

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

open letter to harry bridges

STOP WAR GOODS!



WORKERS LEAGUE CONTINGENT POSES REAL ALTERNATIVE DEFENDING AMERICAN LABOR AND CALLING FOR VICTORY TO VIETCONG!

BOBBY



vs.



LABOR

***COLUMBIA AND THE FUTURE
OF STUDENT INSURRECTION***

EYEWITNESS

**minnesota cops use mace
against women strikers**



HARRY BRIDGES

AN OPEN LETTER TO

Dear brother Bridges,

There can no longer be any illusions about the Vietnam war. The recent Tet offensive was a major military victory for the Vietnamese people. The U.S. now faces complete military defeat in Vietnam.

This has brought on the most serious political crisis of U.S. imperialism since the war. So serious is this crisis, that the ruling class has been forced to dump the discredited Lyndon Johnson. Their fraudulent efforts to

negotiate are in an attempt to extricate themselves from deepening military and economic disaster.

There is absolutely nothing to negotiate. The U.S. must be thrown out of Vietnam because it has no right to be there. It is that simple. You are familiar with and have written many times in the "Dispatcher" on U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The U.S. has dropped more bombs on Vietnam than were dropped during the entire Second World War. The list of

Americans killed and maimed is well over 150,000. There have been over two million Vietnamese casualties and millions more are homeless or have been herded into concentration camps. Vietnamese cities, north and south, have been reduced to piles of napalmed rubble.

All of this, to prop up a thoroughly discredited military dictatorship. A regime that shoots down workers, jails trade union leaders and forces strikers back to work at gunpoint. A regime of which "U.S. News and World Report" says: "Corruption, particularly in the countryside is a major factor in undermining confidence in the Saigon regime. In the cities, the daily sight of officials riding in air-conditioned cars or military officers living in luxurious villas creates great antagonism among people who know the officials' salaries cannot begin to support such things."

NLF

If the U.S. is losing the war it is because THE ONLY FORCE THAT ENJOYS POPULAR SUPPORT, THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT

IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS THAT OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS WHO FIGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT.

If the U.S. is losing the war it is because the American working class has refused to "sacrifice". In strike after strike it has weakened the war effort by fighting to maintain its living standards.

Wage controls and anti-strike laws are on the agenda. If the ruling class now offers us Kennedy it is because they hope to untie their hands in Vietnam to do to the union movement what he did to Hoffa.

The ILWU has been in the lead of labor's opposition to the war. It has offered resources and moral support to the anti-war movement. This has not been enough. The anti-war movement remains a middle class protest group incapable of providing an alternative to government policy. Only the independent mobilization of the working class can do that. Articles in the "Dispatcher" are not sufficient. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT! You can take the

lead in mobilizing the workers to smash the government's policies.

boycott

The guns, the napalm, all the supplies for the war pass through west coast ports and are handled by members of the ILWU. You can do more than talk about peace. You have the power to mobilize the ranks of the ILWU to declare a total boycott on all war goods. NOT A MAN, NOT A GUN, NOT A PENNY FOR THE WAR IN VIETNAM! If you do this courageous thing the entire international situation will change over night. Millions of workers and anti-war fighters at home and all over the world will rally to your support. The ILWU has the power to give the lead to the entire American working class in fact, to the entire world working class. Such a mobilization of the tremendous power of the international working class is the only way to force the U.S. unconditionally to get out of Vietnam. You must take the lead!

Fraternally,
Jeff Sebastian

For the S.F. Workers
League

LOYALTY PARADE IN SHEEP MEADOW

workers league poses alternative

NEW YORK--Some 87,000 people gathered in Sheep Meadow on April 27th for another of what has been a long series of peace demonstrations. This was of the same essential character of all the rest except this time what had been implicit in these demonstrations became increasingly explicit.

From the very beginning the major architects of this peace movement--the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party--saw it as essentially nothing more than a way to bring pressure to bear upon America's rulers. It was precisely this concept which made it possible for a group like the SWP to construct a movement including open supporters and members of the capitalist parties.

This is why this peace movement has always been in essence a Popular Front such as the Stalinists constructed in the 1930s. The only way you can build a common movement with bourgeois elements is on the basis of a bourgeois program. Unable to see the Vietnam War as a manifestation of both the reactionary character and deep crisis of capitalism, these so-called Marxists refused to see the struggle against the war as a struggle to create an alternative to capitalism and thus to see that the center of the struggle had to be directed to the only social force capable of building such an alternative--the American working class. Seeing itself as only a pressure upon the rulers of capitalism the essential political character of the peace movement had always been pro-capitalist.

Lindsay

At the March on the 27th

this character found expression everywhere. All over the Sheep Meadow could be seen McCarthy buttons. The organizers of the March with the approval of the SWP had invited McCarthy and Kennedy to speak. Mayor Lindsay, a Republican tool of big business and the man who threatened to bring in the National Guard against Sanitation strikers, actually appeared on the platform to welcome the Marchers.

Quite naturally under the circumstances the rival "Loyalty Day" parade attracted only slightly over 2,000 participants. This was because the Sheep Meadow demonstration was the real "Loyalty Day" parade of the day. With America unable to win the war in Vietnam and with American capitalism in its worst financial crisis since 1931, according to William McChesney Martin, the U.S. rulers themselves recognize the need to somehow bail themselves out of Vietnam. They are not sure how they can do it and at the same time preserve their imperialist dominance in the region but there is increasing sentiment within the ruling class to try to do it. Thus demonstrations like the Sheep Meadow one help the capitalists build world pressure for a deal, they hope at the expense of the Vietnamese Revolution, rather than at their own expense.

One group of militants refused to participate in the Sheep Meadow celebration and sought instead to hold an unauthorized march from Washington Square. But this attempt ended in a fiasco as the police, recognizing the isolation of these people, brutally beat up many of them

and jailed 80 persons. Furthermore this march, even if held, would have posed no real alternative as it was an expression of the "Guevaraist" sickness of the petty bourgeois left. These people are willing to march under Vietcong flags and shout revolution but they are unwilling to struggle to win over the American working class to a political struggle against capitalism. Their movement is thus a diversion as much as is the Sheep Meadow reformists.

strike

The most significant aspect of this year's peace protests in New York City happened the day before the march during the student strike. While it was expected that this strike would have wide support on university campuses whose temper is expressed in the recent bloody battles at Columbia, the widespread strike action in the city's high schools was even more significant. Some 36 per cent of high school students stayed away from school that day according to the city's own figures. There has hardly a school untouched and most important literally thousands of working class youth in high schools which never before had participated in political activities went out on strike on their own. Many of them marched independently to Columbia University to express their solidarity with the embattled students there.

This shows that the whole crisis of capitalism is having a serious impact on working class youth and that there is great potential for building a revolutionary youth movement

in this country based primarily on these youth--black white and Puerto Rican.

rally

Understanding the nature of the peace movement as well as the nature of the capitalist crisis, the Workers League carefully planned an intervention in these demonstrations for the sole purpose of posing a real political alternative. The first step was a rally which called openly for Victory to the Vietcong, for trade union action against war goods, for mass draft resistance and support for soldiers fighting to come home, and for the building of a real political alternative to Humphrey, Kennedy, McCarthy and the rest of the bunch--a labor party which can fight in the interest of American workers and against this imperialist war and system. It was the only political rally held in this period and it was highly successful.

Then the Workers League planned carefully to intervene in the main march in two equally important ways. The first was to carry aloft the only political banners to be seen among the 87,000 people in the Meadow--banners which proclaimed support for the Vietcong and called for the formation of a labor party. Secondly heavy concentration was put on selling the BULLETIN and Marxist literature recognizing that at this stage reaching people with the political alternative was far more important than adventurist actions. As a result we had the largest sale of papers and literature in the history of the organization.

On the basis of this experience the Workers League is resolved to deepen its battle for a labor party within the trade unions, to take up in earnest the task of constructing a revolutionary youth movement based on working class youth, and to expand the sales of our paper in preparation for launching it as a weekly paper in 1969.

PARTY
SATURDAY MAY 18

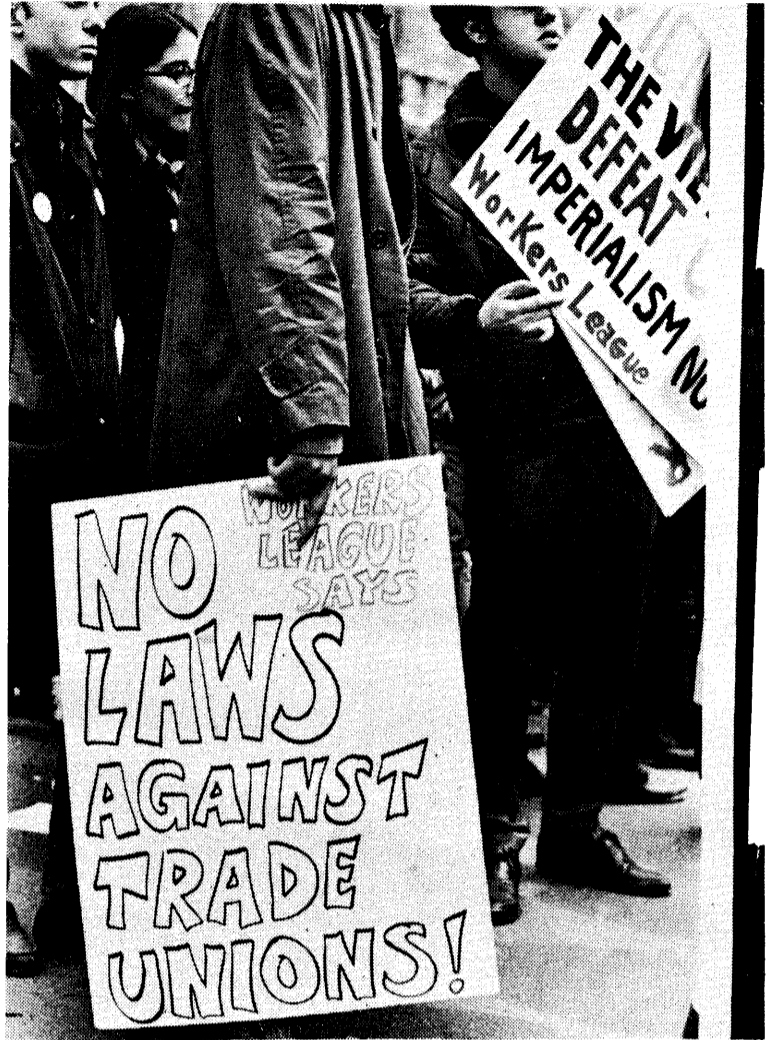
9 PM admission 99¢
girls free until 10 pm

644 OAK STREET
SAN FRANCISCO

the real alternative



WORKERS LEAGUE CARRIES ONLY BANNER IN MARCH ATTACKING DEMOCRATIC FAKERS



ONLY WORKERS LEAGUE DEFENDED TRADE UNIONS



AS OTHERS CHANT 'PEEAACE NOW' WORKERS LEAGUE DEMANDS VICTORY FOR WORKERS



DEMONSTRATORS BUY MARXIST LITERATURE

VICTORY FOR VIETCONG!

Immediate withdrawal of all American troops! The Vietcong is not our enemy but Johnson's! Victory for the Vietcong is a victory for American workers and a defeat for the enemy of American workers-- Johnson!

