

**dems' platform-barbed wire, clubs, gas**

# Bulletin

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HOOPER  
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# LABOR MARCHES!

**NYC--Showdown with Firemen, Sanitation, Teachers**

**CHICAGO--Transit Rebellion    HOTEL--Fight Poverty Wages**

**WELFARE--The Backlash Grant    ECONOMY--Inflation Soars**



DISTRICT 65 MEMBERS MARCH IN LABOR DAY PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY WITH SIGNS PROCLAIMING OPPOSITION TO WAR IN VIETNAM

## DUBCEK RETURNS-- TANKS REMAIN



# NYC LABOR SHOWDOWN



**ALBERT SHANKER ADDRESSES TEACHERS ON CONTROVERSY OVER COMMUNITY CONTROL**

by Dennis O'Casey  
NEW YORK--During September 103,000 New York City employees are scheduled to do battle with City Hall. Subway supervisors, sanitationmen, firemen, and police are all seeking new contracts while city teachers face a fundamental confrontation over the much disputed school decentralization issue.

At stake is not only the question of halting the rapid deterioration of wages and working conditions but the very existence of trade unionism in city employment.

## gouges

Every city worker knows what inflation and new tax gouges (now running near 8% in NYC) are doing to his paycheck. But this is relatively small compared to the giant productivity increases being squeezed out of a diminishing work force in each city agency. Sanitationmen compute their 10,000 members did 26% more work in '67 than the previous year. Likewise Firemen have faced a 60% increase in the number of alarms in the past 2 years. In return for this speed up these workers have not received one red cent.

This is why Sanitationmen's and Firemen's wage demands for \$3,486 and \$4,117 increases respectively combined with demands for a shorter work week, paid over-

time to supplant compensatory time off, the key issue in the subway supervisors' slowdown, cannot in 1968 be treated routinely as vastly inflated demands from which to begin the negotiations. 6% wage hikes in these departments are totally inadequate and will leave workers far behind.

The UFT's fight against school decentralization is probably the most important labor dispute of all, not just for the UFT but for the whole city labor force. It is precisely here that Lindsay is striking the sharpest blows at the whole conception of civil service and the continuance of trade unionism in city employment.

Decentralization is a fraud from beginning to end, a camouflage beneath which Lindsay is using racism to mobilize the ghetto together with black trade unionists to smash the power of the UFT in the city school. The 10 Ocean-Hill, Brownsville suspensions are only a beginning. Once the schools are put in the hands of local boards headed by the likes of Rhody McCoy union hiring and employment standards will be completely ignored.

## scab

What Lindsay has in mind is no less than the flooding of every city agency with non-union, non civil service labor

recruited from the ghetto. By holding out the promises of \$60 a week jobs to Black and Puerto Rican unemployed workers, Lindsay seeks to use them as a gigantic scab and strike breaking force to run unions out of every city agency. Already in Welfare, Education, Police, Sanitation and other departments, workers hired at far below union scale, under auspices of Anti-poverty of Human Resources Administration programs, are filling the vacancies. This is combined with vicious provocations such as Haber's statement to the effect that in the event of a firemen's strike, ghetto residents might well march on the firehouses.

Lindsay and Haber are desperate men. Faced with a 500 million dollar budget deficit for '69 they will stop at nothing to smash city unions. We saw their hand when they called for guardsmen in last winter's sanitation strike. Already Fire Chief O'Hagen is weighing the possibility of manning the fire trucks with National Guardsmen while Lindsay brandishes the Taylor law and OCB and Haber whips up anti-strike hysteria in the press.

About the only section which the city seems willing to make concessions to are city police whose reactionary call issued by the PBA for more stringent imposition of law and

(Continued on Page 6)

# Backlash Grant Hits NYC Welfare Clients

NEW YORK--The City has recently instituted the "backlash grant", as it has become known, severely cutting the standard of living for the poor in this city. The changes in the welfare system are being accomplished supposedly "to help relief recipients plan better for their needs."

The move to issue "flat grants" comes on the heels of months of organized demonstrations by welfare recipients to obtain minimum standards of clothing and household items which are guaranteed under state law. These demonstrations have resulted in the welfare department being forced to issue \$13 billion dollars in special grants for these items in June. The amount issued normally for a year was issued in three months.

Under the new system welfare recipients will receive an increase of 6% which barely covers the rise in the cost of living. In addition they will receive a flat grant of \$100 a year per person to cover all clothing, furniture, all items except rent, utilities, food. In the past all items of clothing and household items were issued as special grants, apart from the regular check. In large part these grants have depended on requests by the client and may or may not be granted. Until a year or so ago, welfare clients were ignorant of the standards provided by law for these items.

The City has now moved to supposedly equalize these payments so that each family gets regular funds for special grants. However, the funds issued for these grants will be cut more than half in some cases.

The change in procedure is obviously a method of assuring those on welfare that there will be no room for complaints, that they will just have to take what they get. If the present system were continued it would cost the

City at least \$150 million in special grants per year--this way they keep it at about \$90 million. And as far as the needs of the people on welfare are concerned, it will mean, for example, a cut in the amount of clothing for a boy of about \$50/year. The only plans for needs that can be made on this basis is that a child may go without a winter coat.

Clearly what motivates this "flat grant" is not "to help relief recipients plan better for their needs", it represents not an improvement but a lowering in the standard of living of the poor which is already incredibly low.

## attack

This cut in welfare standards must be seen as an attack on the working class as a whole at a time when all sections of the class, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, are resisting these attacks. It is the very success of the organized client movement in demanding a decent standard of living, which has forced the City to move so quickly and so sharply.

Within the last four years the welfare rolls have almost doubled. Many today who are forced on welfare are men with families who are fully employed, but who have been hit by inflation and the high cost of living and are forced on welfare in order to supplement their income. Those rolls will increase even more in the next year as major industries carry through with lay offs and automation.

## divide

The bosses and their politicians use the cost of welfare to divide the working class, making sure that the working class pays through taxes. Then in turn they set sections of the unemployed, particularly the blacks against the organized trade union movement through schemes of "community control." They attempt to put the blame for the welfare system on the workers in the welfare department, and the blame for the rotten schools on the teachers.

## jobs

Clearly the only real solution to the problem of welfare is to provide jobs, job training, facilities for child care for working mothers, through a system of full employment and a shorter work week. But it is this very system, the capitalist system which creates welfare. The fact is that there are no jobs for those unemployed. Major industries, contrary to what the Democratic and Republican parties say, are moving to unemployment of thousands of workers. All funds provided for job training such as the Youth Corps have been cut out. And the bosses make the working class pay through taxes and through cuts in existent benefits. We say, no cuts in benefits, if the capitalists cannot provide jobs then it is they that must pay for welfare out of their profits.

# workers fight poverty wages

NEW YORK--Among the union contingents at New York's Labor Day Parade were a huge group of hotel workers, who came to the parade from a 5,000-strong meeting held at Madison Square Garden earlier in the day.

The workers had walked off their jobs at the plush Waldorf-Astoria and dozens of other hotels, leaving only skeletal

staffs behind. They are demanding an immediate \$30 a week increase for non-tip earning employees, \$15 a week for tip earning workers, a 10% night differential and an employer contribution of 1% of the payroll towards an upgrading program. The workers are demanding this now, although the four year contract negotiated in 1966 does not expire until 1970 and does not allow for a wage reopening until March of next year.

Most of the workers are black or Puerto Rican. Most make about \$70 to \$75 a week at present. They refuse to accept these poverty wages any longer, no matter what the contract their leaders negotiated only two years ago provides. So they met and marched, with signs such as 'We Want Wages, Not Welfare.'

This fight is part of the overall wage offensive on the part of millions of trade unionists on all different levels of skills and pay. For years the 30,000 member Hotel and Motel Trades Council of New York has been run by the same old group of bureaucrats who have done as little as possible for their members. The fact that this same leadership has now been forced into a fight for a wage reopener which is not in the contract shows the tremendous militancy which is developing in all sections of the union movement.

Just two years ago these officials were able to sell their members a long four year contract, at a time when inflation was beginning to take more and more of a bite out of workers' salaries. Since then inflation has deepened and

taxes have been increased. The workers have taken the initiative and are demanding a real fight, and it is certain that many more of them than previously are questioning the past performance of Jay Rubin and the rest of the leadership.

Probably the most important factor in spurring the fight of the hotel workers was the victory won by New York's hospital workers last July 1st after a short but solid strike at some of the biggest voluntary hospitals. It is no coincidence that the demands now raised by the hotel workers, including the shift differential, the upgrading program and a minimum salary in the area of \$100 a week, are precisely the demands fought for and won by the members of Local 1199 just two months ago.

