolivian army. Guevara himself was seriously ill since there was no medicine for his asthma, and he was carried on horseback almost an invalid. Faced with the apathy and hostility of the peasants, they were forced to resort to bribery and to preventing the peasants from informing on them. Guevara's idealism turned to abject subjectivism: "...How I would like to take power if only to unmask cowards and lackeys of every kind and rub their noses in their own dirty tricks."

CASTRO

What must be called into question is the relation between Guevara and Castro regime in Cuba which ostensibly supported the guerrilla movement in Bolivia--as well as the nature of a Cuban government which propped a dozen members of the Central Committee of the ruling party let alone Guevara to leave the struggle for "socialism" in Cuba (which according to the pundits of the SWP is proceeding at full speed) and begin afresh in Bolivia. One can imagine Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks leaving the newly formed Soviet government to lead Polish workers in a campaign for a soviet Poland.

We can only presume that the development of a state bureaucracy in Cuba without a shred of control by the working class had little to hold either Guevara or his idealistic Cuban followers, still dedicated to the idea of fighting for revolution. And the OLAS conferences notwithstanding, Castro had insufficient interest in providing the wherewithall for a serious struggle against the

bourgeoisie in Latin America.

How could the Cuban government send a detachment of guerrillas to Bolivia with almost no contacts in the cities, complete lack of information about the terrain and geography, absolutely ignorant of the predominant Indian dialect, with insufficient medical and other supplies?

STALINISM

However, what is central is the position of

The publication of Che Guevara's Diary marks the end of the Cuban illusion--the illusion, exploded in France in May, that revolutionary struggle was something which could only occur in the "third world"; the illusion, the day by day destruction of which this diary records, that a guerrilla band can topple capitalism; the illusion, destroyed once and for all by Castro's support of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, that Cuba offers some alternative to Stalinism in Latin America; the illusion, exposed by the Escalante Trial, that some form of workers democracy exists in Cuba. This is the first part of a series on the significance of these diaries to the working class movement today.

Castro as well as of the SWP and their brethren in the revisionist United Secretariat that in the colonial world the task of building a Marxist party can be supplanted by the formation of guerrilla bands. We are told that this is in opposition to the "peaceful coexistence" line of the world Stal-

THE GUEVARA DIARY

inist movement. Nothing could be further from the truth. Long before Castro, by supporting the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia--after jailing Escalante for being an agent of this same Kremlin bureaucracy, demonstrated that his empirical twists and turns were based more on fear of the Cuban and international proletariat than on any principled opposition to Stalinism, Guevara himself by his practice in Bolivia showed himself completely incapable of struggling against the Bolivian CP. While by no means trusting the leadership of the Bolivian CP, Guevara had counted on its support--assiduously wooing its leader Monje. Of course, the CP betrayed him and actively opposed his efforts; few of its cadre ever joined his band. However, at no time did Guevara consider himself an alternative to that party or wage any campaign to win over its ranks based on a programmatic alternative to the class collaborationist line of its leadership

PARTY

What stands out in this diary is the fact that Guevara had no perspective for serious struggle in Bolivia. Apparently he assumed that the collapse of the Batista government which allowed Castro to take command in Cuba would magically reoccur in Bolivia given his presence in that country--along with 100 guerrilla fighters. There is no mention of any program to win the support of the peasantry. His virtual ignoring of the Bolivian working class indicated his willingness to keep the peasantry from linking up with the working class--the only class capable of taking power from the bourgeoisie. Guevara seemed unconcerned with building an alternative party and linking it with revolutionary struggles not only in Latin America and the rest of the so-called third world, but also with workers in the advanced countries as well.

WHEN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

(This article is part of a series of articles on the history of the German working class. This article is the second part on the German Revolution of 1918-1919. The next article, also on the German Revolution, will deal with the causes of the failure of the Revolution--lessons of the greatest importance to workers today in all countries.)

by V. Barat

With the revolt of the workers, soldiers, sailors, and even peasants (in Bavaria) spreading with unrelenting drive all through Germany during the first week of November, not even the presence of the SPD betrayers in the government and in the various councils could save the monarchy. In truth, the SPD cabinet ministers were the very last and the most reluctant ones to come around to the position that the Kaiser had to abdicate. Even so, Ebert, the principal leader of the SPD, the German variant of Kerensky, used all his wiles to shore up the monarchy as an institution once he realized that no force in heaven or on earth could keep Kaiser Wilhelm on the throne. The staunchest royalists, Generals Hindenburg and Groener, were compelled to tell the Emperor that they had lost virtual control of the ranks of the armed forces, who under no conditions would obey orders that ori-

ginated from the royal house. By November 9th pressures had built up to such a violent pitch in Berlin that even before the Kaiser's message of abdication came, hundreds and thousands of workers and soldiers were spilling on to the streets of the metropolis demanding a republic.

An SPD leader, Scheidemann, viewing the tumultuous scene from the balcony of the Reichstag, sensed the lateness of the hour. He furthermore perceived that the huge masses below him were fully prepared to heed the call of Liebknecht and the Spartacists for a German Socialist Republic. Afraid of the consequences if he and his party were to continue waiting for the Emperor's official announcement of abdication, he took upon himself the initiative of proclaiming a bourgeois democratic republic without even consulting Ebert. By a scant two hours he beat Liebknecht's pronouncement of a socialist republic. The Spartacist leader made his declaration before a wildly enthusiastic crowd assembled at the royal palace where the red flag was now flying in place of the imperial banner. Liebknecht summoned the German workers to continue



DEFENDERS OF EBERT'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE SPARTACISTS, JANUARY 1919

new left & ernest mandel



ERNEST MANDEL
by Fred Mueller

Socialist Scholars Conference was held in New Brunswick, N.J. at Rutgers University, from September 6-8, 1968. The conference organizers had decided that holding it on a suburban campus would provide for a smaller and therefore a supposedly more meaningful conference. It was also felt that this would underscore the scholars conception of themselves as separate and apart from the organized socialist movement.

