

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5 NO. 10-99

JANUARY 13, 1969

TEN CENTS

four page feature

A Balance Sheet of Revisionism

by Cliff Slaughter

STUDENT-TEACHER STRIKE GROWS AT SF STATE



NEW YORK--THREE WELFARE UNIONS MUST PREPARE STRIKE

government prepares law to break longshore strike



AFT PICKETS SF STATE

SAN FRANCISCO - The strike of the AFT local at San Francisco State marks a whole new stage not only in the particular struggle at State but in the university struggles as a whole. It is precisely this new aspect of the State struggle that the various revisionists refuse to see claiming that State is nothing more than the latest in a series of student struggles ala Columbia.

The immediate issue which touched off the student strike was the firing of a black nationalist teacher, George Murray. Then the Black Student Union (BSU) and Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) came in with a stock series of "cultural nationalist" demands which have been raised by virtually all such groups on hundreds of campuses around the nation.

REACTIONARY

In essence these demands add up to proposals that Blacks be admitted to the universities in large numbers and be given their own educational program under their own control devoted primarily to black nationalist propaganda. Such demands are in our opinion completely reactionary and totally beside the point. As far as admissions is concerned, the real question is not to admit blacks at the expense of working class white

youth through some sort of inverse quota system but rather the need for a free university education for all working class youth. Black courses for blacks are completely wrong. What is needed is a real honest education for all students which points out the real role of minority peoples and the working class in general in American and world history. This cannot be achieved in a university system run by the capitalists. Black nationalist indoctrination of black students which aids in separating the students and the working class can definitely be achieved.

Then the Progressive Labor - SDS people organized large sections of white students in support of these black nationalist demands seeing the struggle as only a fight against racism. This was also the line of the YSA.

So on the surface we had what has become the current formula for university struggles--the black students demand separatist nationalist education programs and white radicals mobilize support for them. The black students are then co-opted with some sort of Swahili course and the struggle collapses. The real underlying situation which provoked the struggle in the first place is completely obfuscated.

CRISIS

In reality the black student struggle is a weak and confused reflection of the deepening crisis within the United States and internationally. At the same time this crisis means not only new attacks on the American workers as a whole--not just Black workers--but also attacks on democratic rights on the campus and economic cut-backs on the whole educational structure effecting students and professors alike.

What has been underneath these student struggles from the very beginning and what has been completely ignored

by the revisionists and these thoroughly rotten and middle class black student groups, has now come to the surface at SF State with the AFT strike. It is no accident that it surfaces here and not at Columbia. The University of California educational complex is by far the largest in the country. California is controlled by the reactionary Reagan government. This, however, does not mean that Reagan is some sort of individual demon and that his policies are exceptional. Rather it means that the California government which faces the same economic crisis that the other state and city administrations face (and all economists agree that it will be these governmental bodies and educational institutions that will be under the heaviest financial squeeze during 69) is only acting sooner and is thus revealing the general national policies of the capitalist class as a whole in the very near future.

Here is the situation the teachers face at SF State: The work load is 50% higher and pay 20-30% lower than comparable State colleges. Instructors have no contract, Academic Senate decisions are frequently violated. Reagan has reduced an increase in salary voted by the 1968 legislature and later reduced through the Coordinating Council, which he controls, another salary recommendation by the Trustees. One hundred to 120 faculty were threatened with dismissal for lack of funds and 7000 students refused admission this fall.

FRANCE

Following the French events the revisionists--the SWP and YSA in particular--responded to the surface developments with a new theory. They claimed that the students sparked off the workers.

The truth of the matter was that the student struggles and

the working class struggles were both created by the objective crisis of capitalism. The key to any sort of common struggle between the students and workers is the forging of a class program in opposition to the capitalist class attacks on both the workers and students. Without this it doesn't matter if a student strike touches off a working class action or a working class action touches off a student struggle. The struggles will remain separated, leaderless and will be defeated as were the French students and workers.

To say that the student struggle at SF State is what touched off the teacher's strike is of course true in a sense. But in a more fundamental sense it is false. The teachers are not striking because of their concern for Swahili courses for black students. They are striking because they, too, are under attack from the same enemy--the capitalist state and its representatives within the educational establishment. The key to victory at State and in future university struggles lies in the forging of a program that UNITES the common victims of the common enemy. And such a program is more than a matter of Swahili and courses on Marcus Garvey.

PROGRAM

Such a program must include a defense of the democratic rights of all students and faculty, the freedom of the university from the domination of the cops, improvement in the wages, working conditions and job security of all university employees from the professors to the cafeteria workers, demands for the extension rather than cut-back in funds for education with special programs to bring all working class youth regardless of color into the universities the money for such an expansion of education to come from the bosses

and not taxes on working people.

But victory itself must be defined. It is definitely possible to achieve something on all these demands with a common struggle of students and teachers, with a fight to mobilize support throughout the labor movement and the Negro community. But it is not possible to fundamentally change the educational system without a fundamental change in the society as a whole. More and more the question in America and the whole world is socialism. We must look beyond the immediate fight and begin now the struggle for a revolutionary party in the United States and internationally capable of leading the working class to socialism.

PARTY

Students can play an important role in the construction of such a party. This definitely requires participation in struggles like the SF State fight putting forward a program at every stage for unity on a class basis. But it requires more than this. It requires a serious theoretical struggle for a program for the world working class against all those like the YSA and PLP who distort and destroy the most fundamental conceptions of Marxism. For without Marxist theory there can be no working class revolutionary struggle.

SAN FRANCISCO

• class •

American Pragmatism

A Marxist critique of Pierce, Dewey, James.

Sunday, Jan 26th, 8:00 pm

A series of 5 classes on alternate weeks

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

MLA -- THE PROFESSORS AND THE GATHERING STORM

BY V. BARAT

A storm generated by the crisis of world imperialism has just blown out the windows and almost flattened the roof of one of the most staid academic structures in America: the Modern Language Association (MLA). And this body of 28,000 collegiate scholars will never again be the same. Meeting this year for its annual convention in New York City from December 27 to 29, the mossbacked officers of the MLA found themselves assailed by a sizable block of younger professors and graduate students opposing not only the methods but the very aims of the national organization.

The challengers organized themselves well in advance of the convention into a caucus called the New University Conference. They sent out a broad mailing to the membership appealing for support "to make the MLA more responsive to the demands of a society -- and a university

-- in desperate need of radical change."

COPS

Two prominent signers of this appeal were Noam Chomsky and Louis Kampf from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Both scholars achieved additional notoriety during the three day convention: Kampf was roughed up by a squad of New York police for posting an "unauthorized radical" notice on the walls of the Hotel Americana, proving that the cops are about the same everywhere. Chomsky was involuntarily thrust into public limelight upon concluding an academic paper, a significant contribution to his theory of a transformational grammar. The chairman of the session, who had been handed a message during Chomsky's address, rose and announced to the bewildered audience of a thousand academicians that Professor Chomsky was being "rewarded" by the Federal government with a fresh

indictment for sedition because of his public stand against the Vietnam war.

That many of the leaders, including Chomsky and Kampf, are associated with the "new left" can be seen by such radical-sounding but entirely vague and futile objectives as, for example, the expressed desire "to stir things up." Even their characterization of the Vietnam war as "illegal and imperial" reveals an academic coyness and political timidity in the face of the American capitalist colossus. Wouldn't it be more meaningful to state the real issue more frankly? That is to say openly that the insoluble economic contradictions of the U.S. bourgeoisie place upon this class a single, organic and "imperial" necessity: to destroy proletarian revolutions wherever they break out! And if American troops are returned from Vietnam, it will not be because of student agitation or because of resolu-

tions passed at conventions of the MLA the American Historical Society, or the Y.S.A. They will be brought back when and as the workers of this country begin to show their own class dissatisfaction with deteriorating economic conditions and their disenchantment with those primarily responsible for not leading them in defense of a decent standard of living: their own trade union bureaucracy. In other words the return of American soldiers will be to reinforce the federal constabulary which will have a task infinitely more challenging than confronted the police and national guard in Chicago last summer.

ROT

College intellectuals, genuinely concerned with the spreading dry rot in American education would do well to realize now what they will in any case have to recognize later: that it is a hopelessly utopian labor to attempt a

basic reform of the school system in a period of the cancerous decline of capitalism. Not even the election of a dozen professor Kampfs as officers of the MLA can reverse the process of decay.

Socialism alone by irrevocably abolishing private property and the profit motive will be able for the first time to introduce those vital, fundamental changes so desperately needed in education at all levels. The Workers League, which profoundly believes in and bases itself upon the revolutionary potential of the world and the American working class, is wholeheartedly committed to ending the exploitation of man by man through the achievement of socialism. Our party offers intellectuals, who can accept the higher discipline of the world party of revolution, an important and truly rewarding role in digging the grave of the enemies of humanity by the transformation of society.

REAL ISSUES AT VIETNAM CONFERENCE TABLE

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Of all the tasks that face the U.S. ruling class this year, the one with top priority is the ending of the Vietnam war. It was exactly a year ago that the Vietcong waged their heroic Tet offensive showing the imperialists that they were beaten on the battlefield and proving to the imperialists that they could have no military victory in Vietnam.

This utter rout of imperialism as well as the growing crisis of world capitalism has forced the U.S. ruling class to seek an end to the war. The U.S. ruling class must now devote itself to saving its system. They must take measures to strengthen their fast declining system. The Vietnam war has become too costly for the bourgeoisie, both politically and economically. The bourgeoisie must confront a war at home and needs all its resources for the attack on the American working class in order to preserve their system. Nixon and his cohorts have made no bones about it. The capitalist economy must be saved and ending this war is an essential part of it.

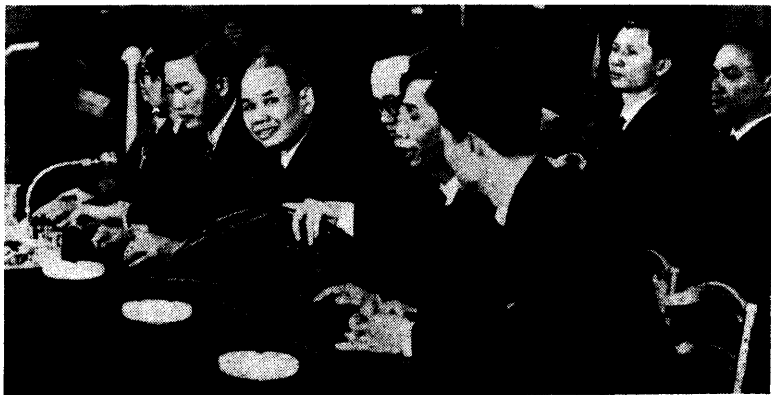
LAIRD

The necessity to end this war is most clearly represented in the about face in the positions of Nixon's key chosen advisors and appointees. Most blatantly exemplary is Melvin Laird, the newly appointed Secretary of Defense. Laird in the past has been known as one of the most bitter "hawks" and has been an opponent of the Johnson Administration for not prosecuting the war more vigorously. However, in the past year Laird has changed his tune representing the general shift in line on the part of the American ruling class following the Tet offensive and the deepening economic crisis. Laird now stands for a negotiated settlement and recognizes that this may mean a political settlement including the NLF. Kissinger, Nixon's primary advisor in this area, has also gone through similar changes.

These changes in policy are in no way a change of heart. They are the result of hard cold political realities for the ruling class. Laird and his friends, the spokesmen of imperialism, are not indeed men of principle who have suddenly decided that the war is unjust or who have been moved by the anti-war demonstrations as the revisionists would like to have it. These men are the enemies of the world working class. They understand that the preservation of their system now requires that this war be ended.

FRANKENSTEIN

However, ending this war "honorably" is not so easy.



VIETCONG VICTORY THREATENED BY DIPLOMATIC SELLOUT IN PARIS

First the U.S. leaders must deal with their Frankenstein creation, Ky. Ky and his buddies in Saigon know that their survival is at stake in these negotiations. He is fearful that any concessions to the NLF may mean the toppling of his already very unstable military clique. The dispute between the U.S. and Saigon is a dispute between the imperialists and their hirelings. Ky and his military clique were hired and supported by the U.S. rulers in line with different policies. Now Ky is becoming an embarrassment and impediment.

