

MONTHLY REVIEW REVISES MARX

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Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

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INSTITUTION

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EDITORIAL: A SOCIALIST VIETNAM

Johnson is running around the country trying to buck up the spirit of American troops before they are flown into the Vietnam holocaust. It is the act of a defeated man seeking to rally a vanquished army. Three years and 500,000 troops have not only not produced victory for Johnson. The truth is that the United States position in Vietnam is weaker than it ever was. The complete defeat of the United States is a matter of time --and a short time at that.

We say good. We say a defeat of U.S. troops in Vietnam is a defeat for Johnson and the large corporations he represents--not a defeat for American workers who were never consulted on this war and who have no interest in the continued domination of Vietnam by the U.S. bosses. This is why we have fought from the beginning for the VICTORY FOR THE VIETCONG!

Victory is near. The working class in the cities have joined the struggle alongside their brothers from the countryside who have been able to enter the cities and maintain themselves there only because of this alliance with the city workers. These workers and peasants are giving their lives for one goal and one goal only--total victory. They want the United States out because they want to rule Vietnam themselves.

We warn: now that victory is in the grasp of the workers and peasants of Vietnam we must not allow this victory to be stolen away from us through negotiations. The people have bled for so long not for coalition governments or any other veil behind which to perpetuate capitalist exploitation of Vietnam but because they want the power themselves. They want to end exploitation in Vietnam in all forms. They want a socialist Vietnam run by the workers and peasants.

This is what we want too. We support them in their struggle for a socialist Vietnam. We fight on all the harder here for a socialist America, for a socialist world.

READ

QUESTIONS FACING
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by Dan Fried
The strike of New York Sanitation men has ended. The ending was as weak and undramatic as the shouts of 'No contract, no work' which began the strike were fierce and strong. The sanitation men had gotten off to a roaring start when nearly lynched union President De Lury after he proposed a mail ballot on acceptance of Mayor Lindsay's terms. De Lury was forced to tell Lindsay that the deal was off and the strike was on.

So began a nine day strike which virtually brought the City to its knees. In desperation Lindsay had demanded that the State bring in the National Guard to break the strike.

With Rockefeller refusing to call out the Guard, the workers had every reason to believe that in a few more days the City might capitulate. But the union accepted Rockefeller's promise and they went back to work.

lost

By returning to work, the sanitation men had lost the offensive. The tables were turned and now they were dependent on the decision of the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties who control the legislature. Their sense of victory gave way to doubt, to bewilderment and then to bitterness and frustration when they saw the games the politicians were playing with them. Soon they were angry again--the rank and file were talking about another strike. Instead, as before when they accepted the Rockefeller

promise, the union leadership accepted a proposal to completely take away the final say from the workers--binding arbitration.

In this way, a strike that began with a great power in the hands of the men and the promise of victory, ended with the workers hands being tied. This is a setback not only to the sanitation men, but estab-

forward in labor relations. His Office of Collective Bargaining set up with the joint cooperation of New York Labor bureaucrats to keep city workers in line is preserved. Lindsay is now in a stronger position to hold the line against other city workers whose contracts come up soon.

lesson

For the sanitation men and

and file caucuses to return the unions to the control of the men they are supposed to represent.

Clearly, such caucuses have got to learn the lessons that the labor bureaucrats are blind to. The two political parties are the parties of the bosses.

Workers have got to begin the struggle now to build their

SANITATION: POLITICIANS



DELURY SPEAKS TO SANITATIONMEN BEFORE THE 9 DAY STRIKE

lishes a dangerous precedent by which other city workers can be forced into arbitration which can insure that the City gets the kinds of contracts it wants.

No wonder Lindsay, the labor-hater who wanted to break the strike--no ifs, ands or buts--hails the arbitration agreement as a great stride

STAB STRIKERS IN THE BACK—

all of labor--the lesson is clear. You cannot rely on the labor bureaucrats to fight the bosses. Rather workers must begin to organize rank

own party so that the government instead of being used to break strikes can be used to advance the interests of all working people.

bosses hit cincinnati labor

by Mark Ross
CINCINNATI--The bosses are on the offensive in this town against the labor movement and they have got the city and state government working for them. Their plan is clear. They seek to isolate organized labor within a city with large open shops.

They plan to hit trade union after trade union with court injunctions and the rest of the government apparatus--all, we are told, in the interest of the 'public'. Faced with such threats they force the labor bureaucrats to back down and sell out the interests of their ranks while reactionary anti-labor forces grow in the city and state preparing for the day when they can put the labor movement completely in chains.

So far they have had their way. They broke the city transit strike and now they have broken the strike of the city teachers. Let us take a look at how they did this.

teachers

The Cincinnati teachers are split, as is true in many cities, between the Cincinnati Teachers Union, an affiliate of the AFT, an AFL-CIO union and the Cincinnati Teachers Association, which operates as a company union. The CTU conducted together with two other unions representing

the maintenance men, a highly successful four day strike paralyzing the secondary schools in particular. While they were out on strike the Board of Education called a 'bargaining election' installing the CTA as the bargaining agent. They hit the strikers with a court injunction. This was covered with the sugar coating of a promise to mediate the strike and a promise of no reprisals. As soon as the teachers returned the head of the teachers union was thrown into jail and as we go to press the teachers union members do not know what further reprisals are in store for them. Such is the word of our mighty judges. Such is the impartiality of the government.

Let it be pointed out that the Board of Education includes a member elected primarily because of union support. This purported friend of labor went along with this whole anti-labor plot.

blows

Around the same time two other blows were directed against labor in Cincinnati, both with government complicity. First a 65 day strike at Formica was broken when the union leaders (IUE Local 7571) shoved a 'final offer' down the throats of the membership, an offer arrived at through the intervention of Federal mediators. Then the

rank and file of local 1482 IBEW at Avco forced their leaders into calling a strike because of company violations of seniority rules. After three days the bosses got--you guessed it--a court injunction which forced the workers back without a single gain.

Cincinnati is a working class town. Even the bosses that own the large factories in Cincinnati don't live here. They just make their profits off the back of Cincinnati labor and then retire to their mansions in the suburbs. But every time the government intervenes to break a strike in this city we are told it is done in the interest of the 'public'. What these scoundrels fail to reveal is that the public of this city is the workers.

They get away with this game because the workers in this city are not organized politically. The Democrats and Republicans after they get our votes, conspire against us--

ing the power of the government to break our strikes, to keep workers separate from each other and to defend the large open shops that exist in this city. Proctor and Gamble, for instance, employs 24,000 workers and is non-union.

change

There is the beginning of a change in Cincinnati. In the first place the workers are fighting back. This new militancy was expressed in the transit strike, the Formica strike, the teachers strike and the short Avco strike. But militancy without leadership is not enough. This is why we are launching a Trade Unionists for a Labor Party branch here. TULP plans to organize caucuses in the major unions in this city to fight for: 1) rank and file control of the unions; 2) unity of the unions in common battle whenever a particular union goes on strike; 3) a campaign by the whole union movement to wipe out open shops in Cincinnati; 4) a direct confrontation against the reactionary racist forces like Wallace who seek to break the unions by pitting white against black; 5) a struggle to organize the 'public' into its own party, a labor party based on the unions. Come join us in this battle.

