

STUDENT UPSURGE FACES CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

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a bankrupt
conference of
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DEGAULLE IS OUT— FRANCE AT BRINK

BY THE EDITORS

DeGaulle is out and the masses of the French people couldn't be happier. The working people called his last bluff. DeGaulle said if he was defeated on the referendum he would resign. It was precisely for that reason that the French workers, and large sections of the middle classes, voted 'NON!'

Now France teeters once again on the brink of a revolutionary explosion. Nothing was resolved in the aftermath of the revolutionary development of May-June 1968. The sizable economic concessions to the workers have been largely eroded by inflation and workers are coming back and asking for more. Even with present wage levels the French economy totters with the Franc at its lowest point since the November monetary crisis and gold at its highest price. The not so loyal French bourgeoisie is once again sewing gold into its underwear and hopping the plane for Zurich.

FRANC

While the Franc is expected to withstand the onslaught at least until a new president is elected, this can be done only by increasing France's indebtedness to other capitalist countries--particularly the United States--and further weakening

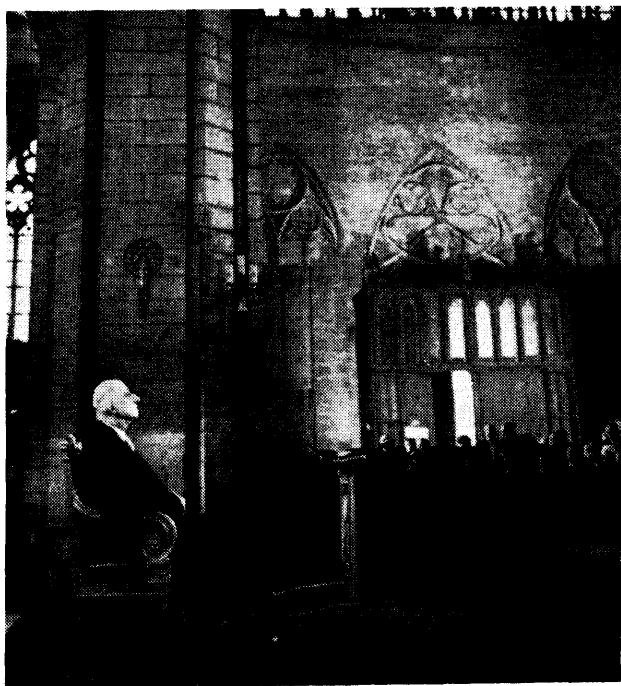
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military move in on ulster

DISTRICT 65 SPLITS
FROM AFL-CIO

FRANCE MOVES TO THE BRINK



New May-June Is In The Making

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

a strained economy.

After the election, everybody expects some kind of devaluation. What the United States wants is a mini-devaluation which will not seriously strengthen France's competitive position on the world market while hurting the French economy and working class. This is what DeGaulle refused to buy last November but the new president may have less room to maneuver.

At the same time the fate of the franc and the pound are deeply intertwined so that DeGaulle's resignation will mean deeper strains on the British economy and bring revolutionary developments in that country all the closer. Britain has already dissipated its resources in seeking to hold the line on the pound since 1964. The new drain will force Britain into greater debt.

But the financial aid from the other capitalists

will not come without strings. The price Wilson must pay will be immediate attacks on the labor movement: to push through the anti-labor legislation already proposed and to not only intensify the attacks on working conditions (they call it job evaluation, grading, measured-day work, phasing--American workers simply call it the SPEED-UP) but this time without even token payment in terms of small wage increases

PARALYSIS

Whatever regime replaces DeGaulle, it will be a regime of paralysis, of crisis. With every failure, every frustration, every government crisis, every reshuffling of the cabinet, the right wing in France will grow. Their aim is, once bourgeois democracy in its present limited Fifth Republic form is shown to be weak, bankrupt, to come in with a military dictatorship supported by the fascist Occident movement. It is not even excluded that they will place DeGaulle on a horse (if the old man can still ride) and bring him back to power to front for their military regime.

Meanwhile the Communist Party plays the most pernicious and dangerous of games. It seeks to hold back the pressure of the working class for its pay claims in order to make a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie. Such a bloc, whether as a loyal opposition or a loyal government, will prove as spineless and vacillating as the Popular Front in the 1930s--more so as DeGaulle has succeeded in limiting even further the powers of the parliament. This policy can only aid the right.

The student adventurers contribute in their own way to this situation. Each aimless demonstration and action only aids the right and separates the students from the workers.

MIGHTY

But the working class is a mighty force in France, rich in revolutionary tradition, stronger in numbers than at any time in its glorious history. Its might will be felt. It is the working class above all, despite the misleadership of the Communist Party, which haunts all the bourgeois commentators on the fall of DeGaulle. They can afford to lose this single and rather cantankerous man--but capitalism at all costs must be preserved.

No matter what the Communist Party does the French working class is in no mood to lie low and take a beating because of the failures of French and world capitalism. It will fight on, pushing its demands one way or another. May-June was only a first installment--the great French Revolution is now being prepared before our very eyes. It cannot be forestalled for long. It is in the making.

PARTY

This is why the construction of the revolutionary party in France is of the greatest most immediate urgency. Capitalism will not topple automatically. The French working class will fight on; but it cannot win without a new leadership.

The construction of this leadership has already begun with the French supporters of the International Committee of the Fourth International.--the Alliance of Jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS) and the Federation des Comites d'Alliance Ouvriere (CAO).

These comrades played a critical role in the May-June events of 1968, refusing to lose themselves in isolated student actions, throwing their energies into the struggle to unite the French working class around a struggle for political power.

Now they face the most severe challenge of all--taking the French working class through an experience which will break them from the French Communist Party and bring them to the side of the Trotskyist movement. This will not be accomplished overnight. The working class must be shown in struggle over and over again the bankruptcy of Stalinism before they venture to break definitively with it.

But they must be shown more than this. They must see a clear, principled, resolute fighting alternative leadership that understands there is no way out for France except the socialist revolution and that this revolution will take place in the coming period and under our leadership.

LONG LIVE THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS!
FORWARD TO THE UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!
BUILD THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN ALL COUNTRIES!

students face crisis of leadership

BY TOM GORDON

The American campuses are being rocked by a wave of demonstrations, building seizures, strikes unprecedented in the history of the country. The issues center primarily around black nationalist demands, demands related to violations of democratic rights on the campuses and to ROTC, and demands related to the expansion of the university into the surrounding, usually ghetto, communities.

There is a tremendous militancy and willingness to struggle on the part of not just a handful but hundreds of thousands of American students. At the same time these demonstrations express a deepening crisis of student leadership as questions of orientation and direction of the students' struggles becomes thrust to the fore.

The capitalist class, however, is not sitting idly by. Each demonstration is given widespread press coverage aimed at picturing the students as a bunch of wild anarchists, disruptive to the democratic process and the like. Consciously the press and government seek to turn the working class against the students, the students against the working class, the poor against the students and the working class, black against white, white against black. Keep them divided, separated, then pick them off in isolation--that is the program of the capitalists.

TOUGH

The government officials and politicians are talking tough. They are waiting for the moment when the press has prepared the public for serious blows against the democratic rights of students in preparation for such blows against the working class as a whole. The current Atlantic Monthly quotes Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst as saying "If people demonstrated in a manner to interfere with others, they should be rounded up and put in a detention camp." He is now seeking to take back these words, not

out of any pacifism, but because the government claims not to have such detention camps. In a similar vein, Will R. Wilson, chief of the criminal division of the Justice Department, said: "I think if you could get all of them in the penitentiary, you would stop it." He does not deny saying this.

What then is the state of the student leadership as it enters a new stage when hundreds of thousands of students are ready and willing to struggle but when the students face a very serious threat of first being isolated and then violently suppressed. For an understanding of this we must first turn to the SDS National Council Meeting held in Austin, Texas this last March -- on the very eve of the new outburst of student struggles. Over 1200 students participated in its deliberations which saw a shift away from Progressive Labor domination over to abject capitulation to black nationalism.

SDS

Resolutions were passed for defense of the Black Panthers, that the "schools must serve the people", to build SDS in the South, to support "third world liberation and socialist revolution," to urge Ho Chi Minh to struggle, and to stage community actions in Detroit this summer. The practical outcome is unclear since members and chapters are not formally disciplined and since members often ignore resolutions.

The Progressive Labor resolution to "fight U.S.-Soviet collusion against China" was defeated. PL is fast losing the near-majority of support it had at the December National Council in Michigan. Factions in SDS are continuing their attempts to purge or weaken PL within SDS.

The Joe Hill Caucus, San Francisco State College, presented the third world liberation resolution, which stated that "we in SDS continue to affirm our stand on the side of the people struggling for national liberation...The role of SDS is clearly to lead the struggle in the white community to support and defend the revolution-

ary nationalist movements in the neo-colonies... Third world people will not be subject to any authority not of their own choosing. The white revolutionary movement must commit itself to support the right of self-determination for the third world people in the form that third world people decide to exercise that right, (i.e. Panther referendum in the black neo-colony.)"

With this one resolution, SDS comes down as firmly as it can for organization along racial and neighborhood lines instead of in the trade unions, for the full separation of white and black struggles, and for a referendum instead of the building of a party.

COLUMBIA

Next we must turn to the situation at Columbia University, one of the most politically advanced universities where the various tendencies among the student leadership have become more sharply delineated. The struggle has been dominated by three factions: the Afro-American Society, the SDS majority group which represents the views carried at the March National Council meeting, the SDS Expansion Committee controlled by Progressive Labor. Each have come out with different demands, seized and then relinquished different buildings, and engaged in factional struggle with each other.

The Afro-American Society has limited its demands to the black nationalist business of black control over black admissions and over the black studies program. The SDS majority responded, in line with the NC resolutions, with complete and uncritical support for these black nationalist demands. But they added a couple of their own--in particular a demand that all students attending any of the four high schools (largely minority youth) in the neighborhood who wish admission to Columbia be admitted.

The reaction of the Afro-American Society is particularly interesting. They have refused to support this high school demand and have

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWELVE)

SSEU BLACK CAUCUS TAKES A WALK

BY MARTY JONAS

NEW YORK--The Black Caucus of the Social Service Employees Union walked out of the April 24th Executive Board meeting. This act came after the Black Caucus' incumbent candidate, Lloyd Douglas, had been defeated for the second time in an election for the post of Community Action Organizer.

This event was in reality an expression of the fundamental conflict between organization on the basis of race and organization on the basis of class. The Black Caucus was formed after the strike debacle of 1967, and is composed of welfare workers who scabbed during that strike as well as some militant unionists. Its role, it was announced, was to get more black participation in the SSEU.

DISSATISFACTION

There was very real and solid ground for dissatisfaction inside the union among black welfare workers. Homemakers and children's counsellors, largely black, have been a neglected section of the union for years. Nothing, but nothing has been done by the leadership to give leadership and support

to the clients. And there was general dissatisfaction among all union members, black and white, with the failure of the leadership to struggle against the growing city offensive.