END THE DRAFT!

Mobilize mass resistance to the draft! Support the struggle of U.S. soldiers to come home! Our enemy is at home!

SMASH RACISM!

Millions of new jobs! Massive public housing! Billions towards job training! Billions more for schools! Outlaw discrimination in all forms with jail sentences equal to dope pedders!

END JOHNSON'S WAR AGAINST LABOR!

Repeal all anti-strike legislation! Roll back inflation! Defeat tax increases! Establish trade union control in the shops! Nationalize all firms which claim they cannot provide decent wages and working conditions!

BUILD LABOR PARTY NOW!

Build a real political alternative! Defeat the two boss parties-- the Democrats and Republicans!



WELL ATTENDED RALLY WARNS OF DEAL AT EXPENSE OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION



CROWD AT RALLY DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE

Minnesota Cops Use Mace Against Women Strikers

by a Bulletin reporter
MADÉLIA, MINN.--On April 20 striking workers of the Midtex Corporation, overwhelmingly composed of women employees, became the first victims in Minnesota of a vicious and unprovoked mace attack by deputized civil defense personnel. The workers are members of local 1043, I.U.E., CIO-AFL. The main plant of the company, a branch of Aemco Division, is located in Mankato, a city of 28,000, situated about 90 miles south west of Minneapolis. The company manufactures general purpose relays and electric timers. There are 276 people in the bargaining unit.

Though the women have been out on strike since April 1 - half of them are the sole support of their families - not one of them has been lured back to work by either the tricks or the threats of their bosses. Indeed, it is precisely the grim determination to win their strike, convinced of the justice of their cause, that has infuriated the owners. But they completely misjudged the temper of these girls. It certainly is true that on starting wages of \$1.60 cents an hour (the legal minimum wage in Minnesota), these working mothers have not been able to set aside very many pennies for any emergency. On the other hand, they are merely asking for 14 cents an hour increase this year and 13 cents an hour for next year. That this demand is, if anything much too modest for our inflation-plagued age, was underlined just this week by the two cents a bottle increase for milk that, ironically, started in Mankato and has now spread throughout this dairy state. The company offer was a measly 3 1/2 cents across the board, which proved to

even the most sceptical person that the corporation really didn't give the slightest damn about the welfare of the employees, only about their own profits.

madelia

In anger the bosses moved three or four pieces of light machinery out of the home plant to an auxiliary factory 20 miles south west of Mankato, in rural Madelia, population two thousand.

While the union movement throughout the State has done precious little to give the kind of support that could bring a quick and decisive victory to the beleaguered workers, a small caravan of cars laden with food was finally organized on April 20 from the Twin Cities, mainly by I.U.E. officers in Minneapolis. Including the cars of strikers from Mankato, a total of about 15 vehicles drove into Madelia that Saturday morning. Nothing proves more effectively that this was to be a peaceful display of union solidarity than the fact that a number of small children accompanied their mothers.

mace

When the unionists got out of their cars, they were immediately confronted by a pack of snarling, belligerent mace-equipped civil guards. The pickets at no time left the confines of the public sidewalk. But it didn't matter for the deputies were intent on provoking a scene. They harassed, cursed, and threatened the workers with arrest. Suddenly without the slightest provocation, these "defenders of law and order" began pushing people around and indiscriminately sprayed mace directly into the faces of those closest to them regardless of whether they were men,

women or children. When the workers tried to defend themselves they were dragged away under arrest. One woman, taken into custody for nothing at all, told the deputy she would go along without his having to squeeze her arm. Her spunk so infuriated him that he sprayed her face once again, while hurling obscenities at her. She later told this reporter that she and a number of others had to go to the doctor for treatment of their eyes and the skin about their faces. Whether there will be any permanent injury to these people is still not known, since the effects of mace on the human body remain a closely guarded trade and medical secret by the manufacturer of this substance.

At the time this dangerous chemical began to receive publicity as a "safe and humane" weapon to control Negro rioters, the BULLETIN immediately called upon the labor movement to oppose this and similar substances because, as it warned, they were aimed not only at the black community but equally against working people of all colors. The labor leaders nationally have been silent during this entire time.

But not so the Minneapolis Tribune. This organ of the Minneapolis bosses issued an editorial on April 25, not about the mace attack, but about "a handsome new booklet", just published in cooperation with the Minnesota Chamber of Commerce. Apparently all Minnesotans ought to stand up with pride because some recent study purportedly ranks the State "second in the nation as the place for the good life." However, the honest sensibilities of the Tribune editors are somewhat jarred because the book "ignores the equality category - efforts to eliminate discrimination in race, sex and religion." Editorial ire also fully lathered up over the publication's failure to note that "two of the top three contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination are Minnesotans" and thus "a reflection of political vitality here." This is the main editorial.

Immediately below this editorial one can read a second one entitled "The War on Dutch Elm Disease". The writer is clearly alarmed at the defoliation caused by that villainous elm bark beetle and in a tone accustomed to instant obedience, he concludes his piece with the warning that if an inspector should ask you to remove dead limbs from a tree, "a quick response is in order." Defoliation of trees and crops by American troops in Vietnam does not rouse the ire of a bourgeois editor. And neither does the spraying of mace into the faces of exploited working class women on strike.

The City Manager of Madelia, Willis Owen, is still another who cherishes little sympathy for the downtrodden. Most immediately responsible for the action of his mace-spraying crew, this municipal official exposed his deep seated anti-union bias in this remark to the press: "There was no picketing - just a bunch of people making a ruckus."

David K. Roe, President of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, was one of those on the picket line Saturday morning and was himself sprayed with mace three times. Instead of alerting the union movement of this state to the horrible threat posed to every worker by such police terror tactics, instead of calling for a huge demonstration of Minnesota labor as a solemn and powerful warning against a repetition ever again of such inhuman and criminal police acts in this State, he has instead called for an "investigation" by the Republican governor. The latter has simply ignored the two telegrams sent him by Roe. So what does Roe do, this labor leader who heads a movement that could frighten every boss out of his wits? He orders the pickets to withdraw from Madelia and issues this fighting statement: "We're not going to allow those girls to be left in that town, in that jungle."

But the plucky gals who have kept the Mankato works solidly shut since April 1 had no time for either self-pity or

tears. They themselves called a mass meeting the following Monday night, April 22, at the Mankato High School, to be followed by a march through the city of Mankato to condemn the strike-breaking efforts of the civil defense body in Madelia and to publicize the serious and extremely painful injuries sustained by many of them. Over 600 workers, half of them Mankato workers and sympathisers of local 1043 filled the school auditorium to capacity. But a freak rainstorm deluged the city and it became impossible to walk in the nearly flooded streets. So the protest demonstration has now been postponed for a later time.

A contingent of the Minnesota Workers League drove down to march in solidarity with the Mankato workers. When the demonstration had to be called off, however, this reporter for the BULLETIN was granted an interview by the president of the striking local, Inga Chapman and by the Recording Secretary, Beverly Alley.

rebuke

The intelligence, courage, determination, and enthusiasm of these two women and of the others who gathered around during the interview make it clear why the company has failed to crack their ranks. They glowed with pride as they pointed to the sacrifices willingly made by all the women during this protracted period without any income. They man the picket-lines 3 hours a day per woman around the clock; they meet together frequently; plan their strategy; they actively seek wider and wider union support. When this reporter asked them what they thought of the idea of trade unionists in their thousands converging on Madelia from throughout the State with a mighty show of labor power and solidarity, they became excited at the prospect of such a demonstration. Their attitude is a stunning rebuke to those faint-hearts who have turned their backs on the American working class. But it is a renewed inspiration to all those with confidence in this same class.

formica hits working conditions

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI--Since the end of IUE #757's strike against the Cincinnati Formica Co. plants in February, little if any information has been available concerning the terms of the new contract and what gains the workers made. Interviews with workers in the Spring Grove and Evendale plants have shown the main features of the new contract.

The major gain was a 15¢ across the board wage hike. This raises the starting wage to \$2.00 per hour, with a maximum of \$2.85. This hike, the workers were told, was to enable them to keep up with the rising cost of living.

This 15¢ hike was about the only gain made. In the key field of working conditions, virtually no progress has been made.

Safety conditions are basically as bad as ever. Accidents happen almost every day. Workers interviewed spoke of such accidents as having their hands and fingers caught in the presses and crushed; another mentioned having his foot run over by a towmotor.

unsafe

Part of the reason for these accidents is the unsafe methods of operating the machines which the bosses have set up. The other part is an attempted speedup, which right now amounts to trying to con the workers into increasing their production rates by telling them that "it's easy, you should have no problem adding another five (or ten or 15)." The

workers haven't bought it yet; it is basically understood as the bosses' way to get back the 15¢ they just fought like hell for.

Not to be neglected is the probation period. When a worker is hired at Formica, he has to undergo this probation period for 60 days, during which the boss has all sorts of powers over him which he wouldn't ordinarily have. It is these newer and younger workers who are the most exploited.

The new contract, like the old, gives the union weak control over working conditions and the actions of supervisors. Stewards do, however, have some right to intervene to change a supervisor's action, but that's about all.

That's about the way it is at Formica. Now, what should

the workers do about it?

Number one, IUE 757 members are going to have to organize to get control of their own local union and its leadership. They should definitely get in contact with Cincinnati's Retail Clerks Rank and File Committee and similar groups around the country to see how these groups have organized. What is needed at Formica is obvious: decent wages and union control over working conditions and work rules. The members of Local 757 must demand that their present leadership fights for such policies, or a new leadership will be built.

now

Equally important, IUE Local 757 must begin preparations NOW for negotiations with

Formica which next come up in about two and one-half years. The strike funds must be filled, arrangements made for a boycott of Formica products by construction, transport and retail workers unions in the event of a strike, and all unorganized elements in both plants must be organized. The office and research personnel, who were used by the bosses as scabs in the last strike, must be organized as part of IUE 757 so that this can never happen again.

Finally, since Formica is a subsidiary of Cyanamid Corporation, it is worth beginning to build an Action Council of all unions dealing with Cyanamid so that they can not be used against each other. The creation of such an action Council must begin now.

RACISM RISES IN ENGLAND



GERRY HEALY

(The following article by the National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain is reprinted from the front cover of the April 27th issue of the Newsletter. It points out the class way to fight racism not only in England but in the United States as well.)

by Gerry Healy

Time is running out. Treacherous right-wing Labour, trade union and Stalinist leaders who have prattled on for so long about the 'peaceful road to socialism' (read class collaboration) are entirely responsible for the flood-tide of racialism which is now sweeping Britain.

The grim lessons of anti-semitism in Hitler's Germany stand out for all to see.

As the economic crisis of British and world imperialism goes from bad to worse, so the ultra-right-wing demagogues such as Enoch Powell come into their own.

These are the tools of the monopolies which the Labour government have been assisting with large subsidies. Although there are only a handful of them speaking at the moment, there are hundreds more waiting to come forward.

Those who have promised a class-collaborationist 'peaceful road to socialism' have disarmed the working class at a time when racialist violence is a most powerful weapon in the hands of the monopoly capitalists.

Make no mistake about it, the only way to fight the racialists is to prepare to lead the working class into big class actions under conditions where they will overcome the poisonous fumes of race or religious prejudice and learn to fight in unity as a class.