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# DEMOCRAT PLATFORM BARBED WIRE, CLUBS

by Lucy St. John

The state, said Lenin, is a body of armed men. All the rest--the pomp, the courts, the legislatures, the speeches, flags and bunting--are so much cover. The purpose of a state is to enforce the rule of those who own the nation's wealth and protect this wealth from those who produce it--the workers.

The Democratic Party convention was one of those times when the true nature of the state was bared for all to see. The barbed wire, troops with rifles and bayonets, cops with billy clubs and gas masks, demonstrators beaten before TV cameras, reporters beaten because they reported the beating of demonstrators, even delegates to the convention manhandled and jailed.

It was this armed might and this terror against opposition which showed the true nature and significance of the Democratic Party Convention. Those who seek to wade through the verbiage of the Democratic Party Platform to see where this party really stands will miss the whole point. The troops, the clubs, the tear gas--this is the platform of the Democratic Party.

The Republican Convention in contrast was a peaceful affair--peaceful as long as one stayed among the luxury hotels of Miami Beach and didn't venture across the bay to the black ghettos of Miami where cops battled the people. It was peaceful, not because the Republican Party has any different program than the Democratic Party--it, too, stands on the program of armed suppression of the working people in the interest of the billionaire corporations--but because it represents a different coalition of forces. Traditionally the party most closely identified with big business, its loyal followers are those sections of the middle class openly allied to big business.

## alliance

The Democratic Party has been based, since the days of Andrew Jackson, on an alliance of a section of big business with the urban workers, small farmers and the more 'liberal' and dissatisfied middle classes. Since the 1930's it has also become the party of the Negro masses who give it over 80% of their vote.

Big business calls the shots and the workers provide the votes. The Negro in the North votes for the party of Maddox in the South; the industrial workers for the multi-millionaire Kennedy. A spokesman for the California Democratic Party shouts to the convention: 'Don't Buy California Grapes' but fails to mention the grape owners are also supporters of the Democratic Party.

That is the way it has been for over one hundred years. That, we are told, is the American Way.

But times are changing. The very economic foundations of this 'American Way', the capitalist system, are being threatened. The dollar is in danger; the colonial peoples are beating back American domination in Vietnam; competition is getting rough and the squeeze is on profits. America's rulers who rule through both parties, can no longer give the concessions to the masses they gave in the 1950's. They must in fact take back from the workers much of what they won a decade ago. The squeeze on profits requires a squeeze on the working class.

So demonstrators can no longer be bought off with the crumbs of concessions. They must be beaten back



CHICAGO COPS BEAT DEFENSELESS DEMONSTRATORS

# 125,000 WORKERS MARCH IN LABOR DAY PARADE

by Fred Mueller

NEW YORK, Sept. 3--The Labor Day Parade in New York was an expression of the size and power of the trade union movement. It also reflected the divisions within the working class, the tasks facing the labor movement and the contradictions which will have to be overcome through internal struggle.

From 10 AM in the morning until 5 PM in the afternoon 125,000 workers, the young

Presidential campaign, but this clearly did not arouse much enthusiasm among the rank and file.

It should not be forgotten that the Teamsters, Auto Workers, and other unions outside of the AFL-CIO, representing nearly 25% of organized labor, were also missing from the parade. So the march reflected the disunity as well as the continuing bureaucratic domination of the unions.

Especially important was 65's invitation to several hundred anti-war youth to join the 65 contingent. In spite of the confusion and political limitations this was a significant expression of embryonic unity between the youth and the labor movement against the war.

w/

The Workers League mobilized for the march selling literature as well as individual



STRIKING PAINTERS REPRESENTED MOST MILITANT SECTION OF CONSTRUCTION CONTINGENT

and old, skilled and unskilled, black and white, marched in their union contingents carrying placards. The building trades were represented, including a very large group of painters who are on a city-wide strike. Thousands of hotel workers walked off their jobs, marching and later meeting at a mass rally to emphasize their determination to win higher wages through a special contract reopener. Taxi drivers, transit workers, hospital workers and members of District 65 were also among the marchers.

Not all unions mobilized large numbers. The bureaucrats planned the parade as a kickoff for Humphrey's

Militancy was expressed in spite of the bureaucrats. The striking painters appealed for united labor support in their struggle. Signs emphasized wage demands, the need for decent jobs and salaries and not welfare, the need for the shorter work week and an end to racism.

And anti-war sentiment within the working class was vocally expressed by the Local 1199 and District 65 contingents. There were also workers who expressed support for Wallace and supported the imperialist slaughter, but there were many other workers who agreed with the slogans carried by District 65 and 1199.

members marching with their union contingent. Sixty copies of the new pamphlet "Leon Trotsky on Labor Party" were sold to trade unionists interested in the struggle to build a real alternative to Nixon-Humphrey-Wallace and several hundred copies of the Bulletin were sold as well as a number of tickets to a forthcoming labor party rally.

Typical of some of the responses received was the remark of a painter who said: "Ten years ago if you tried to sell me a paper like that I would have punched you in the face. But things have changed. We live in a revolutionary world. I'll look your paper over carefully."

with truncheons and guns and gas.

A section of the Democratic Party--the crumb merchants known as liberals--is thrown into panic. The war becomes the symbolic issue, what is at stake is more than how to end the war in Vietnam but whether troops and tanks are to replace poverty programs and large contract settlements at home as they are replacing attempts at economic development abroad. McCarthy, McGovern, O'Dwyer and the rest try to cling to the old reformism only to find the armed might of the state grazing their heads as well.

'Gestapo Tactics', they cry! 'This is a Police State' they correctly observe. Even the moderate Abraham Ribicoff goes before the convention, almost in tears, to plead for an open convention and open society. The Kennedy family produces a film eulogy to Bobby and the delegates--deeply moved--cheer and go about their business of preparing the next police attack. McGovern from the window watches his youthful supporters being clubbed while Humphrey forgets to close his window and the tear gas makes him take a shower. McCarthy finds his headquarters raided. There are no sanctuaries from the armed might of the state.

But the liberals learn nothing--absolutely nothing. They can scream and they can cry but their message to American workers is to stick with the party of their oppressors, the party of Mayor Daley's clubs and Connelly and Maddox's racism. McCarthy sums up their blindness when he stated: 'We have had a great victory to this point, one which should reassure us about the system itself.' Millions watch the system at work on their TV sets and turn away in

horror and disgust but McCarthy is reassured about the system.

## rupture

What we saw at the Democratic Party Convention was the beginning of the rupture of that rotten party which has wedded American workers to their oppressors for over a century. This deep crisis within the Democratic Party cannot help but have a profound impact on organized labor and on the Negro masses. The more fervently the labor bureaucrats seek to rally the working man behind this rotten formation, the more they reveal their own desperation and expose themselves before rank and file workers and the Negro masses.

The time has come to take up the fight for a new party of the American working people, based on the trade unions--to take this fight into every union in this land, out among the broad layers of the Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican masses, to the youth of America whom the America of big business gives no future. This is what the Workers League not only talks about but does. This Fall we will be fighting every day in the unions and on the streets for American workers to take up the battle for a labor party.

As a first great step in this direction we are calling upon workers to refuse this year to vote for the parties of their bosses and cast a vote for the socialist candidates Halstead and Boutelle who are running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. Join with us in this, the only meaningful political struggle in America today.

# DUBCEK RETURNS TO CZECHOSLO

## REVISIONISTS THRO



WORKERS PASS TANKS ON WAY TO WORK

By Tim Wohlforth

The occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its allies has thrown the various revisionist socialist groups into a deep crisis. Not one of these organizations has been able to take a clear stand in defense of the work-

ing class in Czechoslovakia and the world.

The position of the Workers League and the International Committee of the Fourth International is absolutely clear. We defend now as we always have under all circumstances all the workers states

against imperialism. We do this despite the bureaucracy in these countries and in fact against this bureaucracy for we see this bureaucracy as the major source of capitalist restorationist tendencies within these countries just as it works internationally for class collaboration with imperialism.

### oppose

We oppose the intervention in Czechoslovakia because it is aimed not against capitalism but against the efforts of the Czech workers to rid itself of bureaucratic rule and establish real workers democracy. We do so without giving one ounce of political support to Dubcek who represents this bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. We fight instead for the construction of a new revolutionary party in Czechoslovakia whose aim it is to overthrow all bureaucrats, establish workers democracy through workers councils and to deepen the struggle against capitalist tendencies both within the workers states and on a world wide basis.