**CINCINNATI
WORKERS
LEAGUE**
P.O. Box 12061
Cincinnati, Ohio 45212

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT SMC MEET

by Bob Johnson

CHICAGO--At its recent conference here the Student Mobilization Committee voted to call an international student strike on April 26, in protest of the War in Vietnam.

Hundreds and thousands of young workers and students all over the world will demonstrate their opposition to Johnson's imperialist war against the Vietnamese.

Here in the U.S. the SMC leadership limits the anti-war struggle to the middle class protest movement which historically has taken up issues only to later drop them when they became unpopular.

But we declare that this mass struggle of youth all over the world is not for 'peace' as opposed to 'war' but rather that the struggles in April are in reality part of the same war that the Viet Cong are so heroically waging.

The capitalist system gives youth war, racism, the draft, cops, lousy schooling and deteriorating job opportunities--in a word, no future at all. That is, the system attacks youth on all fronts. Youth must fight back on all fronts. There is no one single 'issue' that affects young workers and students. We get it coming and going.

There is no time to lose. The way out of this mess is to fight back, along with the working class as a whole, with a program to fight for power. That is what it all boils down to. The Workers League urges all youth to fight with us in April.

We cannot play footsy with the strivings and struggles of the youth, as do all sorts of phony 'leaders'. We cannot just limit our demands to those acceptable to baby doctor Spock. And most important, we cannot just protest, protest, protest, the wrongs of this society. We have to build an alternative to this system. Otherwise our protests will never lead us anywhere.

The SMC Conference demonstrated several things. First, the present student anti-war movement is terribly isolated from the struggles of the working class, both in the trade unions, and the youth, black and white. It has no program to take the struggle one inch beyond the routine of a demonstration of protest every few months. And it has absolutely no political alternative to Johnson in 1968. These are problems of leadership.

criminal

SMC's present leadership, most notably the Young Socialist Alliance, has done a criminal job in keeping politics out of the anti-war movement. They speak of the war in Vietnam as a 'single issue', on the order of air pollution and abortion reform.

From the 1965 Thanksgiving anti-war convention, where through factional bickering they slammed the door in the face of the Negro militants from the South, to the present they have battled to keep the anti-war movement simon pure around their 'single issue' of peace in Vietnam, and separate from the tremendous struggles of young Negro workers and students. They do this 'officially' because in bringing in such a 'controversial' issue as the Negro struggle (for them a separate question) we run the risk of weakening the anti-war movement. In truth, the YSA and the SWP have so adapted their policies toward the middle class that they are incapable of fighting around a program that can link war, race and class.

bureaucracy

Out of fear of Stalinist hegemony then, they do everything possible to insure that this is just a one shot protest movement middle class through and through. Every work they write begins: The working class is unreachable; the ferment in the middle class is where it's at; the Negro struggle is coming along fine with its middle class leadership of Black Power reformism. No need for any intervention by a revolutionary party guided by a program for power. With the formation of the 'National Black Anti-war, Anti-draft Union, which even further divides black youth from white youth, they can only stand back and applaud.

The YSA is the bureaucracy of the anti-war movement. They do all the leg work. But their policy is self-defeating. Because they refuse to provide any political leadership, they can only wage a losing battle for organizational hegemony. As the whole movement searches for a political solution to its isolation, the SWP-YSA can

**JOIN WORKERS LEAGUE ON
APR. 26 TO FIGHT FOR:
End The Draft! Smash Racism!
Victory To Vietcong!
Stop Johnson's War
Against Vietnam--Labor!
Build Labor Party Now!**

only palm off its propagandistic Halstead-Boutelle campaign which is no concrete alternative at all.

For any real straight answers on the problems facing the anti-war movement one will search in vain in the pages of the 'Militant' and 'Young Socialist'. Whether a demonstration is a success or a failure, a step forward or backward, it will always be described by the 'Militant' as a tremendous victory. It just plain gets boring. Without waiting we can safely predict that the April days of protest will be described as the 'best' yet whether they take us farther or closer to confronting our isolation from the working class struggles.

dubois

But whereas the YSA projects a student strike as a symbolic act empty of political content, the Stalinists have a political program for the strike. The Stalinist DuBois Clubs leadership put out a position paper at the convention titled: 'For a Student Strike - An Immodest Proposal'. Here they take the lid off the pot of poison they have brewed up for the student antiwar and civil rights struggles.

They proceed from the crisis facing the Democratic Party in this election year, asserting that 'the administration is isolated and is trying to regain control'. The movement has 'the power to affect which way this country will go in the coming months'. And it is our responsibility to see to it that the American people 'are on the correct side in the ideological showdown'. 'The Student Strike could create the unity necessary to maximize the political impact of the student anti-war movement on the country in this critical year.' The Strike must be against war and against racism, because these issues are the 'twin crises facing America'.

All of these fine words are a cover for a two pronged strategy for saving the Democratic Party from the general crisis it faces. On the one hand unite around a middle class program the 'issues' of war and racism to build Peace and Freedom Parties as in California, and on the other rally against the ultra hawks and conservatives in the Republican Party. Let them deny it. In 1964 for DuBois it was 'all the way with LBJ' and today they are doing the same thing with different tactics.

The Stalinists write as left advisors to Johnson. The war, the tremendous struggles of the youth, present Johnson's party with all kinds of crises. But the point is not to save the two party system but to build a new party to take the power away from the bosses.

The anti-war and civil rights struggles are part of battles to build this new party. But what has to be grasped is that beneath the 'issues' of war and racism lies the deep crisis in the capitalist system and the increasingly violent class struggles. The student movement is only a part of this.

The battles in Detroit and Newark last summer were not student struggles, were not moral struggles, but class struggles. The 'issues' were not war and racism as isolated questions but the whole rotten set-up from jobs, housing, cops, schools, the draft, in short this decaying capitalist system.

isolated

The student anti-war movement remains as isolated from those struggles as it has always been and no amount of lying and kidding around can cover this up. And the middle class Black Nationalists, who play games of conscience with their silly white radical friends, are no closer than King or Wilkins in providing the kind of leadership Negro and yes, white working class youth need to fight for power.

The popular mythology which middle class radicalism peddles concerning the working class is this deeply cynical argument about 'organizing around gut issues'. The thrust is that while students 'relate' to the moral horrors of racism and the war, the workers are dull witted cave men who only are capable of swallowing, in carefully measured doses, a wee bit of politics with a big charge of bread and butter.

Well, with the workers so unreachable, it is only natural that the student movement is left to stew in its own juices. And to insist that the battle is not to bow to our isolation, but to break it down by reaching the workers with a program for struggle, a political program which links the imperialist war with the need to struggle for power -- this is denounced as sectarianism by our official leadership. But we remain isolated as long as we kid around with these basic questions.

spontaneity

And convention after convention, in workshop after workshop, from the SMC Conference to the recent Chicago student conference organized by Progressive Labor Party, the same old dreary arguments are run through. One side of the coin is to scorn the workers, the other side is to stand back in blind praise at the 'spontaneity' of the workers. But the point is to build an alternative leadership to the Meany's and Reuthers.

By starting from 'racism' viewed in isolation from the capitalist system which fosters racism, students cannot lead a struggle against racism. To isolate the question of the war, students cannot lead a struggle against the war. These are the lessons of the anti-war movement.