The worsening of the economic situation and growth of racialism are two sides of the same coin.

Enoch Powell and his advisors have chosen their ground well.

The monopoly employers in the engineering industry are getting ready for the engineers' strike. Everyone knows that the people who are most bitter about their conditions are the poorly-paid skilled and unskilled engineers who abound in the Midlands and areas like Lancashire and Yorkshire.

During the years of the inflationary boom large numbers of them fled such areas in order to work in the more highly paid mass-producing motor car industry.

Into these black industrial spots with their out-of-date

plant and poor wages came the immigrant workers, driven to find employment in such impoverished conditions by Labour Exchanges acting under government instructions.

Black ghettos sprang up side by side with the slums of poor white engineering workers.

deliberate

The engineering employees and Enoch Powell know very well that it is these poor engineering workers who are going to fight most bitterly against them if the engineering strike takes place.

That is why racialism has

militants at the hands of the racialists.

The dockers of the West India Docks who marched to the House of Commons, battering down the hatches of the ships before they left, were, whether they knew it or not, following the line of the port employers and the National Front. Enoch Powell is part of the class enemy of all dockers.

Irrespective of what the cowardly liberal and yellow press will have to say, behind the racialists stand the fascists.

Let the big business MP,

he is getting ready to blame the immigrant workers at the first sign of a riot.

It is not Black Power that menaces the British working class, but the white class power of the bankers, monopolies and big business.

The Immigration Bill, like all other legislation of the Labour government on this issue, is a racialist act because it creates a diversion away from the class issues which now face the rank and file of the Labour and trade union movement.

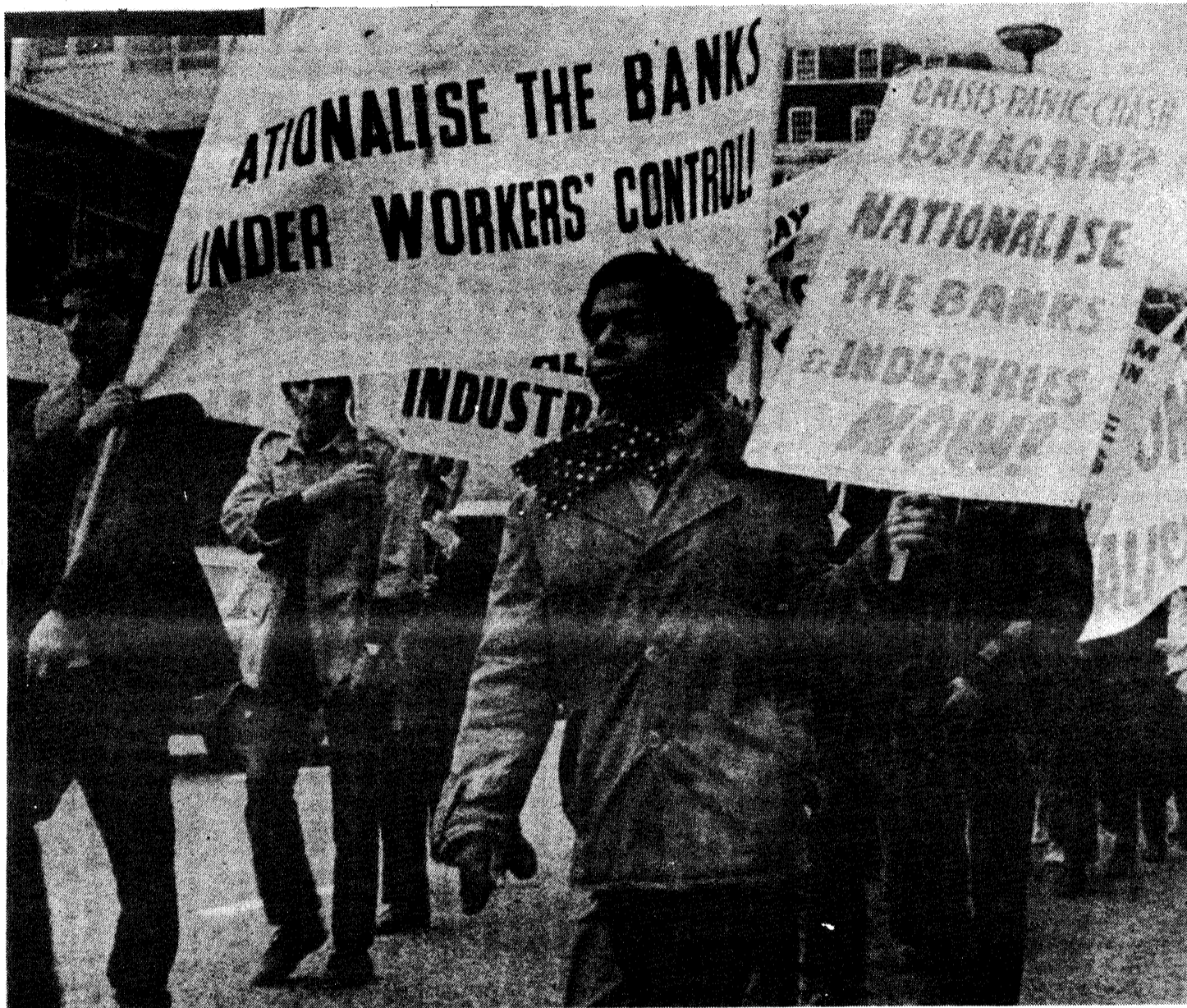
At the first sign of a big class action, workers, irres-

olutionary alternative leadership. There is no such thing as the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

The Socialist Labour League must now press forward as never before for the building of the revolutionary party inside the working class and the trade unions.

Our answer to the bankers and the monopolies is to fight for their nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

We say to the racialists, we shall treat you as we treat a potential fascist, even if you say you are anti-Tory.



YOUNG SOCIALISTS FIGHT RACISM WITH WORKING CLASS UNITY AGAINST WILSON

been deliberately whipped up in the Midlands in order to split and divide the workers by the colour of their skin, so that they can be prevented from fighting together as a class.

Behind the scenes is the National Front, a mixture of fascists, League of Empire Loyalists, disgruntled Tories and other jack-booted riff-raff. It is just the tip of the Front which is showing at the moment, but it has long been active inside trade union branches and working men's clubs in the Midlands.

This is the reason why there are working-men's clubs supporting a colour bar.

The cowardly local trade union leaders, in such unions as the Transport and General Workers Union, have long known that there are branches dominated by racialists.

They have stood by and even encouraged victimization of members of the Socialist Labour League and other

Enoch Powell, director of National Discounts Company Limited (issued capital 4,470,731 pounds; assets of 240 million pounds, 1964) say what he likes. As one of the Tory evening newspapers put it:

'Mr. Powell has kicked a hole in the dyke and released a vast flood of pent up emotions and prejudice.'

never

Mr. Powell is not a fascist. He has simply 'kicked a hole in the dyke' and from now on things can never be the same again, either in the Tory Party or the Labour Party.

Reformist legislation cannot eliminate racialism. This can only be done through the class struggle.

George Brown warns of the dangers of Black Power. What a traitor to the working class this man is!

He knows full well that racialist emotion and prejudice is being whipped up, so

pective of their race or the colour of their skin, will learn to fight as part of a class.

The way to answer the racialist and fascist danger is to prepare for this class action now with bold class actions and a strategy for socialist victory.

forward

We must build the revo-

We call on the labour movement to stand firm against the racialists and the fascists.

Re-double your efforts to fight to the end against monopoly capitalism and its Labour and trade union lackeys.

Build up workers' defence guards in each area uniting white and immigrant workers to defend the democratic rights of the Labour and trade union movement.

WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

Cincinnati
P.O. Box 12061

New York
Rm 8 243 E. 10 St.

San Francisco
644 Oak St.

Toronto
Rm. 27

165 Spadina

Minneapolis
P.O. Box 14002,
Univ. Sta.

THE MEANING OF MAY DAY IN

by Neil Martin

This is the first and only International Labor Day. It belongs to the working class and is dedicated to the Revolution.

Today the slaves of all the world are taking a fresh breath in the long and weary march; pausing a moment to clear their lungs and shout for joy; celebrating in festal fellowship their coming Freedom.

All hail the Labor Day of May!
The day of proletarian protest;
The day of stern resolve;
The day of noble aspiration.

Raise high this day the blood-red Standard of the Revolution!

The banner of the Workingman;
The flag the only flag of Freedom.

--Eugene V. Debs

Such was Eugene V. Debs' salute to May Day in 1907. Debs, in paying tribute to May Day, was actually honoring an historic day in the American labor movement.

Around that day in 1886 American workers conducted the nation's biggest, most militant demonstrations ever for the shorter work week. Beginning in April and lasting until the middle of May some 350,000 workers across the nation held rallies and conducted strikes for the 8-hour day.

The May 1 movement centered in Chicago, where a leading role was played by the predominantly German anarchist movement. The aggressive efforts of the revolutionaries in that city was key to bringing out 80,000 workers, more than in any other industrial center of the country.

The workers movements in Chicago was alive with the Eight Hour Movement in the Spring of 1886.

trouble

Much trouble was also brewing around the labor disputes at the McCormick Harvester plant, although it was unrelated to the 8-hour movement. Union men had been discharged contrary to a company promise, and while discussions were being held on the matter, the company shut down and locked out 1400 employees on Feb. 16. At the end of the month, McCormick announced it was opening and needed 800 to 1,000 men. Among the scabs employed were a large number of Pinkerton agents. Black Road, near the plant, became the scene of frequent meetings and disturbances during the month of March.

Despite all the anxiety however, May 1 arrived and passed in peace. So did May 2. On May 3rd, the strike meetings and gatherings continued. One was that of the Lumber Shovers Union held near the McCormick plant on Black Road. Some 6,000 strikers were present including some locked out McCormick workers. When the McCormick plant let out, the strikers attacked the scabs and drove them back into the factory. A call brought 200 policemen to the scene and they proceeded to kill one striker, seriously wound 5 or 6 and injured, less seriously, many others.

August Spies, editor of the anarchist Arbeiter Zeitung was a speaker at the meeting. His paper rushed out the famous revenge leaflet, protesting the action of the police and calling workers to arms. Spies was also invited to speak at a protest meeting organized by local unions, to be held at Haymarket Square on the evening of May 4.

haymarket

Haymarket Square was chosen because a massive turnout was expected. However, a disappointing 1200-1300 people showed up. The peaceful gathering was listening to its last speaker, Samuel Fielden, wrap up his speech with "In conclusion..." --- when completely unexpected, barging through the crowd towards the platform came a 200 man strong police column. The captain demanded that "In the name of the people of the State of Illinois, I command this meeting immediately and peaceably to disperse." Then, in the next instant came an even bigger surprise. Without any

warning an explosion shook the air. A dynamite bomb had been hurled into the front ranks of the police, killing one outright and injuring 70, six of whom died later.

That was the Haymarket "Riot", which stirred the country and provided the excuse for the ruling class to rid the labor movement of 'dangerous' radicals.

tribute

The international workers movement paid tribute to the struggles of 1886 when, in July, 1889 at the founding conference of the Second International, May 1 was set as the day for mass demonstrations to symbolize the solidarity of working people throughout the world.