The U.S. ruling class realizes that there cannot be a military victory in Vietnam and that the only possible solution is a negotiated settlement based on a coalition government including the NLF, but which preserves the maximum power possible for the imperialist interests in Southeast Asia. It is this settlement which disturbs the military clique in Saigon.

KISSINGER

Kissinger, Nixon's key advisor on these matters, has called for separate political and economic settlements, proposing that the U.S. and North Vietnam settle the military issues of withdrawal and that the political issues be settled by the NLF and Saigon. This sounds very well and good but the truth is these questions cannot be separated in actuality. As Clausewitz once said war is merely the continuation of politics by other means.

What has been holding up the talks in Paris is the political issues of the recognition of the NLF. This is what lies behind the haggling over the shape of the table.

STALINISM

The U.S. ruling class seems to be less concerned with the future of the military clique in Saigon than they are with reaching a settlement which will get them out of the war while at the same time preserving their interests in Vietnam. They hope to work out a deal with the aid of the Soviet Union and the Stalinist leadership of North Vietnam which will allow them to protect their interests in a coalition with the national bourgeoisie. Herein lies the danger for the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the threat to a real victory by the NLF.

The Vietnamese workers and peasants have waged a determined and victorious struggle against imperialism. Our movement stands for and has fought unequivocally for the Victory of the Vietcong. At the same time we point out that settlement of the war

through a coalition government will be a defeat for the Vietnamese people.

The victorious struggle for national liberation must be combined with the struggle for real victory for the workers and peasants, a socialist Vietnam run by the workers and peasants. This we point out is not the program of the NLF which has limited the struggle for national liberation. The contradiction lies in the struggles of the revolutionary masses and the leadership which is Stalinist.

The Stalinists will seek to contain the struggles at their present level, seeking to prevent the mobilizations of the masses for political power. This is why we say that victory can be threatened today through the diplomatic maneuvers of the Stalinist leadership whose history is the history of betrayals of the workers and peasants and capitulation to the imperialists.

MASSES

So while the leaders negotiate in Paris, they must look over their shoulders at the revolutionary masses at home who have not fought to turn their victory into a compromise with imperialism through a coalition but have fought for control of Vietnam and an end to all exploitation.

This year marks the 14th year of heroic and victorious struggle by the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. It will not be easy for the diplomats in Paris to sell a deal to these revolutionary fighters. What is required is an independent political struggle by the mass revolutionary forces in Vietnam to assure a real victory through a socialist Vietnam.

The struggles of the Vietnamese people in turning back the imperialist aggressors combined with the struggles of the working class in the advanced countries, particularly the May-June struggles in France have been instrumental in advancing the fight of the world working class.

BATTLE

This fight requires that revolutionaries in the U.S. take up the battle at home to defeat imperialism not by holding more anti-war demonstrations to "pressure" the imperialists but by fighting to penetrate the trade union movement to give leadership to the political struggle of the working class for power. This struggle must be combined with the struggle against the existing leaderships, the labor bureaucracy and its supporters, the Stalinists, the Communist Party and its sister in crime the Socialist Workers Party.

The heroic struggles of the

israel plots lebanon war

BY IRV HACKER

The recent bombing of Lebanon's civil airport by Israel marks the first shot in the start of a new Israeli military campaign. Under the absurd justification of retaliation for a Fedayeen attack on an Israeli National Airlines plane in Athens, the attack on Lebanon took place, destroying one half of Lebanon's commercial airliners and was the opening salvo of a new front in Israel's continuing drive for land expansion.

Of all of Israel's neighbors Lebanon has been the least out-spokenly hostile. Lebanon's pro-Western government protecting United States and Western European investment is the reason for this. However, this government is recognized as unstable by many United States government observers.

In fact, the Lebanese government is sitting on a powder keg. Fifty percent of its population is Christian, wealthy by Mid-Eastern standards and well educated.

The other fifty percent of the population lives in relative poverty without any real effect on governmental policies.

1958 marked a pro-Nasser uprising in Lebanon of the countries non-Christian population. The United States intervened in this struggle by landing troops in Lebanon to insure the protection of its investments. Now, in this same country the students and the Arab population are demanding a full military mobilization and retaliation for Israel's imperialist action. This is without doubt just what Israel had expected, along perhaps with the toppling of the pro-capitalist government, giving Israel an excuse for further land aggrandizement against one of her Arab neighbors.

LAND

Land aggrandizement is of course not a new policy for Israel. Twice since statehood, Israel has sent its troops into full battle against its Arab neighbors. In 1956, the British, French and Israelis seized the recently nationalized Suez Canal and an area in Gaza. Again in 1967, the results of the six day war was that Israel had regained the Sinai and Gaza, as well as all of Jordan on the west side of the Jordan River, plus a wedge of Syria beyond the Sea of Galilee. And in addition, Israel was in full possession of Jerusalem to the horror of the Arabs. What other direction exists for Israel to express her insatiable hunger for farmable land, other than Lebanon?

Now, almost two years after the six day war, all current Arab leaders refuse to have direct dealings with Israel, as they feel that this would be legitimizing Israel's exist-

ence, the gift by the British to the Jews of land to which Britain had no real claim, and the acceptance of Israel's imperialist victory. And so Israel continues to ignore a 13 month old United Nations resolution demanding withdrawal of their occupation forces from the 32,000 square miles of captured territory.

REFUGEE

Any thought of Israel's continuing land aggrandizement must consider the plight of the Palestinian Arabs driven from their homeland when their land was given by the British to the Israelis, and the Israelis with the aid of the western powers defeated the Arab nations. Great numbers of refugees wound up in special camps, clothed and sheltered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. These camps were established in Jordan, Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria, areas which were unable to absorb more unskilled labor. Since that time Egypt has taken the position that she would not talk to Israel while the refugees remained in detention camps. Israel, on the other hand, with all her talk of attempting to settle the



CAPTURED ARAB FIGHTER

question, refuses the only real settlement, the return of the 1,000,000 refugees to their old land.

With the outrage of much of the world ringing in its ears, the United States rather quietly and gently chastises Israel. But of course the United States has not cancelled the shipment of the 50 phantom superjets which will further increase the supremacy of the Israeli striking force. For Israel embodies in the Middle East the major continuation of international capitalism.

It is important for the same reasons, that we in the United States understand clearly the reason for the United State's pro-Israeli position and fight this stand within our unions and on our campuses. It is the economic interests of capitalism that motivates the U.S.-Israeli position, and this country's other international positions. And it is each of these positions that must be understood, exposed and counterposed with the interests of the world's working class.

working class can be misled by these betrayers in the U.S. as well as Vietnam. The real key to victory of the international working class is

through the construction of a revolutionary leadership based on the Trotskyist program of the Fourth International.

BRIDGES DUCKS ILA STRUGGLE

SAN FRANCISCO--As this article is being written the Atlantic and Gulf Coast longshore strike is in its second week with no sign of a negotiated settlement in sight.

The ILA struggle has enormous implications for west coast dockers and all trans-

jected. Hoping to settle peacefully Bridges is apparently reluctant to draw too much attention to the militancy of the ILA ranks.

Indeed his chief apologist, the Communist Party, in its organ the 'Peoples World' seeks to provide whitewash

than waiting to see how things turn out.

GOVERNMENT

The government is deeply concerned with the docks strike. The impact on imports and exports and the balance of payments crisis would under other circumstances

Johnson has already asked for reports on the "very serious" dock dispute and for suggestions as for what to do and when to take action. The main thing holding back action is the political crisis caused by the fact that the Nixon administration is about to come in and the new Congress has still to be fully organized.

Let there be no doubt, if the labor movement permits such action the next period will see the government and the employers gleefully presiding over the elimination of thousands of transport jobs just as they have done in rail.

LAW

In fact, their perspective goes far beyond a temporary law to ban a single dock strike. What is being prepared is legislation to arm the employers to declare war on the transport workers. What is being discussed in Congress is a new transportation law to extend the Railway Labor Act to cover maritime and eventually all transport. This will mean compulsory arbitration whenever bargaining fails, that is the death of collective bargaining.

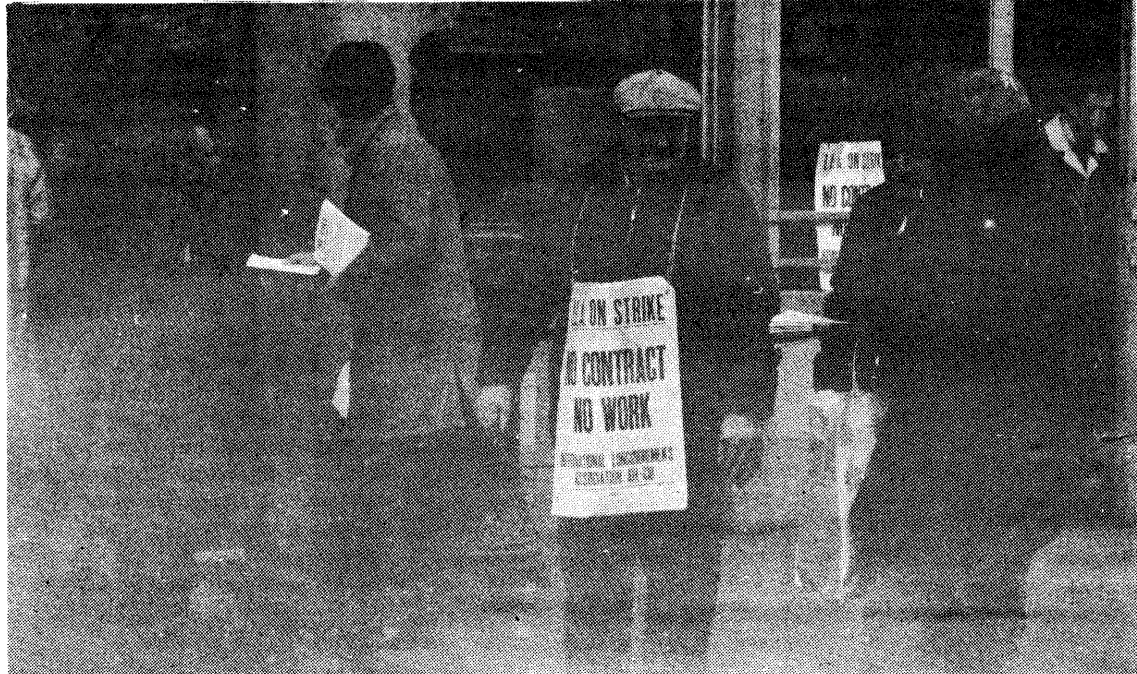
Plans to introduce such legislation as well as the enormous numbers of mergers now taking place in the transport industry, which will be speeded up by containerization, will mean that transport workers will face a united front of the employers and the government such as has never been seen in history.

The Bridges' policy of wait

and see is equivalent to suicide. If the ILA struggle is defeated by government intervention the struggle of the much weaker west coast dockers is doomed. What is required now is a conscious preparation for a united political fight against government intervention in the unions.

SUPPORT

The ILWU must support the ILA all the way. This means for one thing that no ships diverted from any ILA ports should be handled by the ILWU. It means that any attempt to break the ILA strike must be answered by the ILWU in a united strike to shut down all U.S. ports. It means that the suicidal battle with the teamsters must be turned instead into a united front to save the jobs of all transport workers by fighting for the shorter work week. It means unity of all transport workers, rail, sea, air and truck to smash any government attack. It means the fight to defend the labor movement must now become political with a major battle to break from the scab parties of big business and launch an American labor party.



ILA PICKETS AND NMU MEMBERS OPPOSING CURRAN MEET WORKERS AS THEY LEAVE INCOMING SHIP

port workers who will be hit by containerization. Under these circumstances it is criminal that the Bridges' leadership has done nothing so far to even inform the ILWU ranks of the ILA strike.