Only two organizations have come out squarely in defense

of the Soviet Union's intervention against the Czech working class-- the American Communist Party and the Workers World Party led by Sam Marcy. Both organizations thus reveal themselves as apologists for the reactionary repressive policies of the Soviet bureaucracy and thus enemies of workers in all lands. Neither organization relies on the working class to defeat capitalism, looking rather to the Soviet bureaucracy which is in actuality a pro-capitalist not a revolutionary force. For all their differences this common position shows the essential Stalinist identity of these two organizations.

### marcy

Workers World Party began as a minority inside the Socialist Workers Party which supported the Soviet repression of the Hungarian workers state in 1956. True to form, for all their demogogy about the working class, the "people in the streets" and their criticism of the French Communist party, this group finds itself on the sides of the Soviet tanks when these tanks move against the people. This

is entirely consistent with this group's opposition to building the revolutionary party in this country which takes the form of substituting street adventures for the serious work of taking the revolutionary struggle into the American working class. Where does the Workers World-sponsored "Anti-Imperialist Coalition" stand on Czechoslovakia? We demand an answer from Walter Teague and Robert Henes and the other collaborators with this Stalinist group in this "Coalition".

### communists

The American Communist Party, tested in its fundamental loyalty to the Kremlin also in the Hungarian Revolution, comes out four-square in favor of the intervention and the continuation of Dubcek's "liberalization" policies. This is precisely the combination which in modified form the Kremlin itself is approving and which represents the greatest threat to the Czech workers. Economic policies which deepen capitalist restorationist forces are to be continued while Soviet tanks remain in the

## WHY FIDEL CASTRO SUPPORTS STALINIST BETRAYERS

By the editors

To the great shock of the Cuban people and his many radical apologists, Fidel Castro has come out four square in defense of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. This is no matter of a personal opinion on the part of Castro but has touched off a whole political turn within Cuba. Recent dispatches indicate that Castro is organizing political meetings throughout Cuba to ensure that there are no "deviations" and "weaknesses" on this question within the ruling Cuban Party.

This action by Castro throws additional light on the meaning of the purging and jailing of the Escalante "micro-faction" just a few months ago. It in fact can only be understood in relation to the Escalante affair.

Those who may attribute Castro's action to Soviet pressure and seek in this way to apologize for Castro must ask themselves why then did Castro flagrantly defy the Soviet Union by putting in jail one of its most ardent supporters, charging him with among other things, collaborating with the Soviet Union. Conversely those who sought to explain Castro's attacks on Escalante as essentially a healthy anti-Stalinist move to the left -- here we are referring to the SWP and its international supporters-- must now explain to us why this sudden pro-Stalinist turn by Castro?

### attacks

Clearly this action can only be understood within the context of a deepening crisis within Cuba and the determination of Castro to con-

solidate his power in Cuba and to prepare new attacks on the Cuban working class. As we pointed out at the time of the Escalante Trial, Escalante was attacked not because of his Stalinism, but because he represented a potential opposition which maintained in a distorted fashion ties with the Cuban working class.

Castro's support for the Soviet intervention has been tied with warnings that a course like Czechoslovakia's will not be tolerated in Cuba. Following in the Kremlin's footsteps, Castro has used demagogic attacks on rightist trends within Czechoslovakia as a cover to attack the progressive side of Czechoslovakia-- the granting of democratic freedoms to working class tendencies which posed a real threat from the left to the bureaucracy.

### speed-up

Recent reports from Cuba indicate that, faced with an economic crisis brought about by the failure of Cuba to break from its colonialist reliance on sugar, the Castro regime is seeking to raise the productivity of labor while at the same time mobilizing workers for voluntary labor in the countryside. So workers face a speedup in the shops combined with the rest of their waking hours taken up with farm work. At the same time Castro is not using material incentives to increase productivity which explains the emphasis in his attacks on the Czechs on their use of such incentives. This leaves him only exhortation and bureaucratic terror against a working class increasingly alienated from a regime they

do not control.

No wonder Castro can no longer tolerate any independent elements among the intelligentsia or the governing party which might become centers around which dissident workers could rally.

### swp

The SWP can explain not

## SF Rally Hits Czech Invasion

SAN FRANCISCO --- The Workers League held a very successful and well attended meeting here to defend the Czech working class against the Soviet invasion. The meeting was built with posters leaflets and an intensive campaign among trade unionists and youth.

The speaker stressed that the forces of the Fourth International were uniquely prepared to understand and intervene in this crisis. There is one reason for this. The Czech events can only be understood within the context of the crisis of Stalinism and the entire history of the degeneration of the Russian revolution under Stalin.

The Trotskyists under the banner of the left opposition were the only ones to fight continuously to build the party of Lenin against all the pressures of imperialism and the decay of the Third International. We have learned about Stalinism in the only way possible, in the struggle to develop theory through the fight to build the Marxist Party. Without the struggle of the Left Opposition to expose Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary force in continuous contradiction to the needs of the working class we would

of this. In the current issue of the Militant (Sept 6th) Harry Ring pathetically pleads with

Castro to reconsider on the grounds that: "Cuba not only has a moral obligation to support the Czech struggle against the Kremlin counter-revolutionaries. Its own self-interest demands it." Harry

Ring has been in pacifist circles too long, for revolutionaries do not operate on the basis of "moral obligations". As far as "self-interest" is concerned, Castro is obviously acting in his own self-interest. The problem is his interests are not those of the Cuban worker, not to mention the Czech workers.

be left today in the position of reacting impressionistically to these events. This is the fate of all other tendencies.

Because we have continuously and successfully fought for the Fourth International against all attempts by the revisionists to destroy it we are able to see Czechoslovakia as a part of the developing crisis of Stalinism. The Stalinist theory of "Socialism in one country" laid the groundwork for the explosions in East Germany and Hungary in 1953 and 1956. The Czech events are one more expression and confirmation of this insoluble crisis. The

struggle for the political revolution against Stalinism is continuing and deepening. The idea that Stalinism is reactionary and can only be destroyed by the independent mass action of the working class is now becoming the property of millions of workers. It is precisely in this way that we were able to correctly characterize the Red Guard movement in China as opening up the struggle for political revolution against the bureaucracy. The Founding document of the Fourth International, The Transitional Program, is as true today as when it was written in 1938.

## CLEAVER SUPPORTS SOVIET TANKS

The Czech events reveal the complete bankruptcy and unprincipled character of the Peace and Freedom Party. In New York City P&F ran to the Czech Consulate to protest the invasion along with rightists. Its political line was that of ISC which refuses to defend the workers states against imperialism.

Meanwhile in California P & F presidential candidate Eldridge Cleaver has issued a press statement refusing to

oppose the intervention on the flimsy grounds that his capitalist enemies oppose the intervention. By lining up with the Soviet tanks against the Czech workers Cleaver is not only a traitor to the Czech working class but to the Blacks in America he purportedly defends through the Black Panthers. Repression can only be fought in America through a principled fight against repression everywhere.

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS SOVIET TANKS REMAIN DOWN IN DEEP CRISIS

country to prevent the workers from raising their opposition both to these economic policies and to the bureaucracy itself.

While the American Communist Party seeks to cover itself by taking the guise of intransigent opposition to imperialism and capitalism, it works might and main to turn the working class movement back into the capitalist camp through the O'Dwyer campaign. Is this inconsistent on their part? Of course not. Its support of capitalism here goes hand in hand with its support of the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally. DuBois Club members--where do you stand on this question? Does the Communist Party represent your views as well? Is the socialism you fight for the socialism of armed suppression

of workers in Czechoslovakia and collaboration with the liberal wing of the capitalist parties here?

## isc-plp

Two other socialist groups find themselves in a common bloc on the Czech events--the Independent Socialist Clubs and the Progressive Labor Party. In a statement which reads like it was penned by Max Shachtman, Hal Draper or Tony Cliff in England, PLP leader Walter Linder calls the occupation "another graphic demonstration that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union. Like any other imperialist power, the Soviet Union needs areas to exploit and markets to dump goods in." This is of course the same analysis as ISC though ISC more consistently would throw China, and North Viet Nam and the NLF into the

imperialist camp as well.

