

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT SMC

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

SMASH WALLACE!



PROTESTERS TANGLE WITH SECURITY GUARDS AT WALLACE RALLY



**on the
spot
report**

from minneapolis

STATEMENT POLITICAL COMMITTEE WORKERS LEAGUE

**DOWN WITH TWIN PARTIES OF
BIG BUSINESS--FORWARD TO
LABOR PARTY--VOTE FOR
HALSTEAD AND BOUTELLE**



WALLACE WITH RUNNING MATE MELVIN GRIFFIN

By Cynthia Billings
MINNEAPOLIS--The anti-working class political campaign of George C. Wallace hit a major snag in Minneapolis on July 3. Poor whites, black militants, Indians, a few McCarthy supporters, and members of the Workers League were among those who marched, sang, chanted and ultimately out-shouted the Southerner's speech. In the process, 150-200 of the demonstrators (including WL members) were cornered by Minneapolis cops, sprayed with Mace and removed from the auditorium.

Arthur Naftalin, Minneapolis' "liberal" mayor, immediately issued a statement, apologizing to Wallace for "this inexcusable discourtesy." Others, including even LBJ, have publicly deplored the abridgement of Wallace's "freedom of speech."

The Workers League says Wallace's freedom of speech, like that of LBJ, HHH and all capitalist politicians and bureaucrats, is guaranteed by the system. It is the freedom of the working class that needs to be fought for and defended! Freedom of speech is not an abstract ideal. The true nature of Wallace's campaign must be examined.

anti-labor

Wallace does not run just on an anti-Negro platform. He is far more dangerous than a mere racist demagogue. This is why he can't be fought by adapting to Black Power rebuttals. Wallace's program is directly anti-union, just as his record reveals fact after fact proving his anti-union sentiment. He used Alabama's state apparatus to smash South

ern organizing attempts. He has made serious inroads on basic unemployment compensation rights. His state is one of the lowest in protection of children from labor abuses.

This is the truth, not his surface appeal to the "working man" of America. Wallace makes good use of the working man. He constantly refers to workers in basic industries like steel, communications and transportation. Yet it is not as workers that he addresses them, but as individuals. Never does he discuss their role in society as members of strong unions. Never does he call for better working conditions or higher wages for these workers. Nor does he point out their true strength--the ability to stop the nation from functioning! Wallace's campaign is aimed at the workers only as individual men--appealing to their pride of self achievement, their prejudices and fears of such bogeymen as Negroes and communists, and their fear of intellectuals. (In a press conference following his Minneapolis defeat, Wallace blamed the disturbance not on Negroes, but on college professors who "earn \$40,000 a year.")

There can be no misconceptions about his intent to smash the working class of America. He is fighting for a military state. He plans to arm half the country in order to keep the other half silent, using a policeman "every 2 feet." The speech which was shouted down contained direct threats that he will return, as president, armed and protected with sol-

diers, and will "crease the heads" of any protestors like those he'd met earlier.

silent

Yet people continue to be misled, to assume that if we ignore him, Wallace will go away. And the trade unions continue to remain treacherously silent. True, there were four independent unionists at the auditorium, handing out Meany's fact sheet on Wallace. But where were the militant union contingents that drove Gerald L.K. Smith out of Minneapolis in 1946 and

test. They were joined by a few McCarthyites, but the large "left" and "New Left" groups were noticeably absent.

In the aftermath of the successful Wallace protest, the Liberation Committee is beginning to take shape as more than an ad hoc protest group. At a meeting called immediately by those who were forced to leave the Auditorium, a Workers League member suggested that Naftalin be recalled from office. (City elections will not take place here for two more

ing class--the 'Establishment', does not govern in the interests of the workers any more than it governs in the interests of the poor and the minorities. Mace was first used in Minnesota not against the Wallace protestors, but against a handful of women unionists who were conducting a militant strike in southern Minnesota!

If there was any doubt about the true nature of Naftalin's liberal reputation, the events of early July have dispelled them. Following his apology, and in the wake of several incidents on the 4th of July, Naftalin met with representatives of neighboring police forces and National Guard units to reaffirm commitments for help in the event of "disturbances." Only after this did he meet with some representatives of the Negro community, and then only to affirm that the incidents of the 3rd and 4th were not racial but "ideological" conflicts. Throughout these meetings, he praised the "restraint and good judgement" of the cops, and attested that "Mace is more humane than bullets." This man must be replaced; he must not be allowed to continue running the city in the interests of big business and his friend Humphrey. The Liberation Committee, if it joins with the workers of Minneapolis, has the strength to get rid of this man and take power!

Fight racism and fascism --Wallace NO! Fight for a Labor Party--Democrats and Republicans NO! Fight for power--Naftalin NO!

poor vs. wallace in minneapolis

permanently smashed his campaign? And, incidentally, where was the SWP who organized that protest? Wallace, they tell us, is a "very different case."

The militancy displayed against Wallace had its roots in the organizations and consciousness that developed here during the Poor People's Campaign. Two particularly blatant incidents of police prejudice recently led to a loose coalition of black militants and Poor People's groups, called the Poor People's Liberation Committee. This group, although split into numerous fragments and "caucuses," provided the basic organization for the Wallace pro-

years.) He proposed that the committee, with Minneapolis workers, put up a candidate who would be independent of the two major political parties. This idea was received with interest, even before Naftalin made his outrageous apology and supported the police actions.

The committee, however, shows the same Populist-type weakness as the original Poor People's supporters. There is a great distrust of the workers, a feeling that it is society's outcasts who must fight alone against all those who have jobs as well as those who have wealth and political power. We must realize that the rul-

COPS SPRAYED MACE IN OUR FACES

by Paul Martins

MINNEAPOLIS--At the rally for George C. Wallace on July 3, a demonstration against Wallace was also in progress. This protest took the form of a picket line to begin with shouting 'Down with Wallace' and 'Sock it to me Black Power'.

At 8:00 the protesters entered Convention Center.

To provide entertainment? Wallace had provided the rally with live country music! When a Black rose to dance to the music, a Wallace supporter threw the youth off the stage but not before being pulled down into the crowd.

At this point the cops came in and surrounded 175 with billy clubs and told us to leave.

At that point the cops had all the exits blocked. With no place to go we had to stay where we were.

Then all hell broke loose!

mace

The cops opened up on us with Mace. To all the readers that have never been maced, I will try to explain the feeling of mace.

You can see a cop holding a little black can with a gentle spray coming from it. I was standing about seven feet from the cop that sprayed me. When mace first comes in contact with you, your eyes start to burn and you feel weak. As I was getting out of the Center, women were fainting, crying, and screaming. I stopped to try and

help but a cop loomed over me with his club in one hand and a can of mace in the other. He told me to "Get moving or you will get more of this" (mace). As soon as I got out of the hall I started to feel nauseous. My eyes were burning, I felt weak, and very sick. In a half an hour I had vomited all that I had in my stomach and still felt sick.

The demonstrators that were not maced out, succeeded in out-shouting Wallace when he finally did speak.

An occurrence like this should not have happened. No defense had been set up and as a result of this men, women, and children were maced and clubbed.

MOUNT CAMPAIGN AGAINST FRENCH BANS

The French working class has been betrayed. It has not been defeated. This is the essential lesson of the French

elections. The French Communist Party has succeeded for the time being in channelling the struggle of the French workers into a meaningless election rigged from the start by DeGaulle. DeGaulle has won this election but the working class still retains great power in France. The economic concessions De Gaulle was forced to make to the workers can only deepen the world capitalist crisis and lead to new struggles.

Of central importance to not only French workers but to workers all over the world is to prepare the way for the building of a new revolutionary alternative leadership in

France so that the next struggle of the workers can be successful. For this there must be freedom for revolutionary organizations to function openly, to debate their differences, to clear up ideological confusion and build real roots in the working class of France.

This is why it is so important for all socialists and militants to continue to fight in all countries for the lifting of the bans on the revolutionary organizations in France. The working class cannot tolerate the government of any country restricting the right of working class organizations to exist.

The question is not whether one agrees or disagrees with the banned organizations. At stake is the elementary principle of workers democracy--the right of working class tendencies to compete freely for the support of the working class as a whole. We would fight just as hard against a banning of the Communist Party even though the French Communist Party and its American allies have not uttered one peep of protest over the banning of left organizations in France.