The ILWU is now negotiating with the waterfront employers over containers. The union is demanding longshore wages for all work on containers and has even threatened to strike containerized cargo if its demands are re-

jected. In the Jan. 4 issue they simply report on the demands of the ILA and conclude by saying "The strike and any settlement reached on the East Coast would affect the negotiations here. In fact some waterfront sources believe there is a tendency to drag the negotiations here to see how the East Coast battle comes out."

We believe there is a lot more that has to be done

have forced it to act by now.

The sort of thing the employers have in mind now that Taft-Hartley has failed is an emergency presidential recommendation of ad hoc legislation by Congress. A law could be passed overnight ordering dockers back to work and submitting all unresolved issues to compulsory and binding arbitration. This is precisely what was done in the railroad dispute a few years ago.

DANGERS IN 1199 CONTRACT

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

The latest contract between Local 1199 and the League of Voluntary Hospitals, covering over 20,000 workers and agreed to last July, has finally been initialed and copies sent to the union delegates.

During the contract negotiations the union leadership promised loud and often that the membership would of course have a chance to ratify the

contract, that the bargaining committee consisting of two representatives from each hospital would work on the details of the contract and report back to the membership, etc. Now the workers have before them a finished document, almost six months after the contract settlement, and there is no discussion, even though some of the language in the contract raises

serious issues.

In the article entitled, "No Strike or Lockout", for instance, we read the following:

"In addition to any other liability, remedy or right provided by applicable law or statute, should a strike, sit-down, sit-in, slow-down, cessation or stoppage or interruption of work, boycott, or

other interference with the operations of the Hospital occur, the Union, within 24 hours of a request by the Hospital, shall:

A. publically disavow such action by the Employees.

B. Advise the Hospital in writing that such action by Employees has not been called or sanctioned by the Union.

C. Notify Employees of its disapproval of such action and instruct such Employees to cease such action and return to work immediately.

D. Post notices at Union Bulletin Boards advising that it disapproves such action, and instructing Employees to return to work immediately."

While no-strike provisions have been part of 1199 contracts previously, this provision is far stronger than any previous statement. Usually the contract confines itself to a statement that the union will not call or condone any strike action. In this case, a whole series of restrictions are added.

Hospital workers want to know why the additional threatening language was agreed to. They want to know why there was no discussion of this provision if such substantial changes from previous treatment was planned. They want to know, in the light of recent discussion in the newspapers and among trade union officials, whether the stricter provision means that there will be no job actions

CANADIAN UNION SUPPORTS SHERWOOD

TORONTO--The immigration case of Robert Sherwood, member of the Toronto branch of the Workers League, is beginning to receive broad support.

The Toronto local of the Communication Workers Union sent a letter to Ottawa

protesting the government's attempt to silence a political opponent.

The political attack on Sherwood cannot be separated from the attacks which the Canadian government is preparing for the Canadian trade union movement. If the government

is successful in suppressing through deportation, a revolutionary, it can move another day against other draft resisters, thereby preparing the groundwork for a decisive move against the trade unions and student movements as a whole.

In the coming weeks prior to the next court hearing a petition protesting this act of political persecution will be circulated among trade unionists and students.

As of this writing less than 20% of the money required to meet the lawyer's initial fees has been collected. There is an urgent need both for funds, letters and protests opposing the immigration case brought against Robert Sherwood. Please send contributions to Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, c/o Maronge, 110 Broadview Ave., Apt. 3, Toronto 8, Ontario, Canada.

Also: Irene Levin, Delegate, United Federation of Teachers and Chairman, Bronx Chapter, Peace and Freedom Party; Hal Levin, SSEU; Joe Topping, Jerry Andersch, Earl Gilman, all of Building Service Employees Union, San Francisco; Jack Nusbaum, San Francisco. All organizations listed for identification only.

We urge all our readers to join as sponsors and solicit people they know, particularly in the unions, as sponsors. Send sponsorships to: Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood, Room 7, 243 East 10th Street, New York, N.Y., 10003.

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT SHERWOOD

The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood is continuing to solicit sponsors from trade unionists and activists in the civil liberties, socialist and Negro movements. Recent additions to the sponsors list include: Isaac Aykes, Delegate, Local 1199, New York City; Marvin Gittleman, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute; John Zupan, Vice President, Local 1497, AFSCME, Detroit; Susan Hochberg, District 65, New York City; Everett Luoma, American-Finnish Civic Association; Mrs. R. Zupan, Fisher Body Local-Livonia Plant, UAW, Detroit.

GREEK TROTSKYISTS TORTURED

The military dictatorship of Greece last month arrested nine Trotskyists, members and supporters of the Communist Internationalist Organization "Spartacus".

The nine were accused and arrested under the "State of Siege" laws for Communist activity, sedition, and publishing illegal pamphlets and leaflets.

They were held for a month and tortured by the Athens Suburban Security Police and at various police stations.

During interrogation they were held continuously without water, with their hands tied behind their backs in damp cells without blankets. They were whipped and caned on the bare soles of their feet. One of the nine, a supporter, was broken by the torture and forced to reveal the names of three others. All those arrested are now awaiting trial in the Averoff prison in Athens.

The BULLETIN urges that telegrams and letters of protest against this brutal repression be sent to the Greek Consulate General, 69 East 79th Street, New York, N.Y.

such as have been taken previously at the hospital level to correct a situation such as an arbitrary firing or suspension of a worker?

Is this provision a means of keeping the rank and file under tighter control with a citywide contract for the first time among voluntary hospitals? Can union militants expect to be victimized by the hospitals without union protection? Were the hospital bosses or city officials told anything about getting a more disciplined work force, no interruptions of work, and the like, in exchange for contract concessions last July? These are just some of the questions which hospital workers are asking and they are expecting some answers.

A balance sheet of REVISIONISM

by

**CLIFF
SLAUGHTER**

THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY FRAUD

The following is a series of articles abridged for space, which recently appeared in the Newsletter, organ of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain. Cliff Slaughter, the author of the series, is a Central Committee member of the SLL and Secretary of the International Committee of the Fourth International. The articles discuss the various revisionist tendencies in England, probe their fundamental class identity and relate this to such international revisionist figures as Rudi Dutschke and Herbert Marcuse. The series is particularly helpful to American Marxists by showing the essential identity of revisionism throughout the world with such tendencies here as the SWP and the ISC.

OCTOBER 27, 1968, was the date chosen by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and its allies on the 'ad hoc committee' to stage the largest possible demonstration through London against the British and American imperialists' involvement in the Vietnam war.

Never before has a demonstration received such a flood of advance publicity from the capitalist press and television: this publicity included a certain amount of sensationalist reporting about possible violence and attempts at seizure of public buildings; but the main burden of the publicity was to provide an apparently wholly disproportionate coverage for tiny political groups isolated from the working-class movement.

The general effect, as intended, was to present 'revolutionary' or 'extremist' groups as adventurist and conspiratorial on the one hand, but at the same time worth some attention by the middle and upper classes because they provide a 'genuine' protest medium to cater for all those who seek 'integrity' (the favourite

word of 'Guardian' editorials on these matters).

The Socialist Labour League, the British section of the Trotskyist International Committee of the Fourth International, did not participate in the October 27 demonstration nor in the work of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

Building mass movement

The SLL's members and supporters in the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance continued with the work they had been preparing over a long period: effective building of a mass movement behind an alternative revolutionary leadership which can break Wilson and his capitalist backers, thus ending British capitalism's support for the Vietnam war.

This is the only effective strategy—a revolutionary struggle for power in Britain and every capitalist country—which will effectively strike blows on behalf of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against their enemies.

Similarly, every victory of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam is a blow struck for the British and American and French workers against imperialism.

Propaganda and demonstrations on the Vietnam war, and all tactical work,

are valuable insofar as they flow from this strategy.

It is wrong, anti-Marxist and unprincipled to take the opposite course, i.e. to fight on each partial issue, however important, with all those who agree at the time, and hope that out of this a strategy may emerge.

This is what the so-called Marxists and socialists (and some even calling themselves Trotskyists) of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign have done. This is why the capitalist press, while warning against the dangers of violence, publicizes them and commends their 'integrity'.

This is why the Socialist Labour League received only utterly false and hostile publicity, but for the most part silence.

The capitalist press and TV understand very well by their class instinct the difference between, on the one hand, protest politics, the vociferous shouting for 'good causes', which derives from the radicalism of the middle classes, and on the other hand, the revolutionary politics of the Socialist Labour League, representing the interests of the working class and its struggle to overthrow capitalism, not just to criticize it or rouse public opinion against its crimes.

The working class is not attracted by the shouting and moral gestures of middle-class radicals. Workers, particularly in Britain, have a thorough understanding, which they will not retreat from, of the need for organization, mass strength and class solidarity, in the first place in their trade unions.

They are more strongly attached to these trade unions now than ever before, despite the treachery of generations of trade union leaders and despite their thoroughgoing rejection of the Labour government.

However, some thousands of students and youth were undoubtedly misled by the VSC into thinking that events like the October 27 demonstration constituted effective solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution. The widespread questioning and feeling of anti-climax among many who participated only show the dangers of the unprincipled politics which in fact lay behind the VSC and its allies in the first place.

The building of a Marxist party in Britain and its leadership of a mass movement requires an analysis of the experience, and an education of the youth who are coming into politics at the time of the linked crisis of capitalism and of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

One of the groups prominent in the October 27 demonstration is that organized around the magazine 'International Socialism' and the paper 'Socialist Worker'. Its leader is Mr. Tony Cliff, who became a renegade from the Trotskyist movement in 1950: he refused to side with North Korea and China in the war against the United States, because he had decided Russia had become a 'state capitalist' country; it follows from this that the 'International Socialism' group considers that there are no conquests of October 1917 in Russia left to defend, and there is nothing to choose between the Soviet Union and imperialist America or Britain.

As in their anti-communist campaign on the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, they concentrated on the supposed 'imperialism' of the

USSR. The Tottenham and Fulham 'International Socialism' groups, for example, carried the banner 'Smash Imperialism, East and West', and this same slogan was put forward in a leaflet of the Bradford IS group summing up the lessons of October 27.

Chertsey IS group carried 'US out of Vietnam. USSR out of Czechoslovakia'. This, of course, was the legend of the banners of the Pabloite group also, both in Britain and in the USA, where the Socialist Workers' Party 'Militant' carried precisely this headline on the weekend of the Chicago Democratic Convention—a message acceptable to every supporter of Senator McCarthy in the Convention, the McCarthy who a few days later summoned his followers to back Johnson's nominee, Humphrey.

This is the cynical conclusion of the abandonment of independent



CLIFF SLAUGHTER

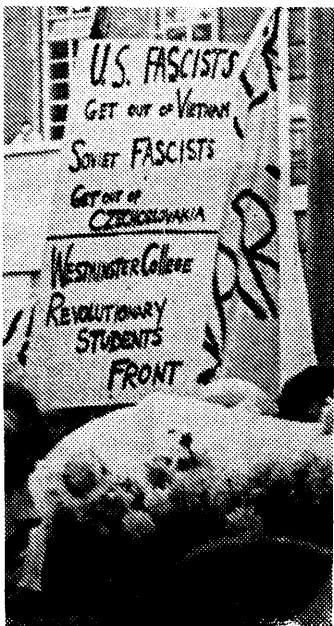
working-class politics—to channel every action behind the needs of the class enemy, through its political agents in the middle class.

This identification between the Soviet Union and US imperialism was what led the capitalist press, and particularly the 'Sunday Telegraph' and 'The Guardian', to draw attention to the sincerity and 'integrity' of the state capitalists and their friends.