This utopian and obviously reactionary notion that "socialist" scholarship must develop on its own is leading to a situation where each succeeding conference is less scholarly and less meaningful

than its predecessor. The conferences are proving in their own negative fashion that revolutionary theory cannot be developed isolated from revolutionary practice.

The 1968 Conference was rescued somewhat by the participation of the Belgian economist Ernest Mandel. Mandel is described in the Guardian's account of the conference as "perhaps the major voice of the European Trotskyist movement." Actually he is no Trotskyist, but a spokesman for the United Secretariat, the Pabloites, which originated in the 1953 split in the world Trotskyist movement.

MANDEL

Mandel spoke on the French events, and delivered a paper on "The Working Class in Neo-Capitalism." Despite Mandel's statement of orthodoxy that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism remain, his analysis is not far removed from that of the New Left. Mandel does not see that the contradictions of capital are what characterize this period, that capitalism is in crisis and that all attempts to solve this crisis only deepen it. Thus Mandel does not see

that these contradictions, the economic crisis are at the very heart of the revolutionary struggles in France, that this crisis reflected in an attack on the working class is what is forcing the working class into struggle.

Mandel defends the conception of the revolutionary potential of the working class, but in a very incomplete and distorted way. First of all, he relies almost exclusively on the events in France as an empirical proof of his conception. Just a short time before those events Mandel and his collaborators were speaking of an extended period of stability for U.S. and European capitalism.

METHOD

Mandel's sharp division between Europe and America, his repeated crude expressions of agnosticism and skepticism about a revolutionary perspective for the U.S. except in the very long term, expresses his empirical and pragmatic method. It is therefore not surprising that he made absolutely no mention of the need to build the revolutionary party in the advanced countries, though he was questioned repeatedly on

this.

SDS

The compliment given by the former SDS leader Carl Davidson, who wrote the report on the conference in the Guardian, is very significant. "Most participants," writes Davidson, "were surprised to discover that he (Mandel) is perhaps the major voice of the European Trotskyist movement. The non-sectarian style and content of his presentation and intellectual work contrasted sharply with the experience most radicals in this country have had with American Trotskyists." New Left Davidson, known for his extreme hostility to the building of a Bolshevik party, is pleased by Mandel's "non-sectarianism," i.e., his refusal to fight for or even raise the question of the Fourth International.

POLEMIC

After France and Czechoslovakia, as well as the deepening economic and political crisis in Britain and the U.S., the path charted by the Socialist Scholars Conference for itself is more unreal than ever. In the program for the 1968 Conference we are told that: "meetings are in-

tended for expression of ideas unencumbered by partisan purposes, political rhetoric or polemic. As a scholarly association, it (the SSC) is not a forum at which political organizations may propound their views." What the conference organizers are really afraid of is theoretical clarity, which can only be achieved through political struggle, precisely through "polemic."

PARTY

The Socialist Scholars Conference was a reflection of the crisis of imperialism in spite of the pretensions or plans of many of its organizers. The deepening crisis is having an impact on all sections of the population. Serious revolutionary-minded intellectuals associated with the Socialist Scholars Conference must first of all understand this crisis, and see the generally acknowledged but unexplained theoretical stagnation of the Socialist Scholars Conference within this context. The stagnation can only be explained not simply by the scholars' isolation from the class struggle in the narrowest sense, but in their hostility to the revolutionary party.

CRATS FOUGHT GERMAN WORKERS

the proletarian world revolution begun in Russia a year earlier. History demonstrated that it was to be easier to declare a red republic than to implement that declaration.

At the height of the crisis of November 9th Ebert, to head off a truly revolutionary socialist solution to the problems of Germany, quickly called upon the imperial Chancellor, Prince Max, and suggested that he (Ebert) be appointed as the new Chancellor. Both the royalists and capitalists knew that Ebert could be trusted to save their social order. Thus Ebert was duly invested with formal authorization for the top post in the government. Even while he was being charged with saving the bourgeois structure, the factories and military barracks of greater Berlin were electing their representatives to Circus Busch, the seat of the Berlin workers' and soldiers' council. Because Berlin was the political and cultural center of the nation, the authority of this council or soviet was not unlike that of Petrograd in 1917.

Some three thousand workers and soldiers were elected to this body as delegates and the revolutionary shop-stewards were a key factor in this assembly. The SPD used every conceivable ploy to get their own people elected to this workers' parliament. And at that first session they tried various stratagems to prevent the election of an Executive Council, since they knew that here was the embryonic force that alone could challenge the existing bourgeois government. Despite their efforts an Executive Council of fourteen workers and fourteen soldiers was chosen as was a Cabinet of People's Commissars. Again as in Russia after the February Revolution the social patriots had the largest number of delegates and thus dominated both the Executive and the Cabinet. Despite their numbers, however, they could not prevent the council from passing a motion declaring itself a socialist republic that

was in full political solidarity with the Russian Bolsheviks. The political and ideological instincts of the majority of the delegates were obviously far ahead of their organizational grasp, a not uncommon phenomenon at the start of every revolutionary situation.

ENEMY

Liebkecht and some of the leading shop-stewards openly singled out Ebert at this session as an agent of the class enemy in their very midst. Yet such attacks made little impact on the soldier delegates at this early stage of the revolution. Life in the trenches had not been particularly conducive to weighing and sifting the arguments of the contending socialist factions. In fact the returning soldiers could not see why it would be injurious to their cause to have a fellow "socialist" occupying the highest office in the "other" government, especially if he were to be responsive and even answerable to their own Executive Council. Ebert, of course, had no intention whatever of subjecting his policies to the scrutiny of the Berlin Soviet, as Liebkecht correctly explained.