Let us carry forward the struggle against the bans today. We urge all our readers to raise this question in

your union, on your campus, in whatever organization you belong to. Send telegrams of opposition to the bans to President De Gaulle. Organize meetings of protest and demonstrations in front of French consulates across the nation. Put motions of opposition to the ban on the floor of all union meetings.

THERE MUST BE NO LET UP IN THIS CAMPAIGN UNTIL ALL THE BANS ARE LIFTED! THIS IS THE ELEMENTARY RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY MILITANT IN AMERICA!

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By a Hospital Worker
 NEW YORK--Hospital workers in Local 1199 won a significant victory on July 1st. A brief strike at six large hospitals early that morning led the bosses to give in to the major union demands. These included a \$100 weekly minimum wage in two equal steps, a \$12 increase right now and another \$12 increase next July. This represents a 32% increase for the lowest paid workers over a two year period.

The hospitals held out for a two and one-half or three year contract but were forced to agree to a two year pact. At the same time the workers also won a pension plan, money for an upgrading program, improved health plan coverage and other important fringe benefits.

This victory is of tremendous significance for low paid workers all over the country. The working class is on the offensive, and this includes all layers, all sections, skilled and unskilled, black and white. The hospital workers' victory is part of that offensive and will give new impetus to it. If this rank and file militancy is extended to industries like garment, hotel and restaurant, laundry and other low-paying fields employing large percentages of black and Puerto Rican workers, the consequences can be tremendous.

SOLID RANKS BRING VICTORY FOR 1199



MILITANTS PREPARE FOR VICTORIOUS STRIKE

How did the hospital workers win? It was not through the generosity of the bosses or of New York's Mayor Lindsay. The workers won because of their own militancy and unity. They won because they were not afraid of a strike, as they

showed in the early morning of July 1st. The militancy of the workers was demonstrated also at a mass membership rally of 7,000 strong on June 27th.

The union leadership had repeatedly said prior to the strike deadline that a strike was not being planned. There were also hints that only a few hospitals would be affected and that sit-downs or other tactics might be used instead of picketing.

The insistence of many workers on solid strike action, however, led the leadership to propose on the night of the contract expiration that all the hospitals affected directly by the contract, 17 in all, would be struck. Then Mayor Lindsay called both sides to night-long negotiations at City Hall. Early in the morning, as negotiations dragged on past the midnight strike deadline, the strike plans were weakened somewhat. The union leadership proposed that the six largest hospitals be struck, and this is what took place. One hour after this more limited but still decisive action began, the employers gave in.

fighting

It was the strike action that won the demands. Not until the strike began did the bosses' attitude change. Those who had refused to say that a strike would probably be necessary to win the demands

have of course been proven wrong.

Union militants had been preparing for struggle for many months. Thousands of workers either walked off the night shift or came to work especially early on the day shift to join the picket lines, even though the last instructions from the union leadership had been to report for work on Monday at the usual time. The fighting mood of these workers was such that few organizers and delegates sent to organize the picket lines were almost unnecessary. Workers brought their own signs in many cases, and the number of scabs among thousands of workers could probably be counted on the fingers of one or two hands. Hospital and guild division members were united as never before in the fight for the contract demands.

It was this militancy and unity of the workers which scared the bosses. With a little prodding from Lindsay they made the necessary concessions rather than risk a tremendous head-on confrontation. Both Lindsay and the bosses began to realize that if all the workers really went out for even a day the final settlement might turn out to be even costlier than otherwise. They had to choose between concessions and an all-out fight, and they decided against the all-out fight at this time.



FRED HALSTEAD

by the Political Committee, Workers League

The 1968 elections present a critical challenge to the American socialist movement. World capitalism is in deep crisis. This is the fundamental meaning of the great revolutionary struggles in France. What has happened in France today will happen in America tomorrow. The task of American socialists is to prepare today for these struggles.

The crisis is already developing here. The poor march on Washington and all they get from the capitalist politicians is tear gas and jailings. Student struggles are met with the same treatment. The American trade union movement is in the throes of a deep crisis as rank and file militancy grows against the effects of inflation on the pay check and speed-up on working conditions. Millions have expressed their opposition to America's imperialist war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants but the war goes on.

power

Every one of these strug-

vote halstead-boutelle

gles raises one single question -- the question of political power. As long as the capitalists have the political power in America they will continue their wars against the world's peoples. The oppression of the Negro masses will get worse, the trade unions will face the combined power of the bosses and their government, the universities will be a training ground of future administrators of an oppressive system rather than institutions to aid the liberation of mankind.

It is therefore the task of socialists to fight for the working class as a whole, black and white, young and old, employed and unemployed, to understand that American workers must break politically from their own oppressors and take up the struggle to organize their own party based on the powerful American trade union movement and encompassing the great masses of American workers organized and unorganized. Only such a party can pose the alternative of a society organized for the benefit of all people rather than for the profit of a few.

struggle

Now is the time to take up this struggle in earnest. Just as the mass organization of American industrial workers into the CIO was prepared for by the previous struggle of American socialists for industrial unions so today we must fight for a working class political alternative in every sector of struggle -- the trade unions, the black communities, the peace movement, the student movement.

This requires a relentless struggle against those political tendencies which seek to turn the mass movement back into capitalist politics. This means in particular the Communist Party and those who support non-working class Peace and Freedom and Freedom and Peace campaigns.

It is with this perspective that we welcome the electoral initiative of the Socialist Workers Party in running Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle for president and vice president in 1968. This campaign poses a socialist alternative to the capitalist parties and thus offers to socialists and militant workers an opportunity to cast a ballot against our oppressors. The 1968 election platform of the Socialist Workers Party calls for the formation of a labor party in America and it is this position in particular which gives the campaign relevancy today.

We urge all socialists and working class militants to vote for Halstead and Boutelle in 1968. The Workers League pledges its technical aid in getting the SWP candidates on the ballot in as many states as possible.

At the same time we urge the Socialist Workers Party to make the fight for the labor party the very center of its campaign. In the past decade the SWP has run a number of electoral campaigns. All of them have been oriented towards the radical middle class. None of them have placed central emphasis on the need for the working class to form its

own party and consequently almost all electoral activity has been addressed to the middle classes. We urge upon the SWP a political campaign this year which clearly breaks from middle class radicalism and which turns decisively towards the working class.

We say openly to the SWP: you have been in a POLITICAL bloc with the Communist Party in the peace movement, the party which internationally betrayed the working class in France, the party which does all in its power to betray the American working class. As a result of this policy such representatives of the capitalists as Kennedy and McCarthy were invited to your April peace demonstration and capitalist Lindsay showed up on your platform. Last year you supported Communist Party leader Herbert Aptheker in the election at the same time as Aptheker and his party supported the capitalist parties.

We say this was coalition politics of the worst sort. We say a continuation of such policies will lead American workers to the same betrayals that it has led our French brothers. Now you have not broken with the Communist Party but the Communist Party has broken with you in search of bigger game. This is the meaning of the split in the SMC.

You have arrived at an empirical break with the Communist Party and through it with the capitalist class. Now is the time to draw the lessons from this experience in the light of the French events

and complete that break by transforming your election campaign into a working class campaign which breaks not only formally with the capitalist parties but in reality with capitalist politics.

It is not a matter, as the SWP puts it, of black power, student power plus workers power. It is a matter of uniting all sections of the working class in a common struggle for workers power. Negro liberation is possible only through the creation of such a party of the class as a whole. Independent Black parties limit the struggle to capitalist bounds in much the same way as Peace and Freedom parties do for the middle class as a whole. No wonder Peace and Freedom has now merged its electoral efforts with the Black Panthers. Student power is a completely reactionary concept for students separated from the working class have no power. Isolated student struggles of necessity lead to defeat as the Columbia struggle so clearly shows.

center

We say make workers power in the form of the struggle for a labor party the very center of the SWP electoral campaign and fight to unite every area of struggle around this common political program. Prepare today to build a political movement which can start the working class on the road to socialism. The

Workers League pledges itself to support the SWP electoral ticket with this political perspective. DOWN WITH THE TWIN PARTIES OF BIG BUSINESS, WAR AND OPPRESSION! FORWARD TO THE LABOR PARTY! VOTE FOR HALSTEAD AND BOUTELLE IN 1968!

by Tim Wohlforth

Trotsky's greatest theoretical contribution was of course his analysis of Stalinism. This analysis is an absolutely central part of the theoretical armament the working class must have today if it is to complete the work begun by the great October Revolution and establish socialism on a world scale. The very survival of all humanity depends on this.