But the Black Caucus distorted these legitimate complaints by organizing within the union on a race basis only and seeking to impose within the union the petty bourgeois nationalist conceptions. Thus its central concern was that the Black Caucus should specify how many and which positions within the bureaucracy were to be filled by blacks, the caucus would choose which blacks would fill these spots, and the union was simply to ratify their choice. This way outright scabs were pushed into union positions and the real issues affecting all union members, including blacks, were ignored. Some careerists have been able to advance themselves within the union bureaucracy this way but the lot of the rank and file and the clients has not changed.

The Morgenstern leadership went along with this as did Progressive Labor and all the other assorted "radicals". What happened at this Executive

Board meeting was certainly no conscious break with this black nationalist approach. The leadership was willing to swallow almost anything the Caucus could come up with. It is just that Brother Douglas was just too much for any half-way serious union man to swallow.

WALK-OUT

But more important than the particular causes of the walk-out was the walk-out itself. It showed the direction which separate black organization within the unions must take--out of the union. There is no way to combine race organization with class organization. If race dominates, class unity is destroyed; if class dominates, racial separatism is smashed. Of course we can expect Morgenstern and friends to work out some new deal to bring the Black Caucus back into the fold. But this will only postpone the split for a while.

Right now all SSEU members face the most serious situation with the loss of 9,000 jobs and general attacks on working conditions throughout the Department. This situation faces all workers--black and white. At the same time

welfare clients face a real cut in their living standards while the cost of living gallops ahead at a fantastic speed. This is why the Workers League fought at the recent Central Park demonstration around demands which linked the struggle of the labor movement with that of the clients.

TRIUMPH

Not only will class triumph over race divisions within the

unions but it will be through a renewed militant movement within labor's ranks that racism can be destroyed, while at the same time defending the working conditions and living standards of all workers. The Black Caucus has no program for workers of any color. A few may get posts, but the rank and file black union members have been deserted by these self appointed "leaders."

New York District 65 Splits With AFL-CIO; To Join ALA

BY A DISTRICT 65 MEMBER

NEW YORK--The membership of District 65 has ratified the decision of the '65 leadership to disaffiliate from RWDSU and therefore from the AFL-CIO. The justification given for this split is that organization of the unorganized and a meaningful fight against racism were impossible within the international union.

David Livingston, president of '65, contends that the RWDSU leadership has refused him any funds for a serious organizing drive as well as refusing to permit him to collaborate in any way with the newly formed Alliance for Labor Action. He also claims that the leadership of RWDSU is "lily-white" and doesn't reflect the changing racial composition of the union membership, and that therefore no effective fight against racism can be waged by them.

Livingston's arguments are phoney. In the past the only time any effort has been made to organize the unorganized is during contract negotiations because the bosses have used the existence of unorganized shops to keep '65 wages down. This has never bothered Livingston enough to mobilize the ranks for a real organization drive. Local 1199, also in RWDSU, is currently engaged in a serious organizing drive on a national scale within the confines of the International. This campaign was kicked off by a real mobilization of the ranks in New York City hospitals around the slogan of a \$100 minimum wage. '65 could do this too.

COLOR

As far as the "lily-white" nature of the International's leadership is concerned, this is beside the point. What we must be concerned with is not the color of the man's skin, but how he fights for the union's membership. Livingston's new black bureaucrats differ in no way on his basic policies. Instead of fighting seriously to better the wages and working conditions of '65's members, Livingston sees that a large number of members are black and offers them a few, new black faces in the top echelons of the leadership as a sop.

The split from the International is just a diversion and an obstacle to the fight which is really needed. We condemn the reactionary leadership of the AFL-CIO for

not defending the workers against increasing pressure from the employers and the government, but instead acting as an arm of the government to enforce sell-out contracts on the workers and divert their discontent and militancy into racist or black nationalist channels.

What is needed is a struggle within the AFL-CIO unions to build a new rank-and-file leadership which will fight for the workers' interests by organizing the unorganized, combatting anti-union laws like Taft-Hartley and the new Taylor Law, preventing speedup, increasing wages and improving working conditions. District 65 must be part of this struggle.

NOW

The demand for 100 and 100 plus must be won NOW! '65ers cannot rely on the Livingston leadership to win this demand for them, they must carry out the struggle themselves, starting with their own shops, and forcing their leaders to act.

Organization of the unorganized is one of the most important questions facing the union movement in this country. As '65ers know, the lower wages paid to non-union workers force down the wages of union workers. Therefore '65ers must play a leading role in any organizing drive.

The essence of such a program is to create a united working class. We cannot permit the existence of any divisions, racial or organizational, which destroy this unity. Specifically now, as the government prepares to intensify the struggle against the working class, driving down wages and passing anti-union legislation such as the Taylor Law, the question of the unity of the working class becomes that much more imperative. District 65 must lead the fight for unity!

SAN FRANCISCO MOVIE JANITORS HOLD OUT IN 13 MONTH STRIKE

BY A UNION JANITOR

SAN FRANCISCO--It started on April 22, 1968. The janitors who work for United Artists went out on strike and the other theatre owners locked the rest of us out. I got a special delivery letter from the manager of the movie theatre where I worked. She used to want me to dust the marble pillars forty feet up... The letter said that my services were no longer needed and that I should have a "nice vacation." We've been locked out for a year now.

We applied for unemployment insurance because of the lock out, but the State refused to give it to us. There's no strike pay, so most of us have picked up jobs on the side. The union's only demand is overtime pay for weekends and holidays. If we don't get it now, we'll never get it. We're on the picket lines four and a half hours a day, six days a week.

The theatre owners are really trying to break our union. Why pay us union scale if they can pay a high school kid a \$1.60 an hour for the same work? In one theatre I used to work, the owner was a millionaire but his son was the usher and his daughter worked the candy counter.

A lot of these high school kids taking tickets and selling



UNION JANITORS PICKET UNITED ARTISTS THEATERS

popcorn think a \$1.60 an hour is a lot of money, and they don't know what a union is because the schools never taught them anything about unions... except maybe that they're bad. And the projectionists union has their members inside projecting the movies scabbing on us! George Meany said it was all right for them to cross our picket line. The theatre owners are more united than we are.

Our major enemy is the United Artists Corp. which happens to be owned by Transam-

erica, which owns the Occidental Life Insurance Co., De Laval Turbine Co., Budget Rent-A-Car, Metromedia (five T.V. stations, seventeen radio stations and Foster and Kleiser billboards.)

If they can break our union, then they'll try to break the other unions in the companies they control. But this year they're making about \$100 million dollars after taxes.

The next step is to try to break our union across the country. Last month the janitors in Los Angeles struck United Artists. The projectionists scabbing will see what happens to them if our union is broken and then they ask for better conditions. And these kids taking tickets now will have to be shown that they're dealing with a united, fighting labor movement that will protect them, too, if they don't scab.

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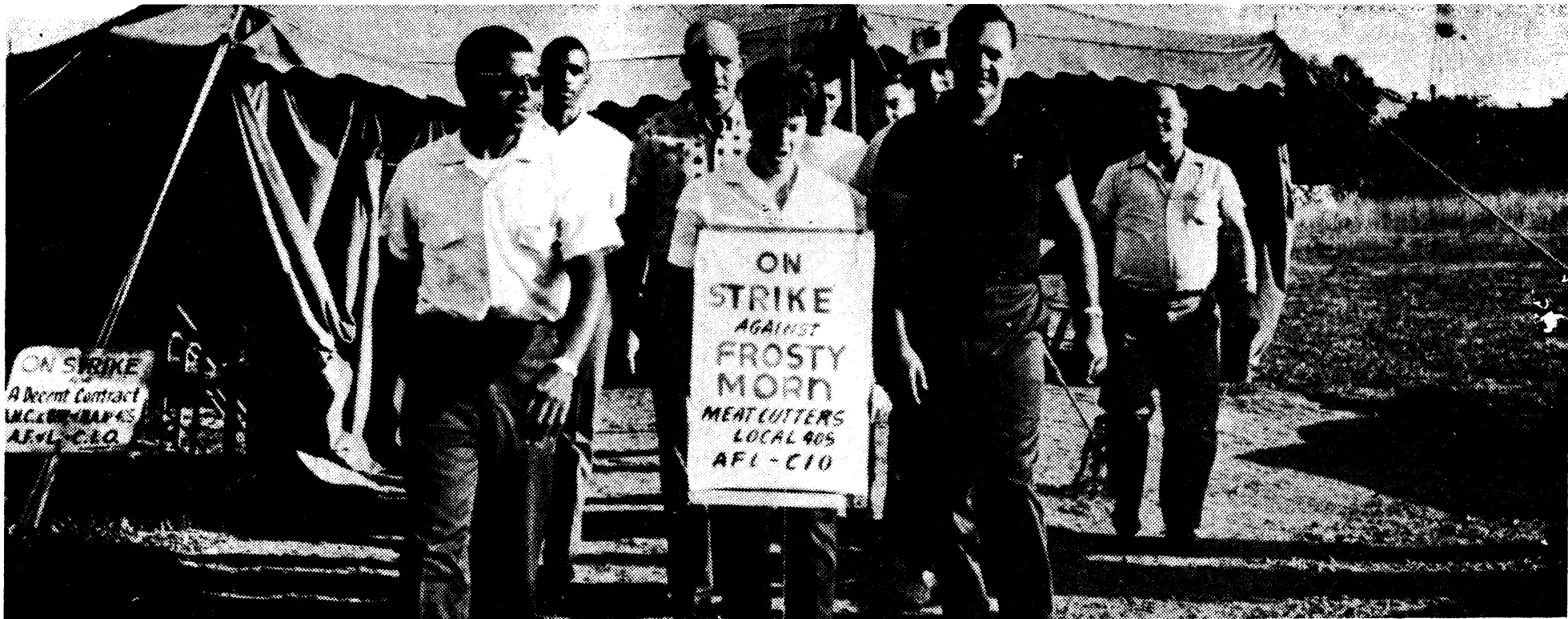
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CLASS STRUGGLE HITS SOUTH



BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS MOVE ON OUT OF TENT HEADQUARTERS TO MAN THE PICKET LINES AGAINST FROSTY MORN MEAT PACKERS IN SOUTH

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL
CORRESPONDENT

Black & White Unite Against Meatpacker; Violent Steel Battle; Carolina Hospital Confrontation

A number of important labor struggles have broken out throughout the South. The South, which has been going through an important industrial boom over the past several decades, now account for over one-third of American industrial production.

But union organization has lagged behind industrial growth and the South remains the home of some of the most powerful labor-hating capitalists with the result of generally lower wage scales than the rest of the country. But now the workers have begun a real fight back!

One of the most important strikes involves some 3,000 employees of various meat packing firms owned by Lorenz Neuhoff, the largest independent packer in the South. Neuhoff owns eight plants scattered throughout the South--Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee. While the union minimum wage in the area is \$2.85 an hour, Neuhoff pays an average wage of \$1.65.

The Meatcutters Union is striking against three of the plants and is organizing in the other five. The issue is union recognition and union wages and working conditions.