## abandon

PLP has abandoned all of East Europe and the Soviet Union to capitalism, no longer seeing any obligation for the workers to defend these countries from imperialist intervention. This is justified because of Soviet revisionism and the very real trend toward restoration of capitalism that exist in these countries. But those who yell "Abandon ship" when a boat starts leaking on the assumption that the boat has already sunk will be as much to blame should the boat finally sink, as the captain and officers who go about their business not only ignoring the leaks but drilling new holes in the hull. We feel it is our duty to rally the ship's passengers and crew to the real danger and fight the cap-

tain to save the boat. How often thoughtless ultra-leftism serves the imperialists!

The ISC is the political continuation of Max Shachtman's movement which abandoned the Soviet ship in 1940 under pressure from the petty bourgeoisie and on the eve of the war. This is why the ISC can serve only one function--that of a transmission belt for petty bourgeois pressure within the working class movement.

## swp

The Socialist Workers Party correctly defends the Czech workers from the Soviet tanks and exposes the complete falsity of the claims of the Soviet bureaucrats and their defenders. But it fails to do so independently of Dubcek. Its "Fourth International" issues a manifesto without a word of criticism of Dubcek

nor a call for Czech workers to break from Dubcek and form their own revolutionary party. Even after the agreement between Dubcek and the Soviet leaders was announced, the Sept 6 issue of the Militant fails to criticize Dubcek. But Dubcek's first loyalty is to the bureaucracy, not the Czech workers. Only the international Committee warned the Czech workers to give no political support to Dubcek. The SWP finds itself in support of one section of the Stalinist bureaucracy abandoning the independent struggle of workers around the program of Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International.

When the chips are down all these groups share one thing in common--their opposition to the independent struggle of the workers in all countries for the socialist revolution.

## p&f-minimum program maximum confusion

by Bob Johnson

ANN ARBOR, MICH.--The confusion and disorder within the Peace and Freedom Party were expressed here at its recent convention. While nominating for President, Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, the convention couldn't agree on a running mate. In fact, it was only through much last minute compromise on credentials and agenda, that the convention held together long enough to make the Cleaver nomination. The big battles expected both on credentials for the seating of several contested state delegations, and on program, never materialized. All of the heated debates which, prior, had characterized P&F were deliberately played down for the sake of unity.

Nonetheless, two distinct tendencies carried on a muffled struggle at the convention; the Independent Socialist Clubs and a formation called the Radical Caucus. The I.S.C. sought to develop P&F as an electoral vehicle for the thousands of McCarthy supporters who have no place to go after McCarthy loses the nomination. All along, they have battled to keep P&F as close to McCarthy and the Democratic Party as possible while still maintaining P&F's "independence."

The Radical Caucus, supported by the Progressive Labor Party, emphasized "local organizing", using Cleaver as a key in this work. This orientation is simply a continuation of the work PL has been doing, but now, with an even stronger push to the middle classes.

## unity

Last year, at the New Politics Convention in Chicago, and throughout the year these two tendencies have been battling and denouncing each other, and yet, with the deepening of the crisis in the middle class, they are driven into each others' arms.

The ISC, which holds that the Soviet Union is not socialist, but a "Bureaucratic collectivist" state, and the Communist Party, which views the Soviet Union as a Socialist haven, along with the Progressive Labor Party, and disillusioned McCarthy supporters, find it possible to join together on program--despite their "principled" differences. The common basis for their unity is their middle class hostility to the electoral campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, behind which is concealed their disdain for the working class.

It isn't just the question of getting on the ballot a "third" or "radical" voice. The Radical Caucus could use the SWP's Halstead-Boutelle campaign for its desired purposes. But the fact that the SWP calls for the formation of a labor Party, an objective necessity for the working

class in this period to break from the Democratic and Republican parties, marks the fundamental difference between middle class reformism of P&F and the SWP.

## cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver clearly stated that it was illusory to think that the working class would support P&F in this election, and, thus, the orientation would be toward the "lumpen proletariat", and the middle class "hippies, yuppies, and people of the psychedelic culture." Then why the shock when he nominated Jerry Rubin as his running mate? It's only logical that a little bit of theatrics and radicalism is all that's needed to attract these elements.

## policy

Two chief policy statements were presented to the convention body, one of which was to be accepted as the statement of principles of P&F. Naturally, one was from the ISC, and the other from the Radical Caucus. Neither statement contained any analysis of the crisis but spoke only to its manifestations. Both consisted of an eclectic hodge-podge of "movement" phrases, the Radical caucus trying to be more radical, and the ISC statement trying to be more "general" and "acceptable". In trying to alienate no one, the ISC statement had not an ounce of content. One has only to recall the Truman-Wallace battle of 1948, to realize that Humphrey, if necessary, could make the ISC statement read like a right wing tract.

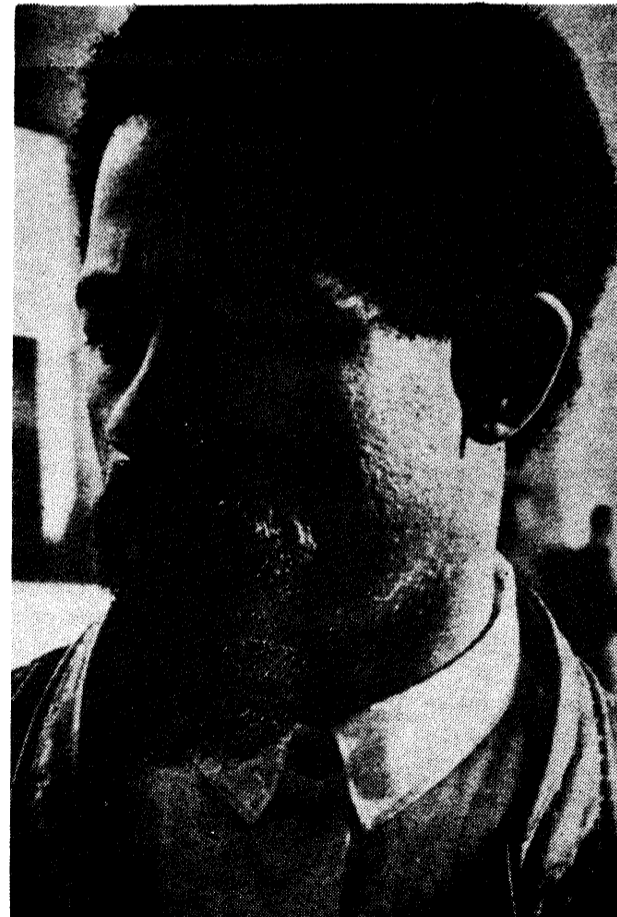
Whereas the ISC statement alluded to support of struggles for self-determination, including that in Vietnam (it must be pointed out that the ISC is for the defeat of the Vietcong) and for support the right of oppressed peoples in the US to self-defense, the statement of the Radical Caucus included support for "the National Liberation Front, and more concretely, for "Black people taking up arms to defend themselves." The ISC attacked the inclusion of support for the NLF and on the question of Blacks arming themselves for self-defense. Both statements were challenged as being necessarily "exclusive." Who is excluded?

First the ISC itself, cannot support the Vietcong because it views them as potential "bureaucratic collectivists." Secondly, pacifists couldn't go along with the business about Negroes actually arming themselves. And naturally, both the ISC and pacifists "belong" within the P&F party. Apparently the ISC statement of principles, which supports Vietnamese "self-determination" and oppressed peoples right to self defense won't offend the pacifists and these "third camp" soc-

ialists (which says a lot on behalf of general versus concrete formulations). The ISC opposes the Viet Cong as do the countless McCarthy supporters, and pacifists urge workers to turn the other cheek when attacked by the capitalist police. These elements are welcome in P&F and the ISC statement embraces them all.

## radical?

How did the Radical Caucus fight back against the pressing logic of the ISC position? By avoiding the class nature of the McCarthy campaign and the kind of party ISC projected. This was essential if they were to continue their bloc with the ISC, for it soon became apparent that the ISC



CLEAVER: TURN TO HIPPIES NOT WORKERS

would carry the day.

Cutting through, however, the "why alienate potential supporters" line, the Radical Caucus addressed themselves to the leadership role, in distinction to "minimum common agreement" approach. Their theme song, as expressed by Professor Richard Lichtman was: "The person who would wish to educate others is not the person who begins with the broadest base, but the person who begins with the deepest truth. From the point of the deepest truth the broadest base will follow."

