

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

GERMANY: WAS
ULBRICHT IMPLICATED
IN ROSA LUXEMBURG'S
MURDER?

DEC 26 1968
INSTITUTION

PROFIT HUNGRY BOSSES MURDER 78 MINERS

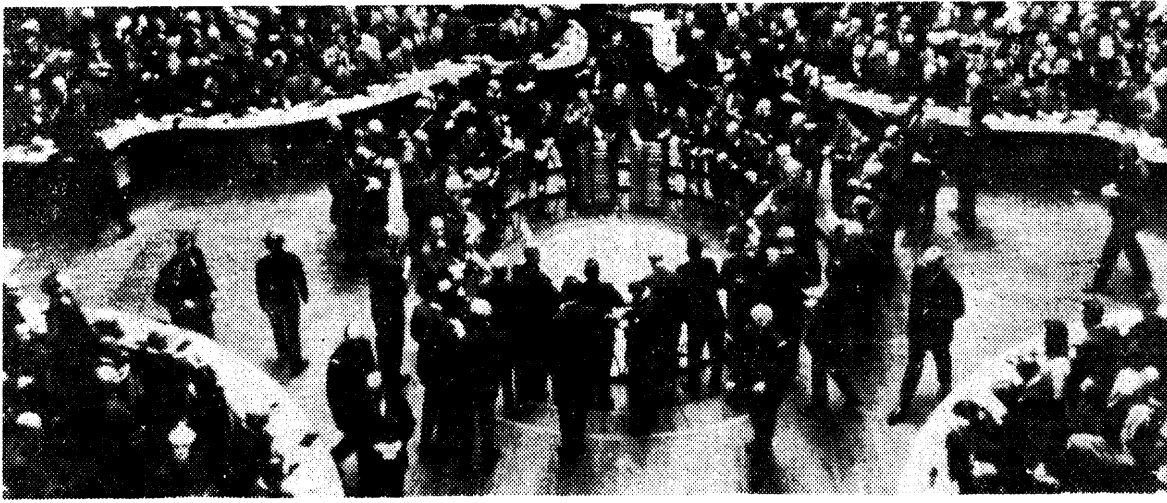


ONE OF THE FEW MINERS RESCUED FROM THE MINE IN MANNINGTON, W. VA. IS CARRIED TO A STRETCHER. 78 MINERS REMAIN TRAPPED

DeGaulle, Wilson, Nixon Plan New Attacks on Workers
**WORLD ECONOMY STUMBLES
FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS**

**canada seeks to deport trotskyist
for his political activity**

CAPITALISM QUAKES



BOURSE, FRENCH STOCK EXCHANGE: NOT HERE BUT IN FACTORIES LIES FATE OF FRENCH CAPITALISM

BY DAN FRIED

The eruption of the world monetary crisis of the capitalist economy for the third time in the past 13 months means that once again the stage is set for the most dramatic social convulsions and the sharpest confrontation of the capitalist and working classes since the 1930's. Out of this confrontation, the socialist revolution -- the taking of power by the working class -- will be posed most immediately in the industrial countries of Europe.

The immediate measures taken to halt the massive speculation on the devaluation of the Franc and the revaluation of the German Mark are impotent. The 2 billion dollar loan to the bank of France, De Gaulle's decision not to devalue, the partial revaluation of the Mark through lower import taxes, exchange controls, export restrictions and austerity programs announced by Britain and France -- have stopped the speculation for the moment, BUT HAVE SOLVED NOTHING. The speculators are simply biding their time, recognizing that currency controls are an admission of defeat, and that in themselves they cannot reverse the balance of payments deficits of France or of the U.S. and Britain. It is these deficits which underly the crisis. Some bankers and currency dealers compared the subsiding of the speculative fever to 'the calm eye of the monetary hurricane.'

STREETS

Some London currency dealer who remarked that the outcome of the monetary crisis 'would be decided in the streets of Paris' was close to the truth. He would have been closer if he had added 'and the streets of London, New York, Berlin and Rome as well,' for this is not only a French crisis. It is a world crisis in which one thing is certain -- that whatever stopgap measures are taken, all of the capitalist countries must take steps to make their exports more competitive on the world market in order to reverse their balance of payments deficits.

De Gaulle's austerity program of wage freezes, his attack on the student-worker revolts and general strike of 10 million workers last May and June, his vow to put an end to agitation, disruption, tumult and parades 'that prevent work and offend sound minded people' is the program of 'the capitalist ruling

class of France which is determined to cut costs and increase exports by grinding the working class into the ground if need be. It

But if DeGaulle is too weak to put the French workers in a strait-jacket, the ruling class will not hesitate to bypass him and throw its weight behind all the forces of French militarism and fascism to try and crush the working class. In his efforts to discipline the working class, DeGaulle can count on the open support of the Stalinist leaders of the Soviet Union who by hailing De Gaulle's standing up to Germany, seek to assure the cooperation of the French Communist Party with De Gaulle. This will not be so easy, as the working class continues as in the May-June events to assert its independence from the counter-revolutionary French C.P., posing its need for a genuine revolutionary leadership.

BRITAIN

In Britain, the weakening of the pound sterling during the speculative fever, led the so-called labor government to take the harshest measures to date against the working class - a 10% surcharge on the national sales tax, steep increases in the tax on liquor, beer, gasoline and cigarettes and measures which will severely limit imports. As in France where we will see a sharp rise in unemployment, the British measures can lead only to an escalation to the already soaring rate of unemployment.

As in France and the U.S. the British working class is still strong, undefeated and full of fight. They are not taking these attacks lying down. Behind the efforts of the Wilson government to save British capitalism, the forces of the right -- Powellite racism and the sinister forces of fascism stand poised to take on the British working class.

But under a socialist leadership the British working class can dump Wilson and his government of labor fakers and open up a real struggle against the Tory bosses, Enoch Powell and the far right. The plans of the Socialist Labor League to launch the Newsletter as a daily Trotskyist paper in Britain next fall is the key to the building of this socialist leadership.

AMERICA

As a leading economic journalist writing in the NY Post

admitted, 'the dollar is more a target than before' and the dollar is 'far, far from immune' from the attacks of speculators and skeptical creditors.' The dollar is the cornerstone of the world monetary system just as U.S. capitalism incorporates the strengths and weaknesses of the entire world system of capitalism.

The recent further weakening of the U.S. balance of trade position means that for President-elect Nixon, the first order of business will be new efforts to lower costs of American products and dampen down the demand for imports. New attacks on the working class, particularly in the trade unions will be undertaken to try to reduce labor costs. Recessionary trends in the economy will be further encouraged to combat inflation and to weaken the strength of the trade unions. Secretary

DEPRESSION

Underlying the crisis, the spectre of world depression looms. Behind the facade of international monetary cooperation which is designed to

facilitate world trade, a fierce international competition complete with an upsurge of new tariff restrictions leading to a collapse of world trade looms.

The Wall Street Journal, spokesman for world capitalism, points out that not only has there already been a slowdown in the rate of growth of world trade from 8% to 5% last year, but that the slowing down of imports of even one major country could lead to a spiralling contraction of trade and production: 'As

BATTLES

More than ever it is clear that the crisis of any one capitalist country is the crisis of every other and most important, of the U.S. since the dollar is the major currency in use as a reserve currency by all countries for the purpose of trade.

In the U.S., the longer the government holds back in these attacks on the power of the trade unions, the sharper will be the confrontation which is certain to come. The resistance by the working class is thus a political struggle which in the U.S. means that the working class will fight for the creation of its own party, a labor party through which it can challenge the power of the capitalists.

Coal Baron's Greed Buries 78 Miners

The trapping of 78 coal miners by underground explosions at the Mannington, West Virginia pits of the Consolidation Coal Co. once again shows the mad drive by the capitalists to keep the profits rolling in. Here the total callousness of the coal baron towards the lives of the miners comes to the fore.

These coal barons have a long history of brutal exploitation of workers throughout the world. One of the owners of this mine is none other than Nelson Rockefeller who poses as a friend of labor in New York. The mine is also owned by other notorious millionaires such as the Mellon family, J.P. Morgan bankers, in addition to about 15 others who represent the interests of the largest corporations in this country.

What happened initially was an underground explosion of highly flammable methane gas. This gas is released in the process of coal mining and accumulates in pockets of various sizes. Without proper ventilation to remove this gas, the slightest spark can touch it off. When concentrated in this manner, methane does not just burn, it explodes. In this manner, many supporting mine timbers can be shattered and underground landslides occur.

AUTOMATION

In recent years, due to the increasing automation in the mines, coal is removed faster and more methane is released. Because little if any improvements have been made in ventilation techniques, the probability of gas explosions increases. In other words the bosses have gotten more coal and more profits out of these mines without taking one measure to improve the safety conditions of the workers. It has been revealed in Congress that inspectors of the Bureau of Mines have been 'white-washing' safety violations and had allowed 'repeated violations' 'over 25 serious violations' to exist at this particular mine. If the laws had been enforced, the recent explosion would have been 'preventable'.

The complicity of the government in this disaster is clear. The government stands in the interests of those 20 millionaires and not the workers in this country.