UNITY

One of the most significant

aspects of the Neuhoff strike is the unity of black and white workers in a common struggle. Of the three plants on strike, one is largely white, another about 50% black and the third over 80% black. The director of the struggle is Don Smith, who heads the union's District 14 and is black.

There has been widespread support for the strike on the part of unionists. ILA members in Port Everglades, Fla. have refused to touch Neuhoff's scab meats leaving it to rot on the docks.

STEELWORKERS

Meanwhile, in Lone Star, Texas, the United Steelworkers Union are in a pitched battle with Long Star Steel Co. The strike started out as a battle to get Lone Star to meet contract terms that are standard in the industry as a whole. It has become a six month bitter battle with shootings and bombings because the company has brought in scabs and is seeking to operate the factory minus 2,500 union men. Now the issue is the refusal of the company to fire the scabs who

have replaced the jobs of many union men.

The plant looks like an armed camp under siege. One scab, who is an Air Force veteran, observed: "It's just like Vietnam, only the pay is better." Scabs, afraid to leave the plant, live in tents on company grounds and make about \$268 a week for 72 hours of scab work. The company, by the way, makes bomb casings for Vietnam.

There have been a number of shootings and beatings of scabs and well as some bomb attempts on the plant. Clearly, the union workers and the people of the surrounding countryside just don't like scabs.

Recently the vice president of the company, in charge of negotiations with the union, was arrested for possession of a pistol and public drunkenness--which gives some idea of what "management" is like in the South.

CHARLESTON

The Southern strike which has gotten most national publicity is the effort of New York's Local 1199 Hospital workers to organize the two

largest hospitals in Charleston, South Carolina. This national organizing drive is being coordinated with the International Union 1199 belongs to--the RWDSU.

After talk of splitting from the AFL-CIO, 1199 President Davis has come to terms with RWDSU President Greenberg with the result of International support for this important Southern organizing campaign.

Billed as another "civil rights" struggle around the theme "Martin Luther King would be in Charleston if he were alive", in actuality it is a union struggle of the greatest importance for all workers in the South. One indication of the link of this struggle with other Southern union battles is the scandal over Knox Haynesworth who is receiving \$50 an hour as a consultant to the struck hospitals.

Haynesworth, who has already received between \$12 to \$17,000 to advise the hospitals on how best to break the union, was previously employed in similar endeavors by Burlington Industries, Dan River Mills, Deering Millikin,

Greenwood Mills and R. J. Reynolds--a veritable "Who's Who" of union busting Southern industrial giants.

What has got the bosses worried in the South is that any one of these struggles could lead to a major breakthrough in the union-busting front leading to the organization of millions of underpaid workers in textile, tobacco and all kinds of manufacturing.

These bosses have kept wages down in the South through racism. Such a union organizing offensive would do more to fight racism concretely than all of Reverend Abernathy's praying, the seizing of a thousand college buildings by black students, a million Afro haircuts, and a billion "Fight Racism" chants from Progressive Labor.

What is needed right now is the UNITED strength of the entire organized labor movement thrown into a drive to bring these white supremacist bloated capitalists to their knees throughout the South. No more splits in the labor movement! Unity of black and white workers to organize the South!

NEW ISSUE!

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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MINOT TEACHERS DEFY ANTI-STRIKE LAW

BY J. RENEE

MINNEAPOLIS - Striking teachers in Minot, North Dakota, are demonstrating to all Mid-West teachers the spirit needed to win a decent living wage from the hide-bound school boards. In spite of the threat of 30 days in jail facing 70 members for violating an anti-strike injunction, union determination remains strong and solidarity is firm. Nor has the firing of over 160 members broken the will of the strikers. The striking teachers represent over one-third of the total teaching force of 450 and are mainly secondary school teachers.

The strike began April first when the school board abruptly

ended negotiations by posting a salary schedule for 1969-70. This schedule granted a meager raise to starting teachers and little or none to those with the most experience. The militant Minot Federation of Teachers, founded in the thirties, has a strong tradition of collective bargaining and correctly reacted to the unilateral proposal by walking out.

But militancy alone is not enough! Lacking any overall program to solve the school crisis, the M.F.T. has no answer to the School Board's latest moves--an advertising campaign to hire replacements for the fired strikers. The union's only response is its own ad, a plea to pros-

pective teachers not to apply.

In Minnesota, meanwhile, negotiations are at a standstill in almost every community throughout the state. The Minnesota Federation of Teachers has announced formation of a strike fund and the Minneapolis Federation of Teachers has already taken a strike vote.

LEADERSHIP

But what kind of leadership are the state officers of the AFL-CIO providing? None. Instead they have been actively betraying the teachers and ALL public employees. A recent press release reveals that the labor bureaucrats are actually cooperating to handcuff public workers by collaborating with

the Republican Governor and his committee to revise the state labor law.

Their words reveal the depth of their class betrayal: "The primary objective of a realistic, workable public-labor relations law is to prevent disruption of public services and set a pattern for good relationships between the public employer and employees. The only way this can be done is by having a law that provides procedures for the employer and employees to work out their problems in a responsible, orderly way."

Whose side are the bureaucrats on? Supposedly they represent the workers. In truth, they lend their authority to the state to deprive

the workers of previously hard won gains. Such misleaders cannot be trusted to fight for the teachers! And it is just such statements that convince the politicians the time is ripe for the vicious anti-labor law now in committee and reported upon in the April 7 BULLETIN.

The teachers' fight must be against the state, against the anti-labor law, and against the capitalist lackeys that betray them. The fight for decent wages can only be won through a struggle for the Labor Party. It means a complete break with capitalist politicians and forging of strong new ties with all of organized labor.

JAMES JACKSON GOES TO MOSCOW

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

With Lenin's bust behind him, James E. Jackson, National Committee member of the American Communist Party, and in fact head of its International Department, recently spoke in Moscow's Hall of Columns at a meeting commemorating the founding of the Communist International. This speech deserves some small footnote in history as perhaps the most grotesque combination of untruths with obsequiousness.

Jackson begins his speech with a paean of praise to the Communist International as a great expression of the need for the UNITY of the working class. But, like the rest of the bureaucratic speechifiers at the affair, he fails to mention that the Communist International was dissolved in 1943 on Stalin's orders as a friendly gesture of unity with the American and British bourgeoisie in World War II.

His own party, which has traditionally and continues to excel in doing Moscow one better, then proceeded to dissolve the American Communist Party into the "Communist Political Association." Earl Browder, its chairman, utilized the occasion to shake the hand of the head of the National Association of Manufacturers and pledge class peace for the indefinite future.

INTERNATIONALISM

Jackson then proceeds to discuss what internationalism means to the American Communist Party. "Before the October Revolution", Jackson states, "international solidarity consisted of rendering support to workers when victims of the class struggle against the capitalists in various countries, and, of the struggle of the prisoners of colonialism to gain their national freedom". Today, Jackson adds, "the support of the working class as ruling class in states where the proletariat has already taken power."

What he means by this is not simply defense of the workers' states from imperialist aggression but support to "the IN-POWER GROUP of glorious socialist achievers of revolution in their respective countries." And further: "Any revolutionary party that claims to be communist and still insists upon being anti-Soviet Union or anti-CPSU can be likened to a square wheel." Thus internationalism adds up to uncritical support to the bureaucratic leadership of the Soviet Union.

Even this kind of "internationalism" in no way means that Jackson stands for abandoning a nationalist outlook. "The point is to be a national patriot in the service of the working class, the international proletariat."

Such is the way the American Communist Party commemorates the founding of the Communist International. All this illustrates is the great distance this party has departed not only from the simple conceptions of the Communist International but of the First and Second Internationals in their healthy periods.

Internationalism is much more than a matter of support for class war victims in other countries and for the colonial movements. The First International as well as the Second and Third were formed because of the international nature of capitalism which required an international STRATEGY and ORGANIZATION if workers were to be able to achieve a socialist society. The aim of the First International, in Engels' words was "to weld together into ONE huge army the whole militant working class of Europe and America."

LENIN

Lenin, remarking in 1917 as if he were commenting on this current Moscow farce, stated: "Only lazy people do not swear by internationalism these days. It becomes the duty of the proletarian party all the more urgently, therefore, to clearly, precisely and definitely counterpose internationalism in deed to international in word." So in opposition to "empty assurances of devotion to internationalism" he proposes: "working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in ONE'S OWN country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) THIS STRUGGLE, this, AND ONLY THIS, line, in EVERY country without exception."

Does Jackson propose revolutionary struggle here and support this and this line only in every country without exception? To ask the question is to answer it. Jackson and his Kremlin friends oppose revolutionary struggle here and oppose it in every country without exception.

While Lenin and the Communist International in its early days stood on the program of the national self-determination of oppressed peoples

at no time did it support communists being "national patriots" in colonial countries, not to mention imperialist countries. The Communist International was founded in a struggle for world socialism against all forms of national patriotism, and stood for the destruction not the preservation of the national state.

A central part of the world strategy of the working class, and this a task for workers parties in every country, is the defense of the workers' states against imperialism. But what Jackson proposes is complete and unquestioning support for the rulers of these workers states. The truth of the matter is that the defense of the workers' states requires a struggle AGAINST the bureaucratic leadership of these states.

MAO

Jackson, of course, does not propose support to ALL the "in-power groups of glorious socialist achievers" and this could hardly be done as these "in-power groups" are locked in a deadly struggle



JAMES E. JACKSON TELLS IT LIKE IT ISN'T IN SPEECH IN MOSCOW'S HALL OF COLUMNS

which recently broke out in direct military clashes on the Sino-Soviet border. Unity is to be limited to "genuine Marxists" and this category excludes "the Mao ruling group." It seems that the "Mao ruling group", unlike the American Communist Party, "seems determined to forfeit the friendship of its staunchest supporters"--the USSR.

The USSR has a strange way of expressing this "support" and "friendship." For instance at the time of the border incidents with China its ambassadors took the unusual step of reporting to the ambassadors of every West European country, including West Germany, stressing their common interests against China. It was considerably more forthright in coming to the aid of the United States in searching for the spy plane shot down by North Koreans. In return the U.S. is moving its fleet to the other side of Korea so as not to upset Russian defenses.

At this point Jackson gets in his plugs for his fellow leaders of the American Communist Party and emphasizes to the Kremlin that while the American CP may be small there can be no question of its complete subservience to the Kremlin in any and all actions and disputes. He reminds the audience of Gus Hall's Pravda article and a speech by Henry Winston attacking Mao. Jackson does not want to return home to the accusation that he feathered his own nest in Moscow leaving out his fellow CP leaders.

He even points out that late General Secretary of the party Eugene Dennis "made some prophetic comments while in China on some of Mao's policies." Again the American Communist Party not only supports Moscow but perhaps even supported Moscow before Moscow openly supported Moscow. It's an old trick from the days of the degeneration of the Comintern. If you can tell which way the wind is blowing before any clear statement comes out of Stalin and make the proper statements, then you may find yourself catapulted into leadership in your respective party.

DEBT

Jackson expresses the great debt of the American Communist Party to the Communist International. As an example of this debt Jackson offers: "Even today, comrades who learned from Georgi Dimitrov and the C.I. the art of the tactic of the United Front in bringing about the effective action of the masses, are playing vital roles in the greatest international task before our people: that of forcing the Nixon government to end the war against the people of Vietnam and withdraw the troops."