The October Revolution was the turning point of all modern history. The establishment of the world's first workers state was the vindication of Marx's scientific work, and unanswerable repudiation of the revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky, and others who dominated the Second International, and the base from which the extension of socialist revolution to other countries must start. From October on the revolutionary aspirations of the world working class of necessity turned to the Communist movement.

But the degeneration of the October Revolution led to the degeneration of the Communist International and the growth of a new revisionism which on all essential points stood with Bernstein and Kautsky and against Lenin and Trotsky. This new revisionism, which we call Stalinism, rested upon the material base of a privileged bureaucracy within the Soviet Union interested in its own self-preservation and thus opposed to the extension of the socialist revolution which would spell the doom not only of capitalism but of bureaucratic privilege as well. The task of defending the program of October fell to the Trotskyist movement, to the Fourth International, who defended Lenin's line against the new Bernsteins of Stalin and his international supporters.

france

The recent events in France fully confirm this assessment. The French Communist Party from beginning to end fought to prevent the great struggle from becoming a struggle for power, for socialism. It attacked and slandered the initiators of the struggle, the revolutionary students. It sought to keep the working class separated from the students and to prevent the general strike. Once the general strike took place it sought to limit the strike to economic demands alone and then to channel it into parliamentary electoral lines with a bloc with the liberal capitalists like Mitterand. In its every counterrevolutionary action it was supported by the world Stalinist movement, the USSR leadership, the American Communist Party, and its co-thinkers in all lands.

The role of the French Communist Party can only be understood by understanding the nature of the Soviet bureaucracy itself. This is why Trotsky's theoretical work in the 1930s is of such burning importance to revolutionaries today for it alone holds the key to an understanding of Stalinism. Trotsky's views must be defended from every attack, overt or covert, from those who claim to be his supporters as well as those whose opposition to Trotsky is open and above board. For close to two decades Trotsky's views have been under attack from within the Fourth International itself, much as Marx's views were attacked from within the Second International and Lenin's views were attacked from within the Third International.

This is the meaning of Pabloism, the international political trend represented in this country by the Socialist Workers Party. Just as Stalinism outlived Stalin so Pabloism continues as the fundamental theoretical outlook of an international movement with which Pablo himself has broken. In essence Pabloism represents an impressionistic trend which abandons the struggle for the revolutionary party of Lenin and Trotsky in favor of an adaptation to Stalinism and other petty bourgeois trends.

In previous articles we have dealt with the view, the theory of the "new reality", which excludes the struggle for the conscious Marxist party. In this article we will show how this trend has abandoned the essence of Trotsky's theory of Stalinism and as a result has abandoned the struggle for the Marxist party in the Soviet Countries.

trotsky

First we must begin with what Trotsky's theory of Stalinism actually was. Trotsky approached the question dialectically. To him it was no mere matter of placing a descriptive label on the Soviet Union at that moment but rather of seeing the Soviet Union in its evolution, its historical context. So he began with the October Revolution. This revolution overthrew capitalism and established a workers state based on the nationalization of the means of production,

a planned economy and a state monopoly of foreign trade.

He saw the rise of bureaucracy in the USSR in the 1920s and early 1930s as a DEGENERATIVE move--a move back towards capitalism, in the direction of capitalist restoration. Seeing it this way, the next question is whether or not the degeneration was complete. He concluded that this was not so, that the property forms thrown up by the October Revolution were eroded but still remained; the bureaucracy has usurped control of the state from the working class but



HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION--HORSE PILL FOR BUREAUCRACY

was incapable of establishing property forms of its own nor had the old capitalist property forms been resurrected. The completion of the counter-revolution would necessitate an armed conflict with the working class and this had not taken place.

The Soviet Union was thus seen as a highly contradictory, unstable, temporary regime which must either give way to a complete capitalist restoration or to the destruction of the bureaucracy and the reestablishment of soviet democracy. The essential contradiction in the Soviet Union lay between the workers property forms and the bourgeois norms of distribution. This means that the highly unequal distribution of income within the Soviet Union is a constant source of capitalist restorationist forces which threaten the socialized property forms.

productivity

The material underpinnings of this contradiction lie in the relatively low level of productivity in the Soviet Union when compared with the most advanced capitalist countries. Simply not enough can be produced to supply the needs of all Soviet citizens and, further, unequal rewards are needed to spur on workers to a higher level of productivity. These material conditions make the growth of a privileged bureaucracy possible and even under soviet democracy there would of necessity have to be a constant battle between the conscious working class and the inherent tendency of the economy to develop a privileged bureaucracy.

Under Stalin however this struggle was temporarily suppressed with the destruction of soviet democracy and the unchallenged bureaucracy usurped a large share of the surplus. Since this surplus was a result of the basic contradictions in the economy the bureaucracy consciously seeks to maintain these contradictions and to suppress soviet democracy. It will not relinquish its privileges voluntarily.

As Trotsky stated in "Revolution Betrayed": "There is no peaceful outcome for this crisis. No devil ever yet voluntarily cut off his claws. Soviet bureaucracy will not give up its position without a fight. The development leads obviously to the road of revolution. Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development toward socialism. There is but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection -- the party of the Fourth International!"

revision

As we have noted, central to the whole Pabloite conception of the "New World Reality" was a basic revision of Trotsky's analysis. Writing in 1954, in the basic resolution of its Fourth World Congress, the Pabloites stated: "The fundamental conditions under which the Soviet bureaucracy and its tight hold over the Communist Parties developed, namely the ebb of the revolution, the isolation of the Soviet Union, and the backward condition of its economy-- these conditions have disappeared. It therefore follows that since in

the USSR itself the relationship of forces tends to become modified in favor of the working class, parallel with an analogous modification on a world scale, the coming decisive battle will not be waged between the restorationist forces launching an offensive to restore private property, and the forces defending the conquests of October. It will be, on the contrary, waged between the forces defending the privileges and administration of the bureaucracy against the assault of the revolutionary forces of the working class embarking on the struggle for the restoration of

SWP

and the na of stalinism

Soviet democracy upon a higher level."

Thus the Pabloites simply removed all fundamental contradiction from Soviet society--or more accurately they denied in their theory the very real contradictions which continue to rack the workers states. The material base upon which the contradictions rest-- the low level of productivity-- is wiped out. The fundamentally retrogressive nature of the bureaucracy is denied for the threat of capitalist restoration is no longer present. The struggle for soviet democracy is no longer a matter of life and death for the Soviet Republic but rather a matter of perfecting a society already evolved past the point of return to capitalism.

The implications of this theory are enormous and while the Pabloites never have frankly spelled them out, they have never been able to escape from the logic of this theory-- the SWP included. In the first place, Trotsky's whole conception of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism is negated for the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule has been able to develop itself to a point where capitalist restoration is impossible. Secondly, if the Soviet bureaucracy was able to carry through such a task within the Soviet Union how can we continue to insist that it must of necessity play a counterrevolutionary role internationally? Thirdly, since the contradictions upon which this bureaucracy rests have already disappeared without the rise of a new revolutionary leadership, can we really rule out the self-reform of this bureaucracy, its melting away, perhaps with a little working class pressure, now that it no longer has any real material reason to exist? Certainly talk of violent insurrection led by a section of the Fourth International seems totally unnecessary. Trotsky's concept of the political revolution could only be justified on the ground that the very survival of the property forms thrown up by October were at stake. We do not resort to insurrection when it is a mere matter of perfecting something or cleaning up bureaucratic distortions.

incorrect

The premises upon which this theory was based of course were and are completely incorrect. It is true that the Soviet Union made great strides forward in the development of its economy in the post-war period-- strides possible only because of its planned economy and despite its bureaucracy. When we compare Soviet economic development to the level of development in Russia before the revolution, it stands as a living monument to the viability of socialist property forms.

But we must also compare the level of productivity in the USSR with that in contemporary advanced capitalist countries. Here we find that the productivity gap is as great today or greater than it was in 1935 when Trotsky wrote "Revolution Betrayed" for the advanced capitalist countries, too, have gone through a development. True they have been unable to bring along with them the underdeveloped countries. True this very rise in productivity throws them into a new world crisis because it deepens the

contradiction between the productive capabilities of society and the continued private ownership of the productive apparatus. But still the gap in productivity between the USSR and the capitalist nations remains immense and this in turn throws the Soviet countries into a deep internal crisis constantly generating capitalist restorationist forces.