Although this is one of the richest mining areas in the world, the bosses are absolutely unwilling to bring up their best drilling equipment to cut the necessary shafts to the trapped miners to let methane out and bring oxygen in. Instead, they are talking about sealing off all ventilation shafts so that the fires can be put out. This also will suffocate the miners left alive down below. This is true capitalist logic - to hell with the workers, if the fires keep going it may cut down the profits from the coal!

ABERFAN

Looking at this disaster one is almost immediately reminded of the coal slides at Aberfan, Wales some two yrs. ago. There, the capitalists controlled national coal board allowed a huge mountain of coal wastes to accumulate for years; finally, heavy rains caused it to slide, killing 144 children and teachers at the local primary school.

As at Aberfan, the white-wash has already begun. The basic attitude of the bosses towards the trapped miners is: that's their tough luck, we can only do so much. Tony Boyle, International President of the United Mineworkers Union has come up with the incredible statement that Consolidation Coal was 'one of the better companies cooperating in safety'. Why? Because the bosses hired a safety inspector who issued a report last August which predictably gave a 'safe' label to the mine.

That's the way the bosses look at it 'profit is our most important product'. They could care less if the 78 miners live or die. This sort of situation will not be overcome by any pleading with the bosses and the political agents for additional safety measures. This will stop only when the workers organize to drive these ruthless exploiters from the face of the earth.

DC 50 STRIKES FOR UNION RIGHTS

NEW YORK -- The strike by District Council 50 at the State County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO, has spread now to four state mental hospitals and its leaders have been found guilty under the Taylor law.

DC 50 is striking in order to get a bargaining election for state employees in these hospitals.

TAYLOR

State employees were granted the right to organize and collectively bargain and to choose the union which they wanted to represent them under the Taylor Law. Governor Rockefeller then recognized the Civil Service Employees Association as the bargaining agent without an

election.

Rockefeller's move was in the spirit of the other provisions of the Taylor Law which prohibits strikes by public employees, providing heavy fines, and sets up a tri-partite board for resolving all disputes and limiting the scope of collective bargaining. In this light it is not surprising that Rockefeller chose the Civil Service Employees Association which is clearly a company, a bosses union. This Association has not fought for the workers and conveniently enough for the Taylor law has never struck. It has rather served as a professional pressure group in the state legislature having no ties whatsoever. (Continued on page 8.)



ROBERT SHERWOOD

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Robert Sherwood, member of the Workers League in Canada and a draft resistor, is being charged with violating the Immigration Act (section 50f), not divulging a criminal conviction upon his entry into Canada. His ~~exit~~ is scheduled for December 11th and if convicted he faces deportation to the U.S. If the Canadian government is successful in convicting and deporting him, it will create a dangerous precedent for all politically minded immigrants in Canada and open the way for mass deportations as happened in the United States in the 1950's during the McCarthy period.

The so-called 'criminal act' which Sherwood is charged with not reporting was in relation to arrests around his participation in demonstrations in Chicago concerned with civil rights and civil liberties. He was arrested approximately 6 times during the summer of 1963 and the summer of 1965 when he was involved in a massive school boycott campaign among Negro and white children against discrimination in public education. He also was active in the movement against the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee in Chicago which sought to 'expose communist' affiliations with the civil rights movement. He was arrested along with Dick Gregory and Martin Luther King in non-violent sitdown protests and charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. He was fined \$25 for each conviction. He states that on several occasions he was beaten by the notorious Chicago police.

Such a charge in the U.S. is of such a minor nature that even in the Daley ruled Chicago, it is not even listed as a 'criminal' offense -- it is a 'misdemeanor' not a 'felony'. There is also in the U.S. a question of whether arrests

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U.S. trotskyist faces deportation in Canada

on these charges for actions enforcing the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation are constitutional.

By all definitions of criminality in Canada, namely an act of moral turpitude, Sherwood is guilty of nothing. The Canadian government, in particular its courts of law, if they choose to find him guilty, must feel that participation in a demonstration for equal rights for the Negro people is immoral.

DELINQUENT

Bob Sherwood went to Canada in late June 1967 after being declared delinquent by the Selective Service system. This charge Sherwood contends was a pure and simple frame-up, dating back to October 1965 when his draft board sent him a letter to an address which he had left, after he had informed them within the legally stipulated time of his new address. Subsequently he was declared delinquent and called up for immediate service.

Prior to this Sherwood had been refused security clearance for entrance into the Army. What precipitated this was his refusal to answer the security questionnaire concerning his political affiliations. When the investigation revealed that he was a socialist, he was told that the Draft Board would 'get him' and that when they found a way he would be inducted and 'thrown under the stockade'.

Clearly this was what the Draft Board had in mind. Before declaring him delinquent, the Draft Board sent him a questionnaire enquiring about his activities. Sherwood replied enclosing a number of leaflets urging the military victory for the National Liberation Front and other material indicating that he was a Trotskyist. About two weeks after returning this material he was found delinquent.

MILITANT

Facing this situation and wishing to continue his political work he immigrated to Canada. Sherwood works as a printer and has been living for over a year in Canada with his wife and children as a landed immigrant. He has been an active member of the Workers League continuing his political work in the fight against capitalism and for the establishment of socialism.

Sherwood has been very active in support of New Democratic Party candidates against the bourgeois candidates in the last elections. It has been only now when it is clear that he is continuing the political fight that the Canadian government has decided to investigate his past and bring charges. As Sherwood states, 'In fact the Canadian government is not interested in my actions of several years past but in my actions of present as a fighter against the oppressive rule of capitalism, and in opposition to the attacks of the government on the working class. There is good reason to suspect that the Canadian and American governments are acting in collusion to prevent me, as a member of the Workers League from continuing my socialist activities.'

CRISIS

Today the world capitalist system is faced with destruction. The recent monetary crisis is a manifestation of this crisis. The international capitalist class is faced with an increasingly hostile and combative working class that refuses to pay for the crisis of the system. The struggles

of the French workers and students last spring was only the beginning of the revolutionary struggles to come throughout Europe and North America. This attack on the working class is being combined with vicious attacks on the organizations of the working class, the trade unions and the socialist movement. The bans on the socialist parties in France give us a glimpse of the future.

It is within this context that we must view the Sherwood case. The attack on Sherwood comes at a time when Premier Trudeau has stated that the main danger in the coming period in Canada is the possibility of internal struggles in the United States which could 'spill over' into Canada. It comes at a time when the Canadian government

SPARTACIST AIDS RULERS

Soon after Robert Sherwood, faced with a draft delinquency charge and a draft board out to "get him", went to Canada the Spartacist League issued a leaflet entitled "What is the Workers League?" This leaflet of slanders distributed on innumerable occasions over the past year identifies Sherwood as a member of the Workers League and indicates that he has "removed himself to a place of legality, comfort and safety, probably to never again be involved in the class struggle in the U.S."

In order to be sure that Sherwood had this "legality, comfort and safety" for as short a time as possible the March-April, 1968 issue of Spartacist decided to be more specific so that the bourgeois governments involved would have no question at all where Sherwood was. It refers to "Robert Hartley Sherwood's Canada cop-out". Even the middle name is listed as this is the pen name Sherwood uses to write in the Bulletin.

We state unequivocally that the Spartacist League acts as the fingerman for the world capitalists. Such is the ultimate logic for those who start with themselves and their own little national propaganda groups and pit this against the struggle for the Fourth International.

is planning to institute the recommendations of the Rand Report which is a clear attack on the trade unions, seeking to destroy them as instruments to defend the workers and to make them part of the state. The Rand Report is combined with measures to freeze wages.

In the U.S. the Nixon victory clearly reflects the policies which the ruling class plans in the next period which will mean real blows against the organized trade union movement, the Negro people, the students, and the socialist movement. We had a look at the way in which the ruling class is going to deal with its opposition in Chicago this summer.

CONCERT

In the coming period we can expect the Canadian and U.S. governments to act in concert against any dissidence within their respective countries. It is absolutely essential that the working class movement also act in concert and return blow for blow.

It is of the greatest importance that all socialists, trade unionists, and black militants in the U.S. make clear their opposition to the move of the Canadian government. A broad defense committee is now in the process of being set up. For more information write to Workers League, 243 E. 10th Street, Room 8, N.Y.C. We urge all Americans to send what contributions they can to: Canadian Workers League, Room 27, 165 Spadina Ave., Toronto 2D, Ontario. We also urge that telegrams and letters of protest be sent immediately to: Premier Trudeau, Ottawa, Canada.

RAND REPORT ATTACKS UNIONS

TORONTO-The economic crisis of Canadian capitalism requires as it requires in all capitalist countries, an attack on the wages and working conditions of the workers, an attack on the basic organizations of the workers in Canada, the trade unions.

It is in the light of this crisis that we have to understand the Rand Royal Commission Report on Labor and other such moves in other provinces which seek to launch an offensive against the organized labor movement. The importance of the Rand Report is that it seeks to incorporate

the trade union movement into the state apparatus by such means as unions being liable to fines, and being responsible for the discipline of its members. It also plans to make all public service unions nothing more than company associations by taking away their right to strike and in the final analysis putting them under control of government functionaries. Lastly the Rand Report wants to do away with picketing and in particular sympathy pickets.