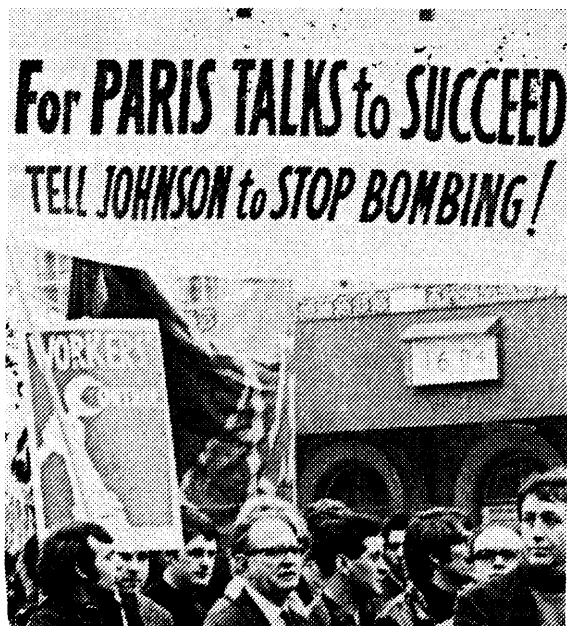
Among the demonstrators were many banners condemning 'Soviet fascism'. Some of the spokesmen of International Socialism insist that their own organization does not hold this position. But it is the inexorable logic of their own position which drives those who associate with them to this conclusion.

New ruling class

According to the followers of Tony Cliff, Russia, once a workers' state,



STATE CAP PLACARD



STALINIST BANNER IN VSC DEMONSTRATION

now has 'state capitalism': those who 'own' the state own what the state owns, as it were, so that the bureaucracy is a new capitalist ruling class.

Cliff and his followers also lay great stress on the absence of democracy in

the USSR, often pointing to the lack of freedom to organize political parties, no rights of freedom of expression and assembly, inadequate protection of the individual, and the non-existence of trade unions independent of the ruling party and state.

Marxists see these political distortions as the characteristics of a workers' state which has degenerated, requiring a political superstructure into line with the socialized property foundations established in October 1917.

But if the 'International Socialists'

regard these foundations as capitalist, and the political state form as totalitarian and lacking in democratic form or content, how then do they distinguish it from fascism?

STATE CAPITALISM AND LIBERALISM

LEADER OF THE 'International Socialism' group, Tony Cliff, in his book 'Russia: a Marxist Analysis' nowhere explains any differentiation between fascism and 'state capitalism of the Soviet type'. Indeed he points out that in his opinion:

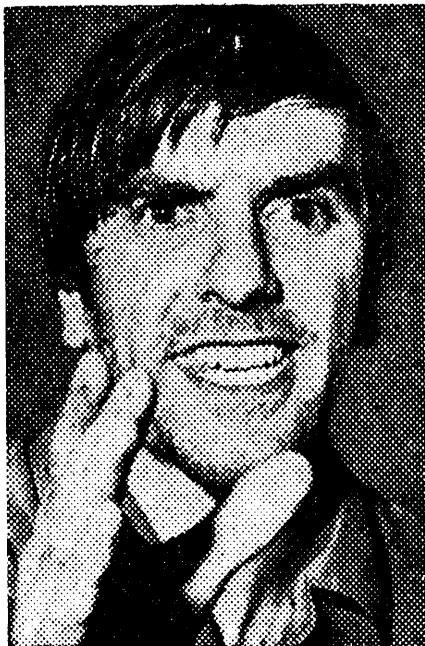
'... the authority of the state over the economy and over the workers—these are the strong points of Russia's industrial-military production. But these are the very factors which explain Nazi Germany's military superiority over bourgeois - democratic France, which, as we know, collapsed before her advancing armies like a house of cards.' (p. 144.)

Returning to the point, Cliff says:

'Already in its first years as a ruling class the bureaucracy has adopted the totalitarian characteristics of decaying, ageing capitalism...' (p. 340.) And finally: '... a much deeper abyss exists between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the masses than ever existed in history between rulers and ruled.' (p. 341.)

Is it any wonder that, even if Mr. Cliff and some of his old associates are coy about the question of Soviet fascism, many of his own followers show the results of being educated by him?

In reality the 'state capitalists' are precisely the 'left-wing' of petty-bourgeois democracy, playing the role of trying to bring whatever workers and youth they can behind the middle class and its protest.



RUDI DUTSCHKE (ABOVE) AND BERLIN DEMONSTRATION (BELOW)

They became of direct use to the ruling class during the Korean war of 1950. They told anyone who listened to them that the 'capitalist' character of the USSR made it impossible to side with North Korea against US imperialism and they sought to divert and split the revolutionary vanguard, the Fourth International, with this policy. They were expelled.

Justified split

During the 'Cold War' years of the 1950s, Tony Cliff concentrated his doubtful talents upon publishing books and articles on the supposed 'capitalist' nature of Russia, Eastern Europe and China. He was arguing that here was an issue big enough to justify the drastic step of splitting from the world movement.

And yet in the 1960s, with its changed political atmosphere and the need for a middle-class, radical, 'revolutionary'-sounding diversion for the resurgent working class, Tony Cliff's friends have discovered that the 'Russian question' is not important in deciding upon friends and allies!

'The Guardian' not only mentioned the moral integrity of the IS group (i.e. their conformity to the non-communist character of British middle-class 'socialism') but it also accepted the state capitalists' own evaluation of their work.

Its feature 'The who and how of protest' of October 25 said this about the International Socialists, putting its membership at 1,500:

'Calls itself "revolutionary socialist", mistrusts "state capitalist" Communist regimes, stresses need for rank-and-file support. Only group with strong shop-steward membership. Will have miners, busmen and tenants on march. Worried about working-class "backlash" against violent militants. Only group to admit to having own stewards on march.'

The 'Daily Telegraph's' 'Guide to the Divided Left' spoke of the 'roots in the British Trotskyist movement' of the IS group, and the 'Observer' referred to it as 'another Trotskyist group'.

The closeness of John Palmer, Paul Foot, Roger Protz and others, members of IS, to the leading capitalist press organs cannot be expected to help in giving us a more accurate picture.

Their own self-deceptions coincide with the need of their superiors to portray the 'left' in this way. Paul Foot, as a matter of fact, has recently expressed very succinctly the way in which the 'state capitalists' represent the left wing of the 'democratic' middle class and not a section of the labour movement. In his book, 'The Politics of Harold Wilson', he writes:

'East and West of the "Iron Cur-

tain", doctrinaire state and private-enterprise orthodoxy is giving way more and more to modern managerial techniques. Common to both sides are increasing chauvinism, increasing pragmatism, increasing bureaucracy and increasing exploitation of the many by the few. For socialists, the similarities are infinitely more crucial than the differences. What matters are not the legal titles to property and forms of ownership but the actual relationship between human beings. (pp. 344-345.) (Our emphasis. C.S.)

For Paul Foot, the conquests of October are nothing—the similarities of the USSR with Western capitalism are 'infinitely more crucial than the differences'.

Technique

This ability to direct the attention of workers to the 'capitalist' and 'imperialist' nature of the Soviet bureaucracy became the mobilizing technique for the enraged 'democratic' middle classes whose anti-Communist frenzy against the invasion of Czechoslovakia became such a darling of the press and TV last August (1968). Paul Foot continues as follows:

'The futility of Stalinism has a similar root as the futility of Wilsonian pragmatism—"state-obsession". The failure of both calls for a new approach and new demands: for democracy, not bureaucracy; for workers' control and workers' power, not workers' regimentation by and absorption into the state machine.' (Ibid.)

Marxism has been thrown out of the window here: there is no historical approach, only the formal selection of certain characteristics, which are then submitted to the withering moral criticism of the petty-bourgeois democrat.

There is no class criterion of the Soviet and capitalist regimes, only the 'citizen's' horror at the all-powerful state.

A similar emphasis is to be found in the recent book 'Beliefs in Society' by Professor Nigel Harris, until recently editor of 'International Socialism'.

These 'International Socialists' are really 'national democrats'. They bring into the working-class and student movement, in order to cripple and destroy its revolutionary confidence, the tortured conscience of the middle-class intelligentsia, wondering how to preserve the privileged 'individualism' of capitalism against the necessity of the proletarian revolution, collective leadership, defence of all past gains, revolutionary discipline—only out of all this will true freedom be achieved under socialism.

In point of fact, the 'state capitalists' have enjoyed a certain vogue for deeper reasons than just the interest of the capitalist press to distort the Vietnam issue.

A section of the bourgeoisie, through its ideological and political representatives, seeks to avoid the clash between monopoly capitalism and the working class by 'democratizing' what it calls 'industrial society' or 'managerial society', increasingly the same on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain'.

It is interesting, for example, to compare the already quoted 'state capitalists' with another publication, namely 'Synic', the organ of a group of Liberals associated with Grimond. 'Synic' (No. 1, September 1968) prints a speech by Grimond, which begins:

'Today inequality is not simply inequality of property or income, it is inequality of power to control one's life. It is the difference between those who can command prerequisites and payments in kind and those who cannot... The socialist outlook, which in a rather weak and uncommitted way predominates in much of the West, is just as fond of power and prestige as capitalism. It is liable to less checks and ambitions. Secondly, within the bureaucratic socialist capitalist society how do we control the accumulation of power and prerequisites, not so much by the wealthy, as by bureaucrats?' (Our emphasis C.S.)

And later in the same speech:

'Is not socialism in its present form one of the greatest obstacles to progress? For it is failing to keep



HERBERT MARCUSE

alive revolt, it is failing the working class, it is drained of moral content and is more and more bureaucratic.'

Grimond insists that we have to devise a much looser and more fragmented system of representatives on different subjects'.

Doubting if this new 'democracy' can be achieved from within the existing party system, he canvasses the idea of an 'extra-parliamentary opposition'. He says little about it, but notes that:

'The main engine of change, the existence of a large, solid working class has been weakened.'

It follows that other social forces must become the 'main engine'.

In all this we have essentially the same petty-bourgeois hodge-podge as with Paul Foot and the 'state capitalists': an abstract 'democratic' lashing out at the authoritarianism and bureaucracy equally of capitalism and socialism; and a resolute turn away from the revolutionary role of the working class in the Marxist sense.

The editorial of 'Synic' by the Young Liberal Louis Eaks says:

'The advance of modern technology has continually been accompanied by demands for centralization of organization and the concentration of power into the hands and minds of fewer people, who form a bureaucratic elite. And it is this division in society which is more relevant today than outdated state-socialist divisions between the wealthy and the poor.'

'At some stage a conflict will arise between the trends of centralization, and the new, and more frequent, demands by people who want to be responsible for, and involved in, their own environment.'

There is more in the same vein, but

this is sufficient to show, for example, that the participation of the Young Liberals and Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalists) on the Ad Hoc Committee with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, IS and the 'International Marxist Group' for the October 27 demonstration was more than co-incidence.

At this point we must return to our earlier examination of the question of the 'united front'. In analysing the programme of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, we showed that in talking about 'united front' they were in fact advocating a 'popular front', the essential feature of which is a collaboration with parties of the capitalist class, and the subordination of a working-class programme of revolution to the agreement with a section of the bourgeoisie.

The presence of the Liberals in the organization of the October 27 demonstration absolutely confirms this. They are the youth organization of a party of the bourgeoisie committed to the capitalist system and private property.

The presence of the Welsh Nationalists means precisely the same thing. Such alliances are completely impermissible for Marxists, and they are always the hallmark of betrayal.

Nor did the professed anti-Stalinism of all these revisionist groups prevent their accepting the Communist Party student organization and the Young Communist League, the path for whom was smoothed by the specialized job done by Tate and the Pabloites in falsifying the tactic of the united front.

The so-called 'Free Assembly' of the 'left' Liberals alongside the Liberal Party Conference in Edinburgh on September 17 and 18 inevitably attracted 'state capitalists', Pabloites and Stalinists. As 'Synic' said in inviting participants:

'... wrench yourself away from your cosy suburbia, your bijou flatlet, or your crowded slum!'

The themes elaborated by Grimond are in fact the common coin of all the pseudo-revolutionaries and the revisionists simply dress them up in Marxist clothes.