True the section of the world taken out of capitalist domination has been greatly enlarged in the post-war period with the inclusion of Eastern Europe and China. But this has not meant that



JOE HANSON(RIGHT) REFORM EQUALS REVOLUTION

capitalist encirclement has been fundamentally broken. What has actually happened is that the portion of the world under the domination of a crisis ridden Stalinist system has been expanded, the problem has been expanded, not solved. By and large the new workers states have had a lower level of productivity than the Soviet Union.

The extension of the Stalinist crisis takes the form of proletarian uprisings in the new workers states, such as in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary and Poland in 1956, continued internal turmoil such as the Red Guard movement in China and the recent events in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and a deepening conflict between the workers states expressed not only in the Sino-Soviet dispute but in the independent trends in most East European countries such as Rumania.

While the essential theoretical underpinnings of the Pabloite theory of Stalinism have been rarely expressed clearly after the 1954 statement, they continue to be the basis of their outlook. It leads them to completely revisionist political positions: (1) a constant tendency to underestimate the danger of capitalist restoration in the workers states which completely disarms the working class in these countries; (2) An abandonment of the strategy of political revolution led by sections of the Fourth International.

hanson

The SWP started on the road of abandoning the political revolution a full three years before it openly took up its campaign to fuse internationally with the remnants of the Pabloite movement. Adapting to Stalinism during the regroupment period, the SWP published an article by Joe Hanson in the Spring 1958 issue of the "International Socialist Review" entitled "Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy." The purpose of this article was to form a "bridge" to the revisionist views of Isaac Deutscher, the man who Cannon had previously described as "the fountain-head of the new revisionism". In order to do this the fundamental distinction between reform and revolution had to be removed. Let us keep in mind that here Hansen is speaking about revolution in general-- all revolutions. Thus in wiping out the distinction between reform and revolution in the Soviet countries he is breaking down the distinction between reform and revolution in all countries-- that is he is breaking with Lenin and siding with Kautsky:

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers. No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields. If any of the demands of any of the stages be viewed in isolation, or fixed as an end in itself rather than as a means to a higher goal, it appears as a reform. If its connection to the demands of other stages be kept in mind, it appears as a transitional step. It is only when the process is viewed as a whole--in its origin, its fundamental aims and final results--that it appears

for what it really is, a revolution; an organic qualitative change in whatever structure is involved."

october

Since Hansen will surely admit that the October Revolution was a revolution let us see how his theory of revolution fits those events. True, the Russian Revolution passed through many stages. True during each stage the struggle centered on demands which viewed in isolation of the whole process may appear as mere reforms. But in October there was an INSURRECTION and an armed one at that, during which the old state structure was demolished, destroyed and a new state structure based on the soviets thrown up. That is, a qualitative leap took place and to the bourgeoisie it certainly appeared as one hell of a horse pill. No, the October Revolution was not an "organic qualitative change in whatever structure is involved". It was the destruction of the existing structure and the creation of a totally new structure.

Trotsky, as we have noted, saw political revolution as revolution, as armed insurrection. True, the revolution would not need to create new property forms, but it would be no less thorough in its destruction of the bureaucratic state apparatus and its throwing up of new soviet forms of workers rule.

Today, when the SWP talks of the "destalinization process" and of political revolution, what they mean by it is a "total series of reforms" gained of course through "militant struggle". In other words the working class need no longer insurrect and smash the bureaucracy but only bring pressure upon it and in time the reform granted will add up to soviet democracy. But this is not the logical political conclusion which must be drawn from the Pabloite 1954 thesis of the impossibility of bourgeoisie restoration?

china

Let us look at how this fundamental outlook is reflected in the SWP today. Driven by the very logic of its position to minimize the dangers of capitalist restoration, to abandon the revolutionary struggle against the bureaucracy led by a section of the Fourth International, and thus to actually side with this bureaucracy during crucial moments, the SWP finds itself on the side of the conservative capitalist restorationist forces in the recent Red Guard struggle in China. In the very height of this struggle the SWP attacks Mao-- for going outside the Communist Party in the fight against capitalist restorationist forces. The Militant stated: "Mao went outside the party and the Communist League of Youth and hastily called into being a force of extra legal character. He hurled them against those sections of the party apparatus which he considered oppositional and therefore unreliable. Wouldn't it have been more democratic to have first tried to convince the party ranks of the correctness of his ideas and the need for an imperative cleansing of the party apparatus under the direct control of the ranks? Why didn't Mao do that if he was primarily concerned with extending democracy?"

Trotsky held that the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties which represented this bureaucracy and are completely intermeshed with it were unreformable. This is why he called for the formation of a new party in the Soviet countries which would lead an insurrection against the bureaucracy. The SWP urges Mao to "cleanse" the party and attacks the organization of forces outside the party against bureaucracy as "extra-legal". Trotsky talks of insurrection while the SWP is worried about legality.

Our approach to the Red Guard struggle was fundamentally different. We understood that underlying this struggle stood the immense contradiction in the Chinese workers state which had produced strong restorationist forces right within the bureaucracy and the party. Mao, reacting empirically to this threat, was forced to go outside the party and unleash massive forces against the rightist bureaucracy. We knew that Mao also stood on the basis of Stalinism and thus could not carry the struggle through to the end but would seek to limit and contain it. Within this context we critically supported the Red Guard movement and urged it to go beyond Mao's Stalinist limits to the political revolution to overthrow bureaucracy once and for all.

lieberman

The SWP reacted the same way to the growth of capitalist restorationist forces within the Soviet Union itself over the past few years. In an article in the Militant, Barry Sheppard, polem-

icizing against Progressive Labor's false position that the USSR was already capitalist, dismisses any danger of restoration coming out of the new Liebermanist profit incentives introduced in the USSR. This is dismissed as "essentially technical in nature".

The point is that while Liebermanism does not mean in and of itself the restoration of capitalism it does mean a serious erosion of socialized property forms, the disruption of the planned economy and serious holes punched into the monopoly of foreign trade (how else would you evaluate agreements with firms like Fiat to set up whole plants in the USSR and share the profits with the Soviet bureaucracy?)

czech

The recent statement on the Czech events by the United Secretariat printed in the May 24th, 1968 Militant shows that the essential theoretical outlook of 1954 still guides the SWP and its political co-thinkers internationally. Capitalist restorationist tendencies, clearly evident in the USSR, have taken on an even more extreme character in Czechoslovakia. Not only have more extensive profit plans been introduced, but a number of capitalist firms, including Krupp and U.S. companies are negotiating for setting up plants in the country to jointly exploit the Czech workers. Prices are soaring, unemployment threatens many workers and the differentiation in wages between blue and white collar workers is to be deepened. At the same time openly bourgeois political forces have reared their heads standing on a program of nationalism and the rehabilitation of old regime politicians like Mazarak.

But this is all of little import to the Pabloites. "The Czechoslovak counterrevolution is extremely weak and the international situation is hardly favorable to it," they smugly state. But the very opposite is the truth. The strength of the counter-revolutionary political forces rests precisely on the inability of the bureaucracy to overcome the contradictions of Soviet society--contradictions which generate bourgeois ideology and bourgeois forces every single day. That the international situation is somehow "unfavorable" to such internal bourgeois forces is but the "new reality" thesis once again. Those who underestimate the very real economic and military power of world capitalism only serve to disarm the working class in the very serious struggles ahead.

The combination of the constant generation of bourgeois forces because of the low level of productivity, with a bureaucracy which aggravates rather than seeks to solve the contradictions in the economy -- the combination of this with a still powerful capitalist system represents a very serious threat to the working class in Czechoslovakia. This threat can only be fought by linking the Czech workers with the workers of all nations in a common world party dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of both capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But what is the perspective of the Pabloites? Oh yes, they put forward a "program" for the Czech workers. But this program lacks one little ingredient-- the call for the formation of a new revolutionary party in Czechoslovakia-- a section of the Fourth International. Why the omission? The United Secretariat had a momentary mental slip? We think not. The construction of a revolutionary party is unnecessary in the Soviet countries IF the fundamental contradictions of Stalinism have already been basically solved by the bureaucracy. But since they haven't it is the United Secretariat which is unnecessary. Worse than that -- it is the Pabloites who play a conscious role of aiding Stalinism and capitalism by theoretically disarming the working class not only in the Soviet countries but in the capitalist countries as well.