WORKERS LEAGUE MEMBERS AT SMC CONFERENCE

MR CELEBRATES CAPITAL CENTENN

by Fred Mueller

The editors of Monthly Review marked the centennial of Das Kapital with several articles in the December 1967 issue of their magazine. Their aim is to discuss the relevance of this great work today, to examine issues which need further study in the light of the development of modern capitalism.

MR editors Huberman and Sweezy are quite capable of posing some key questions. The task for Marxists, however, is not simply to pose questions in the form of abstract criticism. Marx expressed himself quite strongly on the need to change the world, not merely to comment on it, or contemplate it. The MR editors start with a completely unscientific and anti-Marxist method. Not surprisingly they come up with theories which are fundamentally incorrect, pessimistic, and disastrous as guides to action.

Sweezy and Huberman present two interrelated theses: first, that the history of the world revolution during the last half century is not compatible with the fundamental conception of Das Kapital, that it has shifted for a whole epoch to the backward countries and away from the advanced countries; and second, that the development of capitalism in the 20th century has led to a more or less permanently conservative and non-revolutionary working class in the advanced countries.

The MR editors claim that the great weakness of Marxists has been that until recently they have not analyzed capitalism as a world system. They proceed from this assumption to the idea that viewing capitalism as a global entity today leads logically to another conception, that the backward countries of the world, heretofore supposedly ignored by Marxists, have become the center of the world revolutionary process and will remain so for the entire epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The editors proceed from this to discuss in more detail their view of the class struggle in the backward or underdeveloped countries. They allege that Marxists, starting from the basic conceptions of Das Kapital, have always mechanically assumed that these countries would have to proceed through a capitalist stage of development; that the colonial bourgeoisie would fight feudalism and imperialism and it was the duty of revolutionaries to support them. This policy, say the MR editors, led to disaster whenever it was implemented. It has been challenged both by Mao-Tse-tung, and by certain Marxists in the west (they mention the British Stalinist Dutte). The correct conception, say the editors, is that the native capitalists in the backward or colonial countries are weak and incapable of carrying out the bourgeois revolution. In order to achieve even serious bourgeois democratic reforms the victory of the workers and peasants is required.

In a separate article on Marx and the proletariat (the text of a paper given originally at the Socialist Scholar's Conference in New York in September 1967), Sweezy explains that the proletariat was not revolutionary from birth, but that it became revolutionary in the course of development of modern industry. If a revolutionary situation is delayed or miscarries, says Sweezy, the role of the proletariat changes fur-

ther. Specifically, the continued existence of capitalism with its modern technology has produced a "less revolutionary" proletariat. This is due to the diminishing of the industrial working class and to the vast expansion of distribution and service workers, as well as to the real increase in wages over a long period of time. Once again the working class has become dispersed, highly differentiated and divided, and lacks revolutionary potential.

This does not mean, however, according to Sweezy, that capitalism has found the answer to its contradictions. The nature of imperialism is such that the colonial and semi-colonial masses can take over the role once held by the advanced working class. The masses in the backward countries will overthrow capitalism. It will be the exploited countries against the exploiting countries, not the class struggle in each country, which will undermine the capitalist order. This says, Sweezy, has been proved in practice since the second World War.

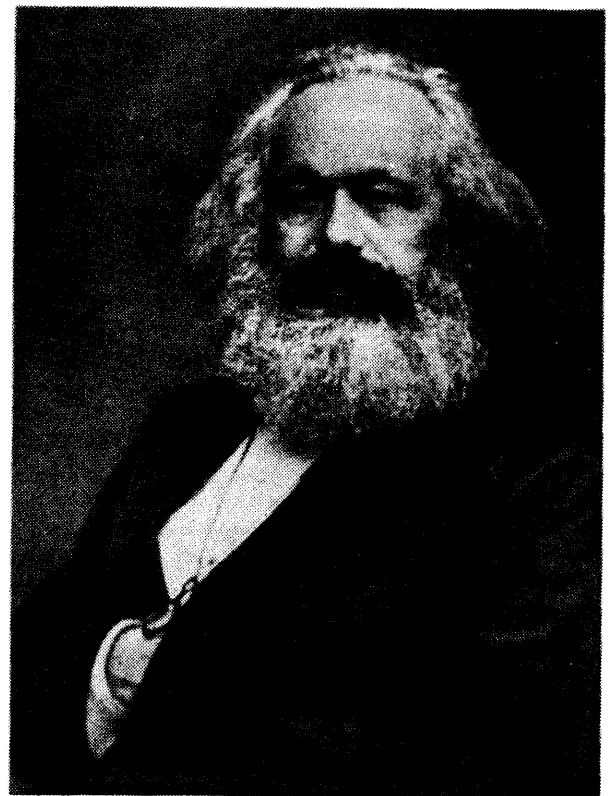
confusion

It is difficult to know where to begin in tackling this mass of confusion and downright mythology served up by the editors of Monthly Review as Marxist scholarship. We have space only to deal with the most important questions raised, and especially the question of method, the method underlying the conceptions and conclusions of MR.

Of course capitalism is a world system. One must do more than state this fact. Capitalism must be analyzed as a world system. This means understanding the contradictions of capitalism as they are manifested not simply in one section of the globe, but in every country. This is precisely what Marx, Lenin and Trotsky each successfully sought to do, and it is precisely what the MR editors fail to do.

MR does not view imperialism as a world system, for all its hollow repetition of correct general formulas. It negates the formulas in its own analysis. It does not explain the relationship of the exploitation of the colonial world to the developing crisis in the advanced countries. It says nothing about the tremendous financial crisis plaguing British and American capitalism, the way in which colonial struggles and global responsibilities deepen the imperialist's crisis, and the way in which the balance of payments crisis and all its features deepen the crisis in the backward countries. In other words the editors of Monthly Review do not approach the economy as a world economy and the world crisis as one crisis linking all countries, even including the Soviet orbit and China.

It should be clear even to the most muddle-headed empiricist that something is wrong in MR's analysis. The issue of MR we are discussing was written literally on the eve of the devaluation of the British pound. The capitalist world is still reeling from this event, even though it was predicted and expected for some time. It is only the beginning of a series of great shocks to come, as the very same capitalism which the MR editors believe has achieved some internal stability, confronts the crisis which has been developing in the very course of the long post-war boom. The bosses in every country will be forced and are being forced right now to



KARL MARX

attack the living standards of the workers, to threaten their very trade union organization and the gains they have won through years of struggle, to pose the question of power in the advanced countries, in every country. At this very time, in the midst of tremendous crisis in Britain, and a wave of strike struggles in the U.S., the MR editors report that the class struggle is all but over as far as the advanced capitalist countries are concerned.

relation

The crisis in the underdeveloped areas must be seen in relation to the crisis of the world capitalist system as a whole. The economies of these countries are intimately linked with those of the advanced countries. It is precisely the crisis--rather than the supposed stability--of the advanced economies which is having such a profound impact on the economies and the politics of the underdeveloped countries.

Over the last two or three years, as the international capitalist crisis has deepened, any serious aid for the economic development of the underdeveloped countries has been excluded. It is this which underlies the overthrow of the left nationalist governments in many of these countries and their replacement with military regimes whose aim it is to discipline the population and maintain it under conditions of poverty and exploitation. This is the meaning of the fall of Nkruma, Ben Bella and Sukarno and many others.