In the last two years, and particularly in the aftermath of the May-June 1968 events in France, the myth of student power has been sedulously cultivated.

Substitute

It was seized upon wholeheartedly

by the Pabloites, always keen to find a substitute for the working class and the revolutionary party.

The role they had discovered for the 'revolutionary peasantry' or for de-classed elements in the colonial countries they now handed over to the students.

Together with the 'state capitalists', they identified with spokesmen like Rudi Dutschke in Berlin and Daniel Cohn-Bendit in France, and proceeded to encourage (June 1968) the setting up of the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation (RSSF).

Tariq Ali and representatives of the French Pabloites, and spokesmen of the 'state capitalists' from British universities, appeared on TV and in the press along with Cohn-Bendit and other latter-day anarchists.

Cohn-Bendit of course later published his book on the May-June events, drawing his principal conclusion: 'Marxism is dead!'

With his stress on the fight against the 'power structure' for 'real democracy', he argues essentially along the lines of Edgar Morin (a 'new left', ex-CP sociologist), Claude Lefort and J. M. Coudray (a French 'state capitalist') in their book 'Mai 1968: La Breche':

'The central conflict around which all the others revolved revealed itself as the conflict between rulers and those who carry out their orders.'

In what way does this differ from the 'critique' of capitalism offered by Mr. Jo Grimond?

Rudi Dutschke has provided for us perhaps the clearest indication of the class content of these political schools of pseudo-revolutionaries and their proximity to openly reactionary and counter-revolutionary politics. Dutschke wrote recently in the London Universities student paper 'Sennet' (October 9, 1968).

First, Dutschke joins the respectable chorus of those who put aside the traditional revolutionary role of the working class: after the Second World War, he says,

'... the importance of the working class diminished within the system of production and that of the technological, pedagogic and economic intelligentsia rose.'

Now, says Dutschke, this led the capitalists to pile on the pressure to get more of these 'intellectuals', who began to rebel against being 'used' in this way. Says Dutschke:

'We believe that an international opposition is necessary to fight against all forms of authoritarian structure, whether in socialist or capitalist form.'

Like Foot, he places the question of capitalist or socialist economy in the realm of mere 'form'—the essential content, for him, is the 'authoritarianism' common to both.

If the source of revolt used to be the struggle of the proletariat against its exploitation, what is it today, with 'the importance of the working class diminished'? According to Dutschke:

'This system of institutions every day produces authoritarian personalities... This production of authoritarian personalities in all institutions of our society is the basic reason for our anti-authoritarian movement.'

All this mysticism, reminiscent of problems left behind with the pre-Marxian philosophers is, of course, lifted from the work of the revisionist Herbert Marcuse and his collaborators like Adorno.

It removes 'movements' and revolutions from any objective historical basis and makes them the product of an aggregate of intellectuals' consciences. No longer are the monopolists the ruling class:

'The real power in the late-capitalist society lies in the state apparatus, like the bureaucracy, the military, the police, the different institutions.'

There are two possible paths from this outlook: one is to make a desperate, even heroic, confrontation with the 'authoritarian structure' and then retire into pessimism and conformity; the other, a reformist path. Hence Dutschke:

'We don't want to take away democracy, bourgeois democracy, but we seriously want to fill it with new content. That is, real revolutionary democratic socialism. We don't want to take away democracy, we want to build up democracy from the bottom, not from above—not with manipulation but with the direct support and participation of the masses.'

And later:

'... our organizations are built up from the bottom, not from above. We don't want to build up a party, we don't want to build up an apparatus.'

This is the point of concentration of all the petty-bourgeois pressure: against



ALAN KREVINE

the revolutionary party which expresses the historic, revolutionary interests of the working class; distortion and use of the history of Stalinism in order to weaken the resolve and the strength of the working class, and to turn away from Marxism all those who begin to identify themselves with the working class and revolutionary theory.

Dutschke is very precise:

'We aren't building a party. We don't want to build one because in the tradition of the revolutionary movement, in the tradition of the workers' movement, the party was an alien organization in which the needs and the interests of the participants were not expressed in a direct way, but only by the apparatus, not by the individuals. We want to build up a new form of organization. We began with self-organization as an organization of our immediate interests, our immediate needs.'

The Bolshevik Party, the great gain of the 20th century for the proletariat, is thrown out of the window, and we have, in appearance, a return to the most elementary level of working-class struggle, that of workers for their 'immediate needs'.

The reality is something different: it is the reduction of the struggle to a level below the political level, at a time when monopoly capitalism and the state must be opposed and overthrown precisely by the workers politically organized behind a revolutionary party.

MARCUSE, DUTSCHKE AND TARIQ ALI

IN THE LIGHT of arguments like those of Rudi Dutschke, the history of the fight against revisionism in the Fourth International presents a clearer aspect to those who may have thought it a sectarian and arid doctrinaire dispute.

The issue at stake was the revision of Marxist theory in order to liquidate the independent revolutionary party. This involved, for the renegades, rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and departure from the method of dialectical materialism.

Not surprisingly, indeed inevitably, via their search for a 'revolutionary' substitute for the working class in the advanced countries, the revisionist Pabloites looked for, and found for a while, good relations with elements like Dutschke and the SDS* in Germany.

The American magazine 'Young Socialist', organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (youth organization of the revisionist Socialist Workers' Party), carried in its May 1968 issue an inter-

view with Rudi Dutschke. Mary-Alice Waters, national secretary of the YSA, carried out the interview and had the following to say about Dutschke:

'His political evolution in recent months has been quite striking, moving from a position reflecting Herbert Marcuse's disdain for the working class as a force for social change to a more nearly Marxist understanding of the class nature of society and the necessity of fighting for a socialist transformation of the capitalist countries.'

This evaluation of Dutschke's politics appeared originally in the February 19, 1968, 'World Outlook', mouthpiece of the supporters of the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International'. One needs only to compare it with the actual words of Dutschke himself, published in October 1968, which we have quoted at length.

Pernicious

Mary-Alice Waters' comments tell us much more about the destructive and pernicious role of anti-Marxism played by the SWP and the Pabloites in Europe than they do about the evolution of Rudi Dutschke.

The organizations of the International Committee of the Fourth International (the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists, the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER) and Organisation Communiste International-

aliste in France† and their comrades in Germany) have always fought these anti-Marxist elements and their anarchist associates.

For example, the 'International Marxist Group's' paper 'International' (October 1968) carried a report of the SDS Conference of September 12 and 13, 'German Students discuss perspectives'. The reporter is pleased to tell us:

'Fraternal greetings were delivered by the JCR (the Pabloite Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire), Ed Guiton of the VSC and Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers' Party (USA)... Notably the leader of the FER, the Lambertist (Trotskyist) student organization was unable to address the conference due to a tumultuous reception, of jeers and boos.'

This speaks volumes for the political tendencies involved. As 'International's' reporter himself was compelled to note, the SDS, '... whilst being anti-Stalinist and anti-authoritarian, has also been influenced by anarchistic and Marcusean concepts'.

And he even concludes, 'It may be that the SDS has reached its political height [!] and some new formation will be needed in order to

† The two Trotskyist organizations in France which were banned by de Gaulle during the May-June events.

* German Socialist Students' Federation.

... human relationships between us in



COHN-BENDIT (CENTER) AND GEISMAR (EXTREME RIGHT) POSE BEFORE CAMERA WITH OTHER STUDENT LEADERS DURING VISIT TO ENGLAND

our extra-parliamentary area, then we will not be able to overcome the society. That does not mean building up a paradise, a Utopia or a separated part outside of the society but not against the society. It means to build up our own forms of institutions in a direct fight against the state apparatus.' (Our emphasis C.S.)

Here we have the essential content of all 'anti-authoritarian' political tendencies, Rejecting the economic foundations of the class struggle as the objective source of change upon which Marxist theory develops and the revolutionary party is built, they are brought back to the miserable and discredited ideas of middle-class reformism.

Preaching against the 'apparatus' and 'bureaucracy' of social democracy, they are in fact the advance-guard of those who re-furbish its political essence for modern purposes.

And what are these purposes? To lull the working class with the message of reform while the monopolists prepare for a totalitarian or fascist dictatorship.

Their 'opposition' to Stalinism is no different. By denying the need for a revolutionary party, they end up by capitulating to Stalinism in politics.

For example, Dutschke says:

'... we are very interested in the process of democratization in the authoritarian socialist countries. We could very much improve our political and emancipational work if democratization in the DDR (German Democratic Republic) for example, would develop.'

In other words, Dutschke and all his 'revolutionary' and 'anti-authoritarian' friends in the student 'radical' movement are the old tribe of 'left' social democrats, anti-Marxists, friends of the 'progressive' bureaucrats of the Kremlin and Eastern Europe.

Their stress on the essential similarity of the deformed workers' states and the capitalist regimes has the purpose not of building revolutionary movements against either, but of resurrecting the old reformist rubbish in new and more dangerous forms.

Common front

The more we examine the programme of the 'new' revolutionaries like Dutschke and his revisionist friends in VSC and 'International Socialism', we see that their common front with anarchists, Liberals and Stalinists, and their hostility to Trotskyism, is not just a matter of their agreement on particu-

lar issues such as Vietnam, but arises from their deepest class instincts and class role, the attempted mobilization of disorientated and 'radical' petty-bourgeois and student elements in a desperate attempt to divert youth and workers from the Marxist revolutionary path.

That is why the Socialist Labour League insisted that the October 27 VSC demonstration was essentially a mobilization aimed against Trotskyism.

For example, 'The Black Dwarf', edited by Tariq Ali, carried an editorial article on October 27 entitled 'The Street is our Medium'.

According to this article, written in support of VSC and its demonstration, 'the familiar tactics of left-reformists... have been swept away by militants throughout the country'. But we are warned about what the writer means by his conclusion, a mixture of, on the one hand, arguments indirectly aimed at Trotskyist concern with theory and, on the other, the case put forward by Dutschke—and Grimond. Thus:

'The movement is completely fed up with the sectarianism for which the British left is so notorious. We are fed up with those who devote more time attacking other socialists

than capitalism itself or those who spend most of their time in accusing each other of being "police agents" [this is presumably aimed at the Maoists, C.S.]. The time has come to stop this internal wrangling and to move forward after October 27 and set up an Extra-Parliamentary Opposition.'

No doubt this wild talk deceived many people looking for militant ways of opposing the imperialist war in Vietnam.

It is not difficult, having analysed the ideas of the 'Extra-Parliamentary Opposition' and its relation to reformism, to understand why Tariq Ali finished up on October 27 in his capacity as chairman, introducing 'Comrade Fergus Nicholson, student organizer of the Communist Party' and Barney Davis, YCL organizer.

He himself had just delivered at the door of 10 Downing Street, under the usual TV camera, his thought for the day:

'Dear Harold,
75,000 socialists came to tell you to stop supporting the US in Vietnam, start supporting NLF. Yours Tariq Ali.'

So much for the great funeral orations on 'left reformism'!

FRENCH EVENTS AND MODERN REVISIONISM

THE SAME PATTERN of the bourgeoisie presenting a centrist alternative to any unity between the working class and revolutionary Marxism came out crystal-clear in France in May-June.

Krevine, Geismar, Cohn-Bendit, etc., were featured as dangerous but romantic young revolutionaries (that does not at all mean to say that at another time it will not be necessary and possible for the bourgeoisie to do without them and to imprison them) whereas the Trotskyist student organization (FER) and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste were described darkly as strong-arm and karate squads, capable only of physically breaking up their opponents' meetings.

It was with a view to bringing before the eyes of the working class and the middle class these candidates for a new centrist formation (i.e. a grouping between reformism and revolution) that the 'student revolt' received so much attention.

Here again it is not the immediate motives of bourgeois editors which predominate.

No doubt many of them thought to expose the 'danger' of these 'agitators' and 'incendiaries'.

But it is precisely the job of these organs of 'public opinion' (the newspapers, TV) to translate and present new social phenomena in such a form as to make them serve the preservation of the capitalist social order.