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the USSR itself the relationship of forces tends to become modified in favor of the working class, parallel with an analogous modification on a world scale, the coming decisive battle will not be waged between the restorationist forces launching an offensive to restore private property, and the forces defending the conquests of October. It will be, on the contrary, waged between the forces defending the privileges and administration of the bureaucracy against the assault of the revolutionary forces of the working class embarking on the struggle for the restoration of

contradiction between the productive capabilities of society and the continued private ownership of the productive apparatus. But still the gap in productivity between the USSR and the capitalist nations remains immense and this in turn throws the Soviet countries into a deep internal crisis constantly generating capitalist restorationist forces.

True the section of the world taken out of capitalist domination has been greatly enlarged in the post-war period with the inclusion of Eastern Europe and China. But this has not meant that

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OLUTION--HORSE PILL FOR BUREAUCRACY

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SWP and the nature of stalinism



JOE HANSON(RIGHT) REFORM EQUALS REVOLUTION

capitalist encirclement has been fundamentally broken. What has actually happened is that the portion of the world under the domination of a crisis ridden Stalinist system has been expanded, the problem has been expanded, not solved. By and large the new workers states have had a lower level of productivity than the Soviet Union.

The extension of the Stalinist crisis takes the form of proletarian uprisings in the new workers states, such as in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary and Poland in 1956, continued internal turmoil such as the Red Guard movement in China and the recent events in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and a deepening conflict between the workers states expressed not only in the Sino-Soviet dispute but in the independent trends in most East European countries such as Rumania.

While the essential theoretical underpinnings of the Pabloite theory of Stalinism have been rarely expressed clearly after the 1954 statement, they continue to be the basis of their outlook. It leads them to completely revisionist political positions: (1) a constant tendency to underestimate the danger of capitalist restoration in the workers states which completely disarms the working class in these countries; (2) An abandonment of the strategy of political revolution led by sections of the Fourth International.

hanson

The SWP started on the road of abandoning the political revolution a full three years before it openly took up its campaign to fuse internationally with the remnants of the Pabloite movement. Adapting to Stalinism during the regroupment period, the SWP published an article by Joe Hansen in the Spring 1958 issue of the "International Socialist Review" entitled "Proposed Roads to Soviet Democracy." The purpose of this article was to form a "bridge" to the revisionist views of Isaac Deutscher, the man who Cannon had previously described as "the fountain-head of the new revisionism". In order to do this the fundamental distinction between reform and revolution had to be removed. Let us keep in mind that here Hansen is speaking about revolution in general-- all revolutions. Thus in wiping out the distinction between reform and revolution in the Soviet countries he is breaking down the distinction between reform and revolution in all countries-- that is he is breaking with Lenin and siding with Kautsky:

"It is much closer to reality to view the program of political revolution as the total series of reforms, gained through militant struggle, culminating in the transfer of power to the workers. No revolution comes in a single oversize dose like a horse pill. It develops in interlinked stages affecting interlinked fields. If any of the demands of any of the stages be viewed in isolation, or fixed as an end in itself rather than as a means to a higher goal, it appears as a reform. If its connection to the demands of other stages be kept in mind, it appears as a transitional step. It is only when the process is viewed as a whole--in its origin, its fundamental aims and final results--that it appears

Soviet democracy upon a higher level."

Thus the Pabloites simply removed all fundamental contradiction from Soviet society--or more accurately they denied in their theory the very real contradictions which continue to rack the workers states. The material base upon which the contradictions rest-- the low level of productivity-- is wiped out. The fundamentally retrogressive nature of the bureaucracy is denied for the threat of capitalist restoration is no longer present. The struggle for soviet democracy is no longer a matter of life and death for the Soviet Republic but rather a matter of perfecting a society already evolved past the point of return to capitalism.

The implications of this theory are enormous and while the Pabloites never have frankly spelled them out, they have never been able to escape from the logic of this theory-- the SWP included. In the first place, Trotsky's whole conception of the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism is negated for the Soviet Union under Stalinist rule has been able to develop itself to a point where capitalist restoration is impossible. Secondly, if the Soviet bureaucracy was able to carry through such a task within the Soviet Union how can we continue to insist that it must of necessity play a counterrevolutionary role internationally? Thirdly, since the contradictions upon which this bureaucracy rests have already disappeared without the rise of a new revolutionary leadership, can we really rule out the self-reform of this bureaucracy, its melting away, perhaps with a little working class pressure, now that it no longer has any real material reason to exist? Certainly talk of violent insurrection led by a section of the Fourth International seems totally unnecessary. Trotsky's concept of the political revolution could only be justified on the ground that the very survival of the property forms thrown up by October were at stake. We do not resort to insurrection when it is a mere matter of perfecting something or cleaning up bureaucratic distortions.

incorrect

The premises upon which this theory was based of course were and are completely incorrect. It is true that the Soviet Union made great strides forward in the development of its economy in the post-war period-- strides possible only because of its planned economy and despite its bureaucracy. When we compare Soviet economic development to the level of development in Russia before the revolution, it stands as a living monument to the viability of socialist property forms.

But we must also compare the level of productivity in the USSR with that in contemporary advanced capitalist countries. Here we find that the productivity gap is as great today or greater than it was in 1935 when Trotsky wrote "Revolution Betrayed" for the advanced capitalist countries, too, have gone through a development. True they have been unable to bring along with them the underdeveloped countries. True this very rise in productivity throws them into a new world crisis because it deepens the

by Dennis O'Casey
NEW YORK - The new "flat grant" welfare plan temporarily held in abeyance by State Budget Director Herd pending legislative approval must be understood by worker and welfare recipient alike.

The "flat grant" must be seen as a precursor to more comprehensive "Guaranteed Annual Income" and "Negative Income Tax" schemes. In the 30's the NYC Welfare Dept would resolve its budgetary crisis by simply declaring cases temporarily suspended due to shortage of funds. Today the City, State, and Federal Governments facing a welfare drain which has doubled in New York since 1964, but at the same time facing a political threat in the form of ghetto uprisings, require more sophisticated methods of cutting back these expenditures.

lowering

It is impossible to predict at this stage the precise impact all the broad structural reforms now on the governmental drawing boards will have. The general conclusions that can nevertheless be drawn are that these reforms will inevitably tend towards a lowering of the basic standard of living of those on the dole, that they will involve the rationalization and computerization in the administration of the dole wiping out thousands of civil service jobs in public welfare, and that they will be carried out within the framework of deepening the antagonisms between the employed and those on the dole similar to what we have seen with the implementation of school decentralization.

Thus more and more it will become necessary for the working class together with the poor to do battle with the government over this issue. The SSEU, the strongest and most experienced union in public welfare, will have to play a leading role in this fight.

The essence of the "flat grant" plan consists in the elimination of "special needs grants" for clothing, household furnishings, emergen-

cies, and replacements to be compensated for, in theory, by an arbitrary increase in the regular family allowance. Traditionally, special needs grants have been individually determined for each family by its caseworker and issued on a as needed basis over and above the regular grant.

Ever since the 30's bureaucratic red tape has prevented welfare recipients in NYC from obtaining more than a tiny percentage of the "special needs" items to which they have been entitled by law. In recent months, however, welfare rights organizations, basing themselves on the discrepancies between what was provided by law and what was actually being granted by the Welfare Department, have flooded welfare centers with recipients demanding all the special needs items to which they are legally entitled. This has resulted in an \$8-\$10 million monthly rise in welfare costs (20%) not to mention increased administrative costs and especially the attraction to the welfare rolls of thousands of new recipients who have discovered their eligibility for welfare as a result of the heavy publicity. The fact is that most families of four with one wage earner, earning the minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour are now eligible for public assistance.

cruel

The answer to this situation by welfare officials has been cruel and sudden. The "flat grant" plan by eliminating the special needs grant removes in one fell swoop the very basis for welfare rights drives placing welfare on the same wooden and inflexible basis as Social Security against which no one leads demonstrations. Moreover the projected increase in the regular family grants of \$89 million provides for little more than the 6% cost of living increase already budgeted represented thereby more the elimination of special grants outright than their inclusion into the regular grant.

What is not mentioned in the press, but what is per-

haps the most significant aspect of the plan is the fact that it is to be coordinated with massive cutbacks in employment in the NYC Department of Welfare. Though it is not possible to anticipate precisely the reorganization of the Dept. that will emerge it is clear that the simplification of financial grants will mean the end of the 60 case

flat grant-blow to client, SSEU

load for caseworkers. Not only this but clearly the hiring of more and more so-called "para" professionals anticipates the day when the whole burden of issuing financial assistance will fall to lower paid workers now compromising "auxiliary titles" case aid, assistant caseworker etc., while a few hundred MSW's will render "professional" services to the few cases that require it.