Many changes have taken place in the world, and in the workers movement specifically, since Debs' time that have engendered a deep cynicism in the radical and socialist movement about the capacity of the working class to rid the

world of the capitalist evil and build socialism.

The Socialist Party of Debs along with the other parties of the 2nd International abandoned revolutionary struggle by the time of or under the impact of World War I. The Communist movement which grew out of the victorious workers revolution in Russia offered great hope to liberate the workers of the world, but it degenerated along with the revolution. Founded in the struggle against the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Third International the Trotskyist movement has not yet built mass revolutionary parties. Thus the posing of the alternative of working class power to the decay of capitalism appears to these blind people to be a dead issue, an episode of the past but not a living theme of the present.

This cynicism with respect to the revolutionary role of the proletariat has eaten into the Trotskyist Fourth International in the form of Pabloite revisionism. But it has not destroyed it.

the new left looks at am

by Tim Wohlforth

Despite the alleged antihistoricism of the New Left, Staughton Lynd writes "the need for a collective past is felt with particular keenness today by young people." And so a whole new crop of New Left historians has been born searching through the past history of the American socialist and trade union movements for some insights to guide the struggles of today.

One product of this academic activity is the SDS journal "Radical America," edited by Paul Buhle. Recent issues have been filled with a debate between Buhle, James Weinstein and others over the meaning of this past history. Sad to say this discussion reveals that the New Lefters are applying the very same pragmatic method to America's past that they use in trying to build a movement in America's present. Buhle sums up what they are after when he states: "As American radicals young and old grapple for organizational forms and tactics to best combat imperialism and capitalism in this country, they often forget that the battle for ideas has been fought before, that at least seventy years of success and failure in the revolutionary movement have demonstrated lessons that must be learned."

Seeing America's radical past as they view America's present--as a pragmatic search for effective "forms" and "tactics"--these writers precisely miss the main lessons from the past. Instead, they search history for earlier forms which perhaps can be dusted off and tried once again. This is a retrogressive tendency--a tendency to regress to forms of struggle found inadequate a half century ago. This is an anti-theory tendency--an attempt to look at history in terms of forms and tactics rather than seeking to understand the content which found expression through the forms and tactics.

reactionary

James Weinstein represents this trend in its most reactionary form. He has written a whole 367 page book (with charts to boot) "The Decline of Socialism in America," whose single purpose is to justify a revival of socialist parliamentary reformism in the United States. Weinstein yearns for the day when the Socialist Party published 323 periodicals and was able to elect some seventy four mayors and other office holders.

The fact that these office holders simply administered the capitalist system is of little concern for Weinstein. The main thing, in his view, is the large quantity of socialist propaganda they were able to issue. After all, he concluded pragmatically, what else could these office holders do but administer capitalism? Buhle summarizes it this way: "Weinstein's position is that there was no alternative for an elected socialist official but to make the best of the situation and impose a stable, efficient climate in which local merchants could prosper." It never seems to occur to Weinstein that people may judge socialists by what they do rather than what they say and therefore conclude that socialism equals well administered capitalism. Could this, we ask Weinstein, have anything to do with the relative ease with which tens of thousands of Socialist Party supporters found their way back into the capitalist parties after 1912?

So enamoured is Weinstein with socialist electoral propaganda activities that he develops an extreme hostility towards socialist work in the trade unions. "Unions are inherently con-



EARL BROWDER IN 1930S: COMMUNIST SYM

servative", he informs us. He then develops from this a most interesting line of reasoning. "Buhle implies that it was the duty of the Socialist Party to organize unions. The Socialists knew better: Their relative detachment from the unions enabled them to oppose the war without destroying their organization. In Europe, where the unions were closely tied to the party, bureaucratic self-interest in holding on to their organizations was stronger than the principles of internationalism."

This gets us right to the nub of the question. The Socialist Party was able to oppose the war precisely because such verbal opposition really didn't mean a damn thing. It did not stop the war or in any way inhibit the American imperialists from conducting it. It was for this reason and this reason alone that while subjected to persecution of various sorts, the American Socialist Party was able to oppose the war and emerge with "its organization intact."

In Europe it was precisely the control of the trade union movement by Socialists which meant that if European socialists related words to actions they had the power through industrial action to stop the war. Therefore they had either to capitulate to the capitalists or take up the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism in the midst of the war. They chose the former course while only the Russian Bolshevik party pursued the latter course with the result of the world's first workers state.

Thus it was precisely because the unions are not "inherently conservative" that revolutionary socialist leadership of the unions represented such a threat to capitalism.

But Weinstein could care less. He is interested in neither stopping war nor establishing socialism. What counts with Weinstein is making good socialist propaganda.

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1886 AND IN 1968

The International Committee of the Fourth International (with which the Workers League is in political solidarity) carries on committed to the fight for leadership of the working class, committed to building the International Party of the Socialist Revolution.

We see the devaluation of the pound and the United States balance of payments crisis as symptoms of a deepening economic crisis of the capitalist system. We see the phenomenal increase in strikes and working class militancy over the past couple years as an indication of the potential of the working class for struggle.

awaken

At the same time we see that these militant strikes seldom bring substantial gains, because of the intervention of the capitalist state against the workers. The Workers League sees it as its job to draw the lessons of these struggles and

to fight to bring class politics to the workers, to awaken them to their class interests and fight for the establishment of their own political party-- a labor party.

As Marxists we know that talk of the "passivity" and "conservatism" of workers is both a reflection of the isolation of socialists from the struggles workers are currently engaged in and an admission of ignorance of the way future struggles are being prepared for by the deepening capitalist crisis. We stand with Lenin on the necessity to build the revolutionary party. We see the central way of building this party fighting for a labor party at this stage of the development of the class.

On May Day 1968 in the words of Debs, "Let us glorify today the revolutions of the past and hail the Greater Revolution yet to come before Emancipation shall make all the days of the year May Days of peace and plenty for the sons and daughters of toil."

American socialist history



T SYMBOLS COVER FOR CAPITALIST POLITICS

This man is therefore a political neanderthal. It is as if a time machine brought him to us from 60 years ago. That he gets any audience at all among socialists today is but a sign of the continued theoretical primitiveness of American socialism. Buhle gets to the heart of the approach of the Grandma Moses of the left and the early socialists he is still spiritually and theoretically a part of when he states; "My complaint is that altogether too often the Socialist Party did not build class consciousness, but rather only a social consciousness of (to quote Weinstein) 'socialism as an alternative order for the United States.' This social consciousness was, I believe a manifestation of middle-class idealism, an unworthy basis now as then for the construction of a revolutionary party.

syndicalism

But Buhle, for all his excellent criticisms of Weinstein's Debsian "model"; shares with Weinstein a common method. He is also searching the past for "models" to base contemporary revolutionary activity on. "Another model," he states discussing what is clearly his favorite, "not yet fully understood, is contained in the tradition of anti-parliamentary revolutionism which has long run as an undercurrent to the dominant forms of socialism." Thus Buhle rejects Weinstein; parliamentary reformism to endorse the equally outmoded notion of revolutionary syndicalism.

Again one is appalled in particular by the totally anti-theoretical approach Buhle takes. He simply picks up a past theoretical conception--revolutionary syndicalism--without feeling the least responsibility for addressing himself to the long history of syndicalism not only in the United States but in Europe as well, and the equally long history of theoretical discussion within the workers movement of this concept.

Buhle and Weinstein stand together on another

issue--the central one in fact--the Russian Revolution. "Clearly," Buhle states, "the 1919 split in the Socialist Party--is the major tragedy of the American left." This statement follows a whole argumentation which in fact seems to justify the split. He points out the rotten reformism of the leaders, the clear intent of the leadership even prior to the Russian Revolution to expel any serious revolutionary elements in the party, the fact that the foreign language sections of the party which Weinstein attacks so vehemently represented the industrial proletariat of the time, and generally concludes a split would have taken place even if the Russian Revolution had not brought things to a head.

What seems to bother Buhle about the split was that it occurred basically over what he feels was an extraneous question--the Russian Revolution and affiliation with the Third International which emerged from that revolution. He "understands" that American revolutionaries were caught up in this "foreign" event but he disapproves nonetheless.

What Buhle fails to understand is that the Russian Revolution was an American question as much as it was a French question or a German question or even a Russian question. This revolution marked the first time in history a workers state was established. It thus represented the realization in life struggle of the whole theoretical struggle begun by Marx and continued by many others from the time of the issuing of the Communist Manifesto. Thus of central concern to those seeking to build towards an American revolution had to be the theoretical understanding of the Russian revolution.

Of course the early Communists reacted empirically only to the established fact of the revolution itself understanding little or nothing of the long theoretical struggle within the Bolshevik party which made this revolution possible. During the first five years of the Communist International American Communists went through an important learning process as part of this international movement. Of course the old Socialist Party and the IWW were not part of this process and soon proved they had learned nothing from this momentous event in human history and thus deservedly found their place in the dustbin of history--a place neither Weinstein nor Buhle will be able to resurrect them from. As politics is not religion neither the SP nor the IWW will rise as Lazarus from the dead.

This learning process took the form of a political struggle against all the formal, useless sectarian notions which have filled the heads of American radicals in the period prior to the Russian Revolution. The Russians fought to get the Americans to break out of a secretive underground existence and to penetrate the existing trade union movement fighting for revolutionary industrial unionism rather than abstain from the outside, to take up the struggle of breaking the mass of American workers from bourgeois politics through the fight for a Farmer-Labor party, to break from abstention in relation to the Negro people and seek to treat seriously the question of race discrimination in America.

This learning process was turned into its opposite with the bureaucratization of the Soviet Union. After 1928 the struggle for a Marxist program for the development of a revolutionary movement in the United States was carried on precisely by those who studied Russian developments and were part of the international movement against Stalin--the Trotskyists. This found its

REVENGE! Workingmen, to Arms!!!

Your masses sent out their bloodhounds--the police-- they killed six of your brothers at McCormick this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches, because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the oppressor will of your bosses. They killed them, because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, 'Free American Citizens' that you must be organized and extended with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

You have for years endured the most abject humiliations; you have for years suffered unmeasurable iniquities; you have worked yourself to death; you have endured the pangs of want and hunger; your children have sacrificed to the factory-jords-- in short: You have been miserable and obedient slaves all these years: Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy exploiting master? When you ask them now to lessen your burden, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you!

If you are men, if you are the sons of your grand sires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise! your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms we call you, to arms!

Your Brothers.

Stache! Stache! Arbeiter, zu den Waffen!

Wahrscheinlich sind heute die Arbeiter in den Fabriken und auf den Bauernhöfen in den USA... (The text continues with a German translation of the 'REVENGE!' message, including the phrase 'Arbeiter, zu den Waffen!' and 'Eure Brüder.')

greatest expression in the 1938 Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

challenge

We challenge Buhle and Weinstein to study this program and then study the theoretical contributions of the Stalinized CP, the remnants of the old SP and the old IWW and or any of the many centrist groups formed in the interim and see whose program relates the struggles for an American Revolution to the current level of consciousness of the American working class without either abandoning the revolutionary aim or abandoning the struggle to reach the working class as it is.