Only Marxism penetrates to the class and historical essence of these events

and tendencies.

Just because they proceed in their news-making with a spontaneous conviction of the need to categorize everything within terms of familiar values, to 'expose' things only in order to bring them back to order—these editors do their job the more thoroughly.

All this does not at all prevent them from adopting at the same time a quite cynical attitude towards using individuals in 'left' groups in order to get closer to the news and deal more thoroughly with what they consider to be the main questions.

The superficiality and crude empiricism to which revisionism had descended, particularly since 1953, made it ideally suited in another way, already indicated, to appreciate the caresses of the 'public opinion' media.

Substitute

They took the wave of student protest, just as earlier they had taken the revolutionary wave in the 'Third World' as a substitute, a replacement, for the revolutionary role of the working class.

They became advocates of theories like that of the 'student detonator' of revolution, even where they did not immediately go so far as Dutschke and others in rejecting the revolutionary role of the proletariat *in toto*.

It was only the Trotskyists of the International Committee of the Fourth International who insisted on the perspective of the central role of the revolutionary working class in the advanced capitalist countries, in the context today of the linked crises of imperialism and Stalinism.

This was not a new phenomenon.

After the years of reaction which came in the wake of the 1905 Russian Revolution, the revival of mass

struggles was preceded from 1910 onwards by agitation among intellectuals and students.

'At the end of 1910, street demonstrations—a sight long unseen—took place in connection with the deaths of the liberal Muromtsev, the erstwhile First Duma president, and of Leo Tolstoy. The student movement entered a new phase. Superficially—such is the customary aberration of historical idealism—it might have seemed that the thin layer of the intellectuals was the breeding place of the political revival and that by the force of its own example it was beginning to attract the upper layer of the workers.

'As a matter of fact, the wave of revival was not proceeding from the top down, but from the bottom up. Thanks to the industrial resurgence, the working class was gradually emerging from its torpor. But before the chemical changes that had transformed the masses became apparent, they were transmitted to the students through the intervening social groups. Since the university youth was easier to set in motion, the revival manifested itself first of all in the form of student disturbances. But to the properly prepared observer it was clear beforehand that the demonstrations of the intellectuals were no more than a symptom of much more profound and significant processes within the proletariat itself.' (Trotsky, 'Stalin', p. 127.)

Those who have interpreted the student demonstrations of the last few years as evidence of a 'student revolution', signifying the replacement of the working class by a new revolutionary force, are in the same category as the superficial observers here contrasted by Trotsky with those who were 'properly prepared beforehand'.

In 1968, the student agitation again

represented a reflection of deeper developments of the capitalist crisis and its transformation of the masses.

This time it is not a matter of defeated workers being roused by an industrial recovery.

On the contrary, we have a working class in the advanced countries, after a generation of full employment and capitalist boom, faced with the capitalists having to attack every historical gain—living standards, trade union organizations—made by the working class.

The great strikes in France in May-June 1968 showed more than anything else, on the one hand the stage of maturity reached by these underlying processes, and on the other the open and vile treachery of the reformist and Stalinist parties and trade union bureaucrats.

Our study of the policies and ideas of the revisionists, particularly of Rudi Dutschke (claimed by the Pabloite revisionists as one of their promising pupils), shows that they have reacted to the student developments in a highly dangerous way.

With their radical and Marxist-sounding phrases they actually express an agitation by the middle classes of modern monopoly capitalism for more consideration from their masters.

At the same time, their refusal of a historical accounting with Stalinism, of establishing a continuity with the real (Trotskyist) struggle against Stalinism, only prepared them and their successors of 1968 to come full circle to collaboration with the Staliniests!

No, there is no real fight against capitalism without a fight against opportunism, but there is no fight against the opportunists without a thorough and painstaking exposure of the revisionists. That has been the purpose of this analysis.

CONFRONTATION IN WELFARE

A PROGRAM FOR VICTORY THROUGH UNITED STRUGGLE OF THREE UNIONS

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK--If we cannot reach agreement on the new contract then "you'll (the unions) do what you have to do and we'll (the city) do what we have to do." These were the words of chief city negotiator Herbert Haber in a recent meeting with representatives of the SSEU and locals 371 and 1549 of DC 37, AFSCME, the three unions representing 15,000 employees of the New York Department of Social Services (Welfare). Haber couldn't have expressed it better.

Whatever illusions existed in the minds of SSEU President Morgenstern and DC 37 head Gotbaum that a new contract would be achieved solely on the basis of skillful maneuvering within the complex procedures of the Office of Collective Bargaining at least Haber has set the record straight. The new contract will be worked out on the basis of a naked power struggle between the city and the unions and nothing more.

In fact with the Jan. 1 contract expiration date already upon them, absolute intransigence from the city, and a growing outcry from the ranks over the implications of Commissioner Goldberg's plan to reorganize 9,000 Welfare jobs out of existence, even Morgenstern and Gotbaum have at least partially wakened up to the need to prepare for a fight.

Thus Morgenstern and his supporters in Staff for Merger who have been holding back the merger of SSEU and local 371 for the past six months came forth at the Dec. 30 Membership meeting and helped carry a 211-150 vote in favor of a new membership referendum on this question Jan. 10. On the same evening, in separate membership meetings, both the SSEU and 371 memberships unanimously adopted a resolution supporting a joint collective bargaining agreement worked out in advance by leaders of the three unions and Gotbaum of DC 37. Endorsement by 1549 (welfare clerks) is expected shortly.

This agreement provides not only for joint collective bargaining among the three unions but also provides that no one union in Welfare will settle with the city until a settlement is reached by all three. Earlier in the week at the meeting with the city referred to above the three unions all made clear that they intended to stand together on the position that there would be no reorganization of the Welfare Department without prior negotiation with the unions.

VICTORY

These moves towards unity in Welfare represent a major victory for all of Welfare staff. The contract struggle has now been put on an entirely new footing; it is now possible to talk seriously about strike preparation in Welfare, a policy that has thus far been blocked by the fragmentation of the three Welfare unions.

The problem is that although Morgenstern and Gotbaum are now talking unity, they have been completely mum on the question of a strike. By dragging their heels on this question these bureaucrats threaten to completely defeat the whole purpose of unity which is precisely to pose to the city a strike threat formidable enough to force a decent contract.

STRIKE

It is very clear that the City is not about to make any concessions until such a strike threat materializes before them. At the Dec. 30 SSEU membership meeting Morgenstern had to announce that not only had there been no movement from the City on any substantive issues but that in fact the City had retreated from agreements already made in the area of transfers and grievances. Worse than this the city could not even be gotten to agree to a one month extension of the present contract without the proviso that it be given the right to begin reorganization forthwith. This was followed up on Jan. 3rd with an insulting money offer of \$400 over 2 years (less than 3%).

There is only one way to deal with this. We say the SSEU together with 371 and 1549 must aim at a showdown with the city no later than Jan. 31, 1969. The city knows that if it can string the unions along into extending the contract beyond this date that this will amount to an admission on their part that they don't want to fight. After that it will be months of mediation, fact finding, arbitration, and in the end a completely rotten settlement imposed by an OCB impasse panel.

A Jan. 31 strike deadline can win wide support in the ranks of the three unions at this time. A motion to this effect introduced at the Dec. 30 SSEU membership meeting by the Affiliation Now Caucus immediately won 1/3 of the votes present over the heads of the Morgenstern leadership.

FIGHT

The point is that the ranks of the SSEU have a special responsibility to force the Morgenstern leadership to take a fighting policy into the new three way alliance and soon to be merged SSEU-371 local. If SSEU members think that joint

4. In relation to client demands, it should be clear to all welfare staff by this time that the reactionary demand for Community control of the Welfare Centers is being raised in a more and more strident fashion by Lindsay and the Ford Foundation and such demagogues as Hulbert James of the Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups. It is high time that the three unions in Welfare faced up squarely to the problem of black nationalism and community controlism, which threatens to tear the unions apart along racial lines.

We say as part of a program of putting the Welfare unions in the forefront of the struggle



MILITANT SSEU RANKS PREPARE FOR CONTRACT SHOWDOWN WITH THE CITY THIS MONTH

collective bargaining means that Welfare workers can now lie back and let Gotbaum and his pals in the Central Labor Council run contract negotiations through backroom maneuvers they are dead wrong. 15,000 welfare workers can be sold out just as easily as 7,000 caseworkers if their leaders are not forced to tow the mark at every point.

To prevent this SSEU members must demand that a joint membership meeting of SSEU, 371 and 1549 be called at the earliest possible date not only to set a Jan. 31 strike deadline but to thrash out a clear common policy on the following issues.

PROGRAM

1. In relation to the threat of reorganization and the ambiguity that still surrounds the unions' attitude towards OCB. All three unions must go on record that they will accept no contract that does not make as a condition for the introduction of reorganization negotiations with the unions TO THE UNIONS' FULL SATISFACTION. Not only this but it must be provided that the city recognize the right of the unions to negotiate on every single aspect of reorganization, not just IMPACT as provided by OCB.

2. In the meantime, while the question of reorganization is being negotiated between the union and the City, staff must have guarantees that the 60 caseload will be maintained. Not only must the 60 caseload therefore be included in the new contract with similar workload provisions for supervisors and clerks but hiring must not be cut off at this time. The Jan. 7 termination date for caseworker examinations represents a unilateral step towards reorganization and is a violation of the present contract. It is absolutely essential that the new contract include penalty clauses compensating workers in cash for work in excess of contractual limits.

WAGES

3. In relation to wages the three unions must make it clear to the city that under no circumstances will they accept one penny less than the settlement negotiated in 1967 (approx. \$1350 over 2 years). Moreover with inflation at an all time high it is equally essential that the unions secure escalator clauses in the new contracts over and above the basic settlement.

for black workers and unemployed both in and out of the union, the SSEU, 1549 and 371 must fight just as hard as part of the '69 contract struggle for a roll back of the flat grant cuts as it does against the conception of community control. This must be combined with a particularly stiff fight to see that all demands in our collective bargaining program relating to black and Puerto Rican workers, especially in auxiliary title are fully met by the city.

UNITY

5. Finally in relation to strike preparations as a whole, the joint collective bargaining agreement now on paper is only as durable as the determination of the ranks in all three unions to see that it is adhered to. There must be a constant battle by the ranks to see that there is no retreat from this agreement by the bureaucrats who are apt to be more than ready with excuses the minute they feel the agreement pushes them into more of a battle than they had planned to undertake. In particular the SSEU leadership must break with its policy of concessions to the anti-affiliation forces in the SSEU, and campaign not merely under the aegis of Staff for Merger but use their full authority as elected officials including official union stationary to campaign for a Yes vote on Jan. 10. Failure to secure the necessary 2/3 vote for merger could undermine the whole joint collective bargaining agreement.

Finally in order to amass the maximum force to take on the City, if necessary after Jan. 31, the three welfare unions must seek to link up in a wider joint collective bargaining agreement with the 70,000 non-welfare members of D.C. 37 who are also seeking a new contract at this time. Unity in welfare provides the basis for a strike threat but the experience of even agency wide strikes in Sanitation, Education points over and over again to the need to extend struggles by city workers beyond the confines of a single agency.

We say if there can be joint collective bargaining in Welfare there can be joint D.C. 37-wide collective bargaining. With this kind of force combined with the policies outlined above it is quite possible to deliver the city its most resounding defeat in the past two years.



CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATOR INJURED IN LONDONDERRY BATTLES

BY CHARLES HENRY
(A former Belfast resident
presently in Canada)

The flare up of violence in Northern Ireland highlights once again the deep crisis of the ruling class in that country. For the first time in the 40 odd years of the state's existence, there exists deep divisions in the ruling class which threaten the very future of their continued rule. This was the meaning of the warning issued by Captain Terence O'Neill, the Ulster Prime Minister, in his televised broadcast to the province when he was looking for support for the moderate policies.