There can be no autarchic solution for these countries--that is they are incapable of economic development independent of the advanced countries. At the same time capitalism is no longer capable of even the most modest development of such countries necessary for the survival of the thin layer of national bourgeois and petty bourgeois forces in these countries.

It is this situation which shows up the purely utopian and dangerous economic policies of Castro in Cuba. Castro's aim is to make Cuba the world's most advanced underdeveloped country--that is, the most efficient producer of raw materials for the consumption of the advanced countries. Thus Cuban economic development becomes increasingly tied to and subordinated to that of the advanced countries through the world market. And the economies of the advanced capitalist countries are in a crisis which Cuba cannot remain immune to.

The political conclusion from this Marxist analysis is that the very fate of all the colonial peoples is intimately linked to the development of the class struggle in the advanced countries. If Sweezy and Company are correct that for all intent and purposes there is no class struggle in the advanced countries then the colonial revolution is truly doomed, truly a futile utopian if heroic effort. But precisely because this is not true--that the crisis of capitalism is not producing a renewal of the class struggle in the metropolitan countries--a socialist future for the

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ANNIAL WITH ATTACK ON MARXISM

underdeveloped countries has a real scientific base.

falsification

In addition Huberman and Sweezy have indulged in outright falsification in their historical comments on Marxists and the colonial countries. They quite clearly say that Stalin's disastrous policy of alliance with the colonial bourgeoisie flowed from Lenin's policy. Surely they cannot be ignorant of Trotsky's writings on this question, yet they refuse to mention him. The scholarship of these Marxists clearly leaves something to be desired.

As early as 1905 Trotsky presented his theory of permanent revolution. This conception, which saw a revolutionary Marxist leadership as necessary to achieve even bourgeois reforms in the backward countries, and which predicted that the colonial workers and peasants would be forced to make the socialist revolution in order to defeat imperialism and feudalism, was applied in life by the Bolshevik party in Russia in 1917. Although Lenin never discussed the theory of permanent revolution as such after 1917, it obviously corresponds very closely to the policies of the Bolsheviks under Lenin as well as to the Communist International in its early years. It was Stalin who fought this conception, who imposed on the Chinese Communists and on the newly formed Communist Parties all over the world the conception of alliance with the national bourgeoisie. Stalin resurrected and defended the Menshevik conception of the revolution by stages, the very theory which Lenin had waged the fiercest struggle against between April and October 1917. Yet the editors of Monthly Review ignore this struggle, they write as if the October Revolution had never even taken place.

At the same time they present us with a caricature of Trotsky's theory, torn out of its world context, torn out of its living relationship with the class struggle in the advanced countries. Here too, they do not begin from a world conception, as Lenin and Trotsky did. In their hands a correct idea on the nature of the struggle in the backward countries becomes an excuse for passivity elsewhere. Once again the method is key. Huberman and Sweezy are empiricists, positivists. They are incapable of viewing the world as an interconnected whole.

impressions

Sweezy's arguments on the industrial proletariat suffer from the same weakness. This is not even a theory, but a series of impressions based upon certain attributes of capitalism in the post-war era. Certainly the working class has changed. Certainly there are now vast numbers of white collar workers, certainly large sections of workers have been bribed temporarily by imperialism riding the crest of the post-war boom. This is changing, however. So intent is Sweezy on seeing just the surface phenomena that he is unable to see the process, the development of contradictions beneath the surface. Sweezy is unable to show how capitalism has changed fundamentally. What he says could stand as the typical refutation of Marxism. Sweezy capitulates completely to the crudest liberal criticism of Marx because his method is the same as the liberals, the same as the method of the capitalists, in other words. He views the system superficially and empirically, not historically and not as a world system. And he is now being proved wrong by the course of history itself.

The completely superficial assessment of these "structural changes" in capitalism is revealed by Sweezy's failure to see the revolutionary potential in some of these changes. For example, it is true that there has been a growth of white collar workers. A significant aspect of this growth has been the growth of governmental bureaucracy. But this has been accompanied by a fantastic growth in unionism among government employees producing class battles over the past year or two which immediately raise the central political issue of the necessity for labor to build its own party. This is the meaning of the tremendous growth of unionism among teachers, the organization of welfare workers in New York City, and the expansion of unionism on all governmental levels including clerks and similar strictly white collar categories.

theory

A constant struggle for Marxist theory, for analysis of contemporary capitalism, is required. Our analysis can never be viewed as fixed or

complete. But, as we have tried to show, it is not enough to affirm the need for the analysis. We can only go forward by fighting against the MR editors incorrect analysis.

Why do we concern ourselves with Monthly Review, since it plays no role in actual struggles of the working class, and moreover its revisionist conclusions are being exploded? The answer, of course, is that although Monthly review ignores the working class, it does not ignore workers and others in the radical movement. It serves to mislead some who in turn seek to lead the workers. The working class and the revolutionary party need revolutionary theory, which can only be developed in struggle against incorrect theory, whatever its source.

We cannot view the theoretical struggle separate from the class struggle in the trade unions. Every trade unionist who blames the rank and file rather than the bureaucrats for the crisis facing the unions is proceeding with the same method as that of the revisionists. All the "radicals" in the trade unions who refuse to fight for the workers turning to the political struggle, who refuse to fight for the labor party, are reflecting the same pessimism. Every "left" unionist or bureaucrat who talks about Vietnam but is not willing to talk about the struggle for a Labor Party is proceeding consciously or not as does Monthly Review. The fight against revisionism, for a Marxist understanding of the crisis, is part of the fight in the unions.

The Monthly Review editors would do well to

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprozess des Kapitals.

Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1867

New York: J. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

100TH ANNIVERSARY OF CAPITAL

apply the historical materialist method to their own tendency. They represent a section of the intellectual radical petty bourgeoisie. Their theories fit in all too neatly with their comfortable middle class lives. The relationship is not accidental. The class position of these people molds their extremely conservative version of Marxism. As the class struggle intensifies, these people and others who share their position will more and more run for cover and construct elaborate theories to justify their fear of the working class.

stalinism

We cannot understand the position of Monthly Review without understanding its editors incomplete break from Stalinism. This incomplete break is what prevents them from approaching the contributions of Trotsky to Marxist theory. It is impossible to understand the class struggle today without completely breaking from Stalinism. Stalin's liquidation of the Bolshevik Party went hand in hand with his attempted destruction of that party's theoretical heritage and victories. We cannot proceed without reaffirming those victories, and this can only be done by understanding

Trotsky's long struggle to maintain the continuity of the Bolshevik party. The battle against Monthly Review's confusion and theoretical bankruptcy is part of the continuing fight against Stalinism.

The history of this tendency deserves some exploration at this point for like all revisionist groups, these "theoreticians" are incapable of assessing their own political evolution. Sweezy and Huberman began their political careers as intellectual flunkies for the Communist Party and organizations in which the CP had great influence. For instance Leo Huberman was the Educational Director of the National Maritime Union during World War II. During this time, when the union was under CP leadership, the NMU favored a no strike pledge and further proposed that American labor abandon its fundamental strike weapon in the post-war period as well.