The caseworker position as it is now known is gradually becoming obsolete will be phased out through attrition. This is why new caseworker trainees are now advised by personnel that their employment is temporary, why the 5600 new budget lines in Lindsay's budget for welfare personnel are for "auxiliary" titles, why the city insisted upon a management rights clause in the last contract, and why the city flatly refuses to discuss the flat grant with the SSEU.

demands

How must the SSEU face the challenge? It would be

just as incorrect to flatly oppose the rationalization of welfare as to flatly oppose the automation of industry. We cannot allow ourselves to become the champions of obsolescence and the enemies of techniques that raise the efficiency and productivity of labor. What we must oppose is the government attempts to appropriate all of the gains of this increased efficiency to itself. What must be demanded is that a substantial share of these gains go to welfare workers in the form of the extension of the 30 hour week year round, pay bonuses, improvements in time and leave regulations, etc. Especially important will be the demand that all titles receive salaries equal to that now received by caseworkers as they begin to take over portions of the caseworkers jobs responsibility so that the new plan does not lead to depression of wages in the public welfare field.

Though it is not possible to map out more precisely the demands that must be raised until the specifics of the flat grant are revealed, the SSEU must make clear to the city that there will be not one single variation in current procedure that is not fully negotiated with the union within the framework of the general principles outlined above.

It must be made clear to the Morgenstern leadership that we expect the union to set up a commission that will make an independent assessment of the flat grant to determine the precise saving to the government involved on the basis of which we can formulate appropriate demands.

fraud

At the same time the SSEU must assume a special responsibility to clients in exposing the fraudulence involved in the city's attempt to pass these structural reforms off as concessions to welfare recipients. You cannot eat structural reforms.

The flat grant should also be used to expose the bankruptcy of all those liberal schematists like Cloward,

Randolph, and Rustin whose fight for structural reforms has totally failed to address the question of how the standard of living of the poor will be substantially increased or how the millions on the dole are to be returned to full employment. All the efforts of these reformers to gum up the works of one repressive welfare system are leading to nothing more than the implementation of a more

efficient but equally repressive welfare system. This is a far cry from the millenium of social justice these idealists have in mind.

It is not sufficient merely to protest in word or deed the depravity of the present welfare system; it is necessary to have an alternative program that really addresses the problem of poverty in this country and provides a solution to it.

jobs

Though the SSEU must take up this fight it must not proceed merely by raising the demand that present welfare grants be doubled or trebled. More and more rising welfare costs are going to be used by the government to fire racism and hostility towards the unemployed on the part of employed workers who must pick up the welfare tab in the form of rising taxes. The American press is already filled with demogogy exploiting this fact.

The absolutely central demand around which the SSEU must seek to mobilize the poor, especially welfare clients, in action against the government is the demand for Jobs Now, public works for the creation of full employment.

With cuts in civil service forcing new thousands on the dole combined with the general trend towards increased unemployment that will be triggered by the 10% tax surcharge the fight against unemployment will be seen more and more to hinge upon the break up of the two party system in this country and the creation of a labor party representing the American working class.

SSEU VOTES ON MERGER

required for affiliation. A second referendum is being called for the fall.

Affiliation has been opposed primarily by three forces in the union, the Militant Caucus and supporters for the Peace and Freedom Party, the Black Caucus, and the 'professionals.'

pseudo-radicals

The Militant Caucus and the supporters of the Peace and Freedom Party represent pseudo-radical tendencies in the union which reject the ability of the ranks to struggle against the labor bureaucracy and control their unions.

The Black Caucus represents black nationalism in the unions. This ideology has been consistently hostile to the trade union movement and seeks to replace the fight of black and white workers for their demands with some ab-

stract concept of 'democratic control' which does not include control over their living standards. Many of the leaders of the Black Caucus seek only to replace a few white bureaucrats with black bureaucrats. The Black Caucus despite all its talk has no program for the Negro workers or the unemployed.

The Black Caucus and the pseudo-radicals find themselves in solidarity with the most reactionary section of the union, those who see themselves as 'professional', as above the rest of the workers. These members seek to have the SSEU transformed into an elite professional association that sees itself as one with the Administration.

These people perpetrate the conception that white collar workers are somehow immune from attacks on their living standards because they are

'professionals'.

task

The task of those in the SSEU who have fought for affiliation, especially those in Staff for Merger, is to step up its campaign. The Morgenstern leadership came over to affiliation belatedly and its fight did not really address the questions raised by the opposition. Staff for Merger must propose concretely a program for a fight within the District Council and the AFL-CIO to answer those who say that there can be no struggle. At the same time those who favor affiliation must propose an alternative to the Black Caucus, posing the need for unity between black and white workers and the need for the labor movement as a whole to take up the struggle against discrimination and for a program in defense of the unemployed black and white as

well as the organized workers. At the same time the concept of 'professional' must be exposed as reactionary showing how it leads to the submission of the workers to the City and acceptance of the increasingly deteriorating working conditions rather than a fight to improve them.

future

The future of city labor is dependent on the ability of city labor to unite, to break down all the divisions which exist now, to wage an all out struggle against the attempts of those who run this city to make the workers pay by lowering their standard of living. The SSEU has been a militant and leading force in city labor. It must continue this role but can do so only within the rest of the labor movement.



VICTOR GOTBAUM

by Lou Belkin

NEW YORK--The campaign to affiliate the SSEU with District Council 37 was temporarily set back recently in a referendum. Affiliation received a 62% vote. Although this indicates that a majority of the members of the SSEU understand the need to unite with the rest of the labor movement, it was insufficient to pass the necessary 2/3 vote

SSEU

by Fred Calhoun

NEW YORK--Understanding the true nature and real role of the Spartacist supported Militant Caucus in the SSEU can be of great importance to all trade unionists interested in a real struggle against the bosses. The Militant caucus began two years ago with a self-proclaimed program of extreme militancy and opposition to the union leadership and yet it ends up today blocking with the union leadership one day and with the most right wing and conservative elements in the union the next. Thus, in its short history has gone from the full gamut from ultra-leftism to opportunism showing us concretely

from the real struggle the union faced. Therefore there was no struggle--only radical comments from the sidelines.

crisis

Behind the approach of this group from the beginning was a lack of understanding of the crisis facing the American trade union movement and the ability of the American working class to struggle. The trade unions were seen as unchangeable, immovable bureaucratic monoliths--permanently impenetrable. The SSEU was seen as a fishing pond where the bureaucracy was weaker and thus the fishing better than in other unions. The Militant caucus' perspective never went beyond seeking to recruit to its caucus on the basis of its propaganda. When real struggle broke out and change occurred

willing to give more to the unions to maintain labor peace and in the new period its isolated independent status made it totally incapable of coping with the new attacks.

defeat

This became absolutely clear in last year's six week strike. Faced with complete isolation from the rest of city labor and the absolute determination of the city to break the SSEU, the strike was doomed to defeat from the beginning. But all the Militant Caucus could offer was "stay out" even though each day out weakened the union and meant a worse settlement. Thus unable to understand the new situation facing the city workers the Militant Caucus' "militant" formulas actually played a very reactionary role in a strike situation affecting directly the lives of thousands of welfare employees.

Everyone in the SSEU learned something from that strike but the lesson learned by the Militant Caucus was the opposite of that learned by thousands of real militants. At that time the BULLETIN held that the city could be beaten, that the working class had the power to bring Lindsay to his knees. But to do this required first of all the unification of the SSEU with the bulk of city labor which was in the AFL-CIO DC 37 and struggling within the merged union for a militant policy of economic struggle combined with a political program to replace Lindsay with a mayor elected by the workers. While the bulk of union members did not and do not today understand the necessity for a political fight against Lindsay they did come to realize the necessity for merger if the union was to survive at all. So the concept of merger with DC 37, campaigned only by BULLETIN supporters in the union a year ago has been endorsed by the current leadership of the union and voted for by over 60% of the union

today.

kingsbridge

The lesson the Militant caucus learned from the strike was simply that you can't win against the city, that the workers cannot be trusted to fight against the bureaucracy and thus you must seek to maintain your little fishing pond separated from the AFL-CIO. The first part of this outlook was expressed in the recent work action at the Kingsbridge Center, the only center where the Militant Caucus has a base. The workers in the center were faced with a complete breakdown in their working conditions as clients demanded their proper share of welfare benefits. Rank and file militancy reached a point where center workers in three different unions were prepared for joint action to get the contract enforced.