But this gets us back to the central methodological weakness of this whole school of New Left historians. They study history in bits and pieces much like their bourgeois teachers in the university. They pick out a form here, a tactic there. They turn their back on a serious study of the process of development of the working class movement within its international context seeing this movement as an expression of a certain level of theoretical expression of the immaturity of the American working class; its isolation not only practically but especially theoretically from the European mainstream of the Marxist movement. Without a serious Marxist understanding in any wing of the old party it in large part succumbed to an alien ideology-- the populist outlook of the American middle class. The IWW expressed this immaturity in still another form. It expressed an elemental class militancy of a section of the American proletariat which still clung to the belief that militancy alone could topple capitalism. Theoretical understanding was not needed. These organizations expressed in their own way, theoretical trends already refuted both theoretically in Europe. For instance read Lenin's polemics against the Russian populist Narodniks and the trade unions activism of the economists or Rosa Luxemburg's classic refutation of reformism in her debates with Bernstein and later Kautsky. This material was written in Europe either prior to or contemporary with the period in which these trends were unthinkingly being perpetuated in the United States. Thus even in this early period the Americans suffered many defeats as the price for their beloved insularity.

archaic

Today these very same trends pop up once again among New Lefters and various centrist currents. We refer the reader for one graphic example to the series of articles we have been running in the BULLETIN on Progressive Labor and the unions. PL repeats the same economist illusions about trade union militancy which led to the defeat of the IWW. Again and again New Lefters present us with the most ancient repudiated concepts as if they were brand new discoveries. We have said many times before and we repeat once again that these new lefters, precisely because they refuse to see themselves within the framework of the whole historical struggle for the development of the Marxist party and Marxist theory, are forced to foist upon young revolutionaries the most archaic of political ideas. These New Lefters are truly the real old men of the left-- they are a primitive retrogressive tendency insisting precisely that we learn nothing from the past and repeat everything which has led the American workers to defeat.

ING OF MAY DAY IN 1886 AND IN 1968

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progressive labor & community control

by Lucy St. John

In the last two articles we dealt with Progressive Labor's practice of containment of the struggles of the trade union movement on the economic level, of their refusal to pose the objectively necessary task of the political struggle against capitalism within the working class.

The basis of this is PL's inability to relate Marxist theory to the struggles of the working class. PL replaces the Marxist understanding of the strategic struggle for political power with tactics, with what works best at this moment. This is pragmatism. It is this method which leads PL to see struggles of the trade unions, the students, the Negroes isolated and only at their present level rather than seeing these struggles as a part of a whole system with the resolution to the crisis being one rather than many.

It is the resolution of this crisis, a political struggle for power, which unites these struggles. Rather than fighting to raise the struggles to the general-political level PL adapts in each area to the present level of struggle, to the specific demands. For PL it is a matter of black power, student power, and bread and butter in the trade unions. The very conception of these struggles in this way keeps these struggles isolated.

anti-capitalist

Marxists understand that these struggles are part of a general struggle against the capitalist system which creates the ills and that the only solution is through the struggle of the working class for power. Marxists begin with this understanding, with a class analysis. PL does not begin with this but with impressions of particular problems at the present moment. Thus their solutions to the particular problems are solutions at this moment within the system - basically they are reformist solutions. This can be clearly seen in PL's demand for 'community control' as a solution to the problems of the ghetto.

schools

PL begins with the recognition of the rotten schools in the ghettos. They see that the cause of these conditions is the result of the policies of the ruling class through the Board of Education. But their solution is not one of a political struggle to get rid of the source of the problem, the ruling class, but one of replacing the Board of Education with smaller organizations within the present system. PL says, 'We need community control because the big Board of NO-Education has been the big roadblock to all progress in the last ten years. Good people have been fighting hard, but the Board is tying all our good ideas up in knots. But, if every neighborhood knew that its school was really controlled by people right in the neighborhood, the misleaders

couldn't fool us with their double talk and phony plans.' In other words the solution to the problem lies in replacing the bad guys with 'good people' who live in the neighborhood.

But who are these 'good people' and what is their program? Exactly who is going to exercise control? What is going to be the political perspective of those who control? PL sees it as a vague coalition not based on class but on the good intentions of the participants. Control is to be exercised by working class parents who live in the community, by 'community organizations that are concerned with public education,' by teachers who 'sincerely put the children first,' and by 'forward thinking groups.' PL gives no content or program to what community control will be except that it will be democratic and that through this democratic control 'pressure' will be applied until it 'blows the lid off the city and its Board of Education.'

PL's solution to the problems of the ghettos through democratic control by 'forward-thinking' people is the most reactionary form of utopian reformism. It is just unreal. The fact that the people who live in the community control it does not solve the basic problem of the cause of the problem, the capitalist system. Capitalism by its very nature does not contain within it the solution to the crisis. As long as production is organized around profit rather than need there will be no money to wipe out the ghettos, much less the ghetto schools.

Democratic control is meaningless unless it is tied to a struggle, a political struggle, to get rid of the system which creates the rotten conditions. This demand raised separate from the struggle for power is based on the assumption that the solution to the problem can be gotten within the system.

class

There is another problem with the concept of community control. That is what class controls, what ideology controls. Marxists understand that the emancipation of the whole society can come only through the instrument of the working class under the leadership of a vanguard party of the working class. The party is the only force which contains the program for the coming to power of the working class.

It is this very concept that PL seeks to reject in its proposal for a force to fight the ruling class made up of 'forward thinkers' and without a working class program. PL has returned to Menshevism like so many other revisionists. PL seems to recognize at least unconsciously this problem and seeks to solve it by posing the conception that working class control is equal to working class



CARMICHAEL: 'MARX IS A HONKIE'

people having a voice within the capitalist system.

ideology

PL assumes that working class ideology, Marxism, is an inherent part of the nature of being working class. This of course is a ridiculous concept. In the first place working class ideology can only come from the Marxist party. If it were otherwise the working class would have come to power spontaneously long ago by the very fact they were workers. We might even say on this basis that the Democratic party has established socialism, since workers participate in the electoral process.

The concept of workers control is a class program for state power and that democratic control by the working class can only be exercised in its interests within a workers state.

This rejection by PL of a class analysis of fight for a working class program - this adaptation to the reformist struggle leaves PL supporting a form participated in by the working class organizationally but containing a bourgeois program. In its coalition with 'progressive' forces in the ghetto, in its failure to differentiate between a working class ideology and bourgeois ideology, it finds itself at the mercy of bourgeois ideology unable to pose the alternative of the independence of the working class. Since PL sees the ghetto as all working class and all progressive, it finds itself siding with the reactionary ideology of black nationalism. It is paralyzed when it finds the working class under the leadership of this anti-working class ideology.

teachers

This is very clearly seen in the teachers strike. It is hard cold fact that Lindsay and the City were able to enlist the support of the working class parents under the leadership of the black nationalists during the teachers strike to cross the picket lines and drive a further wedge between the teachers and these parents. But PL with its support to 'black liberation' cannot admit this. Rather they make a most unbelievable contention about 'the complete failure of Lindsay and the Board of Education to bust the strike by using the parents as volunteers by urging the parents to send their children to school.' They conclude that the 'ruling class was unable to enlist the working class parents in an anti-class action.'

The fact that this tactic did not break the picket lines is not because the city did not enlist the support of working class parents against teachers, because they did, but because the teachers fighting for their class interests held out. PL even goes so far as to attack the teachers for fighting along class interests, for fighting 'to get more money for teachers.'

problem

Progressive Labor of course opposes 'reactionary' black nationalists and favors 'progressive' ones. In this sense they are a bit more discriminating than the SWP which wholeheart-

(Continued on Page 9)



BLACK MUSLIMS WELCOMED THESE AMERICAN NAZI PARTY MEMBERS TO RALLY

by Fred Calhoun

NEW YORK-- Recent events have made it clearer than ever that the SSEU (welfare workers) has no future as an independent union and that it must complete a merger with Local 371 (an AFSCME local in DC 37 which represents supervisory personnel). The results of the recent election for union officers can only be seen as a vote of no-confidence for the newly-elected Morgenstern leadership. Only fifty-five percent of the 6,500 members bothered to vote, with the Morgenstern slate receiving about 2,000 votes. Literally hundreds and hundreds of those who voted, cast ballots for write-in candidates, real or imaginary, in disgust with the whole election.

positive

On the positive side was the over 500 votes cast for Dennis Cribben, some 20% of the vote, who was running for treasurer as an independent candidate. He campaigned on a program for the union to begin to organize now to win a successful contract in 1969, for merger with 371 around a program to unite the city labor movement in a fight against the anti-strike Taylor Law and the city's Office of Collective Bargaining, and for the trade unions in New York to run their own candidate in '69 against Lindsay as the first step in the formation of a labor party.

What was clear to the majority of the ranks was that the Morgenstern slate was simply the continuation of the discredited Mage leadership. Morgenstern and company

OPPOSITION SCORES SSEU ELECTION GAIN

based their appeal on their 'experience' and tried as hard as possible to avoid any serious discussion of the issues at hand. What did come out, however, sounded exactly like Mage's perspective: reliance upon political 'friends of labor' like Badillo and slumlord Sutton, and deals with labor bureaucrats like DeLury of the sanitationmen, who did everything he could to sell out last summer's SSEU strike.

Morgenstern has made it clear that he has no solutions for the problems of the SSEU, that he has no idea how to win a better contract in '69, that he has no perspective for leading the SSEU into a merged local with 371 or leading a struggle against the labor bureaucracy who will strenuously oppose the uniting of the ranks of city labor. At this time we warn SSEU members: Morgenstern is the greatest impediment to a merger with 371 insofar as he has no program to carry this out.

militant?

Nor can we ignore the role of the other organized factions in the SSEU. The Militant caucus, who ran four candidates headed by Lyndon Henry also received over 500 votes. They based their campaign on an appeal to trade union militancy. As they were able to point out the sell-out qualities of the past and present leadership, they were

able to create a certain support from the hundreds of workers who were disgusted with the union's lack of direction. But they themselves had absolutely no program to go beyond the Morgensterns and Mages -- except vague promises of more militancy and being tougher on scabs.

Furthermore, they call for the continued isolation of the SSEU from the city labor movement -- thus leaving the SSEU vulnerable to any and all attacks from the city administration. With all their radical sloganeering, this group can only serve as the left cover for bureaucrats like Morgenstern; they can expose him, but they are incapable of leading a fight against him.

bankrupt

The election clearly revealed the bankruptcy of the Rank and File Committee. Having long decided that they did not wish to be responsible for the running of the SSEU in the coming period, this group, far and away the largest and best organized 'opposition' in the union, refused to run a slate against the leadership, then did everything in their power to turn the election into a farce, assuring the smallest possible turn-out of votes. In other words, the Rank and File Committee approach was if you can't win, wreck, demoralize.

This is an extremely dangerous and reactionary policy.



NEW PRESIDENT MARTY MORGENSTERN ADDRESSES TRAINEES

In the first place it is not based on the objective needs of the workers in the department but rather on the inability of the Rank and File Committee leadership to pose an alternative. This policy leads to demoralization and destruction of the ability of the workers to fight.

While they have recently come out in favor of merger with 371 -- sensing a strong push by much of the membership for this -- they refused to support Cribben, who was the only candidate calling for merger.

It is clear that demoralization is rampant in the SSEU. The Morgenstern leadership can pose no alternative, no answer as to how the caseworkers are to get out of this bind. It cannot even come close to a decision on the question of affiliation.