Soon after the war Huberman and Sweezy came to the conclusion that the Communist Party was incorrect in organizing itself as a vanguard party. Thus they formed Monthly Review independent of the CP as a political organization but which generally supported CP politics. From that moment on they maintained their opposition to the formation of a Leninist party. This is still central to their political outlook.

It is this above all which prevents them from understanding Stalinism and without an understanding of Stalinism they are incapable of making a progressive contribution to the theoretical development of the working class today. The seeds of the political degeneracy of the American Communist Party do not lie in the continued adherence of its leadership to the form of the Leninist party but rather in their destruction long ago of its political content. The struggle against Stalinism can only be conducted through a battle to build the Leninist party Stalin sought to destroy in the 1930s. This is of course the meaning of Trotskyism. This explains the inability of Sweezy to confront Trotskyism politically and thus the necessity this imposes on this "honest intellectual" to distort the positions of Trotsky and Lenin as well.

revisionism

The relationship between Monthly Review and the revisionists of the Socialist Workers Party must also not be underestimated. While MR is careful not to get involved in "practical politics", and these two tendencies appear superficially to go their separate ways, in reality they are quite closely related. They have both completely capitulated to the unscientific method of capitalism in its decline. The SWP continues to maintain the fiction of a revolutionary perspective for the U.S. Here it is only a little less honest than the editors of Monthly Review. The method is the same, the analysis of capitalism is the same the fear of the working class is the same. MR explains why it is not necessary for us to do anything but contemplate the world from on high. The SWP's role is more dangerous, since it recruits many student youth and instead of turning them towards the working class and developing them as Marxists it miseducates and separates them from the developing class struggle.

It is impossible to develop Marxism, to develop the science of human history and development, apart from the struggle to change that history, to become a part of that history at every step. It is impossible to understand the world apart from the fight to build the revolutionary party. The editors of Monthly Review separate theory from practice in the very beginning. All their methodological mistakes flow from this.

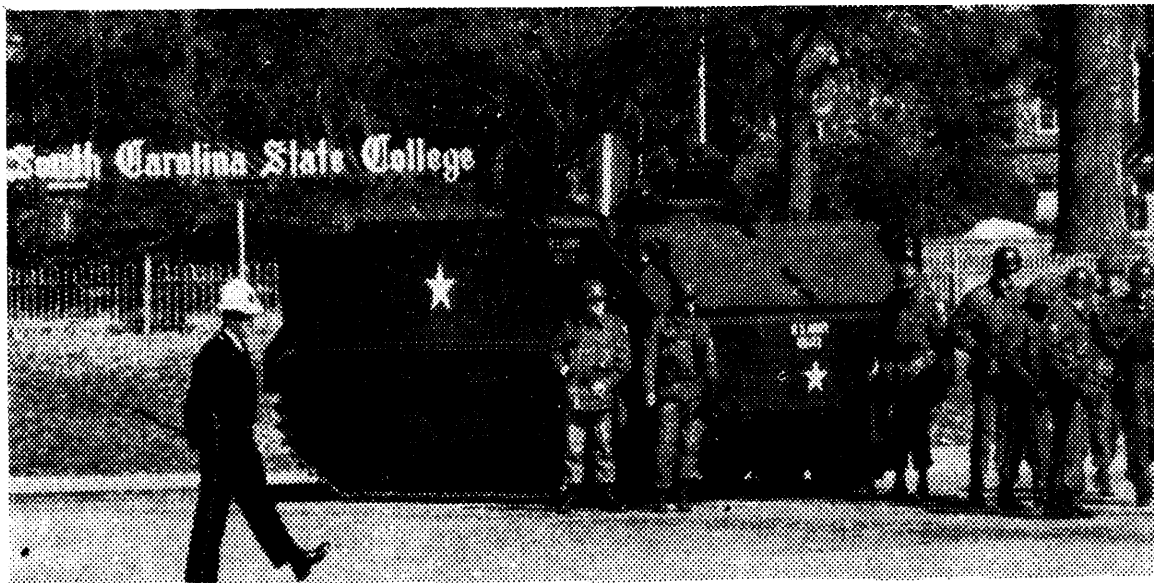
The Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International which we support, start in every country in an opposite way from that of Monthly Review and all its revisionist colleagues. The coming theoretical and practical advances of the working class and of all of humanity will come through the building of the Fourth International.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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NATIONAL GUARD AND LOCAL POLICE ATTACK STUDENTS IN ORANGEBURG, S.C.

by Irv Hacker

Last week in Orangeburg, S.C. students from two predominately Negro schools attempted to integrate a bowling alley. This protest was not in itself different from countless other such demonstrations in the last five years. These students were met by armed National Guardsmen and local police who on the flimsiest pretext fired into the students. Results--three students killed, 28 wounded. The Federal government answered this massacre by instituting court proceedings to integrate the bowling alley. The administration couldn't care less about bringing the killers to justice.

But the Federal government is taking a strong stand on certain legislation pending before Congress. Much explaining is being done by Presi-

dent Johnson telling the Southern legislators that his anti-gun bill is not being aimed against the racists but rather against the Negro militants.

Any doubt concerning the nature of the anti-gun legislation is dispelled by the companion bill proposed by Johnson, termed the anti-riot bill. This piece would outlaw "agitators" from crossing state lines. This legislation is also advertised as aimed at the Carmichaels and the H. Rap Browns.

boycott

In New York City this past week a boycott took place of the New York Athletic Club track meet.

Only two Negroes appeared for this meet. Outside of the New Madison Square Garden stood 400 pickets in the freezing cold. The New York City police made

four dashes into the crowd with nightsticks flailing everyone in sight.

This boycott points up graphically the changing official attitudes toward the Negro struggles in this country. Prior to last summer, we would have had hearings stemming from the police action at the boycott, on police brutality. Further, there is no question that there would have been support given by the mayor for the boycott. Even ex-Mayor Wagner and Gov. Rockefeller had two years ago been forced to resign from the N.Y.A.C. because of their policy of racial exclusion. Now, brazen police terrorism is totally ignored by Lindsay and Rockefeller.

Last summer which was filled with Negro rebellions marked a significant change in the Negro struggle. The

orangeburg massacre TROOPS SHOOT DOWN STUDENTS

Negro worker in this country is no longer making requests he is now demanding.

war

The Negro participation in peace activity has also changed qualitatively. No longer is it just an issue posed as Negroes being called to fight other non-whites. But rather, in part, it is the war eating into salaries through inflation and increased taxation, proposed and already in effect. It is also cuts in anti-poverty funds which were never established as even a tentative start in a meaningful struggle against poverty or slums.

The Trade Unions are also being forced at this time, to make significant changes. The dynamics of both the Negro struggle as well as the trade union struggles are forcing even the AFL/CIO leadership to apply pressure to a number of unions for the admission of Negroes. Low paying industries haven't in recent years been a problem in regard to the admission of Negroes. The white workers naturally gravitated to the better paying industries, whenever possible. But in non-

union situations, mainly in the south, Negroes and white workers are in the same factories. The Negroes are being used as an excuse to keep down wages by permitting the boss to turn down the wage demands of the white worker. The white worker knows that if he quits, there will be five Negroes willing to take his job, at the present rate of pay. As more of the factories in the southern and border states are being organized, more Negroes are gaining admittance into the trade unions. Also, pressures are being applied by the rank and file unionists as well as by the liberal facaded union leadership, forcing other unions to accept more Negro members (i.e., building trades).