At this point Militant Caucus people ran off to the very SSEU leadership they had been denouncing for years and reached an agreement with Morgenstern for a limited one day work action. Buletin supporters pointed out that such an action would change nothing and lead only to the loss of a day's pay. They proposed instead a rank and file campaign to force the union leaderships involved to agree to an effective extended work action. This the "Militants" attacked on the fine revolutionary grounds that the union leaderships are rotten and thus this is all you can expect. While seemingly attacking the union leadership they were in reality attacking the rank and file in whom they had no confidence to fight the bureaucracy. At the same time they used this radical cover for a policy of collaboration with the very union leadership they denounced.

merger

Then came the referendum in the union on merger with DC 37. The Militant Caucus joined forces to oppose affil-

iation with the Black Caucus, openly hostile to the trade union movement, and right wing elements in the union who view themselves as "professionals" and thus above blue collar workers in the AFL-CIO. One is compelled to ask these "militants" that if city workers cannot fight the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, how then can we expect the rest of the 16 million AFL-CIO members to fight this bureaucracy? And if the mass of American workers are incapable of overthrowing the stranglehold of bureaucracy who then will overthrow capitalism? The Spartacist League by itself?

The complete bankruptcy of the Militant Caucus faced with the new situation in the American trade union movement has inevitably led to a decay of this caucus' base at the Kingsbridge Center. In the recent delegates election one of the militant leaders lost his delegate's position. The Kingsbridge Center also voted for merger by a 63% majority.

Faced with the loss of the last thing left in the American trade union movement supported by the Spartacist League, the Militant Caucus has launched a vicious slander campaign against oppositionists at Kingsbridge. In the last election this group issued a vicious personal attack on grievance chairman Ronnie Roberts. One worker was so incensed by the attack that on his own he began removing the leaflets from the center. Then the Militant Caucus issued another leaflet attacking Roberts for this and calling him a "hooligan" Such tactics have only deepened the isolation of this group within the union.

Trotsky once referred to a sectarian as someone who opposed the necessary actions of the working class and as such played a completely reactionary role. There could be no more fitting description of the Militant Caucus.

militant caucus a case history

the essential identity of these two seemingly contradictory political positions.

The Militant caucus began with a very militant program most of which was absolutely correct. It included such points, with which we are in complete agreement, like the labor party, the shorter work week, rank and file democracy in the union etc. But for all its militant pronouncements this group never really fought--it only propagandized.

If the question facing the union was whether or not the union leadership would seriously fight to enforce contract provisions for a 60 caseload staff members could be expected to be handed a lengthy leaflet from Militant caucus members urging a--shorter work week. Its positions were always formally correct but always abstractly presented--that is abstracted

in the union movement the Militant caucus understood nothing and thereby played a very dangerous role. Its role changed from complete irrelevancy within the union to playing a dangerous and many times reactionary role. This shows that such political tendencies within the union movement which appear at the moment isolated by their ultraleftism should not be ignored for in a later period they can do much harm.

During the period of existence of the Militant caucus the situation facing NYC unions changed dramatically. With the growing crisis of capitalism the city government has been forced to turn upon the unions seeking to drive down their working conditions, reduce the employment rolls, and hold down wage increases. The SSEU was born in another period when the city was

by Lucy St. John
NEW YORK--The showdown in the anti-war coalition of the Communist Party-SWP has finally come. The split has been brewing from the inception of this coalition. But the recent meeting of the Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee sounded the end.

This showdown was inevitable. The coalition of the SWP-CP in the peace movement was built not on the basis of a working class program but on the basis of a bourgeois program of reform, of pressuring the representatives of the capitalist parties to the left. It was not based on the independent political mobilization of the masses on the basis of a working class program against the capitalist politicians.

This is why the BULLETIN stated in the beginning that the peace movement would be more and more drawn into bourgeois politics until the annexation of the peace movement to the capitalist parties was completed and that the SWP would be forced by this logic to either openly join the camp of bourgeois politics, support of the Democratic Party along with the CP, or would be forced to split from the CP, thus ending the anti-war coalition.

mccarthy

This past year has shown that large sections of the anti-war movement have been drawn into the electoral campaigns of the various capitalist politicians such as Kennedy and McCarthy. The peace movement has welcomed such politicians as Lindsay to its fold.

The Communist Party is aiming in this election year to consolidate its coalition with the bourgeoisie through support of Democratic candi-

factions duck behind split in smc issue

dates, and the policies of Kennedy and McCarthy in relation to the war, to support negotiations, by keeping the protests quiet and channel the anti-war protest into the camp of bourgeois politics.

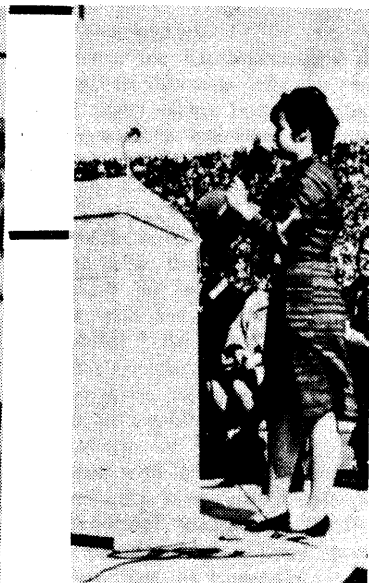
This is the backdrop to the commotion within the anti-war movement. The question of the future of the peace movement is posed sharply in this election year as it becomes evident to almost every political tendency and independent, that the anti-war struggle must take on a political character. The question is the form and content this political activity is to take.

orientation

The dispute arose between the YSA and the Independent Caucus which represents almost all the independents, pacifics, SDS, as well as the Communist Party. The question posed by the Independent Caucus was the need for the SMC to change the nature of its orientation from a single issue campaign to a multi-issue campaign. This shift in orientation was defended by many in the Independent Caucus on the basis that the student movement as a whole had developed beyond the SMC. Students were concerned with issues beyond the war - the elections, racism, and the draft. If the SMC were to retain some leadership of the student movement, it would have to go beyond its



STAPLETON



DAWSON

present level to a broader perspective of struggle and 'education.'

The political content of this new multi-issue orientation, however was vague. There was much talk of the need to organize on a local level to educate but no real discussion took place of the political content of this organizing campaign. For the CP this multi-issue campaign involves channeling the struggles of students into reformist, bourgeois politics. But for many 'independents' it meant other things - adventurism, student power, 'grass roots' community organizing SDS style, or work within parties such as Peace and Freedom.

However, one thing was clear and that was no matter what the differences within the Independent

(Continued on page 8)

by V. Barat

(This is the second part of a series of articles on the history of the German working class and its perspectives for struggle today. The first article dealt with the origins of the German working class movement. This article covers the critical period in which the German social democratic movement took shape. Future articles will deal with the German Revolution of 1919, the rise of Hitler in 1933 and the problems of the working class in a divided Germany since World War II.)

GERMAN

In the 1860's the workers throughout the various principalities of Germany were beginning to awaken from a decade of relative inactivity. The American Civil War with its attendant cotton blockade had seriously hurt German textiles. Soon other branches of industry in the country were affected. The slump spread and wage cuts and unemployment followed. The workers were ready for someone to give them leadership under these conditions. The person most responsible for organizing them along independent class lines in opposition to Schulze-Delitsch was the brilliant though somewhat adventurous and erratic Ferdinand Lassalle. In 1863 he set up the General Workers' Congress in Leipzig. He drew up a program for the organization, the best parts of which were taken from Marx, while the weaker sections were confused borrowings or adaptations from many sources, not excluding utopian and anarchist. Despite the serious shortcomings in the program and practices of this movement, shortcomings that even after the death of Lassalle were to continue to plague and theoretically undermine the German Social Democratic Party to this very day, Lassalle's overall role was very progressive. As Lenin, with his customary objectivity noted, it was Lassalle's historical merit to have broken the German working class from its bourgeoisie.