CONTEXT

This Report must be seen

in the context of the government's implementation of the 4% wage guideline and its study of the British Prices and Incomes Act. Clearly the strategy of the Canadian capitalists and their government is to render the trade unions powerless and at the same time lower their standard of living.

The leadership of the trade unions see the Rand Report in a very hazy way. The struggle within the unions is kept on an economic level rather than taking the offensive and fighting back politically. There have been rallies, a

one day general strike, but never once has it been posed that this fight should be taken to the NDP and fought in a political way. In a sense the consciousness of the labor bureaucrats has not gotten out of the affluence of the boom period although this year Canada saw more strikes than in any period since the 1930's. The NDP did not make any appreciable gains and in fact lost some highly urban areas in the federal election which tends to underline the economist trend in the trade unions and a turn from political struggle within the NDP.

The need to take this struggle further is the task of the revolutionary party. The Workers League is intervening in the trade unions to bring home the meaning of the Rand Report and the need

for a political struggle, the need for the trade unions to demand that the NDP fight tooth and nail against the institution of the measures planned under the Rand Report. The very existence of trade unions which can defend the wages and working conditions of the workers in Canada is dependent on this fight.

germany-was ulbricht implicated



ROSE LUXEMBURG ADDRESSES GERMAN WORKERS RALLY BEFORE HER BRUTAL MURDER IN 1919

BY V. BARAT

It has been fully documented that within a bare two weeks of the November 9, 1918, German Revolution, when the hated monarchy and its military caste had been overthrown, the social patriotic government of the SPD was scheming with the discredited German General Staff behind the backs of the workers. A secret pact was entered into allowing the top militarists to recruit a "volunteer" army on the very soil of the Revolution. The primary function of this Freikorps was to defend the nation from "enemies" within the borders. The "enemies" were the mass of revolutionary workers who had made the Revolution!

After the three Independents (USPD) left the cabinet in protest of the murder of the sailors at the end of December, 1918, Noske, the SPD favorite of the monarchist generals, was appointed Defense Minister. He lost little time in consolidating the counterrevolutionary forces, particularly in the area around Berlin. The Freikorps battalions, supported by funds from the public treasury and from private sources -- mainly worried capitalists and junkers -- were staffed by aristocratic officers. The ranks were composed largely of career-hardened non-coms from the old imperial army. They had been discharged from the official army into a world which, thanks to the government socialists, could offer them little hope as productive civilians. All the more eagerly did they seize the opportunity of becoming well paid mercenaries with one added inducement: freedom to kill "reds".

BLOODBATH

Taking full advantage of the tragic mistakes made by the three working class organizations -- the KPD, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards, and the left-wing of the USPD - in their premature declaration of a proletarian revolution, the reactionaries quickly moved in. SPD Defense Minister Noske defiantly marched at the head of a three thousand unit Freikorps into Berlin on January 11. Then General Walther von Luettwitz appeared with his armed "volun-

teers" and set into immediate operation an order arrived at in secret consultation with Noske. It was a carefully worked out battle plan with every area of the city accounted for and under control of the military.

A blood-bath, the likes of which had not been seen in Germany since the Thirty Years War in the seventeenth century, was now inaugurated in Berlin. In support of this white-terror the capitalist and SPD press whipped up a campaign of unbelievable hatred against the entire working class with its socialist aspirations. What an incredible change overnight from the much too tolerant mood toward the bourgeoisie which, during the rising proletarian offensive, had characterized even those Berlin workers closest to the KPD! The violence of armed reaction begun in January continued virtually unabated through the remaining months of 1919. Hugo Haase, the moderate head of the USPD, who had opposed the left-wing of his own party and who was himself to be murdered by the counterrevolution before the end of 1919, wrote a letter on January 16, 1919, containing the following:

"...You cannot imagine the conditions in Berlin. White terror rages exactly as it did under the czarist regime. Even under the Anti-Socialist Law (under Bismarck), at least an attempt was made to make it appear that the law was followed. At present, however, brutal force rules in the open. Disregarding any legal restrictions, soldiers -- with loaded rifles break into apartments at night, make arrests without warrants, and search the apartments without court orders... Landsberg, Ebert, and Scheidemann, who try to pose as the guardians of the law, let the hordes of brutal soldiers do as they like..."

But even those, who like the 'democratic' Kautsky, welcomed the destruction of the revolutionary left, began now to panic as the counter-revolution with its paranoid hatred of any kind of working class philosophy became less and less willing to distinguish between radical and moderate socialists.

MURDER

Workers by the scores, but especially the known

leaders of the three working class organizations that had participated in the aborted January uprising were rounded up, arrested, severely beaten, and many massacred. On January 15, both Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were captured in the apartment of political friends. They had foolishly insisted on remaining in Berlin though they knew that their lives more than anyone else's in all Germany were imperiled. It was a display of unquestioned personal heroism. But as the heads of the KPD's general staff their higher class duty was to save their lives for the revolution. Both were taken to a Freikorps Division Headquarters where they were mercilessly beaten to near unconsciousness. The mercenaries then threw Liebknecht into a car, shot him in the head, and then dropped his body off at a mortuary as that of some unknown person. Luxemburg was similarly dragged into a waiting car, shot to death, and thrown into the Landwehr Canal. Her body was not recovered from the

This final article on the German Revolution draws the lessons for today of this tragic defeat which contributed to the isolation of the Soviet Union and thus its degeneration and paved the way for the growth of fascism in the next decade. Particularly important is Barat's evidence which suggests that the present Stalinist leadership of East Germany was implicated in Luxemburg's murder and thus the vested interest these bureaucrats have in slandering her and keeping the true revolutionary history of Germany from German workers. Equally important is Barat's defense

frozen water until May of that year. In March the counter-revolutionary butchers murdered the extremely talented Leo Jogiches, who had been such a valuable comrade of Liebknecht and Luxemburg in leading the Spartakusbund during the war years.

The replacement of such priceless cadre, alas! often requires generations. Not even the fusion of the left-wing of the USPD with the KPD later in that fateful year of 1919, giving the party a total membership of 350,000, could compensate for the loss of its leadership. In the next three to four years a series of new revolutionary opportunities were opened up for the German working class but the KPD missed each of these chances, a tragic demonstration of how irreplaceable was an experienced leadership.

It has never been revealed as to how the mercenaries discovered the whereabouts of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. In any case a third leader of the KPD arrested in that same building with them was Wilhelm Pieck. It was the same Pieck, who had represented the KPD along with Liebknecht when the two had committed the party to support the insurrection on January 5-6. During the twenties and thirties he was a well-known functionary of the KPD in pre-Hitler Germany. After the second World War he became the President of the Stalinist German Democratic Republic.

The official version put out by the Stalinists to explain why Pieck did not share the fate of

WORKERS AND STUDENTS JOIN BATTLE IN ITALY

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

Italian capitalism is very rapidly being drawn into the vortex of political and economic crisis now gripping its imperialist partners in Europe and the U.S.

This is the meaning of the latest strike wave as well as the governmental crisis brought on with the resignation of the minority Christian Democratic regime of Giovanni Leone.

The latest working class up-

surge in Italy completely refutes the impressionistic formula "after the students come the workers" drawn by many from the French events. These latest struggles have been consciously prepared inside the trade unions and though students came into the struggle simultaneously, it was never a question of the workers having been sparked from outside by the students

On November 14th a one day

general strike called by virtually all of Italy's major labor federations brought out over 12 million workers who together with student strikers completely paralyzed the country's industries, utilities, ports and schools for a 24 hour period. Strikers came under police attack in city after city including Turin, where many of the 100,000 workers at the Fiat autoworks were tear gassed in front of the plant.

BEYOND

Although the leaderships of the various Stalinist, Catholic and Social Democratic dominated trade unions were able to confine this particular strike to the demand for increased state retirement

benefits and related structural reforms, the Italian working class is prepared to go way beyond this kind of struggle.

HEAD

This was shown in the demands brought into the strike by civil service workers, railroad and electrical workers who independently shut down these sectors of the Italian economy a few days later on the issue of increased wages and health benefits and other economic demands. The tendency to take these fights beyond the level of structural reform was exhibited likewise among students who in addition to the purely reformist demand for restructuring the universities demanded that the government

vastly increase its number of paid state scholarships.

As we pointed out in the June 24th issue of the Bulletin, the relative prosperity that had led Italy in the recent period to be dubbed the "Japan of Europe" has been based on the late development of the boom in Italy, giving Italian industry a technical edge over its European competitors, combined with austerity measures that have prevented the working class from sharing in the boom.

UPRISING

This contradiction came to a head in the May 1968 elections when large numbers of workers abandoned the Socialist Party for the Commu-

d in rosa luxemburg's murder?

Liebkecht and Luxemburg runs as follows: Pieck, taken to the same Headquarters as the other two, was not beaten up. Allegedly he convinced the captain in charge that his being there was a case of mistaken identity. He was then taken to a jail, from which he later was supposed to have escaped.