Now we are getting to the heart of the matter. First, it is important to note that neither the history of this latter period of the Comintern--Stalin. Later he attributes to the "C.I." the Communist Party's position on the Negro question as a national question. Not only does he cover over the real position the American Communist Party took on this question--that the Negro should return to his native "black belt" in the South--but as in the case of Dimitrov there is no mention of Stalin who played such a direct and personal role in formulating these policies of the CI and imposing them upon the American Party.

What Jackson has to say about Dimitrov and the policy of the "united front" is important in another sense--it shows the continuity of the present line upon which the American peace movement has been built with the past positions of the Stalinized world movement. This policy of Dimitrov is more well known as the "popular front" because it was based--not on the unity in action of the working class against the capi-

talists--but on a political bloc of the working class parties with a section of the capitalists. It was this policy which led the American Communist Party to support Roosevelt in the 1930s. It has continued this policy to this day, working within the Democratic party and actually supporting Johnson in the 1964 elections.

BLOC

Jackson is absolutely correct in seeing that it is this policy which politically motivates the present American peace movement. It is based on a common bloc with support of the liberal wing of the Democratic party, the pacifists, the Communist Party--and the Socialist Workers Party. Its political effect, as in the case of the earlier popular fronts, is to bolster a section of the capitalist class, that section which wants a deal in Vietnam at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution in order to be free to prosecute its war at home and abroad against the working class.

What this reveals is that the Socialist Workers Party, which claims to be Trotskyist and thus an opponent of popular fronts, is actually a major prop of this new popular front in the peace movement. After a falling out last summer with its Communist Party allies who thought they had bigger fish to fry in the McCarthy movement, the Communist Party and SWP came back together again in the recent "GI Marches" across the country.

It seems that while Mao may not make it as a "genuine Marxist" the SWP squeezes by at least as a "united front" partner for American soil, but not to be mentioned of course in the hallowed halls of Moscow!

GROTESQUE

This speech and those of other participants, which included such "genuine Marxists" as Walter Ulbricht and Jacques Duclos, is one of the most vulgar and grotesque performances in recent years. Speaking from, as Jackson describes it "this high platform graced by the heroic bust of the great Lenin and under the banner of Marx's call to the brotherhood of the proletarians" these people have in actuality been preaching brotherhood with the capitalists and a war against the Chinese workers' state.

The workers of all countries must be on their guard against this counterrevolutionary tendency. They must be completely exposed for the traitors to the traditions of communism and internationalism they are--exposed over and over and over again!

BANKRUPT CONFERENCE OF RAN

BY FRED MUELLER

A conference of trade unionists was held in New York on April 12-13th under the auspices of Fight Back, a newsletter which began publication in New York a year ago and has since printed three issues.

The group publishing Fight Back includes black and white trade unionists who attempt to maintain an "independent" posture in relation to the various political tendencies in the working class movement. This outlook is expressed in a statement of policy printed in the latest issue of Fight Back:

"Our objective is simple—to help the development of independent rank and file movements throughout the country, which equipped and unified around programs of action, can instill new militancy in labor's ranks and, in the course of doing so, change much of the present leadership who are nothing but dead weight in the organized trade union movement...

We of Fight Back stress the word independent! We are not tied up to the purse strings of any big daddy or any political formations...

All we ask is that we do not become a vehicle in the hands of trade union leaders who don't give a damn about the rank and file but merely want to use us to expand their power—or that we should not become a lever for the benefit of any political formation whose objective is not the solution of the problems we have addressed ourselves to, but solely to use and quote us to help their never ending rhetoric."

This syndicalist outlook is completely bankrupt. The working class as a whole is faced today with crucial political questions and de-

nation and union struggles. His closest collaborator is Joe Carnegie, a black militant for many years in the Transport Workers Union. Carnegie heads the Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union which has abandoned the struggle within the TWU, for a policy of dual unionism, challenging the TWU for bargaining rights. Despite Fight Back's talk of hostility to politics, this has not prevented Carnegie from being a featured speaker at the Communist Party's May Day Rally this year.

It is not that the Haughton group is close to the Communist Party. It is rather that the refusal to confront political questions facing the working class, the insistence of maintaining union struggles on a trade union syndicalist level, leads to opportunist amalgams of politically divergent tendencies. What holds these various tendencies together is certainly not clarity and agreement even on trade union policies. It is rather hostility towards a principled political struggle inside and outside the unions in the interests of the working class. This will become clear as we look at what actually happened at the conference.

Political questions, as it turned out, could not be avoided at this conference, whatever the intentions of its organizers. It became an arena of struggle between different tendencies represented among the 60-80 trade unionists who attended, including workers from California, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and Toronto, as well as New York.

keynote

The keynote report, "Toward a Rank and File Movement", expressed a somewhat more

When this struggle is viewed apart from the political struggle, it dissolves into vague trade union militancy without any preparation for the battles which are developing. Thus the report did not pose the need for a labor party clearly and sharply, referring vaguely to the need for "our own" candidates. Instead of the central political fight in the trade unions to turn the entire class to the road of political struggle, we are given the syndicalist conception of "rank and file" political action. The key question becomes not a political challenge to the capitalists but the need to put forward "rank and filers" in opposition to the "crooked politicians".

Just as significant as the very serious, indeed fatal weaknesses of the keynote report were the attacks leveled against it at the conference from a more openly anti-Marxist and anti-working class standpoint. This was the political essence of the intervention of the representatives of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (the leadership of the black auto caucuses DRUM, FRUM, and ELRUM) The same outlook was expressed by several New Left supporters of DRUM, from Cleveland and Chicago in particular, including a group called the National Organizing Committee, whose members come primarily out of SDS.

drum

Both the DRUM spokesmen and their New Left supporters attacked the report as a complete waste of time. The DRUM representatives expressed a very open and total hostility to theory. As far as they are concerned the work of the conference boiled down to organizing the revolution, which meant the organization of armed defense and certain other practical questions such as publications and print shops. To discuss the nature of the attacks facing the entire working class, to discuss the nature of the capitalist crisis, was completely beside the point to this tendency.

In a session of the conference devoted to "The Problem of Racism", James Watson of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers presented his views at some length. He made the usual exposition of the black nationalist position, that the Negro in America constitutes an oppressed nation, and in addition is naturally the vanguard of the entire working class. Watson held open the possibility of collaboration between black and white workers, but insisted first that all the white delegates to the conference indicate their good faith by pledging not to criticize the "black workers leadership", namely DRUM and the other black caucuses, in any of their work.

The leadership of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers is made up primarily of students, not black workers in the plants. It is clearly not merely a separatist tendency, but combines nationalism and syndicalism and ultra-leftism.

Watson spoke, for instance, of the importance of fighting for power at the point of production. Another speaker said that the main enemy was not whitey or General Motors but the LOCAL labor bureaucrats in the plant! The task posed was the fight for power in specific plants, and definitely NOT the fight within the union (DRUM has called for non-payment of dues to the UAW as part of the fight against the bosses on a national and international level. The same ultra-left syndicalism was expressed on the question of dual unionism, on splitting from the labor movement. It was "either take it over or pull out", there was no conception of a long range struggle, no understanding of gains which the working class, including black workers, had made through decades of struggle, and no understanding of how to take these workers through a struggle which would prove to them the need to go beyond the present leadership and create a completely different, revolutionary leadership in the unions.

supporters

The New Left supporters of DRUM were even clearer in presenting their views. To one of the National Organizing Committee representatives from Chicago, the question was not black and white unity. We had to be against the "old black-white unity", supposedly based completely on racism and paternalism. The struggles of the CIO were ignorantly lumped together with the phony paternalism and catering to racist prejudices of the bureaucracy. Counterposed to all of this was "new black-white unity". The speaker made very clear that what he meant by this was that the racist whites,



PETTY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISTS OUTSIDE PLANT DOMINATE DRUM MOVEMENT IN DETROIT

cisions. The editors of Fight Back want to avoid these questions, and this means avoiding the history of the working class itself. That is what the talk of independence from all political formations and their "never ending rhetoric" means. It means that Fight Back hopes to avoid having to take a stand on the questions of Stalinism, on the role of Stalinism within the working class movement, on the role it is playing today in France, Czechoslovakia and every other country.

attack

The working class, particularly in the countries of Western Europe and America, is facing the most vicious attacks in over 30 years. Clearly a new leadership is required to fight back. Fight Back says it intends to help build this leadership...but without examining and understanding the essence of building a new leadership, the political role of the present leaderships of the working class. This is complete bankruptcy.

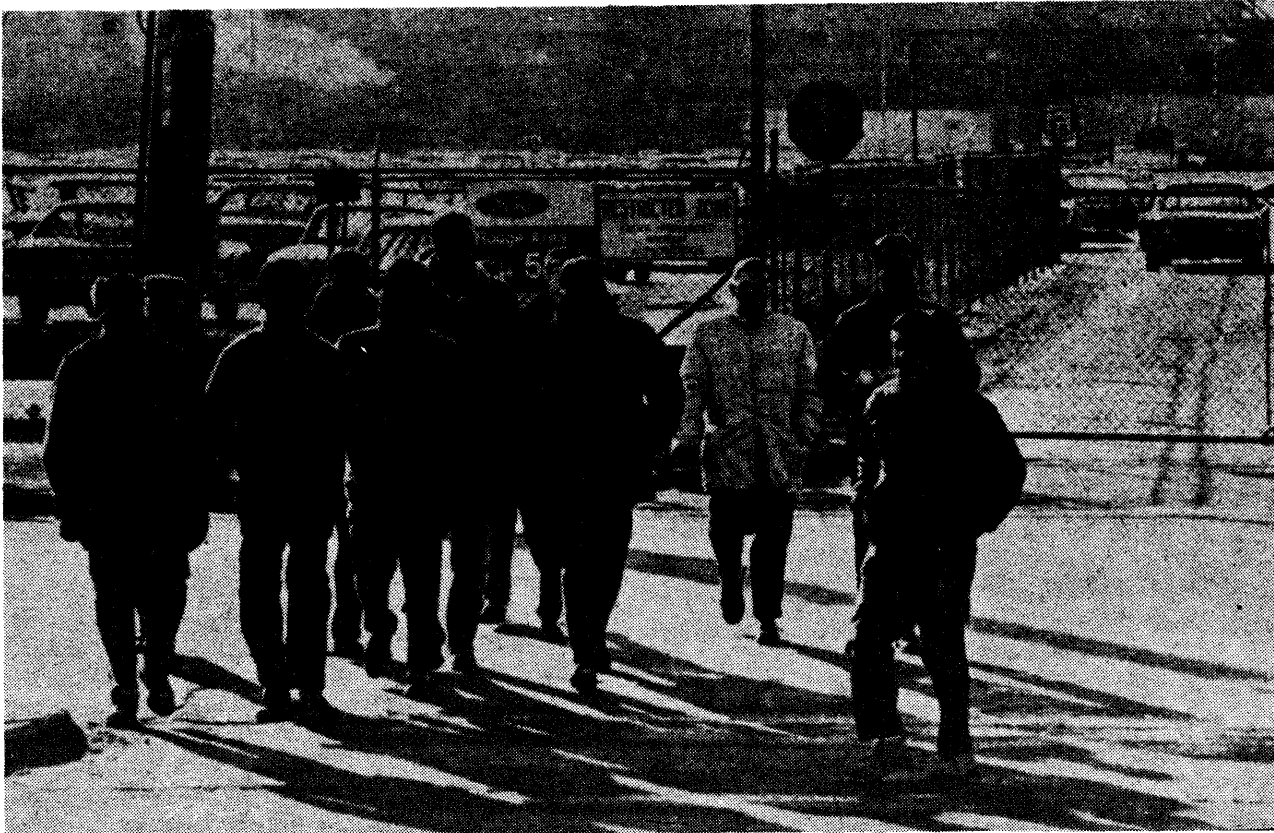
The leader of the Fight Back group is James Haughton who heads the Harlem Unemployment Center. Haughton was formerly in charge of the Labor Committee of the NAACP and has worked for a number of years with Negro militants in the unions on the questions of discrimi-

left wing outlook than that expressed in Fight Back, but without seriously coming to grips with or breaking from its essential syndicalism and reformism.