Unfortunately for welfare staff, the city administration is not so indecisive as Morgenstern. The new commissioner, Goldberg, is only

warming up for the real offensive -- to completely eliminate the 60 caseload, to reduce real wages, to institute 'experimental programs' in order to introduce speedup and job freezes for all staff in the department. We can say that the city intends to abolish the conception of trade unionism in the welfare department.

The City's latest campaign is to place the burden of their crisis, the absolute decay of the economy, inability to provide jobs and a decent standard of living reflected in the spiraling welfare rolls on the backs of city workers. The caseworkers more and more are being made to pay for this decay.

The significant vote which Cribben received indicates that there is a consciousness on the part of SSEU members of the need for a fight against the policies of the leadership of an alternative to the destruction of the ability of the SSEU to fight the city.

progressive labor & black power

edly supports anyone who mentions the word 'black'. What this only poses is the real problem--on what basis can you differentiate 'progressive' from 'reactionary' black powerists? Since the only programmatic positions PL seriously poses in the Negro community is 'democratic control' they find that not only is this supported by 'reactionary' black powerists including a good hunk of the Democratic party wardheelers in Harlem and demagogues like Kenyatta who walk through Memphis arm and arm with Rockefeller but this is in fact the official policy of the New York City Administration under the guise of the Bundy Plan.

Then there is the question of anti-imperialism. Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown have been the most outspoken opponents within the Black community of the Vietnam War and support what they and PL call the 'liberation struggle' in the colonial countries unqualifiedly. But both these gentlemen walked across picket lines in the Teacher's Strike and acted as scabs.

We say Carmichael and Brown are enemies of the American working class and extremely hostile to the socialist movement. But let Carmichael speak for himself: 'Marxism only takes into account the economic aspect of the struggle. It cannot help black people because ours is more social, cultural than economic. Besides, Marx was a honkie, and we don't want black people looking up to no white man no matter who he is.'

oppression

The problem is that the black community like the white community has deep class divisions within it. The black workers are oppressed like their white brothers while black middle class and bourgeois elements are not oppressed--discriminated against yes, but not oppressed. These black bourgeois elements fundamentally take their stand with the system of oppression against the oppressed including the oppressed of the same race. These men are 'soul brothers' of the capitalist class and not of the Negro masses. They adapt to racialism precisely to isolate the Negro masses

from the white working class and to maintain their own dominant position within the Negro community. The only way to lead the Negro masses to freedom is around a class program in a fight against the black bourgeois as well as the whole system. Only by posing such a class program, which PL refuses to do, can one distinguish between 'progressive' and 'reactionary'.

unity

Progressive Labor stands for the unity of the black, student and trade union struggles. But unity can only be achieved programmatically. There is no such thing as a program which represents the fundamental interests of more than one class. In the modern period either you unite forces under the leadership of the working class around a program of struggle for the overthrow of capitalism or you unite forces on the basis of a common program which contains the struggles within the capitalist system and thus aids in the preservation of the system.

In the 1930's the Stalinists came up with the program of the 'Popular Front'. The working class, the progressive capitalists, the middle class, the peasantry were all to be united around a reform program within the capitalist system. It could not be otherwise. The liberal capitalists will never join with the working class for the overthrow of their own system but will be happy to have the working class join them to preserve their own system. These 'anti-fascist' alliances in actual practice encouraged the growth of fascism by preventing the working class from struggling independently for its own class program.

We stated then and we state now that the working class must always fight on the basis of its own program for a solution of the crisis of capitalism through a workers government. In the course of such a fight the working class can and must rally other social forces, sections of the middle class, the farmers, sections of the students, the lumpen poor masses. But it rallies such forces on the basis of its program.

alliance

Progressive Labor today follows the same es-

ential program as the Stalinists of the 1930s which led the working class to defeat and contributed to the rise of fascism. Of course they do not openly call for an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. However they in reality are blocking with this bourgeoisie on the basis of its program in two essential ways.

First within the black community by refusing to raise class demands they limit the struggle programmatically to democratic demands acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie. They thus form a common front with this bourgeoisie through agents of the bourgeoisie--that is those elements in the black community who not having consciously broken with capitalism represent capitalism ideologically. This of course is not to lay blame on all these elements for PL never seeks to change them to break them from their bourgeois ideology. It carries out this very same method in the student movement and in the trade unions. The student struggles are not seen politically but again as a matter of a block of militants around reform issues. In the trade unions this takes the form of a block over bread and butter issues with trade union militants rather than a political struggle in the unions for a political class alternative to the capitalist parties.

This Popular Frontism is expressed on another level when the question of uniting the black, student and trade union struggles is posed. Around what program should these struggles be pulled together? Since PL refuses to raise class political demands in any sector of the struggle it can only call for unifying these separate struggles around a common reformist program--a program which does not transcend capitalism and thus represents in essence a bloc by PL with the liberal capitalists. So while PL attacks militants for supporting bourgeois politicians like Kennedy and McCarthy in its actual practice in the mass movement its program for the working class, for the Negro, for the student does not transcend the program of the ruling class. This is why in essence Progressive Labor is politically the same as the Communist Party.

Specter of

by Fred Mueller

The events since the March meeting of international bankers in Stockholm have confirmed the deepening and permanent crisis of world capitalism. Barely a month after the Stockholm decisions there is renewed fear and renewed, though still mild, speculation against the dollar.

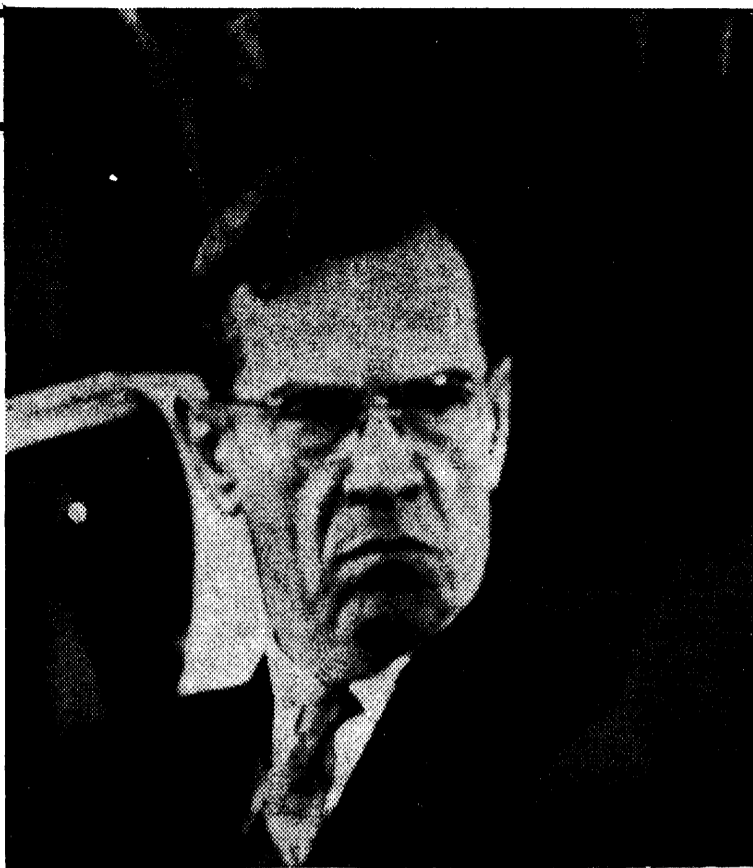
Everyone knows that the two-price system for gold is only a stop-gap move. The price on the free market has already gone up to \$40 once, and if it goes much over that figure the central banks themselves of certain countries will be tempted to profit from the price difference.

The Special Drawing Rights scheme will permit the U.S. to offset its balance of payments deficit. It is in essence an agreement to continue the deficit. It means that the crisis must continue and deepen.

biggest

On April 19 William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board warned that U.S. capitalism faced its biggest financial crisis since 1931. Martin urges in the strongest language yet that immediate action be taken to curb the inflation and the payments deficit by higher taxes and other moves to attack the living standards of the working class.

Just three days later Schweitzer of the International Monetary Fund added his plea for 'adequate measures' to reduce the deficit. Finally on April 24 David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank made it three dire warnings within the week. Rockefeller, brother of a possible next President of the U.S., urgently asked



IT TAKES A WORRIED MAN TO HEAD THE FEDERAL RESERVE

for a tax increase and cuts in federal spending.

The first trade deficit for the U.S. in the last five years was announced just after these warnings. The payments deficit was already huge even with a trade surplus, with military spending, foreign 'aid', travel, and investment abroad all leading to an overall payments deficit. The balance of trade is just a part of the balance of payments. Now even the one bright spot has disappeared for the first time since 1963.

This does not mean, of course that there will be a trade deficit from here on in. But the trend, as well as the reasons for it, are important. High U.S. wages are making American products less competitive on the world market. The March dock strike in the New York area held back exports, and the copper strike and threatened steel strike

both led to swollen imports, as did the continuing boom in demand. What more evidence is required that the struggles of American workers are directly undermining the stability of world capitalism?

revisionists

Just at the time when American capitalism faces its most serious crisis in 35 years some so-called Marxists come forward to remind us that U.S. capitalism is still strong. Ernest Mandel, the prize economist of the SWP supported 'United Secretariat', writes in the April 12th World Outlook to assure us that the dollar will not follow the pound. 'The position of American capitalism is fundamentally different from that of British capitalism.' Mandel sees the problems of British capitalism as flowing from an attempt to maintain

30s Haunts Bankers

the pound as a reserve currency at a time when British capitalism is no longer a dominant world force. Since American capitalism does dominate the world, Mandel concludes its financial problems are not really that severe and in fact almost entirely the result of expenditures abroad for war.

What Mandel does not understand is that the British crisis and the American crisis are in reality the same crisis--the crisis of a world system now being forced to pay the price for the boom of the 1950s.

Mandel's position is taken even further by the American Spartacist group, which split from the Fourth International in 1966. 'The U.S. Gold crisis, states their latest supplement, 'coming as it did on the heels of the British financial crisis, caused some radicals to assume the arrival of another world economic crisis on the dimensions of 1929 and 1931.' But while the currency devaluation in Britain pointed to deep structural problems within the mechanism of production itself, problems insoluble short of a fundamental social transformation, that is not the case here.' Martin, head of the Federal Reserve Board, speaks of a 1931 type economic crisis. But never fear, says our Spartacists. Martin may have no faith in American capitalism but Spartacist and Mandel do. It is only a 'monetary' problem, easily fixed up. No deep crisis here, no need to prepare the working class for the struggles ahead--certainly no 'problem insoluble short of a fundamental social transformation.'

Radicals like Mandel and Spartacist are the product of

the boom. They have no program to lead workers to fight for power in a period of crisis so they shut their eyes to the very crisis itself and ancient capitalism.

depression

William McChesney Martin, burdened as he is with the responsibilities of world imperialism, has a much greater awareness of the crisis than the revisionists who are blinded by empiricism. The monetary crisis is not just a monetary crisis. It cannot be allowed to continue without dragging the entire world system down into complete chaos and depression.