This is a big step forward from "broad based politics", but the question now is, just what is the deepest truth? The question of the Viet Cong was discussed within the Radical Caucus. The speaker pointed out that while gaining public support for the Viet Cong is difficult, to try

(Continued on Page 7)

# NS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS SOVIET

## REVISIONISTS THROWN IN DEEP CRISIS

rialism. We do the bureaucracy ntries and in fact bureaucracy for bureaucracy as urce of capitalist tendencies wi- countries just as rationally for oration with im-

of the Soviet Union's inter-vention against the Czech working class-- the American Communist Party and the Workers World Party led by Sam Marcy. Both organiza-tions thus reveal themselves as apologists for the re-actinary repressive policies of the Soviet bureaucracy and thus enemies of workers in all lands. Neither organiza-tion relies on the working class to defeat capitalism, looking rather to the Soviet bureaucracy which is in actuality a pro-capitalist not a revolutionary force. For all their differences this common position shows the essential Stalinist identity of these two organizations.

### marcy

Workers World Party be-gan as a minority inside the Socialist Workers Party which supported the Soviet repress-ion of the Hungarian workers state in 1956. True to form, for all their demogogy about the working class, the "people in the streets" and their criticism of the French Commu-nist party, this group finds itself on the sides of the Soviet tanks when these tanks move against the people. This

is entirely consistent with this group's opposition to building the revolutionary party in this country which takes the form of substituting street adventures for the serious work of taking the revolution-ary struggle into the Ameri-can working class. Where does the Workers World-spon-sored "Anti-Imperialist Co-alition" stand on Czechoslo-vakia? We demand an answer from Walter Teague and Rob-ert Henes and the other colla-borators with this Stalinist group in this "Coalition".

### communists

The American Communist Party, tested in its funda-mental loyalty to the Krem-lin also in the Hungarian Revolution, comes out four-square in favor of the inter-vention and the continuation of Dubcek's "liberalization" policies. This is precisely the combination which in modified form the Kremlin itself is approving and which represents the greatest threat to the Czech workers. Ec-onomic policies which deepen capitalist restorationist forces are to be continued while Soviet tanks remain in the

country to prevent the workers from raising their opposition both to these economic polic-ies and to the bureaucracy itself.

While the American Comm-unist Party seeks to cover itself by taking the guise of intransigent opposition to im-perialism and capitalism, it works might and main to turn the working class movement back into the capitalist camp through the O'Dwyer campai-gn. Is this inconsistent on their part? Of course not. Its support of capitalism here goes hand in hand with its support of the Stalinist bureaucracy internationally. DuBois Club members--whe-re do you stand on this que-stion? Does the Communist Party represent your views as well? Is the socialism you fight for the social-ism of armed suppression

of workers in Czechoslovakia and collaboration with the liberal wing of the capitalist parties here?

### isc-plp

Two other socialist groups find themselves in a common bloc on the Czech events-- the Independent Socialist Clubs and the Progressive Labor Party. In a statement which reads like it was penn-ed by Max Shachtman, Hal Draper or Tony Cliff in Eng-land, PLP leader Walter Linder calls the occupation "another graphic demonstra-tion that capitalism has been fully restored in the Soviet Union. Like any other im-perialist power, the Soviet Union needs areas to exploit and markets to dump goods in." This is of course the same analysis as ISC though ISC more consistently would throw China, and North Viet Nam and the NLF into the

imperialist ca-

aba

PLP has of East Europ-iet Union to longer seeing for the work- these countries- ialist' interven- justified beca- revisionism- real trend tow- of capitalism- these countries- who yell "Aba- a boat starts- assumption th- already sunk v- to blame shou- ally sink, as t- officers who- business not o- leaks but drill- in the hull. our duty to r- passengers an- real danger and

### opose

the intervention ovakia because not against cap- gainst the efforts workers to rid aucratic rule and l workers demo- do so without unce of political Dubcek who rep- bureaucracy in ia. We fight in- construction of itionary party in ia whose aim it row all bureau- ish workers de- ough workers l to deepen the gainst capitalist both within the tes and on a asis. rganizations have uarely in defense

## PORTS STALINIST BETRAYERS

ol. er Castro can no ate any independ- s among the in- or the governing might become und which dissi- s could rally.

### swp

can explain not

of this. In the current issue of the Militant (Sept 6th) Harry Ring pathetically pleads with Castro to reconsider on the grounds that: "Cuba not only has a moral obligation to sup- port the Czech struggle against the Kremlin counter-revolutionaries. Its own self-interest demands it." Harry

Ring has been in pacifist circles too long, for revolution-aries do not operate on the basis of "moral obligations". As far as "self-interest" is concerned, Castro is obviously acting in his own self-in-terest. The problem is his interests are not those of the Cuban worker, not to men- tion the Czech workers.

## SF Rally Hits Czech Invasion

ANCISCO -- The PACISCO held a very and well attended re to defend the king class against vasion. The meet- uilt with posters an intensive cam- g trade unionists

aker stressed that of the Fourth In- were uniquely pre- nderstand and in- this crisis. There son for this. The ts can only be un- ithin the context of Stalinism and the ory of the degen- he Russian revolu- Stalin.

tskyists under the the left opposition only ones to fight y to build the party gainst all the pres- mperialism and the he Third Interna- We have learned ism in the only way in the struggle to eory through the d the Marxist Par- t the struggle of the ition to expose as a counter-rev- force in continuous on to the needs of g class we would

be left today in the position of reacting impressionisti- cally to these events. This is the fate of all other ten- dencies.

Because we have con- tinuously and successfully fought for the Fourth Inter- national against all attempts by the revisionists to destroy it we are able to see Czech- oslovakia as a part of the de- veloping crisis of Stalinism. The Stalinist theory of "So- cialism in one country" laid the groundwork for the explosions in East Germany and Hungary in 1953 and 1956. The Czech events are one more ex- pression and confirmation of this insoluble crisis. The

struggle for the political re- volution against Stalinism is continuing and deepening. The idea that Stalinism is re- actionary and can only be des- troyed by the independent mass action of the working class is now becoming the property of millions of work- ers. It is precisely in this way that we were able to correctly characterize the Red Guard movement in China as opening up the struggle for political revolution against the bureaucracy. The Founding document of the Fourth In- ternational, The Transitional Program, is as true today as when it was written in 1938.

## CLEAVER SUPPORTS SOVIET TANKS

The Czech events reveal the complete bankruptcy and un- principled character of the Peace and Freedom Party. In New York City P&F ran to the Czech Consulate to pro- test the invasion along with rightists. Its political line was that of ISC which re- fuses to defend the workers states against imperialism. Meanwhile in California P & F presidential candidate Eldridge Cleaver has issued a press statement refusing to

oppose the intervention on the flimsy grounds that his cap- italist enemies oppose the in- tervention. By lining up with the Soviet tanks against the Czech workers Cleaver is not only a traitor to the Czech working class but to the Blacks in America he purportedly defends through the Black Panthers. Repression can only be fought in America through a principled fight a- gainst repression every- where.

## p&f-minimum pro maximum confu

by Bob Johnson

ANN ARBOR, MICH.--The confusion and dis- order within the Peace and Freedom Party were expressed here at its recent convention. While nominating for President, Eldridge Cleaver, Mini- ster of Information of the Black Panther Party, the convention couldn't agree on a running mate. In fact, it was only through much last minute compromise on credentials and agenda, that the convention held together long enough to make the Cleaver nomination. The big battles expected both on credentials for the seating of several contested state delegations, and on program, never materialized. All of the heated debates which, prior, had characterized P&F were deliberately played down for the sake of unity.

Nonetheless, two distinct tendencies carried on a muffled struggle at the convention; the Independent Socialist Clubs and a formation called the Radical Caucus. The I.S.C. sought to develop P&F as an electoral vehicle for the thousands of McCarthy supporters who have no place to go after McCarthy loses the nomination. All along, they have battled to keep P&F as close to McCarthy and the Democratic Party as possible while still maintaining P&F's "independence."

The Radical Caucus, supported by the Pro- gressive Labor Party, emphasized "local or- ganizing", using Cleaver as a key in this work. This orientation is simply a continuation of the work PL has been doing, but now, with an even stronger push to the middle classes.

### unity

Last year, at the New Politics Convention in Chicago, and throughout the year these two tendencies have been battling and denouncing each- other, and yet, with the deepening of the crisis in the middle class, they are driven into each- others' arms.

The ISC, which holds that the Soviet Union is not socialist, but a "Bureaucratic collectivist" state, and the Communist Party, which views the Soviet Union as a Socialist haven, along with the Progressive Labor Party, and disillusioned McCarthy supporters, find it possible to join to- gether on program--despite their "principled" differences. The common basis for their unity is their middle class hostility to the electoral campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, behind which is concealed their disdain for the working class.