The hitherto unorganized Negro is entering the ranks of the organized working class at a time when the crisis of capitalism is forcing the bosses and their government into a renewed attack upon the working conditions of American workers. All of these things, working together are pushing the Negro into new struggles not just as a Negro but as a Negro worker.

JHS 258 STUDENTS SPEAK OUT

by Karen Finkiel

New York--A recent demonstration for more rights by eighth graders at J.H.S. 258 in Brooklyn ended in violence and stricter regulations for the student body. This reporter spoke to several students from this school and found that at the root of the problem was A. McCassey, the newly installed principal. As one 7th grader stated: "Ever since she (McCassey) came here, things have gotten worse an worse." It all started with the unexplained firing of several of the teachers who had been highly respected by the student body. When a group of student representatives went to speak to the principal about this and other problems such as unexplained changes in schedule, prohibition of eating lunch outside the school, bad food service in school and the high number of substitute teachers instead of regulars, the principal refused to talk. After several attempts to communicate their problems to the administration, the frustrations of the 8th graders exploded into violence. Upon visiting J.H.S. 258 last week, Young Worker reporters found things relatively quiet. But the situation has not really changed at 258.

elections

One boy told us the following: Student: We just had elections today for mayor, president of the student council,

and G.O. representatives.

Reporter: How many candidates for mayor were there?

Student: Three.

Reporter: Who nominated them?

Student: The principal.

Reporter: Do you think that's democratic?

Student: Are you kidding?

Actually, things have changed

at J.H.S. 258. There are now many more policemen in the school than before, a factor causing much unnecessary friction. Student bathrooms have been locked for fear of student congregation there during the day. Food is still lousy and students are still given no choice about eating it. J.H.S. kids are not being

fooled. They know that the job of the schools is just to keep them off the streets for as long and as cheaply as possible. Day after day the quality of education goes down as the number of cops and restrictions in the schools go up.

The Workers League fights not only against this warden-

prisoner situation in the schools, but also demands real training in the schools, and prospects for real jobs after graduation. Students will no longer settle for the crumbs thrown to them by the Board of Education. They must fight to get what they deserve and the Young Workers League has begun that fight.

WAY OUT FOR SCHOOLS CRISIS

The situation at Junior High School 258 as reported on this page is typical. It shows the rotten reality that is the public school system in New York and other large U.S. cities. How does the New York Board of Education and the politicians behind it solve the problem of school overcrowding, multiple shifts, student frustration and violence and decaying education? More cops, stronger discipline against the kids, the encouraging of hostility between students and teachers--that is the real program of the Board of Education.

As shown in last fall's teachers strike, the City resists the demands of the UFT for the lowering of class sizes and raising the quality of education because this costs money. At the same time it seizes every opportunity to divide students from teachers and pit the workers in the ghettos against the workers who teach. It encourages the idea that somehow the teachers are to blame for the rotten state of the schools in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant.

It is clear from JHS 258 that the first step out of this mess where all the victims of the educational system fight each other instead of the school administration is to fight for a joint student-teacher control of the schools. Right now the teachers have little to say and the students even less. The teachers in the UFT should demand a voice for the students. The students, as well as fighting for their own rights must oppose any violence against the teachers. The answer to physical attacks on teachers is not more cops to 'protect' the teachers by turning the schools into prisons. The answer is for student guards to police the schools under the supervision of democratically elected committees of students and teachers. No more cops and rigged student 'elections'.

Solutions such as the Bundy plan based on community control of the schools can only lead to further isolation of the

workers in the communities--black and white--from the teachers. The idea of community control of schools, black control of black schools is really a continuation in another form of the idea of 'separate but equal' education. As we know, this is just a formula for maintaining impoverished education on the basis of racial segregation.

There can be no quality education without a fundamental fight against racism and segregation. A total fight--from schools to housing to jobs. This fight must be brought into every school and trade union without compromise. Giving the black community control of schools without completely renovating the educational system, and tearing down the ghetto slums is an excuse for the City and the Board of Education to continue the status quo, where the schools are just places to keep kids off the streets.

What are H. Rap Brown and Floyd McKissick saying when they cross teachers picket lines? They say, we support the Board of Education, the politicians in City Hall and the bankers behind them in their program of letting the schools rot. In return, the Browns and McKissicks ask for control of these rotten schools.

Instead of wheeling and dealing with politicians for more black control of schools--or for more token integration through bussing as do the liberals--we need to put billions of dollars into new schools with more teachers and smaller classes. We need to put billions into the tearing down of the slums and the creation of many new jobs building new houses. This is a program which students, teachers and minority workers can really fight for. This is a program to end the ghettos, not to make them more palatable. Lindsay, Rockefeller, Johnson and their two parties fight this program to a man. That is why we must fight them by building a labor party backed by the power of the trade unions and the students.



DELEGATES AT NATIONAL TU CONFERENCE IN ENGLAND VOTE UNANIMOUSLY FOR RESOLUTION

by Dennis O'Casey

The February 3 National Trade Union Conference organized by the Oxford Liason Committee for the Defense of the Trade Unions marks a tremendous leap forward for the British working class. The history-making conference, though officially banned by the British Trade Union Council was attended by 550 delegates from throughout Britain. These included shop stewards from BMC, Rolls Royce, and Vauxhall Motors, from numerous rail, dock, mine, steel and electrical unions, delegates from local trade councils and many other labor organizations as well as unemployed workers.

The opening speech of the conference chairman, John Powers, a senior shop steward in BMC, summed up the tasks before the conference as essentially the construction of an all-trade-union alliance uniting all workers regardless of trade or union affiliation in a fight in the unions from the shop floor up for an alternative leadership to replace those leaders that

don't want to fight the bosses or the Wilson government.

The conference in its resolution emphasized not only the political character of all struggles in this period but the need to overcome isolation of one industrial struggle from another and the need to build alliances between all workers facing common problems. The conference poses just such an alliance in its embryonic form. The offensive of the international bankers, Wilson and the British capitalists aimed at rationalizing British industry and further increasing unemployment is hitting British workers in every industry in basically one and the same way.

Further attacks are expected with the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on the Trade Unions. In the words of the conference resolution: 'It is reported that unofficial strikes are to be made illegal, that a national ballot of the union concerned must proceed official strikes and that there must be a 'cooling off' period before a strike can take

British Unionists Challenge Wilson

place such as exists under the anti-trade union Taft-Hartley Act in the United States.'

At a time when the British Communist Party tells the working class to make the best of Wilson's policies and seeks to sabotage upsurges like the December 12 lobby of Parliament battled for by British Trotskyists on a program demanding that the fake left MPs fight Wilson, and at a time when the vast majority of the trade union leadership is grovelling before the Labor Party betrayers the February 3 conference is launching a program of bold actions aimed at fighting Wilson to the death. The answer of the February 3 conference to unemployment, the growing tendency towards monopoly, speed-up and rationalization in the plants is a clear policy of nationalization of the basic means of production, without compensation, under workers control.

The leadership demonstrated by the Socialist Labor League, British section of the International Committee for the Fourth International in organizing growing numbers of British workers around the Oxford Liason Committee has played no small role in opening the way for the publication of a twice-weekly newspaper. The first twice-weekly Newsletter, the organ of the Socialist Labor League, issued February 17, could not have been published without this growing support in the British working class.