Within the ranks of the Independents (USPD) to which, it will be recalled, the Spartacists adhered as the left-wing, there were sizeable elements who could not grasp the cardinal need to break decisively and irrevocably with the SPD and its government. They failed to see the vital importance of utilizing the Berlin Council to call for a National Council of workers and soldiers to authorize the smashing of the power of the still existing old state bureaucracy, the royalist officer caste, the bankers and capitalists. Haase, a centrist leader of the USPD declared quite frankly that the regime of the workers' and soldiers' was in his view a necessary but temporary phenomenon which had to give way to formal democracy when it could be restored. With such contradictory and wavering elements within the USPD, a party that contained in the organization scores and hundreds of extreme right-wingers such as Bernstein and Kautsky, there was no prospect whatsoever of making the USPD the vehicle for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

AX-STROKE

Yet a vehicle was desperately needed to guarantee the victory against the entrenched bourgeoisie on whose behalf the SPD leadership was conniving behind the scenes with Generals Hin-

denburg and Groener to undermine the workers and soldiers' councils and to even crush them militarily if Ebert gave the signal. Ebert's treasonable negotiations with the German General Staff are matters of documentary history today. But long before the military was called upon to finish off the revolutionaries, the Berlin Council had ceased being an effective organ of the workers and soldiers. Indeed, two weeks after the events of the 8th and 9th of November most of the Independents had to agree with this sober appraisal of Liebkecht made to the Naval Committee of 53: "However we may regard the question: the restoration of the power of command was an ax-stroke into the heartwood of the Revolution. It is to this step that we owe chiefly the loss of the achievements of the Revolution of November 8 (1918), for the power which the proletariat swiftly secured on that day has for the most part returned to the hands of the ruling classes." And Rosa Luxemburg's indictment of the Berlin Council deserves quoting for its penetrating and eloquent succinctness: "The Executive Council of the United Russian Soviets is -- whatever one may say against it - admittedly something different from the Berlin Executive Council. The former is the head and brain of an important revolutionary-proletarian organization, the latter the fifth wheel on the cart of a crypto-capitalist government clique, the former is the inexhaustible source of proletarian power, the latter is like an emptied flask hanging at one's side on a hot summer day, the former is the living body of the revolution and the latter its coffin."

Even a correct understanding by Liebkecht and Luxemburg of the general political situation, of the treasonable role of the SPD combined with their heroic and passionate struggle of the Spartacists for a genuine proletarian state were not by themselves sufficient to bring success. One essential ingredient, present in Russia in October, 1917, but missing in Germany a year later, made all the difference. This ingredient was a revolutionary party steeped in the dialectical method. Part of the next article on the German Revolution of 1918-19 will be devoted to this matter.

We have been notified by the U.S. Post Office that the "Bulletin" has been denied delivery and confiscated as "subversive" in East Berlin. What a long way the present leaders of East Germany have come from the revolutionary politics of Liebkecht and Luxemburg.

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THE GUEVARA DIARY



CHE GUEVARA (SECOND FROM RIGHT) WITH FELLOW GUERRILLAS IN THE MOUNTAINS OF BOLIVIA.

inist movement. Nothing could be further from the truth. Long before Castro, by supporting the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia--after jailing Escalante for being an agent of this same Kremlin bureaucracy, demonstrated that his empirical twists and turns were based more on fear of the Cuban and international proletariat than on any principled opposition to Stalinism, Guevara himself by his practice in Bolivia showed himself completely incapable of struggling against the Bolivian CP. While by no means trusting the leadership of the Bolivian CP, Guevara had counted on its support--assiduously wooing its leader Monje. Of course, the CP betrayed him and actively opposed his efforts; few of its cadre ever joined his band. However, at no time did Guevara consider himself an alternative to that party or wage any campaign to win over its ranks based on a programmatic alternative to the class collaborationist line of its leadership

...sie in Latin America.
...could the Cuban government send a det...
...of guerillas to Bolivia with almost...
...cts in the cities, complete lack of in...
...n about the terrain and geography, ab...
...ignorant of the predominant Indian dia...
...h insufficient medical and other supplies?

STALINISM

...r, what is central is the position of

...ation of Che Guevara's Diary marks the end of the Cu...
...n--the illusion, exploded in France in May, that revo...
...struggle was something which could only occur in the...
...ld"; the illusion, the day by day destruction of which...
...records, that a guerilla band can topple capitalism;...
...n, destroyed once and for all by Castro's support of...
...intervention in Czechoslovakia, that Cuba offers some...
...to Stalinism in Latin America; the illusion, exposed...
...Escalante Trial, that some form of workers democracy ex...
...a. This is the first part of a series on the significance...
...diaries to the working class movement today.

...s well as of the SWP and their brethren in...
...sionist United Secretariat that in the co...
...rld the task of building a Marxist party...
...supplanted by the formation of guerilla...
...We are told that this is in opposition to...
...ceful coexistence" line of the world Stal-

PARTY

What stands out in this diary is the fact that Guevara had no perspective for serious struggle in Bolivia. Apparently he assumed that the collapse of the Batista government which allowed Castro to take command in Cuba would magically reoccur in Bolivia given his presence in that country--along with 100 guerilla fighters. There is no mention of any program to win the support of the peasantry. His virtual ignoring of the Bolivian working class indicated his willingness to keep the peasantry from linking up with the working class--the only class capable of taking power from the bourgeoisie. Guevara seemed unconcerned with building an alternative party and linking it with revolutionary struggles not only in Latin America and the rest of the so-called third world, but also with workers in the advanced countries as well.



ERNEST MANDEL

by Fred Mueller

Socialist Scholars Conference was held in New Brunswick, N.J. at Rutgers University, from September 6-8, 1968. The conference organizers had decided that holding it on a suburban campus would provide for a smaller and therefore a supposedly more meaningful conference. It was also felt that this would underscore the scholars conception of themselves as separate and apart from the organized socialist movement.

This utopian and obviously reactionary notion that "socialist" scholarship must develop on its own is leading to a situation where each succeeding conference is less scholarly and less meaningful

than its predecessor. The conferences are proving in their own negative fashion that revolutionary theory cannot be developed isolated from revolutionary practice.