Imperialism's contradictions must lead to confrontation with the working class, and the confrontation is fast approaching. The crisis is worsened by every successful struggle of American workers for higher wages, and by every struggle launched by oppressed colonial and semi-colonial workers and 'peasants. Imports soar and exports sag. Military spending abroad increases as the challenges to imperialist rule increase on a worldwide scale. If the capitalists maneuver on Vietnam now, it is only to be better prepared to attack the American workers. The financial crisis, far from showing the strength of American and world capitalism, reveals its fatal weakness. American imperialism is and must necessarily be the enemy of workers all over the world. When the struggles in Vietnam, the US and elsewhere are connected by a revolutionary party, capitalism will utter its last gasp. Connecting and leading these struggles is the job of the Fourth International.

OPPOSITION GAINS IN 1199

by a Hospital Worker
NEW YORK--The negotiations have begun for a city-wide contract for thousands of workers in voluntary hospitals. Hospital workers are girding themselves for a decisive fight around the July 1st contract deadline.

The union leadership has promised to fight for and win a \$100 per week minimum wage, a pension plan, and other improvements. Improved grievance procedures, the closed shop at all hospitals and a real program for upgrading hospital workers through training, are especially important non-economic demands. Hospital

workers can no longer tolerate low-paying and dead-end jobs. These demands if won can make a tremendous difference. But it will take a struggle to win them.

support

There is enthusiastic support for the demands. Two union members from each hospital are on the bargaining committee. Now is the time to prepare the membership for the fight that will be necessary to win. But although the 1199 leadership has spoken about the demands, it has not proposed which of the demands the union should be prepared to strike for. Nor has it said anything about how the demands are to be won.

In the midst of the current hospital crisis and the whole financial crisis which led Rockefeller and the state legislature to drastically cut back the Medicaid program, the idea that the workers' demands can be won without a struggle is pure fantasy or worse. Not to discuss the kind of struggle that will be necessary is to leave the workers unprepared. How seriously can militant

speeches be taken without discussion of how to win the demands?

1199 members should be warned now that a fight will be required, and furthermore a fight that goes beyond the successful 1966 strike which involved six hospitals. Under the present conditions the union must be prepared for strike action and be prepared to do battle as well with Rockefeller, Lindsay and other city and state politicians who will demand that the union reduce its demands. A program to mobilize wide labor support, all the way down to the ranks of the one million strong New York labor movement, is needed.

campaign

Guild delegate Fred Mazelis raised many of these issues in his campaign for Area Director in the elections held during the last week of April. Mazelis, supported by the Rank and File Committee of 1199, was the only opposition candidate in the entire union. He called for unity of the guild and hospital divisions, warned that the membership must prepare to strike, must fight job discrimination in the

hospitals and racial divisions within the union, and must break with the Democrats and Republicans and fight for independent labor candidates in the next city and state elections. He strongly criticized the union leadership on all these issues. Although there was little or no provision for discussion of different viewpoints before the membership, Mazelis, running on this program among the technical and clerical workers who are represented in the Guild division, was named on nearly 25% of the ballots, getting nearly 600 votes.

This is a very significant vote for an opposition candidate. The fact that the election turnout was only about 40% on the other hand, is another indication that not enough is being done to mobilize the membership.

The preparation for the July showdown must begin in earnest. The members should be clearly told that a strike may be necessary and should be prepared for. They should be told how much money is in the strike fund just recently set up. Steps should be taken to raise additional funds

as strike date looms

for strike benefits.

plans

As the contract deadline approaches plans should be made for the demonstrations and meetings that will be necessary both at the hospitals and on a citywide level. The members and delegates must be regularly and frequently informed on the progress of negotiations. All these plans should be discussed at joint meetings of guild and hospital divisions on the chapter level, and joint delegate meetings should also be held on chapter and citywide level.

The union should also begin a campaign against the cuts in Medicaid and for free medical care for all. This campaign should be taken to the rest of the labor movement as well as to the state legislature which is responsible for the Medicaid cutback. Such a campaign, combined with the other steps mentioned above, is the best way to tune up the union for the action that will be necessary when July 1st rolls around.

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KENNEDY LED ATTACK ON HOFFA AND TEAMSTERS

by Dennis O'Casey

Revelations from Washington last week that the U.S. had for the first time in five years developed a trade deficit during the month of March and especially the revelation that this gap came as a direct result of the East Coast Longshoremen's strike together with the recent nationwide copper strike make very concrete just where the nub of the present monetary crisis really lies.

The Bulletin has consistently held that the maintenance of a decadent capitalist system will require on the part of the American ruling class, completely apart from its policies with respect to Vietnam, paper gold investment restrictions, etc., an all out battle to impose a program of national austerity on the American working class.

This is no secondary consideration in the mind of that section of the American capitalism which has lined up in support of Bobby Kennedy's bid for the Presidency.

Johnson is not the man to carry out the dirty business of breaking the wage gains of American workers down to 3% productivity levels and below. Under Johnson's bumbling leadership their can be little doubt but that the first salvo in the attack on the trade unions that is now required would result in an almost instant rebellion sweeping even major sections of the trade union bureaucracy a rebellion holding much more serious implications for the ruling class than those now inflaming the student and Negro populations.

qualified

The man to carry out the job, the man most qualified to extend the honeymoon between the Democratic party and the trade union bureaucracy to the limits of endurance while at the same time squeezing every last ounce of compromise out of that bureaucracy before going over to anti-strike legislation and an incomes policy is none other than Kennedy.

From 1957 until 1964 first as Chief Council for the McClellan Committee and later as U.S. Attorney General this man ran amuck in the American trade union movement focusing in particular on Hoffa and the Teamsters. Every step of the way this capitalist millionaire carried out his attack under the guise of a crusading fighter against corruption and bureaucracy.

technique

Kennedy's technique was very simple. He posed, not as an open enemy of labor, but as the friend of the rank and file interested only to preserving union democracy and fighting corruption in the unions. Then he used his exposure of the very real corruption of the union bureaucracy to develop anti-labor hostility within the country,

the real story of bobby's war on labor

to force the union bureaucrats to fight each other thus splitting the unions and weakening them and finally to get through Congress legislation which would tie the union ever closer to the capitalist state. He accomplished much of his aims and the full extent and impact of the anti-labor legislation passed in that period is only beginning to be felt now when the capitalists need it to break the unions.

For instance the much praised union 'democracy' provisions of Landrum Griffin Law, the crowning product of the McClellan investigation give the government tremendous police powers over the unions which in the future will be used precisely against those in whose benefit they were supposedly passed - the rank and file. It is criminal for liberal and social democrats like Herman Benson of 'Union Democracy in Action' to preach reliance on government appeals as the way for rank and file militants to fight union leaderships like Curran in the NMU or Rarback in the Painters Union.

longshore

The place where workers really routed this whole policy was precisely in the industry with the greatest corruption and gangsterism - East Coast Longshore. George Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership expelled the ILA in the aftermath of these Senate investigations and sought to break the ILA by launching an AFL rival. This AFL rival union was in fact controlled by Paul Hall of the SIU whose reputation smelled more like a skunk than a rose. Furthermore this rival union committed itself to support of the Waterfront Commission which was given greater powers over workers on the docks. Well, the dockers saw through this and stuck to the ILA despite its gangster leadership and decisively defeated the Paul Hall controlled rival. However the Waterfront Commission remains and is being used to weaken the union organization on the docks.

The lesson in all this for union militants today is that it is the job of the unionists to clean up the unions and make them controlled by the rank and file - this task cannot be left to the agents of the very bosses unions are organized to fight against.

teamsters

The history of Kennedy's war against the Teamsters is particularly revelant in warning the working class today precisely what the election of this demagogue holds in store.

By the mid fifties the power of the Teamsters had become a real threat to American capitalists. Its power and wage impact consolidated by that time in the South and Midwest, the Teamsters Union under Hoffa's leadership launched the expansionary campaign that ended with the securing of a national contract in 1964.

The fear of the bosses in the face of this union is best expressed by Kennedy himself in his inflammatory 'The Enemy Within;' 'The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country - aside from the United States government itself. In many major metropolitan areas the Teamsters control all transportation ... the Teamsters drive the trucks that clothe and feed us and provide the vital necessities of life. Quite literally your life - the life of every person in the United States - is in the hands of Hoffa and his teamsters ... But...the Teamsters under Hoffa is not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa runs it, this is a conspiracy of evil.'

Hoffa's most characteristic method of expanding the IBT as well as fighting the employers has always involved 'leverage techniques' - the use of his position in a strong situation to advance his bargaining or organizing in a weaker one. Since 1947 with the passage of Taft Hartley the IBT has seen one legislative restriction after another imposed against these techniques. Time after time the NLRB or the ICC has moved against each loophole in the law Hoffa has been able to discover and exploit to build the union. All of this culminated in the passage of the Landrum-Griffen Law in 1959 which on the basis of findings by the McClellan Committee closed the last legal loopholes permitting 'secondary boycotts' and 'hot cargo' arrangements. Under the spotlight of the McClellan Committee hearings the IBT also found itself suddenly burdened with costly lawsuits brought against them previously by timid trucking firms.

hysteria

In the course of the investigations Kennedy was able to whip up nationwide anti-labor hysteria as scandal after scandal appeared in the American press. The findings of the McClellan Committee likewise became the basis for Meany's expulsion of the IBT from the AFL-CIO in 1957. Meany, of whom Kennedy says: 'All he asked from us (the Committee) was that we be fair,' was willing to go all the way with Kennedy against the IBT in order to prevent the passage of more serious anti-strike legislation and similar investigations of other AFL-CIO unions. This expulsion has put a significant break on the expansion of the IBT into many other transportation and non-transportation fields forcing it for a considerable period into fruitless jurisdictional disputes with the AFL-CIO.

The shrewdness of the Kennedy approach lay chiefly in his ability to divide the labor movement against itself. Not only was he able to split the AFL-CIO and the IBT but he was equally deft in resisting extensive pressure from Senator Goldwater and other arch reactionaries on the Committee when especially in connection with the famous UAW-Kohler strike which came under investigation they raised to demand that Kennedy go after UAW President Walter Reuther. In this way while smearing, intimidating and dividing the American trade union movement as a whole Kennedy was able to strengthen ties between himself and important sections of the trade union bureaucracy.

It is this experience that so eminently qualifies Kennedy in the eyes of the American Capitalists to take over the White House in 69. It is likewise this experience that makes Kennedy a real danger to the existence of trade unionism in the United States and so desperately requires that the American working class break from capitalist politics forthwith.

CANADA

taxi drivers fight for union

by Phil Stimon

With worsening conditions and rampant inflation Toronto taxicab drivers are finding it necessary to unionize. The Consumer Price Index went up 4.6% between March '67 and March '68. This rise was mainly taxes and housing costs and it means a rising cost of living for the working men. Food costs have also shot up in the past year.

As a result people are using public transportation more than taxi cabs and the cab business has taken a turn for the worse over the last twelve months. Cab drivers work on a commission system which permits them to take home only ten or twelve dollars per shift. Most 'deals' are on a 50/50 basis, in which the drivers pay for

the gasoline used (recently increased in price due to extra taxes). If a driver is fortunate enough to make up a \$30 sheet, his share is \$15, less approximately \$4 for gasoline. The boss is still making a good profit with his \$30 for two shifts a day.

The only voice the drivers have had up until now, has been the Toronto Taxicab Drivers Association. This association is a body which is not representative of the working driver because it is made up of those interested in obtaining private licences, and therefore those who wish to become owner-drivers.