INTRIGUE

The facts are that there was always considerable doubt about the entire circumstances of this incident in the ranks of the KPD. Finally, after a great deal of inner-party agitation, Hans Kippenberger, head of a special KPD underground organization from 1928 to 1935, was authorized to examine and issue a report on the situation. Kippenberger's investigation was never published. To this date the complete facts are in the secret archives of the Stalinists. However, this much was admitted. After Pieck's arrest he was taken

of Luxemburg against those today, like L. Marcus, who seek to build out of Luxemburg's errors an alternative to Leninism. He shows how in her last days she steadfastly fought to create a Communist Party in Germany on the basis of Lenin's program having learned through the October Revolution the incorrectness of her early differences with Lenin especially on the critical party question. We can only repeat with Leon Trotsky to both the Stalinists and the New Lefters: **HANDS OFF ROSA LUXEMBURG!**

to the Freikorps Headquarters at the Eden Hotel, placed against the wall to be shot. He asked to speak to the commanding officer in private. This request was granted. Thereupon the officer in charge not only spared his life, but freed him, and even furnished him with a letter signed by the intelligence officer of the Division, granting him full protection from further harassment or arrest.

Apparently the Stalinist bureaucrats both in Moscow and East Germany have their sound reasons for keeping all the facts of this case hidden from their own and the world's workers. Perhaps it even explains the recent banning of the BULLETIN in East Germany. For Wilhelm Pieck, who died in 1960, is not the only one implicated in this sordid affair. Walter Ulbricht, the present Secretary General of the East German Stalinist party, SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), is himself covered with the blood of genuine communist workers murdered by the Stalinist apparatus. Let us innumerate some of the incontrovertible facts in this maze of treacherous intrigue.

Not long after Kippenberger concluded his own investigation for the KPD, Hitler, by default of the leadership of the Comintern, came to power. When the Nazis arrested Thaelmann, leader of the KPD, and then seized and murdered his successor, Jonny Scheer, Ulbricht became leader of the KPD, moving his headquarters to the safety of Paris. Kippenberger, still in charge of the special underground unit of the KPD, likewise moved his

office to Paris in 1934. Ulbricht then gave him a special assignment. He ordered Kippenberger to denounce all the Trotskyists in Germany to the Gestapo. This Kippenberger, though himself no Trotskyist, absolutely refused to do on principle. Thereupon Ulbricht removed him forthwith from his underground post in the KPD, demoted him to a news reporter for the party, and later sent him on a "mission" to Moscow. Kippenberger was arrested in Moscow on the orders of Pieck, who since 1934 had been the KPD Central Committee representative on the Comintern. A shot in the back of the neck finished off Kippenberger. And thus the one man who knew most about Pieck's connections at the time of Luxemburg's and Liebkecht's murder was forever silenced.

The murderer Ulbricht had little difficulty in replacing Kippenberger with loyal henchmen, who faithfully carried out their master's orders. They very simply fabricated circular letters containing the exact names and addresses of all German Trotskyists and other anti-Stalinist communists who had managed so far to escape the Nazi drag-net. These letters were distributed in Berlin, Breslau, and other major cities where Trotskyists resided. Some of the letters naturally "fell" into the hands of the Gestapo. This is how the German Trotskyists were annihilated. When the Pabloites in Europe and their counterparts in the U.S., the SWP and YSA, block with and pretty up Stalinism in the pacifist anti-war movement, they defile the very honor of those German Trotskyists who died at their posts, the victims of Stalinist and Nazi collusion.

TRIBUTE

Finally, we cannot conclude this series on the defeat of the 1919 German Revolution without a final tribute to Karl Liebkecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who each in their own way represented the finest traditions and practices of the German proletariat. Because of Rosa's public warnings against bureaucracy and her championing of party democracy, it became fashionable with the rise of Stalinism to revile her and to praise and play off against her Karl Liebkecht as an example of courageous party activist without theoretical pretensions. On the other hand during the thirties many radicals throughout the world, having no desire for the difficulties involved in building a genuine Bolshevik party to fight Stalinism and lead the working class to victory, simply invoked the example of Luxemburg to rationalize their abstentionism. Her presumed theory of the revolutionary independence and spontaneous appearance of the masses versus the conscious construction of a hard, democratic-centralized structure made her a favorite among wide circles of left intellectuals and student radicals, even as she is today, particularly in West Germany where her ideas are favorably contrasted to "heartless" Bolshevism.

Such a view of her by both the Stalinists and the anti-party left radicals is a distortion of the real stature which she attained before her murder. Trotsky years ago pointed this out himself. Indeed Trotsky defended her equally against Stalinist defamation and the platonic embraces of the petty-bourgeois idealists. He reminded us that as a young woman her efforts to build a bona fide Marxist group in Poland compelled her to struggle against the Polish Mensheviks with their notions of a loose, all-embracing party. But even her theory of spontaneity formulated for the

German scene was to the degree progressive that she foresaw the workers' refusal to be bound forever within the limitations set by the conservative, official bureaucracies of the SPD and their unions. And in this she certainly was proven correct as the events of November 9, 1918, clearly demonstrated.

FAILURE

It cannot be denied that prior to the November Revolution, Rosa failed to appreciate as precisely as did Lenin the need to build a conscious revolutionary proletarian party with a carefully selected and trained cadre. But she never ceased her struggles for Marxism and a Marxist party as she understood it. After November all her writings, her speeches, her warnings cannot be understood in any other way than as a recognition by her of the indispensable need for a powerfully disciplined, centralized Leninist-type party. That she refused to publish her criticisms of the Bolshevik Party written while in prison in 1917-18, was not motivated by some abstract conception of elemental loyalty to a working class



STALINISTS, BRESHNEV AND ULBRICHT SHAKE HANDS. government in power and under attack by world imperialism. Honest criticism, no matter how harsh, she felt, could never really injure but only strengthen any socialist organization. No, her refusal to see her writings against the Bolsheviks published are to be explained by one fact: she no longer held these views. She had come around to the position adopted earlier by her close collaborator, Franz Mehring: the need of the hour was for the German workers to construct their Bolshevik Party.

Those who turn to earlier works of Rosa Luxemburg are like those who so effusively espouse the "young", "humanitarian" Marx. They are shabby efforts to degrade the revolutionary import of their accomplishments into what Lenin called "harmless icons". Genuine revolutionaries are completely justified in rejecting such "admirers". Furthermore, one does not do honor to the memory of Karl Liebkecht or Rosa Luxemburg by worshipping or repeating their mistakes, but by learning how to avoid them. Neither of these two great fighters nor any other leading Marxist ever wanted it otherwise.

nists, forcing the Socialists to withdraw from its Center Left coalition with Moro and the Christian Democrats whose conservative policies have overly compromised the Socialists. The minority government of Leone has resolved nothing and now comes up against the resistance of the working class. Last week Moro re-emerged within the Christian Democratic Party championing a line of partial accommodation to the Socialist Party in a bid for reviving the center-left coalition. However, the international situation has far too drastically reduced the margin for compromise between the Italian bourgeoisie and the working class for any

such maneuvers to head off the big class struggles now on the agenda.

The international monetary crisis coming to a head once again last week with the flight from the franc to the German mark is inexorably driving even the Common Market countries at one another's throats. The measures taken by Britain, France, Germany, and the U.S. to guard their reserves and bolster their trade surpluses leaves no room for the Italian bourgeoisie to let up the pressure on its working class. Measures taken in the rest of Europe are already hitting the Italian "prosperity" and will inevitably undermine its currency.

In the last year alone Volkswagen has been able to dislodge Fiat from its first place position in the European car market. Any concessions like the 10% wage hike forced on DeGaulle by the May-June uprising would immediately throw the Italian economy into sudden reverse. Yet more and more the maintenance of the Italian working class at a level only slightly above that in Spain threatens the Italian ruling class with just such an uprising.

REVOLUTION

Just as in France this poses the question of the Italian and in fact the European socialist revolution.



Ulbricht implicated in Rosa Luxemburg's murder



L. MURDER IN 1919

leaders of the three working class organizations that had participated in the aborted January uprising were rounded up, arrested, severely beaten, and many massacred. On January 15, both Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were captured in the apartment of political friends. They had foolishly insisted on remaining in Berlin though they knew that their lives more than anyone else in all Germany were imperiled. It was a display of unquestioned personal heroism. But as the heads of the KPD's general staff their higher class duty was to save their lives for the revolution. Both were taken to a Freikorps Division Headquarters where they were mercilessly beaten to near unconsciousness. The mercenaries then threw Liebknecht into a car, shot him in the head, and then dropped his body off at a mortuary as that of some unknown person. Luxemburg was similarly dragged into a waiting car, shot to death, and thrown into the Landwehr Canal. Her body was not recovered from the

Liebknecht and Luxemburg runs as follows: Pieck, taken to the same Headquarters as the other two, was not beaten up. Allegedly he convinced the captain in charge that his being there was a case of mistaken identity. He was then taken to a jail, from which he later was supposed to have escaped.