The 1968 Conference was rescued somewhat by the participation of the Belgian economist Ernest Mandel. Mandel is described in the Guardian's account of the conference as "perhaps the major voice of the European Trotskyist movement." Actually he is no Trotskyist, but a spokesman for the United Secretariat, the Pabloites, which originated in the 1953 split in the world Trotskyist movement.

MANDEL

Mandel spoke on the French events, and delivered a paper on "The Working Class in Neo-Capitalism." Despite Mandel's statement of orthodoxy that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism remain, his analysis is not far removed from that of the New Left. Mandel does not see that the contradictions of capital are what characterize this period, that capitalism is in crisis and that all attempts to solve this crisis only deepen it. Thus Mandel does not see

WHEN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FOUGHT

...le is part of a series of articles on the history of the...
...king class. This article is the second part on the...
...olution of 1918-1919. The next article, also on the...
...olution, will deal with the causes of the failure of the...
...lessons of the greatest importance to workers today...
...ries.)

by V. Barot

...the revolt of the workers, soldiers, sail...
...and even peasants (in Bavaria) spreading...
...relenting drive all through Germany during...
...week of November, not even the pre...
...of the SPD betrayers in the government...
...the various councils could save the mon...
...In truth, the SPD cabinet ministers were...
...y last and the most reluctant ones to...
...round to the position that the Kaiser had...
...ate. Even so, Ebert, the principal leader...
...SPD, the German variant of Kerensky,...
...l his wiles to shore up the monarchy...
...stitution once he realized that no force...
...on or on earth could keep Kaiser Wilhelm...
...throne. The staunchest royalists, Gen...
...indenburg and Groener, were compelled...
...the Emperor that they had lost virtual...
...of the ranks of the armed forces, who...
...o conditions would obey orders that ori-

...inated from the royal house. By November...
...9th pressures had built up to such a violent...
...pitch in Berlin that even before the Kaiser's...
...message of abdication came, hundreds and thou...
...sands of workers and soldiers were spilling on...
...to the streets of the metropolis demanding a...
...republic.

An SPD leader, Scheidemann, viewing the tum...
...ultuous scene from the balcony of the Reichstag,...
...sensed the lateness of the hour. He further...
...more perceived that the huge masses below him...
...were fully prepared to heed the call of Lieb...
...knecht and the Spartacists for a German Social...
...ist Republic. Afraid of the consequences if he...
...and his party were to continue waiting for the...
...Emperor's official announcement of abdication, he...
...took upon himself the initiative of proclaiming...
...a bourgeois democratic republic without even...
...consulting Ebert. By a scant two hours he beat...
...Liebknecht's pronouncement of a socialist re...
...public. The Spartacist leader made his declaration...
...before a wildly enthusiastic crowd assembled at...
...the royal palace where the red flag was now...
...flying in place of the imperial banner. Lieb...
...knecht summoned the German workers to continue

...the proletarian world revolution begun in Russia...
...a year earlier. History demonstrated that it...
...was to be easier to declare a red republic than...
...to implement that declaration.

At the height of the crisis of November 9th...
...Ebert, to head off a truly revolutionary socialist...
...solution to the problems of Germany, quickly...
...called upon the imperial Chancellor, Prince Max,...
...and suggested that he (Ebert) be appointed as...
...the new Chancellor. Both the royalists and cap...
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...their social order. Thus Ebert was duly invest...
...ed with formal authorization for the top post...
...in the government. Even while he was being...
...charged with saving the bourgeois structure, the...
...factories and military barracks of greater Berlin...
...were electing their representatives to Circus...
...Busch, the seat of the Berlin workers' and sol...
...diers' council. Because Berlin was the political...
...and cultural center of the nation, the authority...
...of this council or soviet was not unlike that of...
...Petrograd in 1917.

Some three thousand workers and soldiers were...
...elected to this body as delegates and the revo...
...lutionary shop-stewards were a key factor in...
...this assembly. The SPD used every conceivable...
...ploy to get their own people elected to this wor...
...kers' parliament. And at that first session they...
...tried various stratagems to prevent the election...
...of an Executive Council, since they knew that here...
...was the embryonic force that alone could chal...
...lenge the existing bourgeois government. Des...
...pite their efforts an Executive Council of four...
...teen workers and fourteen soldiers was chosen as...
...was a Cabinet of People's Commissars. Again as...
...in Russia after the February Revolution the social...
...patriots had the largest number of delegates...
...and thus dominated both the Executive and the...
...Cabinet. Despite their numbers, however, they...
...could not prevent the council from passing a...
...motion declaring itself a socialist republic that

...was in full...
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...of the major...
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Liebknecht...
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DEFENDERS OF EBERT'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE SPARTACISTS, JANUARY 1919

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TRUE STORY OF LABOR AND DEMS



HUMPHREY MARCHES WITH LABOR BUREAUCRATS ON LABOR DAY.

by Dan Fried

Four years ago Johnson was elected with the strongest possible support from George Meany, Walter Reuther and the entire trade union bureaucracy. The Democratic Party hangs together on the basis of a coalition which includes this trade union bureaucracy, which tries to convince the rank and file that they should support 'friends of labor' like LBJ and Hubert Humphrey.

Let us look briefly at what the AFL-CIO demanded from these friends of labor in 1964: a \$2 an hour federal minimum wage; the thirty five hour week with overtime pay at double time; hospital insurance for the aged under Social Security; federal aid to education at all levels and the expansion of federal housing and urban renewal programs; repeal of section 14B of the Taft Hartley law which permits states to outlaw the union shop, as 20 states have already done. This last demand was pushed by the leadership of the AFL-CIO as the central demand of labor and was repeated by the AFL-CIO NEWS over and over again.