The report stated quite clearly, for instance, that "Black and white working class unity is today a precondition for progress." At the same time, however, it refused to state that the organization of black caucuses is reactionary, a blow AGAINST the fight against the bosses and against racism which is simply a tool of the bosses. The report instead attempted to apologize for the black caucuses without in any way seriously taking up what they have done (See last issue of the BULLETIN for more full account of role of DRUM in the auto union.)

The report did not begin from the need for theory, for a Marxist understanding of the crisis and the need to build a revolutionary party. It did not view the building of alternative leaderships in the unions as part of the fight for the revolutionary party, but ignored the question of the party completely. Talk of militant caucuses, of unity, of the fight against the trade union bureaucracy, even the correct statements about the need for independent political action and opposition to the Kennedy and McCarthy wings of the Democratic Party—all of this is not enough.

RANK AND FILE TRADE UNIONISTS



AUTO WORKERS CAN ONLY WIN THROUGH UNITY IN STRUGGLE AGAINST BOSSES AND BUREAUCRACY

meaning all white workers, had to be taught a lesson. All white workers have a stake in racism. The seniority system has to be scrapped or drastically revised in the direction of preferential hiring and layoff policies in order to equalize unemployment rates among blacks and whites.

All white workers, he said, are scabs. They scab against black workers since they benefit from racism and discrimination. This completely non-class view of racism, distributing the blame equally between the capitalists and workers, leads these tendencies to directly challenge such fundamental demands as no layoffs or jobs for all.

Thus we see that right behind all the super-revolutionary phraseology lies a completely reformist perspective. The black nationalists and their revisionist supporters accept capitalism as permanent while they rant against it verbally. They accept unemployment, they accept layoffs, they propose a demand which is perfectly acceptable and at certain times in line with the bosses own strategy, the demand for no BLACK layoffs (i.e. white layoffs) until there is equal unemployment, equal suffering among black and white workers.

This kind of demand completely exposes these trends. They cannot conceive of a united working class fighting for jobs for all. First the white workers must suffer, then perhaps we can think of unity. This is a program for defeat and disaster, this is a program for the victory of fascism. There is no other way to describe it, in spite of the sincerity or professed radicalism of its proponents.

Identity

There is a class identity between sections of the New Left and the so-called left wing of the black nationalist movement, particularly the Panthers and DRUM. Revisionist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party build up these nationalists as revolutionary, perhaps even Marxist. But they are clearly a petty bourgeois tendency, closer in their method and outlook to the very white radicals they so often scorn. The dedication of many of these militants is not in question, nor should there be any hesitation about the need to defend them against all attacks from the racists and the capitalist state, such as the latest bomb frame up of the Panthers in New York. But at the same time a clear political line is required. The Panthers and DRUM play a role similar to that of the revisionists of the SWP, PL, SDS and others. They divide the working class, they loudly proclaim their determination to overthrow capitalism, but they completely mislead any students and workers with whom they are in contact. Only the Workers League has taken a clear stand on these fundamental questions.

CP

The nationalists and their consistent white sympathizers were not the only tendency present in addition to the group which initiated the conference. It is important to examine the role played by the Communist Party. The CP and

the DuBois clubs are playing a role in the unions which cannot be underestimated. There were many participants in the conference who reflected the line of or were influenced by the CP.

These people criticized the keynote report much more gently and from a somewhat different direction. They made orthodox statements about working class unity but stressed that we must "start with what we've got." This meant, for instance, that the recent move of the New York Painters Union bureaucracy to allow former Stalinist painters' leader Weinstock back into the union was a great sign of a shift to the left. Another speaker enthused on the excellent progressive leadership provided by the District 65 bureaucracy headed by David Livingston. We are sure that the thousands of District 65 members who make \$80 a week and less will be glad to hear that their leadership, which has just pulled the union out of the AFL-CIO, still meets the test of progressivism.

A group of unionists from Detroit, associated with the opposition United Caucus in the UAW, also played a role in the conference. These people had formerly printed several issues of a paper called the New Rank and Filer and had and had worked together for a time with some of those who later formed DRUM.

syndicalists

This tendency is also syndicalist. The leader of this opposition caucus, Art Fox, speaking after a trade unionist representing the Workers League, denounced the Workers League spokesman for seeking to make the conference "an arena for ideological combat". Of course this "anti-ideologist" did not repeat this criticism when a DRUM spokesman denounced the CP, SWP, Progressive Labor and the New Rank and Filer group itself later in the discussion. His ire was aroused only by the Workers League. After being itself attacked by DRUM, this tendency was forced to make some criticism in return. But above all it wanted to make clear the distance between its criticism and the position of the Workers League.

Fox began by stressing that "DRUM is closer to the black workers than we are to the white workers." Starting completely from the present divisions within the working class and not from the class struggle itself, this tendency completely adapts to DRUM and to black nationalism. In spite of this certain very important criticisms were made of DRUM. The New Rank and Filer group revealed that although DRUM had been formed after a militant and united wildcat at the Dodge Main plant in which both black and white workers had been fired, DRUM called only for the reinstatement of the black workers. DRUM refused to even distribute its newspaper to white workers. The black nationalists around the newspaper Inner City Voice had printed openly provocative and racist comments during the Detroit rebellion of 1967. And finally DRUM literature had repeatedly referred to all white workers with

provocative racial epithets which completely played into the hands of the Wallaceites and outright fascist trends.

At the same time as all of these aspects of DRUM's program and practice were exposed, the New Rank and Filer group attempted to maintain that the formation of black caucuses was necessary and progressive but that it was also necessary to criticize certain "mistakes" that were made. The BULLETIN has previously pointed out how Progressive Labor has attempted to make the same artificial separation between form and content in its analysis of black caucuses. Instead of seeing that the formation of caucuses on racial lines within the trade unions immediately splits the class and paves the way for reactionary developments of all kinds, these people try to make a bridge between themselves and the pragmatic, immediate level of struggle.

What is most important in relation to these various revisionist and reformist trends is to see their class position. Of course there are very serious differences between them but there is also something that brings and even holds them together for a time, and this cement which binds them must be understood. Now these various tendencies plan to collaborate in making Fight Back a national rank and file publication, which will of course continue to pretend that it is independent of all political formations. While there are certain to be serious and probably immediate problems in the implementation of this decision, there is nevertheless a basis for the attempt, and this basis is the hostility on the part of all involved to the struggle for Marxism and for a revolutionary party in the trade unions.

The Stalinists will seek to hold back all political struggle, especially any attempts to break from capitalist politics. The nationalists and New Lefts will accomplish the same end by dismissing all political struggle as reformist and beside the point, while they pursue their own dangerous reformism which splits the working class further and plays right into the hands of the bosses. The Stalinists and the revisionists will all refrain from any serious criticism of the nationalists and black caucuses.

chasm

There is a great chasm between the Workers League and all these tendencies. Only the Workers League, beginning from the objective reality of the capitalist crisis and the class struggle, can show how to fight racism as part of a concrete fight to unite the working class. Only the Workers League is not hypnotized and paralyzed by the existing divisions within the working class, but instead fights now against these divisions.

The Workers League fights politically against revisionist tendencies such as those expressed at this conference precisely in order to develop a program which will enable us to develop a revolutionary leadership within the unions. On this basis we fight in the unions as part of every struggle of the working class, with a transitional program which points the way to future developments within present struggles. Central to this program is the fight for the shorter work week and jobs for all, the fight against all anti-strike legislation and for complete independence of the unions from the state, the fight for trade union democracy and against the reactionary bureaucracy, the fight against inflation and against racism and all attempts from whatever source to divide the class. It is only on the basis of this understanding and this program that we are penetrating the trade unions and fighting to build a new leadership within them.

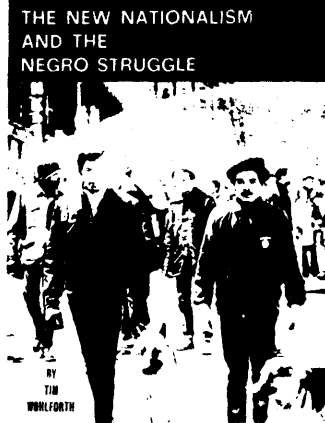
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A LONG SUPPRESSED GLIMPSE OF BOLSHEVIKS

REVOLUTIONARY SILHOUETTES by Anatoly Vasilievich Lunacharsky. Hill and Wang, New York, 1968, 155 pages, \$5.00

Lunacharsky's "Revolutionary Silhouettes" is at long last available in English in the United States. The book, an honest and very incisive portrayal of reminiscences about 10 leading Russian Revolutionaries--eight Bolsheviks and two Mensheviks--has long been suppressed within the Soviet Union. In 1965 the Soviets finally came out with a truncated and heavily edited edition of the book including only five of the silhouettes. Missing altogether were the sections on Trotsky and Zinoviev and even the silhouettes printed were edited to remove any mention of these revolutionaries or any even mildly critical remarks on Lenin.

Lunacharsky was a prominent Bolshevik who had sided with Bogdanov on philosophical questions and had been part of an ultra-left split in the period between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions. He rejoined the party around the time Trotsky entered the party, played an important role in the Russian Revolution, and was the first Commissar of Education. Under his direction education and the arts flourished with complete freedom in the fledgling republic even though he, himself, consistent with his early ultra-leftism, was a partisan of the "proletcult" (those who believed you could establish a real proletarian culture during the transitional period before classes were wiped out).

Most important are his portrayals of Lenin and Trotsky. Writing after the Revolution, Lunacharsky could not help but seek to answer the question of what were the particular qualities that led Lenin to play the role he did, to be able to lead the first successful proletarian revolution. For the Bolshevik Party was a party not lacking in capable people, brilliant people, completely self-sacrificing and dedicated leaders.