INTRIGUE

The facts are that there was always considerable doubt about the entire circumstances of this incident in the ranks of the KPD. Finally, after a great deal of inner-party agitation, Hans Kippenberger, head of a special KPD underground organization from 1928 to 1935, was authorized to examine and issue a report on the situation. Kippenberger's investigation was never published. To this date the complete facts are in the secret archives of the Stalinists. However, this much was admitted. After Pieck's arrest he was taken

office to Paris in 1934. Ulbricht was given a special assignment. He ordered Kippenberger to denounce all the Trotskyists in Germany to the Gestapo. This Kippenberger, though a Trotskyist, absolutely refused to do so. Thereupon Ulbricht removed him from his underground post in the KPD, and replaced him with a news reporter for the party, and sent him on a "mission" to Moscow. Kippenberger was arrested in Moscow on the orders of the KPD since 1934 had been the KPD Central Committee representative on the Comintern. Kippenberger's back of the neck finished off Kippenberger, thus the one man who knew most about the connections at the time of Luxemburg and Liebknecht's murder was forever silenced.

The murderer Ulbricht had little to do with replacing Kippenberger with loyal agents who faithfully carried out their master's orders. A very simply fabricated circular letter was issued with the exact names and addresses of the Trotskyists and other anti-Stalinists in Germany who had managed so far to escape the Stalinist drag-net. These letters were distributed to Berlin, Breslau, and other major cities where Trotskyists resided. Some of the letters were "fell" into the hands of the Gestapo. It is how the German Trotskyists were destroyed. When the Pabloites in Europe and the Trotskyists in the U.S., the SWP and YIP, and pretty up Stalinism in the party movement, they defile the very history of the German Trotskyists who died at the hands of the victims of Stalinist and Nazi collusion.

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Such a view of her by both the anti-party left radicals is a distortion of her real stature which she attained beyond her years. Trotsky years ago pointed this out. Indeed Trotsky defended her equally against the Stalinist defamation and the platonic petty-bourgeois idealists. He recognized her as a young woman her efforts to organize a Marxist group in Poland to struggle against the Polish Menshevik notions of a loose, all-embracing party, even her theory of spontaneity formed

This final article on the German Revolution draws the lessons for today of this tragic defeat which contributed to the isolation of the Soviet Union and thus its degeneration and paved the way for the growth of fascism in the next decade. Particularly important is Barat's evidence which suggests that the present Stalinist leadership of East Germany was implicated in Luxemburg's murder and thus the vested interest these bureaucrats have in slandering her and keeping the true revolutionary history of Germany from German workers. Equally important is Barat's defense

of Luxemburg against those today, like L. Marcus, who seek to build out of Luxemburg's errors an alternative to Leninism. He shows how in her last days she steadfastly fought to create a Communist Party in Germany on the basis of Lenin's program having learned through the October Revolution the incorrectness of her early differences with Lenin especially on the critical party question. We can only repeat with Leon Trotsky to both the Stalinists and the New Lefters: HANDS OFF ROSA LUXEMBURG!

THE

frozen water until May of that year. In March the counter-revolutionary butchers murdered the extremely talented Leo Jogiches, who had been such a valuable comrade of Liebknecht and Luxemburg in leading the Spartakusbund during the war years.

The replacement of such priceless cadre, alas! often requires generations. Not even the fusion of the left-wing of the USPD with the KPD later in that fateful year of 1919, giving the party a total membership of 350,000, could compensate for the loss of its leadership. In the next three to four years a series of new revolutionary opportunities were opened up for the German working class but the KPD missed each of these chances, a tragic demonstration of how irreplaceable was an experienced leadership.

It has never been revealed as to how the mercenaries discovered the whereabouts of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. In any case a third leader of the KPD arrested in that same building with them was Wilhelm Pieck. It was the same Pieck, who had represented the KPD along with Liebknecht when the two had committed the party to support the insurrection on January 5-6. During the twenties and thirties he was a well-known functionary of the KPD in pre-Hitler Germany. After the second World War he became the President of the Stalinist German Democratic Republic.

The official version put out by the Stalinists to explain why Pieck did not share the fate of

to the Freikorps Headquarters at the Eden Hotel, placed against the wall to be shot. He asked to speak to the commanding officer in private. This request was granted. Thereupon the officer in charge not only spared his life, but freed him, and even furnished him with a letter signed by the intelligence officer of the Division, granting him full protection from further harassment or arrest.

Apparently the Stalinist bureaucrats both in Moscow and East Germany have their sound reasons for keeping all the facts of this case hidden from their own and the world's workers. Perhaps it even explains the recent banning of the BULLETIN in East Germany. For Wilhelm Pieck, who died in 1960, is not the only one implicated in this sordid affair. Walter Ulbricht, the present Secretary General of the East German Stalinist party, SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), is himself covered with the blood of genuine communist workers murdered by the Stalinist apparatus. Let us innumerate some of the incontrovertible facts in this maze of treacherous intrigue.

Not long after Kippenberger concluded his own investigation for the KPD, Hitler, by default of the leadership of the Comintern, came to power. When the Nazis arrested Thaelmann, leader of the KPD, and then seized and murdered his successor, Jonny Scheer, Ulbricht became leader of the KPD, moving his headquarters to the safety of Paris. Kippenberger, still in charge of the special underground unit of the KPD, likewise moved his

mediate operation an order consultation with Noske. worked out battle plan with accounted for and under

s of which had not been the Thirty Years War y, was now inaugurated of this white-terror the whipped up a campaign against the entire working aspirations. What an in-

the conditions in Berlin. tly as it did under the under the Anti-Socialist at least an attempt was that the law was followed. utal force rules in the legal restrictions, sol- s break into apartments out warrants, and search urt orders... Landsberg, who try to pose as the t the hordes of brutal

like the 'democratic' destruction of the revo- to panic as the coun- paranoic hatred of any philosophy became less nguish between radical

ER but especially the known

called by virtu- y's major labor brought out over rkers who to- tudent strikers paralysed the stries, utilities, ooks for a 24 Strikers came attack in city luding Turin, of the 100,000 Fiat autoworks sed in front of

OND leaderships of linist, Catholic nocratic dom- ions were able this particular demand for ate retirement

benefits and related structural reforms, the Italian working class is prepared to go way beyond this kind of struggle.

HEAD

This was shown in the demands brought into the strike by civil service workers, railroad and electrical workers who independently shut down these sectors of the Italian economy a few days later on the issue of increased wages and health benefits and other economic demands. The tendency to take these fights beyond the level of structural reform was exhibited likewise among students who in addition to the purely reformist demand for restructuring the universities demanded that the government

vastly increase its number of paid state scholarships.

As we pointed out in the June 24th issue of the Bulletin, the relative prosperity that had led Italy in the recent period to be dubbed the "Japan of Europe" has been based on the late development of the boom in Italy, giving Italian industry a technical edge over its European competitors, combined with austerity measures that have prevented the working class from sharing in the boom.

UPRISING

This contradiction came to a head in the May 1968 elections when large numbers of workers abandoned the Socialist Party for the Commu-

nists, forcing the Socialists to withdraw from its Center Left coalition with Moro and the Christian Democrats whose conservative policies have overly compromised the Socialists. The minority government of Leone has resolved nothing and now comes up against the resistance of the working class. Last week Moro re-emerged within the Christian Democratic Party championing a line of partial accommodation to the Socialist Party in a bid for reviving the center-left coalition. However, the international situation has far too drastically reduced the margin for compromise between the Italian bourgeoisie and the working class for any

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Just as in France this the question of the and in fact the European revolution.

the diary of an american seaman

BY H. BROOKS
A MERCHANT SEAMAN

The 'Deck Gang' works on all the decks of the ship, above the Engine Room. They work inside or outside the ship, steer the ship, etc. Crossing the Atlantic in the winter, is like trying to ride on top of a car, bucking the wind. So they do as much work as possible on the inside, but not always depending on the whim of the officer. I wonder what good are flu shots in such a case. Anyway I'm no A.B. 'Look-out' on the bow looking out for traffic collisions is no picnic, naturally. I'm not in the Deck Gang and we would appreciate 2 Deck Gangmen writing in to us and telling us about it.

Every department has its advantages and disadvantages, the same as shoreside jobs. I'm no cook, and no messman, so again we ask somebody from that department to write in to us. I do know that in the summer it can be pretty damn hot behind the stove in the galley. The comfort of the crew depends also in what part of the world we are.

DEMAC

I am a 'DeMac' working in the Engine Department (abbreviation for Deck-Engine Mechanic), on automated ships. A Demac is a combination of oiler and fireman's job. Due to electronic instruments on the 'console' a demac can easily know what is going on any place in the engine without going there, but only to a degree. When an alarm goes off and a light flashes, it merely tells us where to go and find what is the trouble in that area of the engine-room. All this sounds wonderful to a novice who might feel that this is right out of the comic strips like Flash Gordon, etc. Well all this could be true, if the seamen themselves controlled working conditions, and not the coupon clipping ship-owners.