HOPES

From the start, Meany and the other AFL-CIO tops went down the line in support of Johnson against Goldwater. They never even mentioned the possibility of any sort of labor party campaign as an alternative. Meany stated that, in the presidential race, 'all of labor's hopes, all of the things we have achieved, all of the progress we have made is laid on the line'. He raved about Johnson of whom he said, 'In his 10 months in office, Lyndon Johnson has proved that he is a man of the people - all the people.' And as for Hubert Humphrey, Meany got really carried away, saying, 'and then we look at this outspoken, wonderful human being who is on the Democratic ticket for Vice President, Hubert Humphrey.'

When Johnson won the election with a landslide vote, the headline of the AFL-CIO NEWS read, 'Johnson-Humphrey Sweeps Equals New Deal Triumph.' What was painted as a 'New Deal Triumph' by the labor bureaucrats soon became more of a Raw Deal for American workers. Workers can judge for themselves. Even on the demands put forward by the AFL-CIO which are modest and reasonable, the batting average of the 'friends of labor' in Congress and the White House is close to zero. They conveniently forgot about the \$2 an hour minimum wage, the 35 hour week and the repeal of section 14B. When it came to getting some reforms demanded by the



organized labor movement, these friends of labor whether Democratic or Republican, were impotent,

IAM

But when it came to intervening against striking workers, when it came to supporting the bosses, they found the power to act with astonishing speed. When striking airline mechanics of the IAM rejected the LBJ engineered settlement to which their leaders had agreed, Johnson and Congress hurriedly prepared emergency legislation to break the strike and send the mechanics back to work.

But the rank and file mechanics of the IAM indicated they weren't going to budge, come hell or high water. Their militancy and determination forced the profit-bloated airlines to come up with a new offer, this time including a cost of living escalator which had previously been left out. The mechanics accepted the new offer, which in spite of all the efforts of LBJ and the 'friends of labor', shattered the 3.2% Presidential Guidelines.

The government's intervention in the airline strike was just a dress rehearsal for the joint Presidential-Congressional strike-breaking when Congress passed Johnson's 'compulsory arbitration' against the railroad shop mechanics represented by the IAM. In the face of an absolute refusal of the companies to grant any more than a 5% annual increase and an escalator clause, and after months of having been forced back to work under the Railroad Labor Act (similar to the Taft Hartley 90 day cooling off period) and then under a special Congressional bill to further extend the 'negotiations' -- the workers lost all patience and forced the union leadership into a walkout on July 16, 1967. The next day, the House tossed aside its previous reticence and passed Johnson's original bill imposing a government-decreed settlement whose terms were dictated by LBJ's arbitration under the chairmanship of none other than Wayne Morse and including none other than George Meany!

SHAME

George Meany teamed up with the Senate's ace strikebreaker and lent the legitimacy of the labor movement to the dangerous precedent of compulsory arbitration which allowed the bosses to move one step further toward the shackling of the labor movement. The bosses got what they originally demanded which amounted to continued super profits, the workers were forced back to work for less than they could have won through a strike, under threat of imprisonment, the right to strike was dealt a body blow, while the bosses got a real boost for anti-union legislation. Shame on George Meany for giving aid and comfort to bosses crusade, now gathering force in Congress, for 'anti-trust' laws against industry wide bargaining and against union coalitions and mergers.

The shopmen certainly didn't appreciate being railroaded back to work. IAM President Siemiller see fit to go along with Meany in his shameless support to Johnson and Humphrey.

TELEGRAM

While these 'labor leaders' collaborated with

LBJ and the strikebreakers in Congress, resistance arose from the ranks. A call for a labor party went out by the top officers of the four largest west coast locals in the IAM during the airlines strike. This call was sent to Roy Siemiller, James Hoffa, Walter Reuther, Harry Bridges, and George Meany. It stated: 'Because of the recent action by members of Congress and the Senate in regard to the recent airline strike...we ask that you take immediate action to form a third political party that will serve the best interests of labor. Recent threats of legislation to interfere in a just and legal strike by members of a recognized labor union could only lead to forced arbitration, the strangulation of collective bargaining and the ultimate destruction of organized labor.'

The leaders to whom this call was addressed evidently filed the telegram by which it was sent in the wastebasket. Rather than heed the prophetic warning (which the government intervention in the railroad strike made even clearer) of 'forced arbitration', they have continued in the swamp of Democratic Party politics.

HUMPHREY

These 'leaders' are at it again, working to elect strikebreakers who in the coming months will pose even greater threats to the existence of the trade unions in this country. Reuther supports Humphrey while he would like to pressure the Vice President into taking a little more 'liberal' position on Vietnam; Siemiller goes along with Meany who enthusiastically supports an escalation of the Raw Deal via Humphrey. Meany marshalled the resources and officials of a number of AFL-CIO unions into the Humphrey camp at the Democratic Convention. Very few workers were present but swarms of union officials--delegates and non-delegates--were busy trying to line up support for Humphrey. Joseph Beirne, President of the Communications Workers of America, brought a staff of 15 CWA functionaries with him for this purpose. A large staff of COPE functionaries under the supervision of COPE National Director Al Barkan functioned 'behind the scenes' on behalf of Humphrey throughout the convention.

Shortly afterward Barkan addressed the Steelworkers Convention, urging all out support for Humphrey. He warned the delegates of 'the danger of anti-labor legislation if we blow this election. Now you may not know it, but in this 90th Congress, two legislative pipelines are already filled with bills that will outlaw industry wide bargaining. Think of what this will do to a union like yours, accustomed as you are to national collective bargaining.' Barkan failed to mention that the Johnson administration, not to mention 'friends' like Morse have played a key role in the preparation of this type of legislation. Such are the bankrupt policies of the labor officialdom which commits labor to support its enemies and fights the alternative of the unions organizing their own party.

But even amidst the upper levels of the labor officialdom, at the Steelworkers Convention, which was very far removed from the average steelworkers, there are chinks in the armor of this bankrupt policy. During the standing ovation for Vice President Humphrey, a half dozen Negro delegates along with a few white delegates remained seated. When asked, 'Why', one Negro replied, 'he's telling us there shouldn't be any hungry people in this country and all that garbage. How long has he been in there? Four years? How long does he want?'