LENIN

Lunacharsky's picture of Lenin is not really a political portrait in the full sense of the word. Nor was Lunacharsky really capable of such a portrait for he was to die without basically changing his views on questions of philosophy which led him on a number of occasions to a parting of the ways with Lenin on political issues.

Lunacharsky writes very much as an artist sketches and as with a good sketch, one can at times penetrate more deeply than the surface appearance. Lenin, Lunacharsky notes, "was above all a political creature". His whole life, every moment of it was devoted to and completely wound up in the struggle to build the revolutionary party so that the working class could come to power. "Only much later, did I come to see that Lenin's greatest gifts were not those of a tribune or a publicist, not even those of a thinker, but even in those early days it was obvious to me that the dominating trait of his character, the feature which constituted half his make-up, was his will: an extremely firm, extremely forceful will capable of concentrating itself on the most immediate task but which yet never strayed beyond the radius traced out by his powerful intellect and which assigned every individual problem its place as a link in a huge, world-wide political chain."

Here Lunacharsky is describing more than a personal trait but also a METHOD. He is describing Lenin's ability to concentrate on what is central, on a single detail or individual, but at the same time to see this detail in "its place as a link in a huge, world-wide political chain."

Again in another place Lunacharsky discusses Lenin's approach towards political struggle, toward debates within the movement: "Lenin never regards an argument as a mere discussion; for him an argument is always a clash between different classes or different groups, as it were a clash between different species of humanity. An argument for him is always a struggle, which under certain circumstances may develop into a fight. Lenin always welcomes the transition from a struggle to a fight." His approach to such discussions was no more than an expression of a method which is able to place the discussion "in a huge, world-wide political chain."

TROTSKY

Lunacharsky's portrait of Trotsky is all the more worthwhile because of its sharp and highly unflattering picture of Trotsky especially in the period prior to his joining the Bolshevik party. This lends even greater weight to his honest appreciation of Trotsky's critical role during the revolution and especially as head of the Red Army during the Civil War. He even goes as far as to suggest that Trotsky's particular strengths were such that for the task of leading the Red Army he was better suited than Lenin himself.



LENIN ADDRESSES MAY DAY RALLY IN 1919

BOOK REVIEW

Revolutionary Silhouettes By Anatoly Lunacharsky

He described Trotsky as a man of "colossal arrogance" who was "prickly and overbearing." But he also notes "it was only in his attitude to Lenin that Trotsky always showed--and continues to show--a tactful pliancy which is touching. With the modesty of all truly great men he acknowledged Lenin's primacy."

This, of course, raised in Lunacharsky's mind, as it must in the reader's mind, what it was that constituted the primacy of Lenin over Trotsky--a primacy which Trotsky himself insisted upon to the very day of his death. Certainly it was more than a matter of Trotsky's personal relations with people.

Here, in essence, is Lunacharsky's attempt to answer the question: "At the same time Lenin is much more of an opportunist, in the profoundest sense of the word. This may again sound odd--was not Trotsky once associated with the Mensheviks, those notorious opportunists? But the Mensheviks' opportunism was simply political flabbiness of a petty-bourgeois party. I am not referring to this sort of opportunism; I am referring to that sense of reality which leads now and then to alter one's tactics, to that tremendous sensitivity to the demands of the time which prompts Lenin at one moment to sharpen both edges of his sword, at another to place it in its sheath."

PHILOSOPHY

If we place this quote within the framework of Lunacharsky's philosophical weaknesses we then can see that here Lunacharsky gets to the very heart of the matter without fully comprehending himself what he is saying. Lunacharsky, together with Bogdanov, was a follower of the philosophical school of empirio-criticism which Lenin takes up in his book "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism." Empirio-criticism was a European trend quite similar to American pragmatism. It substituted for a rigorous materialism a compromise with idealism (Lunacharsky considered himself an atheist but a "God-seeker" in the sense that he sought non-material goals) and at the same time rejected the dialectical method in favor of a formal metaphysics.

It was precisely this philosophical outlook which led Lunacharsky to identify Lenin's tactical use of the Czarist Duma with Menshevism. No sooner did he break from the Bolsheviks on this question than he himself had a brief flirtation with conciliation with Menshevism.

Underlying Lenin's "opportunism" was the dialectical method which allowed Lenin to transform Marxist theory into the real living action of the party under the concrete material conditions of the moment. It was this and no sort of mystical "sense" which allowed him to grasp when it was necessary to sharpen his sword and when it was necessary to place it in its sheath.

Lenin developed this understanding of the Marxist method not simply through his studies of philosophy but because his whole self was at every moment at one with the party. It is not possible for a moment to separate Lenin, the man, from the Bolshevik party as a party. Even his philosophical researches flowed out of the political necessity of

the internal factional struggle within the Bolshevik party and in turn this philosophical research deepened the political development of that party.

Lenin's leadership over Trotsky is essentially for this reason. Trotsky never fully overcame his 14 years of functioning as an individualist revolutionist free from real party ties and commitment. No matter how brilliant his insights, were--such as his theory of the permanent revolution which pre-dated Lenin's understanding of the question by a decade--and in some cases like the one just mentioned these insights were more brilliant than Lenin's--they were still the products of theory separated from party practice.

CHANGES

In fact, if Lunacharsky's picture of the Trotsky before 1917 is to be accepted--and we feel it is accurate--then what really impresses one is the CHANGES Trotsky went through after 1917 in the very heat of the world's greatest events. Lunacharsky notes this too: "I have always regarded Trotsky as a great man. Who, indeed, can doubt it? In Paris he had grown greatly in stature in my eyes as a statesman and in the future he grew even more. I do not know whether it was because I knew him better and he was better able to demonstrate the full measure of his powers when working on a grander scale or because in fact the experience of the revolution and its problems really did mature him and enlarge the sweep of his wings."

Considering the role Trotsky was to play later, deposed from power, isolated and hounded, where there was little room to unfold the wings, not to mention to enlarge their sweep, we feel that for all the effect on Trotsky of the opportunity to operate on a grander scale, the real change was a deep maturing process when working as part of a party under the leadership of Lenin. When we consider we are dealing here with a man who entered the October Revolution with almost two decades of revolutionary activity behind him, who had played a more publically impressive role in the 1905 revolution than Lenin himself, it was personally a far from easy thing for Trotsky to subordinate himself to Lenin and to learn, to change, to develop at that late date.

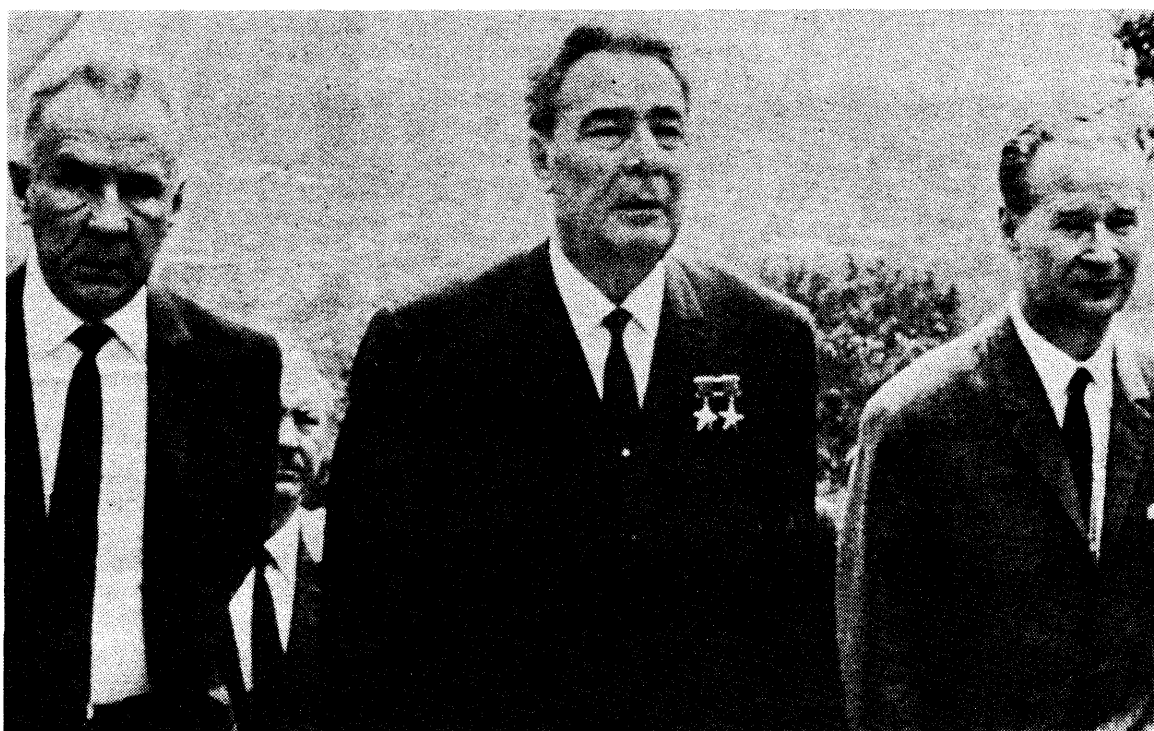
This great period of change, of development in Trotsky, comes through clearer in these little vignettes of Lunacharsky than in the three volumes of Deutscher's Trilogy. But this is understandable for Deutscher never learned what Trotsky did--the necessity to see theoretical development take place through subordination of the intellectual to the revolutionary party. For all Lunacharsky's many weaknesses he towers as a revolutionist over a Deutscher.

VALUE

There is much else of value in this book. Through the different character sketches of Bolsheviks, some lesser known like a Uritsky and a Volodarsky, comes a sketch of a living party of diverse personalities welded together by a common program and a common dedication. Sverdlov: "The man was like a diamond, chosen for its absolute hardness to be the axis of some delicate, perpetually revolving piece of mechanism." Volodarsky: "He aimed his articles as he did his words, like bullets. Nobody, when they fire a volley and attack, bothers whether the bullets are original or not. Yet his bullet-like words, spoken and printed, riddled every obstacle." "Uritsky was an ardent opponent of peace with Germany. This man, the very incarnation of coolness, said with his usual smile 'Would it not be better to die with honor? Yet when certain left-wing Communists showed signs of losing their nerve M.S. replied calmly: 'Party discipline above all!' And for him that was no empty phrase."

What giants even the smallest of these Bolsheviks were when compared to Breshnev and company today! Even Martov or a Plekhanov come through, if not in politics then in character, as men of a different breed than the comfortable bureaucrats of the Kremlin.

The publication of this small volume could not come at a more propitious moment. The great historical work of these pioneer communists is being taken up once again by a new generation. This generation must go to school with these Bolsheviks, learn anew the lessons which made October possible, and the lessons of that great revolution's degeneration. -- TW



KOSYGIN (LEFT) AND BREZHNEV (CENTER) FIRST COMPROMISED DUBCEK AND THEN DUMPED HIM

BY BOB JOHNSON

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA --- When world traveler Gus Horowitz, staff writer for the "Militant", opened the first session of the recently held YSA educational conference here, he was putting a great deal of trust in short memories. Fresh from a journey to Czechoslovakia and only three days after the resignation of Dubcek, Horowitz had the job of presenting, with far reaching hindsight, a picture of Czechoslovakia that would salvage something of the SWP's past position of the Czech crisis without it being noticed.