Boiler control is much easier and we get plenty of warning when the water level

is too low or too high. Nevertheless, there have been times when several things go wrong, and both the engineer and the demac run around in panic trying to fix everything and the horns, bells and whistles are loud enough to wake up the dead.

If this situation gets worse, then we push the 'engineers alarm', or 'panic button', and all the engineers come down even in their underwear if need be, to help get the plant under control.

Temperatures and pressures are recorded electronically, or by pressing a button. That saves a lot of steps, so therefore by staying on the ball, we can just about do two men's work, except when we almost or actually push the 'panic button'.

So what's the point of automation? Ah! To reduce the number of crew members.

WHAT AUTOMATION WILL MEAN TO U.S. SEAMEN

McKinsey & Co., a London based management-consultant firm, made a survey for the British Transport Docks Board. The report is now looked upon as the "Bible" of the shipping industry around the world.

The report tells shippers that containerization will revolutionize their industry, transforming it into a new "transport" industry that the old-timers would not recognize.

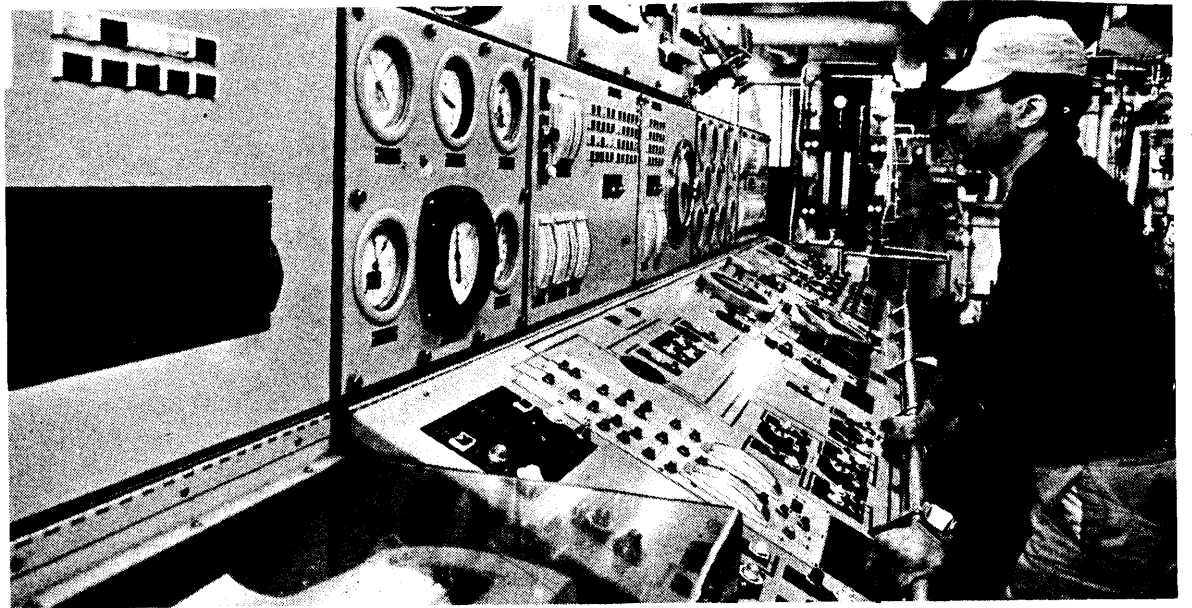
The McKinsey Report forecast that the development of the container will make nine out of ten longshoremen's jobs vanish. Eight out of ten shiplines operating on the North Atlantic will go out of business or be swallowed by larger lines.

The end result, the report said,

Elementary! That is what Sherlock Holmes would say to Mr. Watson. So who gets the benefit of all this? The shipowner-millionaires, of course.

EQUATOR

Crossing the equator is more comfortable on automated ships, engine room temperatures going up to as high



A "DEMAC" WATCHES INSTRUMENTS ON THE "CONSOLE" IN AUTOMATED SHIP.

as 110 degrees. I once had a fireman's job on an old rust-bucket, and saw the thermometer go up to 128 degrees. My engineer being a funny and good-humored fel-

ate.

The only way to have a good pay-off, is to get plenty of overtime, or cargo-time. But who wants to put in a 12 hour day, 7 days a week? I thought the 10 or 12 hour day was eliminated years ago. What we need is the 4 watch system and a 6 hour working day with the same salary. That's a real war on poverty.

Besides what will happen if the shipowners get away with their plans for containerization of cargo, eliminating thousands of seamen jobs?

MENU

Sometimes the menu is good; a good variety of food. Sometimes, when we run out of fresh vegetables, we get plenty of potatoes, rice and beans. I've heard of some cases where no grade A meats were served. Only XYZ. A vegetarian certainly wouldn't miss XYZ grade.

Getting along with gas hounds (drunken men) can be quite a problem sometimes. Some are well-behaved and some are belligerent, depending on their basic character. A gas hound may be so drunk that we might have to stand his watch, and who the hell wants to do that when we want to go ashore also. Besides with containerization,

we don't stay long enough in port to see the sights like the passengers do.

The average seaman is against the two old parties. I think the time is ripe for a third party as an alternative. If we began to work for the building of a Labor Party, then we could pull the rug from under George Wallace and his fascist elements. You can't fool all of the workers all the time by telling them to vote the Democratic Party. I am proud that I never contributed to the so-called fighting fund, which money is partly contributed to the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party in and independent thinking should be in the forefront of this movement.

EDITORS NOTE: The BULLETIN will continue to publish articles dealing with the conditions and problems of seamen and other maritime workers. We will be pleased to print letters commenting on this article or dealing with the battle against the Curran bureaucracy in the NMU or with other questions of interest to seamen. Write to BULLETIN, 243 E. 10th St., New York, N.Y. 10003. Names of signed letters will be withheld upon request.

FORD FOUNDATION

how and why it runs new york city's schools

NEW YORK--Who indeed runs the schools here? One thing has become clear and that is the Ford Foundation sure has a big finger in the pie. Three members of the Board of Education who supposedly were chosen to represent the 'community', Galamison, Vasquez, and Doar receive funds from Ford. Mr. Haddad is due to get in on the take in a few weeks. So these members who pose as impartial representatives are being paid by Ford.

But what is the Ford Foundation? The Ford Foundation was set up by the Ford family for one reason, as a giant tax loophole. By contributing a small amount of their profits obtained from the backs of the workers employed by the Ford Motor Company to 'charity', this gives the contributors a tax exemption of millions. So with the sav-

ings in taxes these millionaires can then control the school system by buying off officials.

Meanwhile the workers who produce the wealth are denied control over the school system but pay for it with their sweat and through taxes which the millionaires conveniently do not have to pay. Taxation without representation did not die with the Boston Tea Party.

CRY

It is really enough to make you cry when Mr. Bundy, the head of the Foundation is affronted by the attacks on the role of his foundation by the UFT. Mr. Bundy when it was suggested that the Foundation lose its tax-exempt status came out with the most unbelievable garbage. 'By long tradition, the freedom and flexibility of private foundations are sanctioned in the

public interest... This freedom is particularly precious in times when the nation is rent by fear and by intimidations of repression of the struggle for social justice.' This freedom Mr. Bundy talks about is not freedom for the masses of people to control their lives but for the bosses who bleed them to control not in the interest of the 'public' but in their interests. The intimidations Mr. Bundy is worried about is the threat by the workers to get a fair share of the wealth they create from the bosses.

HISTORY

We only have to look at the history of Henry Ford's activities to see what is the meaning of his 'social justice' and to see what lies behind the Ford Foundation's interest in education. In the days when the workers began to organize

a union in the auto industry, Mr. Ford began hiring a number of black workers. He hired black workers and then attempted to keep them personally loyal to him by proclaiming that he was the only one in Detroit who would hire Negroes. This was not done out of the goodness of his heart but to prevent the union from organizing by dividing black and white workers and attempting to get the black workers to be loyal to him. When this did not work, Mr. Ford then imported racist preachers from the South to stir up racism in the white communities against the Negro workers to divide the union and break the united actions of the workers.

ROLE

The role the Ford Foundation has played in the recent teachers' strike is quite the

same. The Ford Foundation was the author of the plan for decentralization and keeps in its employ various 'community' leaders. The purpose of this plan has been to divide the working class, to keep the workers in the community fighting the workers in the union, in this case the UFT so that they will not fight the main enemy - the bosses and their City government. It is not the first time that Ford has funded racism to divide the workers.

This is the meaning of the bosses 'philanthropy'. Just as Mr. Ford's activities were defeated by the organization of the UAW uniting black and white workers to fight against him, so the workers must be united today to fight against the bosses schemes of 'social justice' to oppress and divide the workers.

NEW SPLITS IN SPARTACIST

Degeneration Deepens

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The process of political degeneration with its accompanied splits and disintegration of the Spartacist League has now reached a new stage with the expulsion of Comrade Harry Turner and a small group of supporters. The Turner expulsion follows shortly after two other splits--the Ross group which is now in the Marcy-dominated Anti-Imperialist Coalition and a group around Kay Elens closely associated with the VO group in France. Others who have left Spartacist over the past two years include: L. Marcus, Shane Mage, Geoff White, Robert Kaufman, Robert Sherwood and a number of other individuals reducing the organization to less than half its membership at the time of its 1966 founding conference. More than half the original full and alternate members of the central committee elected at this conference have split.