O'Neill is a Tory and he knows that the future of capitalism depends on the finding of new markets and new capital. This was the meaning of the trade pact between Britain, Irish Republic, and North Ireland and the great sales drive O'Neill undertook in the United States and Europe for capital, new firms, orders, etc. for the province.

PAISLEY
A section of the ruling class

sees a great danger in these policies, in particular those which relate to closer economic relations with the Irish Republic. This section led by the Rev. Paisley and the recently dismissed Minister of Home Affairs, William Craig, fear that any sort of unity with the South would unite the Protestant and Catholic workers, that is would destroy the only basis in Ireland by which capitalism has been able to exist. Whatever support O'Neill was able to drum up among his own MPs and Orange lodges, the outcome will be the same, the removal of O'Neill and his liberal policies. Before the working class in Ireland stand only two alternatives--fascism now being prepared by Paisley or the socialist revolution.

It would be wrong to presuppose that the problems facing Ulster are exceptional to that part of the world because at the very root of the Catholic-Protestant violence lies the crisis of imperialism and in particular that of Britain. The only reason at this point it is more ex-

reaction grows in north ireland crisis

treme in Ulster lies in the exploitation of that country for centuries by British imperialism. Paisley only leads the way for Powell in England and Wallace in the United States.

British imperialism is only able to maintain its enclave in Ireland and its alliance with North Irish capital by selling the idea to the Protestant workers that their jobs and any sort of standard of life depend on the maintenance of the British link.

EXPLOITATION

Within the framework of the British link and as one Unionist (Unionists are conservatives who make their stand on the maintenance of the link with Britain) senator put it, "a Protestant government for a Protestant people", capitalism carries out its policy of double exploitation of Catholic workers and small farmers in housing, jobs, and social benefits. Perhaps the most ludicrous of all is that in the local Parliament elections, businessmen are entitled to umteen votes depending on the number of businesses they own.

A middle class organization has now taken up the fight for a few reforms. Any success it has achieved is due to the support it received from the working class, and government hesitance at this stage to engage the working class in a headon clash. However there should be no illusions--reformism in Ireland was finished a long time ago. In fact it was finished when Social Democracy signed the Treaty

of Independence. In the long term, the civil rights movement, by refusing to fight for a program of action to unite the working class on the basis of breaking the link with Britain and for a workers and farmers government pledged to the nationalization of the building industry, the engineering monopolies and the textile industry with a view of unity of action with workers in the South and in Britain, does nothing but help Paisley build a base for his fascist alternative.

When the civil rights leaders make statements praising the sincerity of O'Neill, they tread on very dangerous ground. O'Neill would have no qualms about shedding blood if he thought the time was right.

STRUGGLE

At the present time the working class, both Protestant and Catholic, is engaged in struggles against the chronic unemployment that exists and against the very real cuts in their standard of living that have taken place. It is necessary, as O'Neill sees it, to keep the two issues very much apart. Capitalism depends on it. Do these civil rights leaders see this? Of course not. All they see is a few reforms and O'Neill's sincerity. Clearly this movement can provide no alternative to Paisley and at best only confuses the issues.

TASK

The task in Ireland must be

the building of an Irish section of the Fourth International pledged to the above program. This party must base itself on the working class, particularly in Belfast and Dublin building a base in the trade union branches while at the same time being in the forefront of struggles against bad housing, discrimination, etc.

Above all, it must always be able to connect these issues in concrete struggle. In no way can they ever be separated, for to do so would open the way for the ruling class to further divide the workers. Unity of the class must be maintained at all costs. It must unequivocally fight against the link with British imperialism. It is no use trying to circumvent this in the hope it will go away. It won't.

BLIND

Socialist movements in the past have followed this blind tactic. The period of boom in the 1950s in fact was the golden age of this policy. All we had to do was wait and bigotry would disappear. The fruits, in this very different period, of this policy are naked for all to see in the destruction of the Labour Party to a skeleton of what it was, the growth of extreme reaction by Paisley, right wing mobs roaming the streets with state protection, etc.

The period in Ireland now can be one of growth for a revolutionary party provided it can learn the lessons of the past.

Why The Poverty Programs Have Completely Failed

BY MANUEL OZORIO

If one was to look back to the early 60s you would see on the horizon a rising tide of so called experimental programs designed to combat one or another social ill in the ghettos and poverty stricken areas of the cities.

It was these experimental programs which served as the first shots in the war on poverty - for example Mobilization for Youth, Haryou Act, Youth in Action and so on.

Approximately six or seven years have gone by since the war on poverty was first declared. Years in which the American working class has seen the gains of the inflationary booming 50s disappear. Years in which riots, threats of city-wide strikes, inflation, high taxes, unemployment, anti-labor legislation and war have become the everyday reality for the Am-

erican working class.

ILLUSIONS

Yet these illusions of hope planted in poverty areas by the bosses still linger on serving their intended purpose, to divert the hatred and militancy of the oppressed into meaningless gimmicks which pit race against race and national groupings against one another instead of the oppressive state of the bosses.

In the case of MFY, what began as an attack on the causes of juvenile delinquency naturally led to the simple reality that juvenile delinquents did not exist separately from their environment and the economic conditions of the rest of their families. This led to another simple reality - that in order to combat juvenile delinquency you had to combat the total conditions which created it. At this point simple logic would begin to falter for no longer were these programs serving their intended purpose, but they were, you might say, "arousing the natives" and this was not to be tolerated by the ruling class who had only intended for these programs to cool off the rising heat of discontent in the ghet-

tos. Thus it became fashionable in the early 60s to see one after another the overturning of the administration and sometimes whole staff of these agencies.

LIMITS

We see from the very early days of these programs that their limit and scope had been set by the bosses and the politicians in no uncertain terms. Take for example a rent strike. It is considered a proper tactic to be used by the tenant, but what does the landlord have - the courts, eviction, law suits.

But as we dig deeper into this mess we see also in those early days many radical tendencies running around these agencies scoring points with the poor, instead of fighting to bring an understanding of what these programs really were. They are not around anymore, they were rebaited out by the News or somebody else.

POLITICIANS

Someone should have told them that the only politics allowed around these agencies are the bosses' politics, because that is just what happened. The local politicians took over, not to our surprise,

and they named the directors, put relatives on salary staff, siphoned funds, etc. We could go on forever. The early lessons are clear - the decay of these programs started the day they were thought up because they were based not on a real program of change - like tearing down the ghettos or a decent job with good salaries for everyone who live there, but as the saying goes they were only scraps from the table.

Can you imagine there were in 1967-68 about 34 million dollars available for community action through the city wide anti-poverty program, while on the other hand the mayor was trimming the school budget by a mere 55 million dollars. But if that doesn't get you maybe this will - Bedford-Stuyvesant with

more than 250,000 population where 10.8 of the city's poor live of which two-thirds live in extreme poverty and the rest subsist on less than \$4,000 a year, received an enormous 7 million dollars for 67-68 community action budget which added up to no action.

Tokens are not enough. It is the lives of people which these phony gimmicks destroy and will continue to destroy, because this which has gone on for seven years is only the beginning. Now what remains of these programs at all its levels and in all forms will be disappearing slowly with the arrival of Nixon, but the illusion of hope will remain, they will just change their costumes. Already we can see their ugly heads bobbing about, present in the slogan of community control, or black capitalism.

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BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Editor: Tim Wohlforth Art Director: Marty Jonas Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Printed entirely by union labor. Editorial Offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003.

THEIR PLANS TO SPLIT NYC LABOR

raskin spills the beans

BY FRED MUELLER

New York City has begun to be called 'strike city', as fuel oil deliverers, utility workers, state hospital workers and longshoremen have recently followed transit and sanitation workers, nonprofit hospital workers, teachers and taxi drivers in taking strike action. Government employees have led the way in this upsurge, defying the vicious anti-strike Taylor Law, court injunctions and the barrage of lying attacks from the bosses and their lackeys.

The bosses and the Lindsay Administration are aware of the threat this poses to their power. Today they talk about an 'ungovernable city' and tomorrow it will be an ungovernable country -- it is already an ungovernable world. The bosses' strategy is to paralyze the working class offensive by splitting the working class along race lines. But they cannot carry out this strategy without help within the ranks of labor itself. It is becoming increasingly clear that the labor bureaucrats are now right in there pitching, collaborating with the bosses and Lindsay to split the working class and maintain at all costs 'class peace'.

RASKIN

The way in which this is done, and the way in which the trade union leadership contributes to the defeat of the workers, is somewhat unintentionally shown by New York Times Editorial Board member A.H. Raskin, in a recent article in that newspaper's Sunday Magazine.

In his article, entitled 'Why New York is 'Strike City'', Raskin dwells heavily on the teachers' strike, and he quotes Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, as follows: 'I am very bitter about the way decentralization has been handled. It has become an escapist kind of thing that involves nothing in the way of investment in better schools and that pits the black community against the civil servants.' Shanker goes on to explain that he sees no 'practicality' in a so-called Negro-Labor coalition which is advanced by Bayard Rustin and other Social-Democratic friends of Shanker: 'One reason why not, is the attitude of the Mayor, the Urban Coalition, the Ford Foundation and even of big business. They support those who forge a separatist role in the schools and everywhere.'

Shanker's total bankruptcy and cowardice is revealed in these private comments to New York Times labor expert Raskin. He has never publicly taken such a clear stand on the role of big business behind the decentralization fraud. Certainly he did not take this to the workers of New York during the strike. He didn't expose the real anti-labor essence behind decentralization, he didn't show who really gained from the confrontation between ghetto and teachers, he didn't advance a program to unite black and white workers in the fight for better schools. Shanker, undoubtedly a very 'practical' man, didn't see any practicality in that kind of fight.

The union issue of job security was completely separated from the political issues involved. To top it all off, Shanker, deciding to be practical once again and seeking some kind of public support for the teachers, sought it not on a class basis, but in the fight against so-called mob rule in the schools and similar language catering to racist-minded workers and middle-class elements who could be reached on the 'law and order' issue.

Shanker has followed this up with a call for 'improvements' in the New York State Taylor Law. He suggests 'cooling off' periods for certain strikes and approved limits on the right to strike for workers whose strike action would greatly inconvenience the public. There is no limit to the vicious betrayals which Shanker's pragmatism lead him to. He thinks that he can appease the bosses and the government and induce them to leave the teachers alone by suggesting that they attack other workers instead! But even this sickening performance won't help the teachers, of course.

DOAR

This doesn't mean, of course, that Shanker

isn't absolutely correct when it comes to recognizing decentralization as a fraud and an attack on the union. But it doesn't help much to recognize this if there is no program for fighting it. John Doar, currently Lindsay's newly-appointed head of the Board of Education, wrote in Fortune Magazine, just a while ago: 'Union concepts of security and seniority were formulated in the period of struggle between company and union. Now the struggle is between the Negroes and the union...It is our position that a basic conflict exists between labor-union concepts and civil rights concepts. Something has to give.'

Thus the crusading liberal Doar reveals his true policy and shows why he was chosen to head the Board of Education in the first place. An ordinary educational bureaucrat could never lead a fight against the 50,000-strong teachers union in New York City. Instead a man with a liberal image completely outside the educational establishment is brought in to take on the teachers, with the aid of the middle class black nationalists.

The pro-decentralization union leaders played just as rotten a role as Shanker, if anything a more compromised role because they did not even take the elementary stand of supporting the teachers on the fundamental union issues involved. Raskin names Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, Leon Davis of Local 1199 of the hospital



STRIKING INSURANCE WORKERS MARCH IN NEW YORK LAST JULY. NEW YORK IS CALLED "STRIKE CITY."

workers, and David Livingston of District 65. These men lobbied in the councils of the top labor bureaucrats, especially with NY Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale, for an end to the strike and for a compromise solution.