It isn't just the question of getting on the ballot a "third" or "radical" voice. The Radical Caucus could use the SWP's Halstead-Boutelle campaign for its desired purposes. But the fact that the SWP calls for the formation of a labor Party, an objective necessity for the working

class in this period to cratic and Republican p- mental difference betwe- of P&F and the SWP.

### cleav

Eldridge Cleaver c- illusory to think that support P&F in this- orientation would be to letariat", and the midd- and people of the psyche- the shock when he no- his running mate? It's- bit of theatrics and radic- to attract these elements

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First the ISC itself, cong because it views th- cratic collectivists." Sec- go along with the busines- arming themselves. And- and pacifists "belong" Apparently the ISC staten- supports Vietnamese "o- oppressed peoples right- offend the pacifists and t-

## Chicago Transit Rebels Conduct Strike

Amidst all the news of Chicago, what has been ignored is a major transit strike which has shut down most of that city's buslines. Together with the taxi strike, Chicago is virtually crippled. The strike is being conducted by the Concerned Transit Workers, a predominantly Negro caucus of local 241 of the United Transit Workers Union. The leadership of the local under James J. Hill

has proven incapable of defending the bus drivers and fighting for any gains for them. Rather, they tend to rest on the older, more conservative members of the union -- many of whom are retired.

This is the second time in two months that the CTW has been forced to go on strike to fight for their demands.

The CTW is a caucus of the union, so is not eligible for union strike funds. In the

course of the strike there have been many expenses such as bail for members arrested while picketing. None of the CTW members receive the usual strike benefits.

Contributions are sorely needed. Make checks payable to the Concerned Transit Workers and send to:

Concerned Transit Workers, United Packinghouse Workers Hall, 4849 S. Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60615.

## fight french bans!

by Marty Jonas

Alain Krivine and eight other members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR) have finally been released in France. However, the ban on the eleven Trotskyist and left-wing organizations remains. Included in the repression by DeGaulle's government are the Workers League's sister organiza-

MPs protested to the French Embassy on the bans. Marches comprising thousands of workers and students have been led by the SLL and the Young Socialists to the French Embassy. Hundreds of trade unionists, including Communist Party members have signed protests against the bans.

In the United States the issues are just as relevant. "Law and order" ranks high on the platforms of both Nixon and Humphrey. What the ruling class has done to the Negro workers in the ghettos and to the anti-war militants in Berkeley and Chicago, will be done more and more to the working-class movement generally. As the class struggle will sharpen so will the attempts at repression of all sections of the workers' movement. Trade unionists as well as revolutionaries will fall under the heel--unless the struggle against bans starts now!

### disgrace

It is a disgrace in the socialist movement that the Daily World, organ of the CPUSA, has not made a sound about the French bans. Every member of the CP must see that this is corrected. In the 40's the CP applauded the first use of the infamous Smith Act against the Socialist Workers Party--only to fall victim to the same Act a few years later.

The BULLETIN urges its readers to send protests immediately to President De Gaulle and to circulate protests in their unions, places of work, or schools. The Workers League is planning a series of protest meetings this fall throughout the country. The meetings will fea-

ture a film, the first time shown in the United States, of the actual occupation of one of the key factories in France during the May events. Particulars on these meetings will be published in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

## NYC LABOR SHOWDOWN

(Continued from Page 2)

'order' is a threat to the entire city working class and renders any support to police even on their economic demands completely out of the question.

### pressure

To deal with Lindsay's attack, the ranks of city labor must now really tighten the screws on their respective leaderships, who are more and more feeling the pressure from below. It was precisely this pressure that compelled Michael Maye head of the New York local of the International Fireman's Association to fight for removal of the no-strike clause from the Association's constitution at its Toronto conference last month. It is the memory of last winter's rank and file rebellion in front of City Hall that pushed John Delury to talk 'no contract, no work' as the September 30 contract deadline draws near.

Now is the time to make these leaders deliver. The rank and file in these unions must forcefully demand serious strike preparation including preparation to combine the strike efforts of the several unions in the face of Taylor law imposition or National Guard intervention. The Labor Day Parade makes clear what kind of power the unions have at their disposal if they only combine to use it.

### political

At the same time these struggles must be approached politically. Lindsay's racist appeals in the school decentralization and fire disputes must be answered by the unions. Otherwise Lindsay is going to succeed in fracturing the unity of city workers along racial lines. The unions must take up the fight to see that every worker on the city payroll is brought up to union wage scales; in this way the union movement can turn Lindsay's plan for dividing black and white workers into a basis for their greater unity.

The trade unions must likewise take the lead in the fight to force City Hall to

If it seems harder to manage each month on your paycheck, here are some of the reasons.

Your paycheck has been cut by a 10% surcharge to pay for the war and by an annual rise in social security tax. Then there are increases in various city and state taxes including taxes on gasoline, cigarettes, alcohol, etc. In 1968 the cost of living rose 4%. This figure includes all items such as housing, clothing, food, education, medical costs. Today you must devote one and a half days out of a five day week just to pay taxes!

Since 1958 prices have risen 20% and 10% of this increase has come in the last three years.

A bag of groceries that cost \$11.33 last year today costs \$11.67. If you budgeted \$137

for medical costs last year, you will have to count on \$145 today. A pair of shoes that cost \$12.54 last year, this year costs \$13.20. If you have a mortgage which cost \$120.20/month last year, today costs \$127.80/month. And if you rent an apartment, what cost \$112.40 last year is now \$115.10.

What all this means in dollars and cents is that if you made \$7,000 in 1967 and won a 6% increase in 1968, you wind up with an annual gain of only \$42. You are hardly keeping up. The situation is much worse for those who make less than \$7,000 and did not get a 6% increase.

One thing is for sure, American workers are seeing their living standards trittered away.



ALAIN KRIVINE

tions, the International Communist Organization (OCI) and the Federation of Revolutionary Students, both of which played instrumental roles in the events of May and June.

The Communist Party of France has remained silent on the bans as have the Communist Parties throughout the world. Such silence amounts to complicity.

### England

From the very time that the bans took effect, the Socialist Labour League has been carrying on an unrelenting campaign against them in England. As a result of a campaign by the SLL, 100 Labour

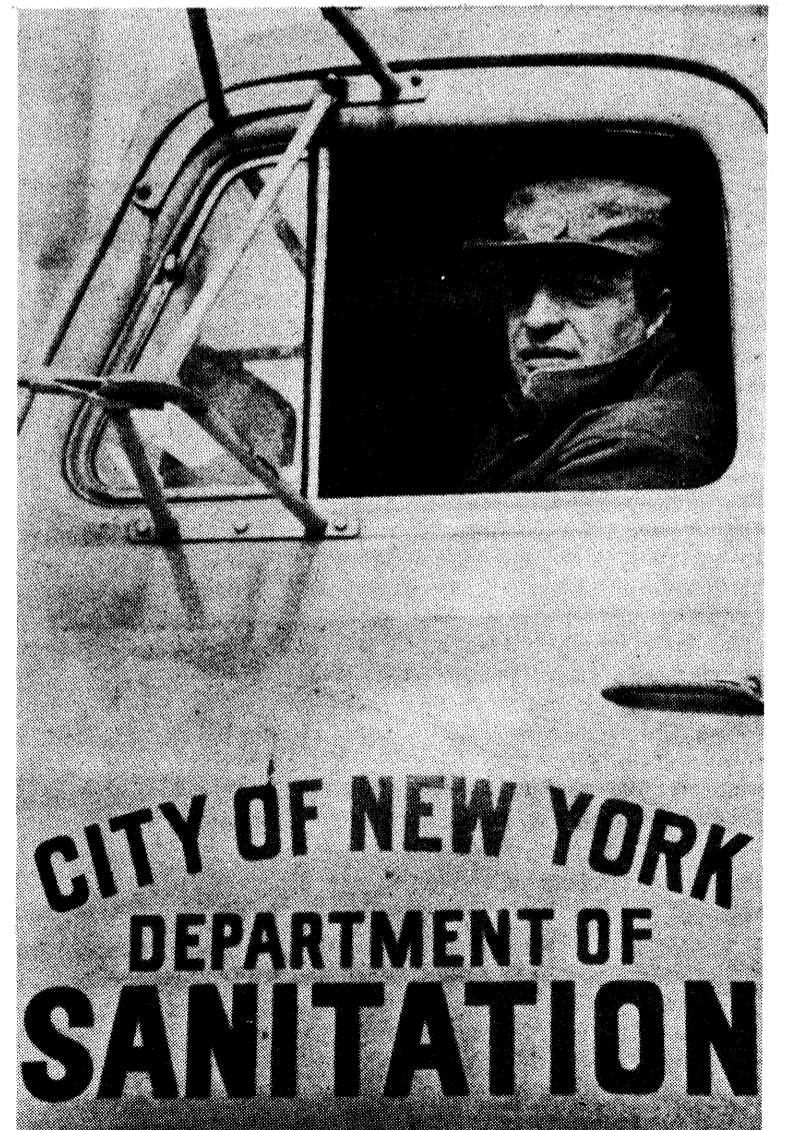
come up with the 20, 30 or 50 billion required to staff, upgrade and expand the school system in New York as well as to replace the tinder box housing in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant with modern accommodations. The union must take the lead in opposing the planned increase in the city sales tax to 6%, the Medicaid cuts and the welfare slashes as means to achieving economy. They must come out forcefully behind a program whereby the City will turn not to the working population but the banks, big corporations and insurance companies for the added resources to run essential city services.