There are extremely important lessons for revolutionists to learn from the degeneration of Spartacist particularly in regard to the central importance for principled revolutionists to begin with the struggle to build the international movement. It is no accident that Robertson's break with the International Committee of the Fourth International in April, 1966, coincided with this process of political and organizational degeneration. From that point on the Robertson group proceeded without principle or perspective, became engulfed in, dominated by the sick petty bourgeois circle in the United States it lived off of having no other objective role for itself than to seek by any means possible to destroy the International Committee and the Workers League.

The political struggle of Comrade Turner within Spartacist from 1966 to this fall reveals a good deal about the nature and orientation of the Spartacist organization. The struggle erupted first over the question of "priorities". Turner had been instrumental in the formation of a committee whose purpose it was to struggle in the trade unions in particular in regard to minority workers. Soon after this committee was formed and began to actually function with hospital workers, Robertson moved in organizationally to shift some Spartacist people out of this committee and into other spheres of work--primarily among the radical milieu.

PARTY

In the course of the fight over this question the discussion turned more and more on to the basic issues of the actual perspective upon which Spartacist operated and the nature of the Leninist party itself. Robertson insisted on an orientation towards the radical milieu and any trade union work was considered simply "exemplary", that is as helpful to reaching petty bourgeois radicals outside the unions. Robertson saw no capitalist crisis, no real movement or changes in the class struggle. Further Robertson saw no role for the Leninist Party and in fact did not view the Spartacist League as such a party or even the embryo of such a party. Rather Robertson saw Spartacist as a "splinter propaganda group" and acted accordingly.

Starting with a rejection of any role for Spartacist as a Leninist vanguard, attacking any attempts to turn Spartacist towards the working class as "uncontrollable impatience" which threatens to "burn out" the organization, it was to be expected that in the course of the discussion the Robertson leadership found itself going over to the very revisionist conceptions of the SWP it had been denouncing for so long. Robertson's principal collaborator and main spokesman in the discussion, Joseph Seymour, attacked the minority for "transferring the burden of radicalizing the white working classes from the leadership of the black liberation movement, who command potentially enormous political power, at this time, to the obviously much weaker Spartacist League." In other words Spartacist's task, as Seymour sees it, is to urge Cleaver, Carmichael, and Brown to radicalize white workers. Rather than fighting the black nationalists on a class program and intervening in the class struggle, he urged Spartacist to abstain from the class struggle and advise the black nationalists on matters of program.

PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

by G. Healy A Newsletter Pamphlet 40¢

Written after the April 1966 Third Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International this pamphlet deals with the past struggles in the Trotskyist movement for theory against all revisionist tendencies and the lessons to be drawn from these struggles for the defence of the movement's programme and principles in the building and strengthening of the Fourth International.

Room 8, 243 E. 10 Street, NYC 10003

Turner in the course of the struggle was forced to come to an assessment of the real class nature of the majority tendency in control of Spartacist. He characterized the Robertson faction "as a left-centrist formation resting upon the petty bourgeoisie."

TINPOT

Robertson's organizational practices flowed from his whole political outlook. Beginning only with himself and not the objective needs of the class and the international movement, he sees Spartacist as his personal property, as his own little circle. After having justified his split from the International Committee on the grounds that as a man of "principle" he could not submit an apology to the conference over his refusal to attend sessions of the conference which were to discuss his own contributions, he turns around and submits to Turner a five point written apology. Turner was asked to sign a written document among other things repudiating statements which in Robertson's opinion were "slanders" and finally to break politically with his own son! His son's crime seems to be to have attended an occasional public meeting of the Workers League.

This is not the first time in history that some tinpot despot has unjustly accused revolutionists of organizational procedures they themselves employ.

Important as this internal discussion was it never really got to the nub of the problem. Robertson's repudiation of the struggle for the Leninist party, his hostility to a perspective of working class struggle, his transformation of the Spartacist League into a personal clique, all this flows from the stand Robertson took at the April 1966 Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

PERSPECTIVES

At that Conference, following a presentation on International Perspectives, Robertson gave a presentation of the position of Spartacist. The presentation revealed fundamental differences in principle, theory and strategy with the International Committee, none of which Robertson had seen necessary to present in the prior discussion leading up to the conference.

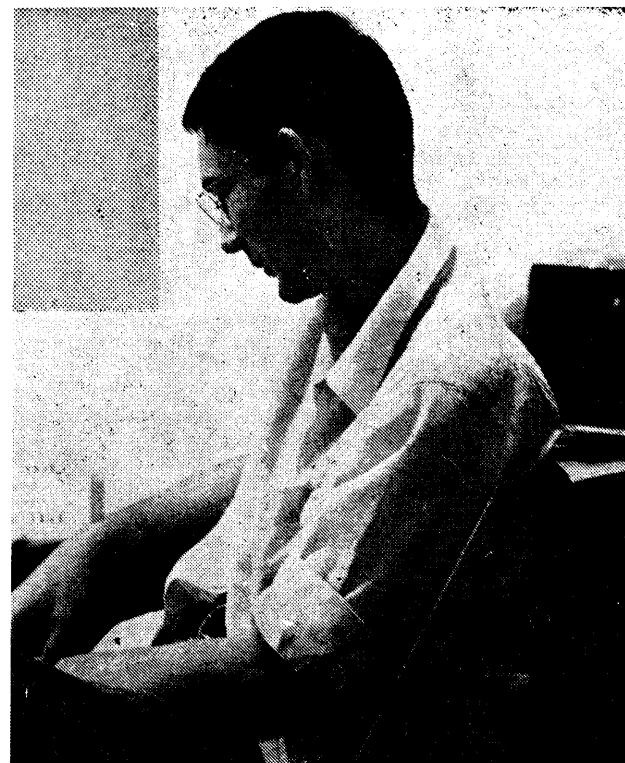
Robertson saw no international crisis of capitalism--that is except in the historical sense that one has existed since 1914. He saw only little ups and downs presenting no serious problems for the capitalists nor providing any objective basis of the kind of intense deepening of the class struggle we have seen everywhere in the period since 1966. Expressing, like Keynes, a supreme confidence in the capitalists he states that "crises" are all in a day's work for the mechanisms and agencies of imperialism in muddling through from one year to the next."

But when it came to the international movement Robertson replaced confidence with scepticism. Rather than seeing the International Committee of the Fourth International as a sole continuator of the fight for the program of Trotsky he saw four international organizations "claiming to be Trotskyist" and the future movement somehow coming out of some sort of amalgam or regroupment of forces within all four "internationals." Clearly he was attending the International Committee Conference under false pretenses as the call for the conference made clear that the conference was based on the conception that only the International Committee had not gone over to revisionism as had the other formations which were nothing more than different splinters of the Pabloites. Clearly Robertson's intention at this conference was to get a hunk of the International Committee for this future amalgam of his.

At the conference he also made clear that he conceived of his organization as only a "propaganda group." And so of course he wished on an international scale not a world proletarian party but some sort of collection of national propaganda groups.

After making this contribution and being informed that all in attendance wished to discuss it thoroughly, he retired from the conference claiming he was tired. He was repeatedly asked to return to the conference so that other delegates, some who had traveled from as far as Japan, could comment on his presentation in his presence. He repeatedly refused to do so. He was then asked by the conference to apologize for this behavior. This he repeatedly refused to do.

Thus the conference was confronted not only with a presentation of conceptions which questioned the very nature of the International Committee it-



JIM ROBERTSON

self and threw out its entire international perspective of working class struggle but any possibility of resolving these differences through a serious international discussion process was sabotaged by the arrogance of Robertson who pitted his individuality against the international movement. Could the conference under such conditions do anything else but expell Robertson? Could they allow this man to go back to the United States as a part of the international movement when while attending a conference of the international movement he treated it with such disdain. To do that would have been a break on the part of the International Committee from the very concept of internationalism as found in the statutes of the Third and Fourth Internationals--a transformation of the Fourth International into nothing more than a collection of national propaganda circles each therefore no more than a reflection of the petty bourgeoisies of the respective countries.

DESTRUCTION

Since April 1966 the Robertson group has lived for one objective political purpose--the destruction of the Fourth International and its American supporters the Workers League. Page after page of the Spartacist and leaflet after leaflet have been devoted to the most vile, unprincipled and uncontrolled attacks against our movement. The principled political struggle against the revisionism of the SWP was all but dropped and a co-operative division of labor emerged between the SWP and Spartacist in perpetrating these slanders. The SWP published all the documents Spartacist rather than protesting this thanked them for their effort. It then took over the major responsibility for peddling this in this country. The SWP then turned around and launched a slander campaign against the Socialist Labour League around the Tate provocation and this became headline material in Spartacist under the title "Oust Healy!" Leaflets were distributed fingering Robert Sherwood and noting that he had gone to Canada as a prelude to the government attacks today on Sherwood. No restraint, no principles, not even when Robertson knows it can mean the prosecution by the bourgeois state of our comrades.