RAW

That is just the point. If Humphrey is elected (Nixon as well) it will mean four more years of Raw Deal but this time the going will be tougher. The Negro delegate at the Steelworkers Convention was expressing the sentiment of thousands of workers who want to fight the attacks of the Raw Deal but who need a real alternative to the Democrats. The only alternative to the policy of building labor's own casket by going along with the Democrats, is to build labor's own political party to fight the bosses on a program meeting the needs of the trade unions and all workers. NOW is the time to take up the organization of a labor party, not after the Raw Deal has emasculated the unions and labor-hating fascists--Wallacites, Birchites, Minutemen--are poised to deal the final blows as in Germany under Hitler.

Today, right now, that means casting your vote for the only candidates who call for a labor party, the Socialist Workers Party ticket - Halstead for President, Boutelle for Vice President on November 5th as a first step towards the construction of a labor party.

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HARRY BRIDGES
by Jack Hennessey

The U.S. Court injunction that broke the 1967 Railroad strike, the jailing of Teamster president Hoffa, the NMU Curran's sellouts of the NMU membership, the Bridges automation sellouts - all these events highlight the situation in Transport today.

In the ILWU for example, there have been no strikes since the 40's, while Bridges is gradually turning the union over to the bosses, using the

ONE UNION IN TRANSPORT

slogan "How isolated and weak we are" and "Lets get the best deal we can while we still have a union." At the same time Bridges refuses to use his prestige and resources to build a General Transport Workers Union, although he knows that if the ILWU strikes, it will be a strike against the government and to win the ILWU will have to be prepared to shut down the country. It had better have allies.

FIDDLES

While Bridges fiddles, the capitalists in all sections of the transport industries, maritime, longshore, trucking, rails, air are responding to their crisis, their squeeze on profits, with merger after merger. Witness the recent merger of the N.Y. Central and Pennsylvania railroads. Transportation is an essential part of the cost of all

goods, and the bosses in order to make their goods competitive with higher profitability seek to lower their transport costs.

These mergers are combined with and include attacks on the workers in these industries through automation and structural unemployment. Through these methods workers in the different industries are set against each other. These divisions are also carried out by the bosses on an international level as well. American seamen are set against seamen from other countries.

COMBINE

The Trade Unions and particularly the rank and file workers, must respond to this increasing concentration of capitalist power and the attacks on their working conditions with a new and more powerful concentration of

their own. That is why the transport unions must combine into the most powerful single union in the world. This means uniting internationally and nationally to prevent the bosses from dividing workers whose interests are the same internationally.

This unity must be combined with a program of nationalization of these industries under workers control so that the benefits accrued through automation go not to save the profits of the bosses but go to improve the living standards of the workers. Central to this program is the struggle for a labor party which can carry on this fight politically, protecting the interests of the workers and fighting the bosses politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties, who will only continue their strikebreaking efforts so clearly seen in the airlines and railroad strikes.

blacks fight teachers not city

(Continued from page three)

the demands of the black people. He aids racism by refusing to fight it and raising demands such as, "End Mob Rule in the Schools."

McCoy, who incidentally has been paid by the bosses through the Ford Foundation some \$22,000 a year, represents that wing of the black nationalists which uses "community control" to advance themselves, to continue the exploitation of the Negro people, through black capitalism. Black nationalism itself no matter what left cover it takes is reactionary; it is a completely anti-working class ideology and aids the ruling class in carrying out its policies. Black nationalism perpetuates the illusion that the Negro people can make gains, can throw off their oppression without challenging the system itself. Black control is utopian, as it poses the solution within capitalism.

DESTRUCTION

We say: THE TRADE UNIONS MUST BE DEFENDED! The organized trade union movement is the only force powerful enough to bring about change. Every attack on the trade unions must be seen as an attack on the working class as a whole, black and white. If the powerful trade union movement can be destroyed, any organization of the working class will be destroyed. This is why we must defend the UFT.

We say: THE TRADE UNIONS MUST TAKE UP THE FIGHT FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE! The working class must be united. The UFT and the trade unions as a whole must fight for the demands of the black people. They must defend the Negroes against any attack by the state, against the National Guard and the cops. The unions must demand full employment, massive public housing, the creation of millions of new jobs, billions of dollars toward job training, billions more pumped into the school system, and a full scale at-

tack on discrimination in every form with the demand for real penalties.

We say: THE WORKING PEOPLE MUST RUN THE GOVERNMENT! To wipe out the ghettos and raise the standard of living of all working people, to provide for all their needs, the government must be taken over by the workers. Lindsay and his buddies must be run out of City Hall, out of the Board of Education and they must be replaced with a labor mayor and representatives who will run the government in the interests of the masses

TWIN CITIES MEETING HITS SOVIET CZECH INVASION

MINNEAPOLIS -- On Thursday, Sept. 5, the Workers League here held a public meeting on the Czech crisis. The meeting emphasized that the Workers League takes its stand with the working class of Czechoslovakia against both the Soviet intervention and the compromising Dubcek leadership.

Bob Johnson, the main speaker, pointed out that the imperialists and their servants all over the world have joined in a hypocritical outcry against the Soviet intervention. They place their hopes for a return to capitalism in the Dubcek leadership. It is not surprising that they are joined in this by all sorts of middle class radical elements.

In particular, the Pabloites such as the Socialist Workers Party, are most emphatic in their opposition to the Soviet tanks and their faith in the Dubcek reforms. Being unable to see the independent struggle of the working class and having long ago abandoned the perspective of the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, they are only able to "pick sides" in this struggle between the Kremlin and Dubcek. The question however is falsely put, when it is declared to be a matter of either Dubcek or the Kremlin tanks. Already developments have shown that there is nothing incompatible about the two.

When the Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, the Mil-

itant, in a shameless adaption to the liberal outcry equated Soviet intervention with the imperialist intervention into Viet Nam. Presumably this would give them a very democratic face. The liberal outcry against Soviet intervention does not call on the Czech workers to arm themselves and struggle for power, for the continuation of the political revolution begun in Hungary 12 years ago.