### failure

They must expose the fact that it is precisely the failure

of private enterprise to develop this city into a full employment city, a city with decent housing and hospitals, that requires the burgeoning of vast parasitic agencies like welfare to stem the rising tide of decay. It must forcefully demand that the private industry that neither pays for city services or contributes to the development of the city be taken over by the government under workers control and put to work to clean up the mess in New York for which it alone is responsible.

To achieve this the unions must begin now to prepare a political alternative, a labor party based on the unions, to run the Lindsay administration out of City Hall in 69, so that the fight to implement such a program can begin.



SANITATIONMEN FACE NEW CONTRACT SHOWDOWN

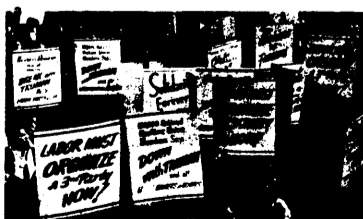
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### LEON TROTSKY ON LABOR PARTY

steno-graphic report of discussion held in 1938  
with leaders of socialist workers party



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# POPE PAUL GOES SLUMMING IN BOGOTA



AT A COST OF TEN MILLION DOLLARS THE POPE VISITS IMPOVERISHED COLOMBIA TO PREACH 'JUSTICE FOR ALL CLASSES'

In June the Pope announced that the Roman Catholic Church might make a "reconciliation" with science by reconsidering their verdict on Galileo. In case anyone has forgotten Galileo—he was the guy who was tried by the Church for heresy in the 17th Century for stating that the earth revolved around the sun. After three centuries the Church has discovered that the earth does indeed revolve around the sun.

Most of us might think we have come a long way since Galileo and that the Pope and the Church are a little behind the times, possibly in the Middle Ages, but we only have to follow the Pope to Columbia, South America, to find conditions very reminiscent of past centuries.

## poverty

Here millions of inhabitants are held in absolute, abject poverty, working the large coffee plantations of a few

landlords. Here half of the children born die in infancy from starvation and disease.

But it was here that the Pope came to the tune of ten million dollars. Yes ten million dol-

lars were spent by those landowners so the Pope would not have to see dirty streets.

## Federal Government Slashes Student Grants

by Pat Connolly

Student radicals have already been warned of the 'get tough' attitude of the ruling class, at Columbia, at the recent Chicago Demonstrations, and in the repeated promises of both Humphrey and Nixon to crack down on student 'agitators' and 'troublemakers'. But a large number of students who have managed to remain oblivious to the deepening crisis of the capitalist system are being hit over the head by it in a different way.

At a time when the number of government scholarships have been decreased, with the emphasis now being placed on loans from private corporations, another budget cut slashed over 1/3 from the funds of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs,

which provides grants, such as the Fulbright' fellowships and others, for students and teachers to study abroad. This cut will result in a 2/3 decrease in monetary grants for foreign study. Instead of the 2,270 students who received grants in 1968, only 700 will receive them this year.

## reduction

This is part of the general reduction in Federal spending, which also resulted in slashing millions from the Poverty Program at a time when unemployment is higher than ever, after tens of thousands marched on Washington demanding more money for decent housing, for education and for employment opportunities for poor people.

This is but a foretaste of the economic blows against

students to come. Students had better recognize that there are no privileged sanctuaries in a crisis-ridden capitalism.

## attack

These cuts also help make clear the reasons for the attacks on students in the press and the increasing police repression. These are brought about not only because the insecure capitalists fear rebellion started on the campus can spread to rebellion among workers as a whole. It is also aimed at weakening student resistance to current and future economic blows.

The attacks on students, both economic and police action, are political emanating directly from the state. The struggle against these attacks, must take on a political char-

The Pope spoke of justice and equality "for all classes" The fact is that the only road to justice, out of misery for the masses is to overthrow those who feed off their misery. The Pope uses these fine phrases to justify the present system and to assure that those who oppress are kept in power.

## fixed

The Pope and the Church have really not come out of the Middle Ages and their role is quite the same that it was then - that is to convince the oppressed that that is their lot, that their station is fixed, to join with the large landowners to keep the oppressed masses of the world from fighting back.

acter. Students must fight for a political program which links them to the working class which is also under attack. This requires a fight for the labor party through a vote for Halstead-Boutelle and a complete break with the middle class politics of Peace and Freedom.

## fight

The students will fight back no matter what repressive measures the capitalists take. But the question is around what program this fight is to be conducted? The Workers League will fight on the university and high school campuses this fall for a working class program and against all tendencies to divert student struggles into unpolitical adventures or capitalist politics.

## P&F--MINIMUM PROGRAM; MAXIMUM CONFUSION

(Continued from Page 5)

to explain what is the nature of imperialism without clearly lining up with the Viet Cong is even more difficult. But when the question was called, the spokesman for the "deepest truth" caved in pragmatically to the pressures of "minimum common agreement" within the Radical Caucus.

The I.S.C. position defeated the Radical Caucus statement by 2 to 1. This mirrored, in miniature, the defeat of the McCarthy drive. And as with the Democratic party, the storm of radical protest soon died down for the sake of unity. The Radical Caucus consoled itself with the fact that, after all, Cleaver is the presidential nominee, and he clearly is a co-thinker of the Radical Caucus. These "revolutionaries" now throw their lot in with the anti-communist I.S.C. on the basis of the latter's program.

## logic

The logic of the conservative I.S.C. won the day, not in contradiction to the militancy or radicalism of the convention body, but precisely because only the I.S.C. has a correct political analysis of the whole P&F movement. Is P&F or can it be, a serious class break from capitalist politics, as the Radical Caucus presupposes? Not at all, according to the I.S.C. the- oriticians. In a lengthy position paper distributed at the Convention, the I.S.C. contrasts P&F to a labor party, insisting that "in P&F we have quite a different political species. It is not a labor party, not any kind of a labor party; and, not only because of its unfortunately weak working class composition. No one has been so ridiculous as even to propose that it "declare itself" to be a labor party. However, it has been suggested that P&F declare itself to be an 'organizing committee' or 'organizing center' for a labor party. We do not think that even

this formulation makes sense at this stage. This would seem to say that P&F is putting itself forward as the nucleus around which a labor party should be formed; and there is no realistic basis for this kind of talk." And finally, "Here and now, at any rate, whatever else can be said about the Labor Party concept, it does not provide P&F with a distinctive basis for 'existence at this stage; and there is no sign yet visible that this is going to change very soon."

## hostility

Beneath this cheap pragmatism lies I.S.C.'s hostility to the working class struggle. Without an orientation toward the working class, all the demands of even the sections furthest left within the Peace and Freedom Party, such as "social ownership" of farms and factories and "workers control of the workplace", melt into mere idealistic and propagandistic mouthings.

Only the most naive in P&F believe it can become a viable electoral force. Yet, for a middle class that is confused, disillusioned and demoralized, it represents an attempt to rescue capitalist politics from its insoluble crisis. Just as Rockefeller and McCarthy represented within the two parties middle class despair at the worsening of the world crisis of capitalism, and its threatened position therein, so P&F hopes, from the outside, to find a progressive and reformist solution, within the limits of capitalist property relations, to this crisis. But the iron logic of this crisis objectively driving onward cannot be stopped by child's wishes, nor pleas for sanity of brotherhood. Rockefeller and McCarthy, McGovern and Phillips have been defeated.