At an intervention at one of the Association's meetings the call for a Union was met with resistance, but also a

great deal of support. The leaflet distributed at this meeting explained the reasons for unionization. It was posted at all cab-stands and further distributed among drivers at these stands. The leaflet also called for a meeting for the formation of an Organizing Committee. Since that meeting committee members have prepared for a General meeting in two weeks time.

The unionization drive represents a progressive step as far as the drivers are concerned. Popular opinion among drivers favor further action, and the majority of drivers when faced with the question support the fight for the union.

Drivers who oppose the unionization drive are for the

most part on the waiting list for licences for their own cabs. The Metropolitan Licensing Commission (which is the supreme power in the taxicab industry has recently passed a by-law which increases the number of licences to be issued from one per 1,000 population to one per 975. This will obviously have a marked effect on the drivers per shift income.

It must be emphasized that the fight to unionize is a political task. The Metro Licensing Commission and their buddies the fleet owners will do their best to stop the union. The bosses already have a law on the books which requires a 55% pro-union vote before union members hold legal rights and can negotiate a contract.

Taxi drivers must affiliate to a union which is both international and backs the New Democratic Party, the political voice of labor. There isn't a reason in the world why cab drivers should be separated and thereby weakened from the labor movement in the US which numbers in millions, or from the NDP in which it can have direct representation to fight against the political attacks of the fleet owners and the Metro Licensing Commission. Canadian only unions such as the CNTU (for which the Taxicab Drivers Association seems to have a sympathy) don't fight politically through the NDP nor are they represented on the Toronto Central Labor Council which is essential for labor unity.

by Karen Funkiel

Shouts of "no amnesty for Kirk" shook the Columbia campus last Tuesday morning as students and faculty rallied in protest of the pre-dawn beatings by police of strikers in "liberated" buildings. Police routed the students with violence and brutality almost unparalleled in this city. Teachers who tried to buffer the attack were later seen carried off on stretchers, and even members of the so-called majority coalition (antiprotestors) were struck down by the blind terrorism of the police. By 1:00PM the crowd swelled with supporters from the community, the high schools, and colleges all over the city. Petitions were passed around calling for the resignation of Grayson Kirk, Vice-President Truman, and the Board of Trustees of the university.

exposed

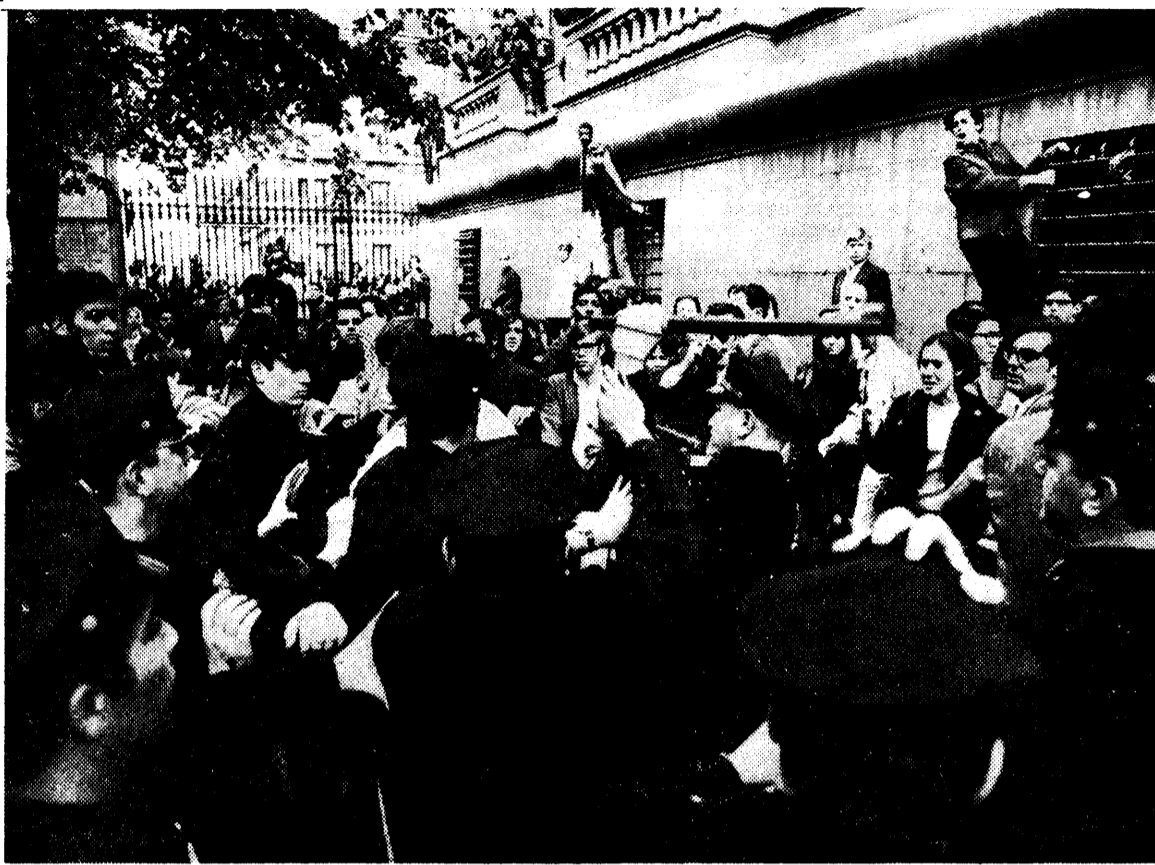
Student leaders took good advantage of the temper of the crowd, and held a rally at which the real nature of the administration was exposed. Students and faculty could no longer close their eyes to the fact that Columbia, as well as the whole university system in this country, is very much a part of big business. A list of ten names of top university officials and their big business connections was read to the crowd of about 1,000 incensed people. It was revealed that Grayson Kirk himself was on the Board of Directors of Con Edison.

Students justified their actions by stating that the overwhelming majority of students and faculty at Columbia were behind their demands that the gymnasium not be built in Morningside Park and that Columbia sever its ties with the Institute of Defense Analysis, which does research for weapons for Vietnam and for riot control techniques. The petition calling for these demands was ignored by Kirk before the students decided to resort to their present tactics. A city wide strike was called by students and faculty to support the original demands and the latter calls for no cops on the campus and amnesty for protestors.

system

The work of these students

columbia & the future of student insurrection



POLICE ATTACK PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF COLUMBIA PROTESTING--BRUTALITY!

is far from over. They must continue to expose the role of the university within the framework of the capitalist system. They must not let their struggle stop at the point of student power, but relate it to the struggles of minority groups and the working class as a whole. Their battles will not be won if they fight under the illusion that they can beat the cops simply by tactics on the campus or in the streets. These issues are political issues and must be viewed on a political level.

The real power is not with students alone, or even with those under thirty. The rest of the working class is also coming under attack by the bosses. The workers will not take these attacks lying down. They have a double battle--against the bosses and against their own union leaders who will sell them out at the bargaining table if they can't sell them out before they reach the picket lines.

labor

It is significant that members

of hospital workers union 1199 were supporting the Columbia students. One thing is clear; that the violence the ruling class uses against its own children in the colleges is only a precursor to the mass brutality that will be used against the entire working class in the coming struggles. We have already gotten a glimpse of this (see article on Minnesota strike). It is the task of the trade unions to support the students as they are fighting the same bosses system on the campus that the workers fight every day in the shops. The labor movement must give full support to the struggles of the students, and the Negro masses against the intervention of the state.

At the same time students must recognize the great power and the potential revolutionary force of the working class and link their struggles with those of the rank and file workers. If students ignore the meaning of their struggles within the context of the crisis of cap-

italism they will suffer defeats even more horrendous than that which occurred this bloody Tuesday morning.

foretaste

The student struggles give us a foretaste of the great battles to come in this country. In all great revolutionary periods students have always foreshadowed the basic battle between worker and capitalist which came shortly thereafter.

Students have a critical role to play, not only in current struggles but more important in preparing for these future struggles. None of the problems which the Columbia students faced in their demonstration can be solved except through the conscious struggle of the American working class for socialism. Even if the gymnasium is not built in Morningside Park, the Negro masses who live around that park will continue to live in tenements, be jobless or work at underpaid and overexploited

jobs, and their children will go to inferior schools (regardless we might add whether these are "community-controlled" or not). The struggle against the gymnasium only symbolized student determination to fight the oppression of the Negro masses. So it is with the IDA. Even if student pressure brought a severance of Columbia with this Defense Department tool, this would neither significantly affect America's imperialist actions throughout the world nor break Columbia from its real function under capitalism--that it to serve not the student but the capitalist rulers themselves. Most absurd of all is to protect the concept of "free universities" in a society which is anything but free.

marxism

The only way any significant change can be made in the United States is through the construction of a conscious Marxist party to lead the American working class. Students can contribute much to the construction of such a party. In particular they have theoretical contributions to make. Such contributions cannot be made, of course, in academic isolation but only through day to day participation in constructing a Marxist party. Important as current student activism is even more important would be the serious turn by university students to the study of Marxism--in a struggle to understand the development of working class consciousness over the past hundred years, the lessons to be learned from this long practical and theoretical struggle, and renewed efforts both to deepen our theoretical understanding today and simultaneously deepen the penetration of the Marxist party into the American working class.

Columbia struggles have showed not only the militancy of students. It has also revealed the very real power and deeply reactionary character of the capitalist system itself. Blindly and by themselves students cannot do anything about anything. Consciously and as part of a Marxist party students can do something about everything.

Cincinnati Clerks Vote Down Contract

by a Retail Clerk

CINCINNATI--Members of the Kroger division of Retail Clerks Local 1099 have rejected the first proposal approved by union and management negotiators. The vote held on Sunday April 28th, was 342 against, 142 favor and 4 abstentions.

This rejection was follow-

ed by taking a vote favoring or rejecting a strike. The results: 253 yes, 108 no and 6 abstentions. A new contract meeting was scheduled for Sunday, May 5th, to draw up a new contract proposal. If Kroger refuses to come across, there is a good chance the union will strike.

Why did the workers reject

the contract? First, because there were few improvements; the wage hikes proposed would only allow the workers to break even over the next three years--a sharp rise in the cost of living would put them behind.

Although part-time workers were returned some of the benefits they lost under the present contract and a union administered pension plan was slated to replace the Kroger Profit Sharing and Retirement Income Program, it was voted down. - Again--why? Mainly because the local union's officers treated their members like children and did not explain the true nature of the

differences between the new pension plan and the old. The International Union's Organizing Division Vice President even told the workers in effect that: This will be the best contract in the Division--you'll only be inviting trouble if you refuse to follow your local union leaders. But the workers didn't buy it.

support

What next for the Retail Clerks at Krogers? The clerks must begin preparations NOW for the May 5th and other contract meetings. Poor turnout will result in the election of a gutless bargaining committee and a weaker contract than now. The workers

must draw up a strong contract proposal including: abolition of strike bans, election instead of appointment of stewards, a cost-of-living clause, overtime pay after 6 P.M. a guarantee of a minimum number of hours to be scheduled for each Kroger employee and the option of choice among the two pension plans by each member. This is the only way forward. The local union's leadership must either fight for these policies or out it goes. Local 1099's Rank and File Committee has initiated a drive to put these policies into effect. It deserves the support of every militant in the local.

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