For it was not only the thoroughly counter-revolutionary role of world Stalinism that was exposed, like an open wound, with the Soviet led invasion of Czechoslovakia last August. The tanks rolled over

and ground into the Czech dirt the revisionist theories of Pablo, Mandel and Hansen, about the "new era" in Stalinism and the "irrepressible progressive direction" of de-Stalinization.

The theories of the self-reform of Stalinism, of the political revolution as a series of reforms, the new look at the theories of Isaac Deutscher (the apologist of the bureaucracy), glowing reports of the Czech march to "true socialist democracy"--and the popularity of the liberal Dubcek--all this filled the pages of the Militant in the weeks before the invasion.

VISION

Fortunately for Horowitz, Dubcek's ouster came before his speech. With the vision then of a pragmatist looking back upon the accomplished

fact, Horowitz separated his policy with that of support to Dubcek. Dubcek has been exposed as a Quisling all throughout the occupation but it is only after his ouster that the SWP dares to point out that the march toward socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia will not be led by Dubcek. Horowitz did not explain why it was that last year the SWP had an entirely different conception of the potentials of Dubcek.

In the Militant of August 30, George Novack wrote: "In Moscow 'Pravda' designated Dubcek, with whom the Soviet chiefs pretended to be on good terms up to the eve of the invasion, as the ringleader of a minority faction that supported counter-revolution and accused him of 'treacherous betrayal' of the ideals of Communism. Both charges were

YSA--THE DAY WHEN GUS HOROWITZ HAD A VERY BAD MEMORY

false. The real betrayers of Communist ideals were the men in Moscow; Dubcek and his colleagues were strongly backed by the government and people."

In the Pabliste "Fourth International Czech Manifesto" issued August 22 the same theme is continued. "Woe to the henchmen of the Soviet bureaucracy who imprison Communists (Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Cisar - BJ) whose only crime is that they took into account the opinion of the workers of their country."

CRIME

All this would indeed be touching if that were the only "crime" of the Czech bureaucracy. However, the Russian tanks were aimed at the Czech working class and its mortal enemy is both the Soviet and the Czech bureaucracy.

The SWP never understood this, being so captivated by the "liberalization process." In his speech Horowitz began and ended with the reforms. A return to the pre-occupation status quo--and let the liberal Stalinists lead the flowering of true socialist democracy--this was and remains the SWP program for Czechoslovakia.

And why not? Why would a bloody political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy be necessary if there was no threat of restoration

of capitalism and if the modern liberal Dubcek, taking full account of the opinion of the workers, was so beloved by the Czech people. We ask Horowitz: Is Dubcek still basing himself on the opinion of the Czech workers? Was he ever?

Taking the reforms as the starting point, the SWP never understood the crisis of Czech Stalinism and combined with the opportunities for discussion and organization opening up for the working class, the overt restorationist tendencies developing in the country. Horowitz went so far as to say: "No significant forces in the country wanted to return to the capitalist system."

THREAT

Not only does this dismiss the actual basis of the reform movement which was the attempt to solve the severe economic crisis in the country by attacks on the working class through job rationalization, planned unemployment and reliance on Western capital. This is a complete revision of Trotsky's fundamental approach to the bureaucracy. Every hour of the day, every day of the year, from France to Czechoslovakia to Vietnam to China, the Stalinist bureaucracy stands as the greatest threat to the gains of October.

stalinists complete their take over

husak replaces dubcek in czechoslovakia

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The resignation of Alexander Dubcek and the reorganization of the Czech Communist Party on the basis of strict loyalty to Moscow under the leadership of Dr. Gustav Husak came as no surprise. As we pointed out in the April 21st BULLETIN, a clean sweep of Czech liberals from positions of control in the Czech party had been in the making since Soviet tanks entered Prague last August. Dubcek remained as a sop to the Czech working class only until the new party leadership could be pulled together.

The centrist regime of Alexander Dubcek had come to stand in the same untenable relation to the Soviet bureaucracy as that bureaucracy stands in relation to world imperialism.

In every country of the capitalist world the impact of the present economic and political crisis has vastly eroded the ground on which the bureaucracy has traditionally maneuvered between imperialism and the working class.

In fact so deep is its connection with imperialism it openly intervenes against hard line Stalinists in support of so-called pro-Dubcek liberals in the Finnish Communist Party where this support has the effect of strengthening its alliance with the Finnish bourgeoisie.

This immediately raises the question of why is it that the Soviet Union simultaneously moves in Czechoslovakia to depose Dubcek and at the same time supports the Pro-Dubcek majority of the Finnish party against a minority which uncritically supports the USSR? In the one case it is seeking to secure Czechoslovakia from the working class and in the other supporting a party which openly embraces Finnish capitalism. In both cases it stands against the interests of the working class. Stalinism today COMBINES repression at home with conciliationism with capitalism abroad.

With Dubcek out of the way the Old Guard under Husak is vigorously carrying through on the campaign to impose censorship in all forms of mass media from newspapers to motion pictures. At the same time the "leading role of the party" is to be reasserted within the trade union movement and youth organizations in an effort to break whatever modicum of independence may have been assumed by these organizations. Liberals are to be cleansed from the ranks of the party, government, military and other key posts. Party membership is to be deliberately reduced from 1.6 million to 800,000 after expulsions for disloyalty to the party line and non-payment of dues which

thousands of workers have withheld since the invasion.

At least momentarily and on the surface the Kremlin has normalized the situation in Czechoslovakia. The Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions representing 5.5 million workers has come out in support of Husak. More importantly there has been a definite retreat from any policy of open confrontation with authorities in street demonstrations or strikes. Even amongst the students at Charles University, who were ready on the eve of Dubcek's fall to extend their sit-in to more widespread actions in collaboration with workers, there is a great deal of confusion and resignation in the face of the defeat of the January '68 program.

There is a growing recognition that the present form of organization taken by the student movement is inadequate to the tasks as they are now posed. In any case there is a recognition that the student movement cannot proceed independently of the working class whose combativity is on the decline. As one miner put it: "Back in November and December when we made all those threats we thought we had a real chance to influence policy and save Smrkovsky. No one was quite sure - despite the tanks - what the Russian reaction would be. We know



GUSTAV HUSAK (SECOND FROM RIGHT) WITH KREMLIN FRIENDS

now. I think that we're all convinced they meant it when they say that any more strikes and demonstrations would be bloody. So when the students came up this way to Poldi foundry here after Husak took over to talk about strikes and joint actions, they closed the gates and wouldn't let them in."

What is posed in Czechoslovakia today more sharply than ever is a real clarification of the tasks before the labor and student movement. The liberals within the bureaucracy are completely exposed as incapable of leading anything. This must inexorably lead to the question of the construction of a new leadership based on the working class and completely independent of the bureaucracy.

There will be new upsurges of struggle in Czechoslovakia

and throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR in the next period. But without a new leadership, without a new party capable of actually carrying out an armed insurrection against the bureaucracy for the seizure of state power, each of these struggles must end in bloody defeats on the order of Hungary 1956.

EUROPE

The point, however, is that the struggle for proletarian democracy in the Stalinist countries does not proceed in a vacuum but hand-in-hand with the development of the Socialist revolution in Europe and America. It is precisely the growth of Trotskyism and the Fourth International in the course of these struggles that will provide the solution to the crisis of leadership that now cries out for resolution in Czechoslovakia.

the kremlin and the flying pueblo

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

The reaction of the U.S. to the latest espionage exposure, the case of the "flying Pueblo," is like that of a thief who upon entering his victim's abode and while looking around for the silver is attacked by the owner and then waxes indignant at such an assault.

All the propaganda about the ivory pure intentions of U.S. imperialism and "national pride" constitutes a disgusting attempt by the ruling class to enlist the support of the American people for its nefarious activities against the people of Southeast Asia. All this rubbish cannot hide the fact that the U.S. finally is getting its due for all its snooping.

Imperialism's dirty wash has been hung out in the investigation of the Pueblo making it increasingly difficult for the rulers to explain its latest venture.

PURPOSE

The stated purpose of the flight of the Navy EC-121 shot down by the North Koreans was to collect electronic intelligence. Nixon has attempted to put a sweet coating on it all by saying that these reconnaissance missions are "to protect the security" of the 56,000 men stationed there. It would appear that the best way to protect them would be to bring them back. The point is that as in Vietnam the troops are there not in the interests of Korean people or the American people but in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

There is more to it than Mr. Nixon would like to reveal. The actual purpose of this particular mission was to monitor communications in the Sino-Soviet border dispute. Vietnam is only part of the pie. The U.S. rulers have the whole of Asia on their agenda for subjugation.

Nixon, in his greatest display of self-righteousness, has claimed that the downing of the spy plane by North Korea "was unprovoked, it was deliberate, it was without warning." In the same breath he proudly reveals that the U.S. carried out 190 of these flights previously without incident. We can only say that the North Koreans have been more than patient with these obvious intrusions. 190 of these missions is more than a provocation - it verges on outright aggression.

FRAUD

While Nixon and the Pentagon base their innocence on the statement that the plane was not within the 12 mile limit, this logic has been exposed as a fraud by the rules of the bourgeoisie themselves. At a recent meeting of the American Society of International Law, one erudite professor contended that North Korea's attack on both the Pueblo and the EC-121 could be justified as the only way to protect small nations from the electronic reconnaissance of the bigger nations. The latter he said were

taking "unfair advantage" of smaller nations that do not have the wealth and technological capabilities to develop such systems. It was further pointed out that much of the law of the seas was formulated in the era of sailing ships when 3 or 12 mile limit were considered adequate protection to a coastal state. However, modern monitoring devices can "penetrate to the heart of a country's inland defense" far from these limits. This is especially true for air reconnaissance missions.

Whether or not the EC-121 was inside or outside the limits is beside the point. The U.S. raised the same hue and cry over the Pueblo which it has been shown was not in international waters. The point is both missions were intrusions on the defenses of North Korea.

In the international class struggle the rules the bourgeoisie devise are only formalities to protect their interests. When they get in the way they are as quickly forgotten as they are made. One does not have to have much of an imagination to predict the holocaust that would follow if a North Korean spy plane was sighted 40 miles off the coast of San Francisco.

What has happened is that the victim, North Korea, has become the criminal through the logic of the U.S. ruling class. The U.S. has been carrying out systematic harassment of North Korea for some time now. The reconnaissance missions are only a part of it. The U.S. has engaged in attacks on the North Korean forces at the demilitarized zone. The North Koreans have protested over and over again while the U.S. has dismissed them in the press as "minor skirmishes." The U.S. has continued to maintain and build up its forces in South Korea.

CHINA

These attacks on North Korea are not isolated but must be seen in the context of U.S. imperialism's policies in Vietnam as well as its moves against China.