The Spartacist group is not just another tendency. It has deserted the most essential principles of class morality. It is a crystallized expression of the sickest sections of the American petty bourgeoisie who see the revolutionary party as does the bourgeoisie--as its greatest enemy.

We warn American workers. This is not just another tendency. You can expect anything from this group. It is not to be trusted in the least. We for one have had no relations with this group since April 1966 and will never have any.

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SSEU

angry ranks are militant as leaders play with ocb

BY FRED CALHOUN

Two thousand angry case-workers, case aids and supervisors amassed at the Mayor's residence, Gracie Mansion, Nov. 14 after work. This enormous turnout, the biggest demonstration ever held by SSEU, belied the mythology rampant on the union's executive board, that the membership is about ready to turn over and die. Indeed, the membership is prepared to do battle with the city to win a new contract. The real question is what strategy will lead to victory.

In the past few months, workers in the Department of Social Services have found the administration trying to roll back working conditions to what existed before SSEU was founded. In fighting to defend their current contract workers have been suspended, and demoted.

In center after center, workers have fought back. They have dumped cases which are above their contractual limit. They have refused to work involuntary overtime.

LEADERSHIP

What is needed and what is lacking is leadership. The officers and the executive board have no idea how to utilize this very real militancy and turn it into victory.

No direction is offered by the union centrally. Left to their own devices, delegates take their workers through isolated guerilla tactics against their local administrators. When workers are suspended, they pull staff out for one or two days of "sick days" but accomplish little to get their workers unsuspended.

In the midst of all this, Commissioner Goldberg issues an "Open Letter" to staff. This departmental Atilla states: "The Department has a clear commitment to consult, and where necessary and required by law, to bargain with the unions representing its employees on any practical impact its decisions on such changes may have its employees." Our erudite commissioner has laid his cards as well as his syntax on the table. He knows full well that the Office of Collective Bargaining will declare almost every job related issue non-negotiable and is free to make his pious proclamations.

This is the nature of OCB. Its expressed purpose is to remove from the rank and file city employee any ability to bargain on his working conditions, to submit all issues to a panel of bigwigs who willicker on what crumbs to give



2,000 ANGRY SSEU'ERS TURN OUT AT GRACIE MANSION TO PROTEST OVERWORK AND UNDERPAY

workers whose work loads have been doubled.

OCB

The purpose of the OCB is to destroy the independence of the unions and make them part of the state apparatus. The labor bureaucracy has been instrumental in setting up OCB. OCB was initially supported by almost every labor bureaucrat in the city. The task posed to city workers is to unite to remove their sell-out leaders who aid the government in lowering the living standards of the workers.

Initially the SSEU leadership opposed the passage of OCB. Today they have come full circle and are now soft peddling OCB and attempting maneuvers within it.

Our exec board pragmatists began by accepting the labor bureaucracy and their role as labor saboteurs. The idea of mobilizing the ranks against the bureaucracy simply staggers their collective minds. Along with the bureaucracy, they fear more than anything else the mobilization of the rank and file. Instead of proposing that the ranks fight

against OCB, and against the city, they hire a paid "consultant" Mr. Beagle of the United Sanitation Workers, whose role in back room dealing during the last strike which led to defeat was well known to every member of the board. But these so-called representatives of the ranks approved paying him \$3,000 to produce another sell-out settlement.

PREPARE

In opposition to this preparation for betrayal in January, the Affiliation Now Caucus has proposed that an all out effort be made to reach the rank and file clerks and supervisors to explain the need for a joint fight against OCB now as the only protection against the city's reorganization schemes-- that we fight for a contract with iron-clad work-load provisions, committing the city to negotiating any changes-- not just their "impact" with the three unions. And that we prepare

to wage a joint strike with the resources of DC37 behind us if necessary. To make joint bargaining a greater

possibility the Affiliation Now Caucus has demanded that the exec board use the mandate given it and immediately call another referendum to allow the ranks to vote to merge with 371.

The Affiliation Now Caucus has warned that the fate of the SSEU and the 1969 contract is in the hands of the ranks. The ranks must take concrete steps toward insuring a successful confrontation with the city in January by first passing the following motion in their centers, demanding that the SSEU leadership, executive board and collective bargaining committee:

1. Publically reaffirm its long standing refusal to be bound by OCB limitations on collective bargaining.

2. Use its full resources, leaflets, newspaper, etc. to achieve joint collective bargaining and joint strike agreements with 1549 and 371 on the basis of a common fight on wages, workload, and all other issues in defiance of OCB provisions.

3. Schedule immediately a new merger referendum.

HUSSEIN TURNS GUNS ON ARAB REVOLUTION

BY FRED MUELLER

Fighting erupted in early November, in the capital city of Amman, between Jordanian government forces and members of a commando group known as the Kataeb al Nasr. At least 25 persons were killed 100 wounded and scores arrested.

This recent violence within Jordan itself indicates the intense determination of the **Palestinians** to fight for liberation. The Jordanian monarchy finds itself embarrassed by the commandos, as it seeks desperately to find some accommodation with the Israelis. The three major **Palestinian** commando organizations, including the two mentioned above as well as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all attacked the Hussein regime after the latest incidents. Al Fatah, at the very same time as it agreed to respect government checkpoints and keep armed men out of the capital city, charged that Hussein had staged the shooting incidents in order to discredit and weaken the commandos and prepare to liquidate those operating from Jordan. If the King was thus able to bolster his position somewhat, this was clearly very temporary and there is more and not less distrust of him among the **Palestinian** refugees and

fighters.

NEGOTIATIONS

The farce of the so-called negotiations or preliminary contacts is still being pursued by United Nations envoy Gunnar Jarring. Jarring continues to carry messages from one side to the other. The extreme difficulty of getting actual negotiations started is a reflection of the irreconcilable conflict between the Arab masses on the one side and imperialism and its Zionist accomplices on the other. There are many, including Hussein himself, who would like nothing better than to negotiate, but their maneuverability is severely restricted by the nature of the conflict itself.

This conflict between Hussein and the **Palestinian** resistance army also illustrates the general tendency for the Arab liberation struggle to go over into a struggle against the **feudalistic** and capitalist leadership--to go over into the socialist revolution. Hussein's panicky desire for accommodation with Israel is largely based on this fear. The future of the Arab revolution depends upon the creation of a revolutionary party capable of leading the Arab masses against their dual enemy of foreign imperialism and its Zionist ally and the domestic

ruling classes of these countries.

DAYAN

The dispute between the so-called doves and hawks within the Israeli regime has come out into the open. There are nearly one million Arabs in the occupied areas. Defense Minister Dayan is the leading spokesman for the hawks. Dayan, who spent some time in South Vietnam last year advising the army of the Saigon puppet regime, believes there will be no diplomatic settlement. He advocates the integration of the occupied areas into the Israeli economy. As Minister of Defense Dayan has had the opportunity to put some of his plans into operation. He is trying to buy off and cultivate the Arab bourgeoisie in the occupied

areas. The dominant forces in the Israeli regime, however, feel that Dayan's open policy of annexation, of expansionism and the subjugation of such large areas, is far too dangerous to toy with. These spokesmen point to an annual immigration rate of 20,000 to 30,000 Jews at the most. The assimilation of nearly a million Arabs in addition to those already within Israel would place the very survival of Israel as a Jewish state in question.

The Zionists continue to face the same dilemma. Their territorial gains have made them no more secure. Indeed military gains only create new and more thorny problems. A Jewish state pitted against the interests and aspirations of the Arab workers and pea-

sants will be permanently menaced. The June 1967 war settled nothing, just as we predicted it would not.

Now Israeli Premier Eshkol brazenly demands as part of a settlement that the Jordan River be a so-called security frontier for Israel. Even if the Jordanian territory on the west bank is returned, no Jordanian or other Arab troops would be allowed in the west bank. At the same time Eshkol admits that exactly the same conditions which led to the June 1967 war are present once again.

This is tantamount to an admission of failure for the policies of the Zionists. In addition to being the enemy of the Arab workers they are also incapable of bringing security or freedom to the Jews.

DC 50 STRIKES FOR UNION RIGHTS

(Continued from page 2)

ever with the rest of the labor movement.

District 50 is fighting to bring real trade unionism to state employees, to wage a fight against the state for higher wages and better working conditions. It is part of **ASCME** which has been in the forefront of organizing governmental employees all over the country who have found their wages and working conditions under attack.

The ranks of the workers in the hospitals are absolutely determined to defeat the maneuvers by Rockefeller and the State to prevent them from building a strong fighting organization. Pickets have stood firm despite harassment. Rockefeller has attempted to break the strike by using scabs defended by armed state police. The workers have fought back against this move with women strikers bravely holding the line to prevent

the scabs from entering.

FIGHT

The trade union movement as a whole must take up the fight to defend these workers and their right to choose their union. This fight must be combined with the fight against the vicious Taylor Law.

What is at stake in this fight is the basic rights of the workers to bargain, to strike if necessary, to fight back against the attacks of their employers.