Gotbaum, Davis and Livingston, representing almost 150,000 workers between them, all took a somewhat in between position of the issues to one extent or the other. They balanced their support for decentralization with pious pronouncements that the rights of the teachers should of course be safeguarded, and so forth. On the basic issue of decentralization and the fight for decent schools they let the black nationalists and their allies carry the ball completely. They all see the solution as a reconciliation of irreconcilable programs. Their solution therefore is no solution, certainly not in the long term. All of these bureaucrats, just like Shanker, absolutely refuse to raise any of the fundamental issues involved. They refuse to blame the bosses and their system for the school crisis. They refuse to fight against the bosses and their government because they know what such a fight would involve.

CONVERSATION

The inconsistency of these 'pro-decentralization' leaders is shown by Raskin's retelling of a conversation between Davis and Van Arsdale: 'When Davis came to him (Van Arsdale) with a warning that Negroes were bound to interpret the citywide school shutdown as a blow at the education of their children, the council head acidly reminded him of the militant methods Davis himself is wont to use in the hospitals. 'I'm going to write a book called 'War and Peace'', said Van Arsdale, 'war in the hospital and peace in the schools. It's a terrible thing to upset the community - when someone else is doing it.'

Here, of course, Van Arsdale, sitting on top of all the growing divisions within the labor movement and within the bureaucracy, is correctly pointing out Davis' inconsistency. Not surprisingly, both Van Arsdale and Davis, though they are very good at pointing out one another's

failings, look at the crisis with the method and outlook of the bosses. Every section of the bureaucracy approaches the crisis in exactly the same way. They see the unions, the employers and the vast public in between. Strikes alienate and inconvenience the public, the community, that is. Shanker sees the black community as hopelessly hostile to the union, so he continues with his disastrous policy of seeking allies from among the worst enemies of the teachers. Davis sees the same 'community' problem and insists that the teachers capitulate to the pressure of the city and the bosses as it is transmitted through the public. This policy is an even more open capitulation than Shanker's. Van Arsdale surveys the conflict in schools and hospitals from on high, but also accepts the divisions as completely permanent. None of the bureaucrats is at all interested in appealing to the 'public' as workers and trade unionists, as most of them are. In this way all of these so-called leaders actually wind up aiding the racists and the black nationalists who play into their hands.

CRISIS

Behind the bureaucrats' inability to see the class issues and fight in a class conscious fashion is their inability to understand the crisis. They see capitalism as permanent. They and the thin

layer of privileged workers they lean upon are still satisfied, they are products of the boom period which is now ending. For very sound objective reasons these officials limit their perspective to reforming capitalism, to working within the system come what may.

The school crisis is just one example of the deepening crisis and the inability of the capitalists to give any reforms at all any more. The decentralization fraud is a reflection of this. For the first time per capita expenditure on education is declining in New York City. To divert attention away from this, and to attack the workers, the city uses the decentralization hoax. It is no accident that it is being put forth now as the financial crisis becomes almost intolerable.

TRIUMPH

The working class is divided, but it is not defeated. It is capable of tremendous struggle. A socialist alternative to decaying capitalism can be fought for and can triumph if a fundamental struggle to build a revolutionary party and an alternative revolutionary leadership in the trade unions, against the Shankers, Davises and Van Arsdals, is waged.

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PREMIER TRUDEAU

TORONTO-The Rand Report poses a serious threat to the whole labor movement in Canada, and if a serious

fight is not waged immediately against the report the unions will end up as nothing more than the organs of the ruling class.

The very existence of the Report illustrates the depth of the crisis of the employers and who will be made to pay for it. It is especially designed to tie the hands of the working class in their fight for higher wages and better working conditions. Such sections in the report that deal with the need to end sympathy pickets, unions to be made liable for the

actions of their members and the taking away of the right to strike of all government employees are all designed with that reason in mind.

To emphasize once again the importance of the Rand Report, not since the case of Taft Vale at the beginning of the century in England have unions been liable for the actions of their members in England or Canada. The very life of the unions are at stake.

RUDE

Among the leadership of

the trade unions there was a feeling for a period of time that the Rand Report would not be made into law, until these gentlemen got a rude awakening at their own convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor, when the Minister of Labor, a guest speaker at the convention, told them bluntly that the report would be before parliament within the next few months.

What has been the record of the labor leaders since then? Simply one of retreat.

Strike action was proposed but rejected. Instead the labor bureaucracy chose the action of winning public support for their case. Presumably this would mean in the final analysis going cap in hand to the government in the hope of a few concessions. Clearly there can be only defeat at the end of such action and the cost will be the destruction of the labor movement.

Last year saw more strikes in Canadian industry than any time since the depression. As unemployment continues to grow to an alarming high and the cost of living soars, workers face a very uncertain future and very real pressure is starting to burn the backsides of the union leadership from the locals.

It would be nice to believe that now the union leadership will be forced to fight, but unfortunately such a conception would also be idealistic. The bureaucracy sees the fight against the Rand Report in an entirely different way from the rank and file. In fact, if left alone, the opposition would be nothing more than a mere token.

MOVEMENT

A rank and file movement must be built in every local; committees must be set up to work out a program of action against the report. These committees should at a later date have a view of organizing a Provincial Committee if the union leadership still refuses to call a general strike.

With the building of such committees a co-ordinated campaign for industrial and political action can be fought for. A concerted struggle can be waged in the NDP to make their MPs oppose the bill in a more militant way than has been done. If this is coupled with a general strike the provincial government would not dare to present the bill to parliament.

war on canadian unions

The Death of a Centrist Scoundrel

BY MIKE ROSS

The death of Trygve Lie, first Secretary-General of the United Nations, on December 30, 1968, marked the close of an epoch in the Norwegian and world labor movements.

Lie was a life-long member of the Norwegian Labor Party (NAP), that country's Social Democratic party, and his career must be understood against the background of its evolution.

Breaking with the pro-imperialist Second International at the end of the First World War, the NAP affiliated its 105,000 members (out of a total Norwegian population of 2,500,000) to the Communist International at its First Congress in 1919.

CENTRIST

But the NAP never became a Communist party in any sense. It opposed non-parliamentary methods of smashing capitalist rule opposed the necessity of turning imperialist war into civil war, and refused to adopt the Bolshevik method of organization (creating party branches on the basis of factories, trade unions, cooperatives and other workers organizations). It reflected all of the weaknesses of its leader, Martin Tranmael.

Finally, in 1923, Tranmael, playing on the reformism, syndicalism and religious prejudices of the bulk of the NAP members, led them out of the Communist International. For four years it affiliated to Angelica Balabanov's Paris Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties, but in 1927 it temporarily gave up international affiliations.

At this time, Lie's star was rising in the NAP hierarchy, and he had gained a seat in the Storting, Norway's Parliament. Lie was a member of the NAP's leading committees in 1932, when it decided again to join some type of workers' international.

This time it was the centrist International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (IAG), also known as the London Bureau. Its other members included the Independent Labor Party (ILP) of Britain, The Socialist Workers Party (SAP) of Germany, and the Party of Marxist Workers Unity (POUM) in Spain. Due to its lack of total independence from the Stalinists, especially with the latter three

parties, and its refusal to join in the forming of the Fourth International, Trotsky aptly characterized the London Bureau as the "Three and Three-Quarters International of Squeezed Lemons."

TROTSKY

Trotsky enters the picture again, this time in Norway, 1936-1937. Expelled from France by the Popular Front government of Leon Blum in France, under both Stalinist and fascist pressure, he sought refuge in Norway. By this time, the NAP had tired of playing around with the London Bureau, and was gradually withdrawing, the formal break coming in 1938. The NAP now had a majority in the Storting and was too busy administering a bourgeois government to hear any talk of "revolutionary socialist internationalism". Lie was the Minister of Justice in this bourgeois government, and as such was in charge of Trotsky.

At first behaving impeccably towards the exile, Lie soon changed. Like Leon Blum in France, he was put under pressure both by the Stalinists and Quisling's fascists to throw Trotsky out. Before doing so, he had Trotsky in-

terned and prevented from speaking or writing. And this at a time when the Moscow trials were raging.

Lie tried for one more time to do the dirty work of the Stalinists. He agreed to let Trotsky stay in Norway if he signed a declaration by which he would write nothing on current politics- he demanded that Trotsky agree to become a political vegetable. Trotsky replied with this warning: "This is your first act of surrender to Nazism in your own country. You will pay for this. You think yourself secure and free to deal with a political exile as you please. But the day is near-remember this!- the day is near when the Nazis will drive you from your country, all of you..."

Within four years, Lie and his NAP colleagues were indeed exiles from Hitler, and spent World War II in Britain. After the war, Lie got the chance to carry on his services to world imperialism, not just in Norway, but on a global scale. Early in 1946 he became Secretary-General of the UN.

In his new position, Lie presided over and assisted in the imperialist carveups in Palestine, and Kashmir,



TRYGVE LIE

led the first battle against admitting the People's Republic of China into the U.N. and enthusiastically endorsed the U.S. invasion of North Korea in 1950. All the way up to his resignation as Secretary-General in 1953, Lie showed in practice the true nature of the Social Democrats, and dramatically confirmed about the U.N., time after time, Lenin's characterization of its predecessor, the League of Nations, as a "den of thieves."

Trygve Lie embodied the essence of centrism: revolutionary noise when necessary, but in deeds, reformism and capitulation to imperialism and Stalinism. Lie was thus a loyal servant of the class enemy.

GROOVY BUSINESS

BY EARL OWENS

"But The Man can't bust our music," is the headline on a Columbia Records full page ad in the Berkeley Barb. A photograph underneath shows long haired hippy types inside a jail cell with picket signs which say: "Grab Hold" and "Music is Love." Columbia Records tells us: "The Establishment's against adventure. And the arousing experience that comes with listening to today's music."

The Establishment is putting us on....The Columbia Broadcasting Co. had \$904 million sales and \$123 million profit in 1967. To make a buck, Big Business is now willing to sound idealistic, even radical. If business is going to sell itself to youth, which it will have to do to survive, the ideology of class struggle becomes an obstacle.

Big Business has the help of the New Left in this, particularly of types like Jerry Rubin who states: "Ideology is a brain disease." Wearing a Santa Claus costume

or dressed up as an Indian carrying a water pistol, Jerry Rubin has received more publicity from the establishment than the copper and long-shoremen strikes combined.

WITHIN

The New Left does not have a theory of class society. It seems to believe in the possibility of seizing power and turning particular institutions, such as San Francisco State and Columbia, into utopian societies. There is only a little distance between liberating particular institutions and failing that, getting well paid jobs in these institutions to hopefully transform them from within. Here is part of an interview with an ex-New Leftist in the super glossy magazine "Careers Today".

Interviewer: The New Left argues that society is too corrupt to save except by revolution, and urges young people to fight "The Establishment" from outside.

Del Behrend: (29 year old sexy brunette who works for

the Bank of America) "You can't just sit on the outside and bitch. If you don't like something, by God, go in and change it. Activists like me need to infiltrate the system and work from within...We have the job of making an economically affluent society into a humane society...The bank is getting things done that need to be done, and doing them a lot faster than the Federal Government. When you work for the world's biggest bank, and are effective, people listen to you...On the national level, I work with a catalyst group of business organizations, white and black, to expand Negro capital -- Green Power...I was asked to leave. (Ohio State) The teachers called me a rabble-rouser. I got out just in time because I helped in a student demonstration for freedom of speech.

An accompanying photograph shows New Leftist banker Del Behrend fondling her Porsche racing car. On other pages of "Careers Today" is

an ad from AT&T quoting Thelonious Monk, an ad from the American Express Co. suggesting that a job with them will "help shape the 'cashless society' and lead to genuine revolutions in financing and travel."

"International Business Is A Gas" proclaims an article. The U.S.V. Pharmaceutical Corp. ad says: "Want a Career That Turns You On? Try Drugs." Underneath is a picture of a long haired student and the statement that U.S.V. wants "turned-on people."

GROOVY

Yes, you too can be a groovy businessman. Turn on with a joint with your fellow junior executives. Ideology is certainly a drag if you want a Porsche and the class struggle is a definite bummer if you want a groovy trip.

Thousands of youth looking for an alternative have been recruited by the New Left. The recruits have membership cards and buttons. The question is: recruits to what?