We say: THIS PROGRAM HAS TO BE FOUGHT FOR IN THE UNIONS! The Workers League not only calls for this but fights for this program in the unions. We fight for the trade union movement to build now a political party, a labor party to carry on this fight.

At the same time the SWP has whitewashed the actions of Dubcek with their famous: "What else can he do under the circumstances?" We might ask the SWP, what could the Kremlin have done under the circumstances but send in their tanks?

TROTSKYISM

This enthusiastic support for and confidence in the Dubcek leadership has absolutely nothing in common with Trotskyism, and can lay no claim to being an attempt to provide any leadership for the Czech working class. As an adaption to one wing of Stalinism, to what appears to be

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the drug robbers

by Pat Connolly

Findings recently released by a government sponsored research group confirmed what has long been a well known secret. The drug manufacturing industries in the United States make exceptionally high profits, without taking any exceptional risks. The high cost of prescription drugs has no relationship to their actual production cost, and reflects only the tremendous margin of profits made by the drug manufacturers.

The report, sponsored by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, also pointed out that the new drugs developed through research have given doctors highly effective ways of treating arthritis, heart disease, and high blood pressure as well as other fatal or crippling diseases. But the elderly, who suffer the most from these and other illnesses, and who have by far the greatest need for prescription drugs of any segment of the population, cannot afford the drugs they



need because of their high cost. The inability of older people to get the drug treatment they need at a price they can afford means needless sickness, disability and expensive hospitalization which they can even less afford.

Not only do these findings point out again the need for socialized medicine which could provide medical care for all, but it shows clearly how the system is run.

At the same time that effective treatment is made available, through research for arthritis, heart disease and high blood pressure, the people who suffer most from these diseases cannot afford the drugs necessary for treatment. Modern medical and scientific research can make some impressive discoveries, but the research is directed only towards the making of immense profits, not toward meeting the needs of the people.

a progressive wing, it abandons the perspective of the political revolution in favor of that perspective that the Stalinist bureaucracy can reform itself out of existence.

We must develop a leadership that is independent of both the Kremlin and the "reformers" if we are to chart a victorious course for the Czech workers. That leadership must come from the International Committee of the Fourth International which alone fights for the program of Trotskyism, for the political revolution.

MINNESOTA BARS COMMUNIST SLATE

MINNEAPOLIS--The CP was denied a spot on the Minnesota ballot in November, when State Atty. General Douglas Head, on Sept. 9, ordered Secretary of State Donovan not to accept the CP's nominating petitions.

Although the CP complied fully with the necessary legal requirements to get on the ballot, Head used the Communist Control Act of 1954 to forbid the CP's presidential and vice presidential candidates, Mitchell and Zagar-

ell, a position on the State's ballot.

Passed during the McCarthy era, following and in reaction to the tremendous post-war working class struggles, this Federal Act, and others like it, are intended to witch-hunt the labor movement and hound radicals out of the unions. The labor bureaucrats conspired with the government all the way in this attempt.

The Act was passed by the government in order to be used against the working

class in the future during another upsurge in the class struggle.

That upsurge has come, and the use of this infamous red-baiting law is only a forewarning to the working class of the anti-labor and anti-communist legislation to come. The Communist Party deserves the support of every class conscious worker in this matter in spite of the nature of the CP's class compromising program.

by Bob Johnson

For three years, the organized anti-war movement was dominated by a bloc between the Socialist Workers Party and its youth in the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Communist Party youth, along with numerous pacifist tendencies. Both the YSA and the CP saw eye to eye on the need to limit the anti-war movement to a 'single-issue', middle class protest movement aimed solely at pressuring the capitalists out of Vietnam.

The SMC organized and led the massive April 26 student strike against the war last spring. Hundreds of thousands of working class as well as college youth demonstrated their hatred for capitalist war. If this was SMC's first big success it was also its last, for immediately thereafter SMC was torn by internal crisis.

LEADERSHIP

The countless youth awakened to politics by the brutal realities of imperialism's savage war in Vietnam looked to the anti-war movement for leadership in a struggle, not simply against the war, but against the system which offered them nothing but war, racism and dead-end jobs. Were these youth to be told to wait around for six months for another anti-war protest to be organized? The war was not the only problem on these youth's minds. Clearly, by its very success in sparking these youth into action, SMC was now outdated as simply a single issue mobilizing committee. It had either to attempt a political leadership for youth in a struggle against the system which produced the war, or become irrelevant.

This became apparent to everyone within SMC but the YSA. The CP was able to polarize this feeling that the SMC had to take on a new role into a very right wing attack on the YSA. But the YSA proved to be utterly impotent to fight back against the CP and see the need to take up a struggle for a political leadership of youth. Even though the SWP was running an anti-capitalist election campaign with Halstead and Boutelle it could not see how to use this campaign as a weapon within the anti-war movement against both the CP and as a political alternative for youth seeking leadership in a political struggle against capitalism.

CP

Naturally the CP had no intention of providing youth with a leadership in a socialist direction. Deeply enmeshed in middle class reformist political currents such as the McCarthy, Kennedy, and Peace and Freedom campaigns, they saw the need to continue the Popular Front role of the SMC on a broader plane. The success of McCarthy in enlisting support from many of the students who were active in the anti-war struggles was merely an indication of the tremendous need for a political leadership against the war. While these youth were cynically used by the Democratic party, that is not an indication that one shouldn't mix politics with anti-war protest, as the YSA

YSA TRIES RESURRECTION OF SMC

argues, but rather that a concrete alternative to the bosses' parties must be built and struggled for.

The only alternative to the twin parties of capitalism is the building of a labor party, a class break from capitalist politics. A vote for Halstead-Boutelle, despite the reformist and middle class program they run on, is nonetheless a vote against the bosses. But the YSA could never see how to relate this to its work within SMC. It could only hold firmly to the principle that the SMC must continue to be what it had always been, a single issue mobilizing committee.