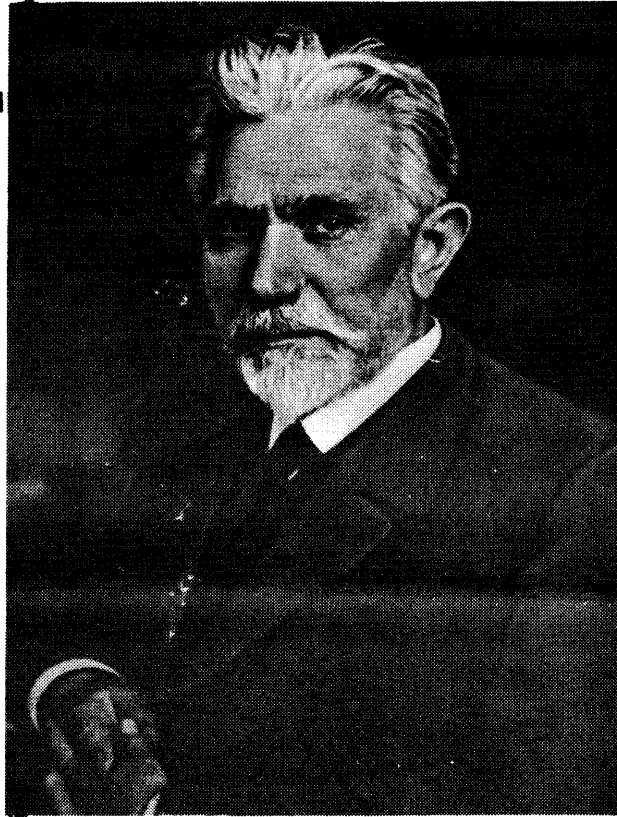
Interestingly enough the actual number of workers to follow Lassalle's leadership during his lifetime never exceeded 5,000. Only years later with the establishment of the German Social Democratic Party, a fusion of the pro-Marxist oriented Eisenach socialists around Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel with the Lassallean General Association, at Gotha, Germany, in 1875, did the fused party begin to achieve a mass following. For a fascinatingly instructive application of Marx' dialectical method of analysis, one that spared neither friend nor foe, the reader is referred to Marx' 'Critique of the Gotha Programme'.

unions

Prior to the unification of the above two groups, Marx's ideas had been gaining increasing strength among German workers during the 1860's. Marx not only fought for a strongly independent class party of proletarians to transform society into socialism, but vigorously advocated the organization of trade unions to better labor's condition while still under capitalism. To be sure, he firmly believed that even such partial improvements in the daily lives of the workers could best be achieved

in unions led by revolutionaries.

Mainly through Marxist organizers unions were now springing up on a local and regional basis, and sometimes on the national level too. Curiously, the more pragmatically inclined Lassallean socialists had ignored the economic side of the day to day struggle of the workers until 1868 when Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor in the General Association, urged his followers to become active in organizing and leading trade unions. By 1869 there were more than a dozen national trade unions, organized mainly on an industrial basis. Most



AUGUST BEBEL

WORKERS IN LASALLE'S DAY

were led by either Lassallean or Marxist socialists. Despite the growing membership within the Lassalle organization, inner disputes and personal frictions were weakening their position as future leaders of the German proletariat.

One more trade union organization that had lifted its head in the sixties should be mentioned. It was led by two men, Max Hirsch and Franz Duncker, who were influenced by contemporary British unionism. They had earlier sought to turn the socialist led unions onto a course of peaceful cooperation with the employers, but their efforts were generally rebuffed by the workers. Hence, these two reformists attempted to form separate trade unions and urged on their membership political neutrality. They also formulated vague demands about equality before the law and a greater share of the national income. Their single important base was a section of the machinists in Berlin.

gotha

The merger of the two leading socialist political movements, the Eisenachers (Marxists) and the

Lassalleans, in 1875 at Gotha into the Social Democratic Party of Germany numerically strengthened the revolutionary forces. But in actuality this fusion, as was pointed out above in reference to Marx's criticism of it, gravely weakened socialism in the country. This was clearly demonstrated by the inability of the new party to cope effectively with fresh obstacles and challenges hurled at them by Bismarck and his anti-socialist laws three years later, in 1878. Union organization was similarly affected by the police persecutions of union as well as political militants. The mass unions led by the socialists were obviously the ones to suffer most during the dozen years of anti-labor legislation.

By 1890 with the expiration of the anti-socialist laws in Germany and the reconstitution of the trade unions under Social Democratic leadership, further weaknesses in the theoretical fibre of the party were revealed. The leadership became more interested in the unions as establishments than in preparing the party for a determined and serious struggle to take political power. Few of the party heads would admit such a thing even to themselves. But when Eduard Bernstein explicitly stated the view that socialism could be gained without a struggle, through the automatic process of the ballot box, he was a little more brazen and a bit more honest than most of the other party heads reflecting and formulating the logic of the reformism that had unconsciously but insidiously seeped into the blood stream of most of the leaders.

For all their courage, self-sacrifice, and abilities as effective mass workers with wide popular support neither August Bebel nor Wilhelm Liebknecht (Karl's father) clearly understood the period or its needs. Both of them, as old Eisenacher leaders, had enjoyed the benefit of Marx's and Engel's most patient and direct assistance

year after year. Lenin, while characterizing W. Liebknecht as the model of a 'people's tribune' in 1902, at the same time put his finger on the chief defect that predisposed him, as it did the rest Social Democratic leadership, to ultimate failure: an inability to understand the dialectic method. That is why neither Bebel nor Liebknecht, both of whom were instinctively opposed to the revisionism of a Bernstein, never measured up to the task of really coping with him.

The one person in the German Social Democratic Party with the theoretical background and training to grasp the requirements of the time -- and with sufficient authority to have given a decisive socialist direction to the German workers during the war -- was Karl Kautsky.

When the war began, like so many other leaders of the Second International, Kautsky failed to raise the anti-imperialist standard in his own country. He thereby betrayed the cause of socialist internationalism in Germany, the land with the most internationally minded proletariat in Europe. The German workers were left virtually leaderless.

BEHIND SPLIT IN SMC--FACTIONS DUCK ISSUE

(Continued from page 7)

Caucus they were all united in opposition to the YSA.

unable

Faced with this opposition and the organizational threat of exclusion begun by the Independent Caucus, the YSA was clearly unable to defend itself, because it refused to confront the political issues posed by the independent caucus. It contended over and over again that the peace movement should continue as before as a single issue anti-war campaign, mobilizing mass demonstrations.

The Continuations Committee meeting opened with a dispute over whether the opposing sides should present the views. The YSA contended this was necessary if there were going to be any clear discussion of the issues. The Independent Caucus countered this with the argument that this was 'improper procedure.' The motion for the presentation of views passed.

nature

The Workers League intervened in the discussion posing the question that unless the SMC changed the whole nature of its struggle it would die. We pointed out that no one had talked of the real nature of the crisis facing American radicals, of the need to go beyond the middle class peace protest to the struggle not just among

the students but primarily among the working class for the independent mobilization of the working class against the capitalist parties.

The real showdown came in the fight for the Credentials Committee. The YSA challenged the rulings of this committee. Thus, began the battle which ended the SMC. Throughout this battle which became a screaming, yelling, name-calling uproar the real nature of the battle in SMC became clearer. The real political nature of the anti-YSA opposition revealed itself.

slander

The Independent Caucus answer was to begin a slander campaign against Trotskyism. There were shouts of 'trots out', 'there are too many trots running this organization.' This right wing attack on the YSA revealed the one thing the CP and all the independents were in complete agreement on - their hostility to Trotskyism, Marxism and the building of a serious revolutionary party. The CP and the independents were joined in this attack by such forces as YAWF and the anti-imperialist coalition long known for their hostility to the construction of a revolutionary party. This attack on the YSA recalls the recent attack during the SDS convention on PL. The Workers League has many differences with both PL and the SWP-YSA, but defends these organizations in attacks from the right, in attacks on the concep-

tion of Leninism and the need to build a disciplined party to oppose capitalism.

Throughout these attacks, the YSA remained impotent in fighting back, in opposing this attack politically.

The Workers League spoke in the defense of the YSA but pointed out that it had not confronted the issues posed by the Independent Caucus and was thus unable to defend Trotskyism. The Workers League pointed out that neither the Independents nor the YSA had once mentioned the working class, and the need to pose the real alternative for the SMC which is the construction of a working class party, a labor party, independent of capitalist politics, to unite the struggles of the students, the blacks and the organized working class. This was the central issue facing the SMC, facing all radicals, particularly in this election year. The Workers League also posed the necessity of the serious building of a revolutionary party, that this task had to be taken up by the students.

dead

The Continuations Committee meeting ended that day with the Independent Caucus walking out stating it would form its own committee 'without the trots' and leaving the YSA with the dubious victory of having won itself, of having made no political gain, and with the SMC for all purposes dead.