This latest of victories for the SLL exposes more deeply than ever the degeneracy of all revisionist capitulators to Wilson who have for so long labeled the SLL and the British Young Socialists as sectarian.

FRENCH WORKERS FIGHT BACK

by Lucy St. John

Capitalism all over the world is facing crisis and must take steps to preserve itself and its profits. In France this takes the form of making French capitalism competitive in the world market. This requires the merger of various enterprises and liquidation of whole branches and regions of French industry and agriculture. In other words in order to make the French economy competitive this has meant liquidating sections of French capitalism. These contradictions are throwing French capitalism and its guardian, De Gaulle, into even deeper crisis.

This is combined with France's relationship to the stronghold of world capitalism, the U.S. While sections of French capitalism are disturbed by the U.S. penetration in the French economy, the French economy as well as the world capitalist system is dependent on the dollar. These contradictions lie behind De Gaulle's seemingly madman antics in international politics, Quebec secession, and France's alliance with the Soviet Union on Middle East. In order to counter the economic pressures, De Gaulle exerts certain political pressures. These antics only reflect the sickness of Gaulism and French capitalism.

profits

In order to make French capitalism competitive an all-out campaign against the French working class is required. French workers face the same problems workers face in England and the U.S. and that is an attack on their working conditions and living standards. In order for the capitalists to wreak out their profits from sick economies they must make the workers pay for the crisis.

To this end De Gaulle has instituted the Fifth Plan. This plan includes the merger and liquidation of sections of French industry with a necessary high unemployment level reaching 700,000 by 1970. Already this year unemployment in France has increased 40% to 425,000. This is combined with a policy of integrating the trade unions into the state. Under the Tou-tee Regulations which apply to gas, railways, and transport wages are fixed by the state in consultation with the union bureaucracy, long term contracts are the rule and wages are tied to productivity.



GENDARMES ATTACK PARIS STUDENTS

In order to carry out this policy De Gaulle must have the capitulation of the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist and Socialist Parties. The Stalinist controlled CGT (Confederation of Labor) and the Socialist Party controlled FO (Workers Force) while voicing criticisms have done nothing to wage a struggle against the Fifth Plan and have accepted it, tying the trade unions to the bourgeoisie.

betrayal

Betrayal of the workers by the French Communist Party has long been its history. The French Communist Party has a strong base in the working class and in the last years growing dissatisfaction with the De Gaulle regime has been reflected in the CP's growing support. At the same time the CP has lulled the working class away from a real struggle against the French ruling class through its preparations for the presidential and legislative elections claiming that this is the way to get rid of De Gaulle. The bankruptcy of these politics was clearly seen in De Gaulle's expressed intention of ruling whether he got a majority or not and then his sending off Parliament after the elections with his Special Powers. The facade of democracy posed by the CP only aids De Gaulle, betraying the workers by giving them the illusion that these elections are the 'only way' to get rid of De Gaulle and diverting them in these activities rather than waging a day to day campaign with the trade unions against the foundations of Gaulism, the

big industrial monopolies and the banks.

At the same time the CP collaborates closely with the counter-revolutionary Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left led by Francois Mitterand. Recently they agreed to work together in fighting for a 'democratic rather than a socialist programme.' It is clear that neither Mitterand nor the CP have any intention of challenging French capitalism rather their alliance aids the preservation of French capitalism.

The French Communist Party is closely tied to DeGaulle through the Soviet bureaucracy which has found a new ally in De Gaulle. This tie compels the Stalinists to hold back the rising militancy of the French workers, to sabotage any attempt to organize workers against the government, thus avoiding a real political confrontation with the state.

alternative

While the French working class is under attack by the Gaullist regime and is tied to this regime by its Stalinist leadership, it remains a strong force with an enormous potential for struggle. Already sections of the French peasants have begun to resist the rationalization. The only alternative for the victory of the entire French working class is under the leadership of the OCI (French section of the Fourth International). The OCI is the only force which has organized opposition to the government's campaign against the working class. The OCI and Revoltes youth organization launched a campaign for a United Class Front to defend the working class and break the trade unions from the bourgeoisie.

When the Special Powers were announced the OCI and Revoltes called for a demonstration of 500,000 workers and for a National Committee to be convened by the trade unions to realize the United Front to oppose the government's policies. OCI and Revoltes fought to call together all militants and workers and organize for a fight within the trade unions to break this coalition with the bourgeoisie. Last June to realize this a meeting was called of 1,100 workers and youth to organize the fight back.

This fight must be a political struggle. Only the OCI can pose the need for this struggle within the workers' movement. The OCI is the only force which understands the crisis and has the program of victory for the French working class.

Bosses Seek To Smash SF Printers

by Don Barrow

William Randolph Hearst who according to Forbes magazine has personal assets of \$500 million is out to smash the west coast newspaper strike. He started the ball rolling in 1965 when he merged his rapidly dying San Francisco Examiner and the 'News Call-Bulletin' with Charles Theriot's Chronicle. Each now owns 50% of the San Francisco Newspaper Printing Co.

The goal of these two millionaires is, of course, the maximization of profits. For a starter they raised the rates for classified ads from \$3 to \$7 per line per week. But this wasn't enough. They needed a plant filled with the latest automatic machinery. There was only one thing in their way--the newspaper unions. The unions had to be smashed first.

negotiations

In San Francisco Operation Union Smash began when PRINTCO started negotiations with the Mailer's union on Jan. 28, 1967. Photoengravers and Building Service Employees contracts also came up. The negotiations were deliberately stalled until the new PRINTCO building was finished. Then PRINTCO told the unions to forget their demands.

Hearst and his gang had some demands of their own. Speedup was one of them.

According to the Union, 'The old Examiner presses run at 40,000 copies per hour, and the newer Chronicle presses turn out 60,000 per hour. The company proposes to run the presses in the new build-

by Deborah O'Connell

The battle to build the Labor Party in San Francisco was launched at a meeting on February 7th in a hall littered with Peace and Freedom Party posters and leaflets. Two banners proclaiming NATIONALIZE BASIC INDUSTRY and DEMOCRATS NO! REPUBLICANS NO! BUILD A LABOR PARTY NOW! stood out in sharp contrast to peace doves and psychedelic posters.

The main speaker explained how the building of a labor party flows out of the upsurge of the class struggle in the U.S. over the past few years. This is expressed by a series of strikes from the airline mechanics of 1966 which broke LBJ's guidelines to the recent New York sanitation strike where Lindsay threatened to bring out the National Guard.

The bosses government of Democrats and Republicans with LBJ at its helm is preparing legislation aimed at smashing the unions.

The labor movement must answer the government's attack with its own program of extending these militant strikes into the political arena through the building of a labor party. The labor party must meet the power of the bosses with its own program for power.

There are five key issues which tie all the strikes into the fight for power. They are:

1. UNION CONTROL OF WORKING CONDITIONS to fight speed up and general rotten working conditions.
2. JOBS FOR ALL to smash racism, unemployment and automation.
3. NATIONALIZATION OF BASIC INDUSTRIES when the bosses say they can't pay wages or fix working conditions, then the industry must be nationalized under workers control.
4. WIPE OUT INFLATION, wages equal to prices. Inflation is a conscious policy of the government.
5. NO ANTI STRIKE LAWS

The speaker closed by presenting these five demands as a motion to be voted on by the meeting. Discussion cent-

ing at 70,000 per hour. But it wants to use the same number of mailers - or less.'