All this came to a head at the June Continuations Committee meeting of SMC held in New York. The SWP-CP bloc was forever shattered and the CP and all other tendencies and individuals who had been active in SMC walked out, leaving the YSA all alone. While the CP and the others shortly set up a still-born creature called the Radical Organizing Committee, the real direction they went is shown in the development of the Peace and Freedom Party.

R.O.C. only represents the bridge from the formal anti-war movement into the formation nationally of the P&F Party, which is the logical outgrowth of the developing middle class student revolt. To the extent that the YSA stands apart from P&F the crisis within the YSA deepens. For the P&F is quite clearly the formation which flows out of the politics that the YSA has been pushing for so long now.

The usual justification by YSA for keeping politics out of SMC is that 'we have a lot of independents here and we don't want to upset this coalition'. By refusing to fight for a political leadership, the YSA objectively organizes for P&F and McCarthy.

Just as SMC objectively played the role of containing anti-war protest within a reformist and capitalist channel, so P&F Party serves the bosses by containing the political dissatisfaction with the two parties of capitalism within a middle class capitalist blind ally.

CHICAGO

The YSA not only did not learn a single lesson from the June crisis in SMC, it was so committed to the role of subordinating itself in such a front that it went ahead and called a SMC national conference for Labor Day, in Chicago. The Chicago SMC conference was really the YSA

meeting under a different name. Numerous McCarthy supporters with absolutely no place to go, and some leftovers from the past weeks 'confrontations' complete with battle scars attended the sessions, so that the YSA leadership had again an excuse to submerge its politics for the sake of preserving unity with this new batch of independents.

The Conference opened to a group of around 300 with a 'rap session' on the recent Chicago events. Lack of leadership, discipline and direction were glorified. During the discussion all sorts of people got up and raved like children. It wasn't a question of the YSA refusing to battle against such adventurism. They were the ones eating it up the most.

There was an organizational report by Syd Stapleton who just babbled about posters, buttons, stickers, and the 18,000 dollar debt. The report on Fall Action was made by Howie Petrick. He argued against a political approach for the anti-war movement, insisting instead that the war can only be stopped on the streets. Out of the Conference came the call for a week of anti-war actions on October 21-27.

WL

Members of the Workers League spoke before the main body urging SMC to take up the political fight in the demonstrations in October. We urged SMC to battle for a class break from capitalist politics, to expose the reformist McCarthy and P&F currents and support Halstead and Boutelle as a positive alternative to present in opposition to the system responsible for the war, capitalism.

The YSA argued against this perspective, and finally Kip Dawson made a motion that SMC not endorse any candidates! It carried overwhelmingly. YSA justified this on the basis that to 'force' on the independents (anti-communist McCarthy followers) the SWP campaign would upset their precious coalition. The YSA meeting under the name SMC voted against endorsing its own candidates!

The YSA is incapable of relating its Halstead-Boutelle campaign to its work in the middle class peace movement simply because a working class campaign would be out of place in this middle class popular front for peace. That is why YSA refused to fight within SMC for its own electoral campaign.

ALTERNATIVE

The alternative that must be posed to the youth is a class alternative, a working class alternative. It is not a matter of forming another 'party' such as Peace and Freedom proposes, another capitalist party, but of breaking from capitalist politics entirely and forming a labor party. This is the struggle which must be brought to the campuses, the high schools, the shops, linking the struggles of students with the struggles of the working class as a whole against the system.

SF SSEU PSYCHEDELIC UNION

by Earl Owens

The Department of Social Services beige walls are covered with psychedelic posters. A smell of incense floats out of some of the

offices. Social workers and clerks fill out forms and put them in thousands of little folders.

On the morning of August 20th, social workers found

on their desks a leaflet telling them to sit-in at the General Manager's office the same day at 10 A.M. The leaflet was signed by several of the leaders of the Social Services Employees Union, although the sit-in had not been discussed or voted on by the union. A small group of workers did sit-in-- the total result being 5 to 10 day suspensions for twenty one. The union called its usual, ineffectual lunch hour picket line in front of City Hall.

SPLIT

The Social Service Employees Union was formed two years ago in a split from the County Employees Union Local 400 AFL-CIO. The SSEU leaders denounced the rest of the labor movement and stated they would have nothing further to do with the AFL-CIO, nor would they sign any contracts with any employer. The goal of the SSEU: "The transfer of power to those who do the work." Seemingly very radical, this ideology leaves out one small detail: how power will be

transferred.

In a letter to the National Guardian, Burt Alpert, ex-president of the SSEU and now its leading guru wrote: "The New Left is less interested in the 'slow starvation' of 'poor people' in Mississippi than in their own slow starvation in 'middle class' jobs.

Mr. Alpert is apparently unable to see the connection between his own "slow starvation" and the starvation of poor people and the need for an alliance between both groups. Neither is he interested in the industrial working class. The Old Left, according to Mr. Alpert, was guilty of "beaming upon the Hero in the Working Man." Then what sort of "transfer of power" is he talking about? Could it be "professional power"? "Middle class" power? Though it's probably not Mr. Alpert's intention, the demand for power is interpreted by most members of the SSEU as a demand for more power for themselves within the system. In other words, co-

option power!

ALIENATION

Mr. Alpert really does not want to be co-opted. But to him it is a personal mystical problem: "We reach out and find no one is there, recoil and find nothing inside. There is a sense of nightmare, and there is real madness. We have been hanging from the edge of reality by the tips of our fingers, and our hold is slipping."

With problems like these, who can worry about "poor people in Mississippi?"

Instead of dividing from the working class in order to set up communal welfare depts. or pot smoking utopias, intellectuals must unite with the working class.

As a first step the rank and file of the SSEU should seriously consider reaffiliation to Local 400. This will only be the beginning of a struggle--they will have to struggle with the other city employees, who they abandoned when they left Local 400, against the bureaucratic leaders.



WELFARE WORKERS PICKET SAN FRANCISCO CITY HALL.