It could not be better expressed than at the Democratic Convention, when Abraham Ribicoff was nominating George McGovern. With passion in his voice he looked down at Chicago's Mayor

Daley and pleaded for an end to the Gestapo tactics of Daley's police. Daley and his henchmen screamed back at him with the same power and violence that his police were dealing to the youth uptown. But Ribicoff's emotions were not for the youth who were being brutally clubbed and maced, but for his reformist illusions which he was witnessing being so thoroughly shattered. Thus it is that the middle class reform movement has been shattered, but unable to face up to what has become necessary for capitalism's survival, an all out war on the working class, P&F tries to pick up the bits and pieces and work for "progressive social change."

## torn

Peace and Freedom may soon be torn apart by all its divergent tendencies, but middle class radicalism will continue to fight against socialist politics for the leadership of the working class. The lessons of France must be learned. With all the middle class conceptions about the passivity of the working class shattered by the mass struggle of the French working class, these radicals continue their role of scorning the working class and the task of building the revolutionary party. P&F is an obstacle to the development of the consciousness of the working class and must be battled.

The Radical Caucus states, "P&F seeks to provide leadership to the struggles of minorities and youth." It is precisely that which makes P&F dangerous, for it can only mislead youth and workers. On one point we agree with P&F. Their call for the convention states, "Both parties (Republican and Democratic) seek, by slightly different tactics, to preserve the status quo." To this we must add, that one of these "tactical" devices is middle class reformism - which P&F epitomizes, despite its revolutionary verbiage.



# GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1918



ARMED WORKERS BATTALION MARCHES DURING REVOLUTION



BERLIN WORKERS LIKE THESE FOUGHT ON THE BARRICADES

by V. Barat

As the summer of 1918 ebbed and the loss of the war could no longer be concealed from the German workers, the tide of social bitterness, suppressed for four nightmarish years, began to surge forward with irrepressible force. All the more did the leaders of the SPD exert all their influence in seeking to dam up or, at the least, to divert the powerful proletarian currents into more harmless channels. It meant that the Scheidemanns, Eberts, and Noskes, excluded up to now from all serious policy-making decisions in the government, had to step in at their masters' call and assume responsibility for the bourgeois royalist regime because it was totally discredited at home and abroad. For their efforts to save the "bankrupt concern", they earned the gratitude of the Chancellor (Prime Minister) Prince Max, cousin of the Kaiser: "Thank God I have in the Social Democrats allies on whose loyalty towards me I can entirely rely. With their help I hope to save the Kaiser. Such is the irony of fate."

For far-sighted reactionaries like General Ludendorff the presence of the "socialists" in the government was deemed essential for another reason: they could serve as obliging scapegoats upon whom to hang the loss of the war later. Indeed they did become the victims of the myth that they -- the socialists -- lost the war, a legend circulated widely and effectively by the Nazis and other reactionaries in post-war Germany. Offering some minimal "demands" of their own to camouflage their betrayal of the working class, the SPD in October, 1918, accepted ministerial posts in the imperial government. That this move was pure window-dressing is further revealed by the fact that with their taking of office no basic changes in the social or political life of the people occurred. Electoral inequalities, martial law, censorship, imprisonment of anti-war socialists remained unchanged as did the notorious men and policies associated with Brest-Litovsk.

The only real change that came with the entrance of the "Socialists" into the war cabinet was a marked rise of officer arrogance in the armed forces. The military commanders had become increasingly concerned with signs of indiscipline in the ranks. The government "socialists" not only strengthened the hand of the military; they also removed one of the brass' gravest fears: interference from any civilian quarter with

the waging of war, even when it was a lost one. Therefore the German admiralty felt free on October 28, 1919, to issue orders for the navy to engage the stronger and far more numerous English fleet. The sailors were astonished at this criminal order because the fleet, except for the single battle of Jutland, had not ventured out of its own harbors during the entire war. But what enraged the men even more was that this insane order came at a time when the entire nation was banking on a cessation of hostilities from the weeks' long negotiations for an armistice.

### sailors

In defiance of their officers the crews of the battleships in the harbors of Wilhelmshaven and Kiel in the north refused to turn the ships to sea. Two days later the high command once more ordered the fleet to leave port and engage the British. The sailors answered by letting the fires go out. Now the admirals had to recognize a power far greater than their own and they rescinded the order. But the admiralty did not intend to surrender its hegemony without a struggle. It began to arrest and imprison sailors in hopes of intimidating the crews and breaking their will to resist. The sailors in Kiel answered on Nov. 3 by demonstrating in the streets of the city, demanding the immediate release of their imprisoned comrades, and calling for a republic! The answer they got was a volley from officers' guns. Eight were killed and about thirty wounded. The government then dispatched additional forces to quell the rebellion. These, however, fraternized and joined with the sailors, who now proceeded to free the sea men behind bars. Under waving red flags the men began to elect delegates to sailors' councils or soviets.

By now the government realized the futility of sending additional troops against the mariners. It banked on a different tactic, defeating the men at the negotiating table. Two members of the Reichstag were delegated to confer with the mutineers. One of them was Noske, an SPD leader. Few of the sailors had any clear notion as to the nature of the split in the ranks of the socialists, and the government suppressed any news of the rebellion long enough to keep anti-government socialists in Berlin from hearing about it in time. Noske deceitfully promised to do what he could to carry out the sailors' demands: removal of the Kaiser, liberation of political prisoners, electoral reforms, democratic procedures in the navy, and other points.

Noske did his best to calm the sailors. But the areas along the coast were tinder dry. Within two or three days the sparks of rebellion in Kiel had ignited the cities of Bremen, Cuxhaven, and Hamburg. Workers', sailors', and soldiers' councils sprang up and immediately began functioning as organs of government. A general strike in the vital port city of Hamburg, which had always enjoyed a semi-independent status within the Empire, had as its proclaimed goal the achievement of socialism. Rote Fahne (Red Flag), the newspaper issued by a Spartacist-oriented provisional workers' and soldiers' council called upon the German working class to proceed with the world revolution begun in Russia. Upon proclaiming itself the sole ruling body in Hamburg, the workers' and soldiers' council found its authority challenged not by the powerless bourgeoisie but by the SPD, who were determined to preserve the old city administration for the

bourgeoisie. This identical struggle between the social patriots and the genuine socialists was to be repeated with tragic monotony throughout the country in the coming weeks and months.

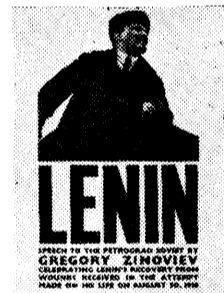
### revolution

By November 8 the revolution had spread to Saxony, a state with a proud working class tradition, particularly in such centers as Leipzig, Dresden, and Chemnitz. Workers' and soldiers' councils in these three cities deposed the Saxon rule in Saxony, which was to merge with the royal family and in a manifesto proclaimed the end of capitalism, the beginning of proletarian rule in Saxony, which was to merge with the German Socialist Republic as soon as it came into being. Of all the areas in Germany, the Spartacists in Saxony enjoyed the largest following. The treacherous SPD leadership however, exerted all its still considerable influence and derailed the revolution here as they did in Hamburg and were to do elsewhere in the nation.

Proletarian rule prevailed for varying periods of

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time in the large cities of such states as Wuerttemberg, Baden, and Prussia. But always the SPD would participate in the workers' and soldiers' councils with the aim of frustrating all attempts to abolish bourgeois rule and institute proletarian regimes.

One reliable gauge of the extent, depth, and appeal of socialism to the broad masses of the nation is to be found in the case of Bavaria. This traditional backbone of conservatism and reactionary catholicism witnessed on Nov. 7 a mass march of 50,000 people down the main street of the capitol city, Munich. The demand put forth was for the immediate ouster of the Kaiser! By the end of the day the Republic of Bavaria was born, and a provisional council of workers, peasants, and soldiers began to rule the state. In Upper Bavaria peasant councils began to function as organs of dual power. The leader of the Bavarian insurgents, Kurt Eisner, a pacifist visionary, was as bewildered as any one at the power which was suddenly thrust upon him. A literary man and essayist, he had wandered into proletarian politics by one of those singular quirks of history. Naive but well-intentioned, Eisner looked upon the feud between betrayers as the result of a misunderstanding. On the one hand, he thought it a good idea for Liebknecht to become the Chancellor of Germany while on the other he saw no need for the new socialist government he headed to take over the Bavarian banks. Political power in such hands was tragically wasted. The counter-revolution had little trouble in reconquering Bavaria for capitalism even prior to his assassination by a nationalist student in February, 1919.

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