PRINTCO also wanted to extend the late night shift one-half hour with no increase in pay. A flat 8 hours between shifts was also demanded by the bosses, instead of the present 12 hours. Another company demand was that the present contract clause about work being done only by journeymen or apprentices be dropped. PRINTCO could hire anyone for what is now overtime work - and pay only straight time.

The Mailers hit the bricks on Jan. 5, 1968, almost 1 year after negotiations began. They were supported by 2700 other newspaper workers.

In Los Angeles things are different. Hearst continues to operate its most profitable paper, the Herald-Examiner, although 2000 Union men have been locked out since Dec. 15. How does Hearst manage this? Why with trained scabs, of course, paid at the handsome rate of over \$700.00 per week.

Along with the rotten capitalist politicians Hearst has another card up his sleeve. Its called 'strike insurance.' Doug Smith of the Mailer's Union asserted that: 'The publishers are making money from strike insurance while the public is going without papers and some 3000 newspaper workers are walking the streets.'

400 publishers are each pay-

san franciscan unionists map fight for own party

ered around three things: racism, the war and the Peace and Freedom Party. An amendment was proposed for withdrawal of the troops from Vietnam and for equal rights for blacks and the right to bear arms.

The speaker made clear that these amendments were raised as abstract moral demands which obscure the main motion. The fight against the war and racism only has meaning as part of the struggle of the workers for their own material interests. Vietnam is used as a pretext for strike breaking and union-busting.

The question of racism must be fought in the trade unions, where the real battle will be fought over jobs for all, not abstract slogans.

The speaker for the Peace and Freedom party was the most important. To speak for PAF he had to first deny the class struggle, he called it a disagreement with the 'pace' of the strikes and then went on to say that although PAF was a middle class movement, TULP should enter it to fight for its politics, that the job of TULP was not to build an alternative but to get middle class people to sign up workers in PAF.

The most important thing was that to support PAF he had to first disagree about the class struggle, the strikes. This is also the role of PAF itself and the role of every other radical organization from the CP, PLP and Spartacist who support PAF to the SWP who has isolated itself with a middle class peace program and a propaganda presidential campaign.

The amendments were defeated. The five point motion made by the speaker was carried. The first step toward the construction of the Labor Party was taken.

ing \$10,150 a year into a special fund set up by the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Publishers can draw out \$10,000 a day and up to \$500,000 in any one year, to cover strikes or lockouts.

As you can see, the newspaper strikes were well planned by the Bosses, and are being fought on their ground. Whatever happens, under present political conditions, the millionaires won't lose much.

Harry Bridges, ILWU President, admitted in his Dispatcher editorial of Feb. 2, 'Make no mistake about it, if employers can band together and bust up newspaper unions, they can do the same in practically every other industry.'

Of course, he never says that the working class must build its own political party. Bridges leaves political leadership of the working class to some great 'liberal', like Senator McCarthy - or Morse, or as in '64, to LBJ.

The Workers League says: 'Fight Johnson and Hearst!' 'Victory to the Newspaper and Copper Workers Don't let the boss break your union and freeze your wages. Break from the rotten capitalist Democrat and Republican Parties. Build an American Labor Party. Join the TULP branch in your area and fight for a Labor Party.'

ilwu-no answers from harry

by Jeff Sebastian

The January 2 issue of the 'Dispatcher,' published by the ILWU (Longshoremen's Union) is a case study in bankruptcy.

It proves that the so-called 'left' leadership of the ILWU is incapable of providing the slightest lead to the working class.

An editorial and an article by ILWU President Harry Bridges are devoted to the crisis facing the trade union movement. Bridges sees the Hearst newspaper strike and the copper strike as marking a new period. These strikes show

that the employers are ganging up. They are preparing an offensive to destroy the unions. Absolutely correct!

Bridges goes farther. He shows that the government is helping them. Johnson is paying the copper barons high prices for their stores of copper. Rather than use Taft-Hartley he prefers to subsidize the copper companies in an effort to starve the unions out.

Bridges understands the seriousness of these struggles. He knows it is only the beginning. If the copper workers are smashed, if the Hearst

strike is broken, the ILWU may be next. And Bridges says all this.

An anti-labor offensive is being prepared. The government is backing it. Anti-strike legislation is ready in Congress. The very life of the trade union movement is in danger. The ILWU leadership knows all that. It writes about it in the 'Dispatcher.' What about a program for victory? The only thing the 'Dispatcher' has to suggest is that these strikes must be won. Not a word on how to win them. The only thing Bridges has to offer is the hope that the ranks of the ILWU will learn from these struggles and be prepared.

program

If we want to discover Bridges' real program we need only turn to the last page of the same issue of the 'Dispatcher.' There we will see a picture of ILWU officials beaming at Senator Wayne Morse and a long article extolling the virtues of this great 'champion of labor.' This is the same Wayne Morse who led the fight to pass legislation forcing railroad workers back to work in order to 'pro-

tect the dollar' as he put it. This is the same Wayne Morse who was labeled a strike-breaker by the Machinists Union.

Bridges' support of Morse is the sort of program that will guarantee that when the ILWU contract comes up in 1971 the longshoremen will have lost the right to strike. This is the sort of program that guarantees that when the war induced prosperity comes to an end there will be mass unemployment on the docks.

For labor to win strike battles the ranks of the working class must be mobilized in political struggle. Neither Bridges nor LBJ's boy, George Meany, have any intention of permitting this.

Take the copper strike. It is not enough to call for victory in an editorial. It is not enough to send a few dollars to keep the strikers from starving.

divided

The copper companies are determined to keep the unions from winning the right to bargain on an industry-wide basis. They want them scattered and divided. The government is helping to starve

the unions out. If necessary, it will step in with Taft-Hartley.

Johnson wishes to deal the Steelworkers Union, which represents most copper workers, a defeat in this battle. This is key to insuring that the union will be weakened and defeated in the coming battle in steel. For the government copper is only the beginning.

Johnson cannot stand a balance of payments drain that will come from a long steel strike with large importing of steel. Thus the government and the employers are determined to defeat the copper workers now. This is part one of their plan to throw back the steelworkers.

struggle

The copper strike will be isolated and smashed unless there is a real struggle to win it. This means that the copper that is being imported and shipped throughout the country must be stopped.

Longshoremen must refuse to load it and truckers, railwaymen and every other worker involved with copper must refuse to handle it. Copper must be stopped. This is

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the only way to win the strike that Bridges says must be won. The entire labor movement must be mobilized to do this and that is precisely why Bridges refuses to offer any program or lead any struggle. It means a confrontation with the government and the labor bureaucracy fears this above all.

The same thing holds true for anti-labor legislation, with a vengeance. Meany embraces Johnson who prepares it and Bridges embraces Morse who has already shown which side he is on in the railroad strike.

All the editorials in the world will not provide the working class with the political power it needs to defeat this legislation. Only the struggle for a labor party pledged to repeal all anti-strike legislation can do that.

Bridges recognizes that the fight is political when he speaks of government intervention in the unions. He refuses to lead the struggle for an independent political alternative. Thus he prepares the working class for defeat.