The U.S. has been badly beaten in Vietnam and now must find a way out of this costly war. This is why the U.S. rulers, while straining at the bit, can ill afford a war with North Korea at this point. Nixon made a big promise in his campaign: "I pledge to you the American flag is not going to be a door mat for a fourth-class power." Needless to say when faced with the reality that "a fourth-class power" like the NLF was winning militarily in Vietnam, he has had to swallow those words for the time being. Instead the Administration answered with the grandiose statement: "The weak can be rash; the powerful must be more restrained."

This restraint is a double-edged sword. While the U.S. is seeking a settlement on Vietnam in Paris, it has absolutely no intention of turning over Asia to the workers and peasants. What the U.S. cannot achieve militarily at this point,

it is preparing for politically through limited military pressure and threats aimed primarily against North Korea and China.

The U.S. has been cheering on the Soviet Union in its border dispute with China. The EC-121 mission was in fact watching over this dispute. At the same time Nixon continues to push even more vigorously for his ABM scheme on the basis that more than ever the U.S. requires a force to defeat China. All this is being done to assure imperialism's "diplomatic credibility" or power in Southeast Asia.

Each move the U.S. rulers take becomes an excuse for a further buildup. Nixon has used the "flying Pueblo" incident to move in a task force of 23 warships close to the borders of North Korea and China.

USSR

This political maneuvering by U.S. imperialism has required and has gotten the full support of the Soviet bureaucracy. The growing rapprochement between the U.S. and the Kremlin is most blatantly revealed in this latest incident. The Soviet leaders made it clear that they wanted no responsibility nor did they defend the actions of North Korea. Rather they responded readily to the U.S.'s appeals for their help in the search for the plane. The U.S. was in fact escorted to the area by two Soviet ships. Mr. Nixon put it this way: "The Soviet role in the plane incident, first, is one of being of assistance to the U.S. in recovering the debris and looking for survivors. And we are most grateful to the Soviet Union for helping us in this respect."

The New York Times was even more explicit: "One small glimmer of light blinks through this whole sorry affair. The cooperation extended by Soviet naval vessels in the search for the missing plane suggest that the Russians may be seriously embarrassed by the apparent gross breach of international law on the part of their North Korean allies. Moscow may realize how much it is in the Russians' own interest to curb Pyongyang's aggressiveness."

When the U.S. moved its ships into the Sea of Japan, the Soviet Union issued a "mild" protest. The U.S. obligingly removed its ships into the Yellow Sea closer to its real target, China. Can there be any doubt about the complicity of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism against the international working class?

The collaboration between the U.S. and the Kremlin threatens not only the struggles of the workers and peasants in Vietnam, the Chinese Revolution, but the Soviet Union - the gains of October. More and more the Soviet bureaucracy fears more than imperialism the rising offensive by the working class internationally. It will lie at the feet of the imperialists in order to preserve its privileges.

As Inflation Soars, Nixon Pushes Tax Fraud



BY DENNIS O'CASEY

On April 15th Nixon's federal budget plan calling for a 5.8 billion surplus in fiscal 1969 and slashing 4 billion of the proposed Johnson budget was put into the hands of Congress.

The budget combined with the sharply restrictive monetary policy of the Federal Reserve reflected in interest rates which are the highest since the '29 crash, represents a serious turn on the part of Nixon and the U.S. capitalists towards domestic austerity.

Behind Nixon's moves to-

wards domestic deflation are the staggering consumer price index figures which showed an upward leap of 5% in 1968 and reached an 18 year high of .85% in March of '69. Nixon knows full well that if inflation is not curbed, foreign imports could soon begin to threaten the dismantling of entire sections of U.S. industry.

The modest protectionism being peddled abroad by Commerce Secretary Stans today would under these conditions have to give way to a much more virulent protectionism speeding up the development of the crisis now gripping the world economic organism. Thus Nixon seeks at this juncture to strike a balance between deflation at home and protectionism abroad seeking to avoid both an all-out confrontation with the U.S. working class as well as the collapse of European capitalism.

The tax reform measures laid out by Nixon last week must be seen within this con-

text. These measures, halving the surcharge to 5% in January, 1970, repealing the 7% tax investment credit, closing certain glaring loopholes for the rich and removing 2,000,000 poor people from the tax rolls do not in any way change Nixon's basic economic orientation. As Nixon himself said, "the overall program will be ... essentially neutral in its revenue impact." Revenue gains and losses are expected to balance out at roughly 4 billion a year.

Although it is true that the repeal of the 7% credit combined with the surcharge cut fits in with a deflationary program, it is designed to cushion the sharp contradiction between the 14% capitalization planned by private industry in 1969 and the reduced spending power that would result from the surtax. The tax reform is primarily a political gimmick.

Thus for the first time Nixon shows himself ready to dig

his heel at least partly into a section of the bourgeoisie by requiring them to pay taxes on at least half of their income, and denying them such outrageous tax exemptions as those arising from artificially created business losses, "hobby farming", questionable charitable contributions, etc. This of course hits least at the most powerful sections of the bourgeoisie who live on corporate expense accounts, travel in company cars and airplanes and live in company-paid-for homes.

However, these moves, combined with the 7% incentive, permit Nixon to concede to the working class 25 cents on each surtax dollar it stole from the pockets of the workers when it decided to extend the tax for another year. Likewise at practically no cost to the government students earning less than \$1700 in summer employment and 2 million indigent families and single persons will be removed from

the tax rolls altogether.

Nixon's ploy should be clear. Nixon like Wilson and DeGaulle will soon find out that simply deflation, simply an application of orthodox Keynesian remedies for inflation, is not sufficient to stem the crisis. Sooner or later the trade unions must be confronted head on, incorporated into the state and the gains of labor won in the past 30 years taken back. In preparation for these moves Nixon seeks to curry favor with a working class already feeling the beginnings of this pressure in the form of the New York Taylor Law, the falling real wages, speed-up and the threat of a 1% unemployment hike in 1969 with a few crumbs in the way of a tax rebate.

We say that far from being a concession of any kind, the removal of students and the poor from the tax rolls is consciously designed by Nixon to deepen the divisions between the working class and the students and the poor.

BRITISH TROOPS INTO ULSTER

BY CHARLES HENRY

The decision of Wilson to send troops into Ulster is undoubtedly a real change in the strategy of British capitalism towards the working class not only in Ulster but in the rest of the British Isles as well. First Anguilla. Now Ulster. Who next but the English working class?

To understand the Labor government's decision we must also understand the recent history of the government and its failure to cope with the worsening economic crisis. The devaluation of the Pound Sterling over a year ago solved nothing. It did not even provide enough breathing space for capitalism to rationalize industry at a "safe pace." The economic crisis is still deepening and in fact becomes more acute as the rest of the world and particularly Europe tries to race Britain to see who will fall first. But more important, Wilson has had to attack the standard of living and working conditions of the working class for the last 4 years.

The rank and file of the labor movement is fighting back and

is confident of its strength and victory. This is the meaning of the latest bill introduced a few weeks back outlawing unofficial strikes. How will the government enforce these laws? With the use of troops! Is the end of bourgeois democracy in Britain so very far away?

CLUE

Ulster holds the clue. When a crisis starts in Britain it has its first manifestation in Ireland because of the area's exploitation by Britain for centuries.

Today in Ulster there is a real revolutionary situation. The national capitalist class is no longer able to rule without being propped up with British troops. Completely bankrupt and split it sees no way out of its present dilemma, and is being forced inch by inch to accept Paisleyite fascism as its only salvation. Today in Ulster the choice is clear - either working class or Paisleyite government.

The near victory of Paisley over O'Neill in the last election showed a real swing

RAISES DANGER FOR BRITAIN

to the right a few weeks ago. Today, the election of Bernadette Devlin M.P. shows a real swing to the left. Traditional party ties are being broken and politics have entered into a state of flux posing the need for revolutionary solutions. There can be no more talk of reform Reformism died in Ireland a long time ago, in fact when the labor lieutenants signed the treaty of independence.

Callaghan's "assurance" that the troops would only be used to guard government buildings means that they are to be used to prop up the same regime that is inching its way to Paisley. This is of course excellent training. What better place to train these troops how to break strikes and disturbances of the English working class than in the cities and towns of Ulster.

SPLIT

The present split in the Ulster Unionist Party is nothing more than a split in the Tory in Britain as a whole. It is more acute in Ulster precisely because of its junior relationship with its English counterparts. Every gain by Paisley in Ulster strengthens Powell in England. Wil-



VIOLENCE FLARES IN ULSTER ON EVE OF TROOP MOBILIZATION

son opens the door for a Bonapartist regime in England. He has passed all the laws; he has used the troops. Everything is left for the Tories to use in ruthless fashion and in fact to do away with democracy all together and rule by decree.

There is now no other solution than the revolutionary overthrow of the state by the working class in Ulster and Britain. The present leaders of the civil rights movement lead the working class into defeat as they did in the battle of Burntollet Bridge where they led hundreds of youth into the arms of Paisleyite thugs. By calling for more jobs, better housing, and voting rights just

for Catholics, they do nothing but split the working class and prepare the way for Paisley's victory.

At the same time it shows that they think these problems can be solved under capitalism. This was the meaning of calling off all action to give O'Neill moral support to win his majority in the Unionist Party. O'Neill is a Tory and the only difference between him and Paisley is a matter of timing. Adventurism mixed up with reformism only confuses the real issues before the working class and diverts it from its only solution, the taking over of the state.

CLAP TRAP

This clap trap of social democrats, humanitarians, Stalinists, revisionists, etc. only provides O'Neill with a left cover and through him Paisley's victory. This is why these people are the mortal enemies of the revolutionary party.

The launching of the Daily Newsletter in England this year by the Socialist Labor League and the going forward to the building of the mass revolutionary party to provide a steeled vanguard for the British revolution marks the only solution for the working class in Britain and in Ulster.

A similar party must be built in Ireland. Only such a party is capable of leading the working class to power and preventing fascism. Such a party must not only call for more jobs, better housing, etc., for Catholics but for the working class as a whole. Capitalism is incapable of granting these demands for a better way of life and thus revolutionary consciousness in the workers will grow. It must also see as its task the uniting of the class to prepare it for victory. The only way this can be done is by the demand among Protestant workers to fight for equal rights for their Catholic brothers.

Above all it must call for a break with Britain and withdrawal of British troops and at the same time instill into the working class the internationalism of their struggle. Solidarity with the English workers breaks the British capitalist link. Only such a party can lead a united class to victory.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ on behalf
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TRUDEAU ATTACKS IAM AIR CANADA STRIKE

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

TORONTO--The strike of members of the International Association of Machinists has now taken on a political coloring with Trudeau coming out in support of the Air Canada manager* with the statement that his offer is fair and just. This is part of a whole Federal policy to put the cost of the economic crisis on the backs of the working class. With the cost of living rising at a phenomenal rate and unemployment growing it is clear that Trudeau is now moving to keep wages in check

The present strike started when the IAM asked for parity with fellow workers in the U.S. Despite the fact that productivity in Canada is higher and that Air Canada made \$5 million profit last year the company flatly refused the just demands of the strikers.

With the latest settlement of the IAM with Northeast Airlines for 71 cents an hour more at the end of three years in U.S., the gap between the U.S. workers and Canadian workers is made even more ridiculous.

PROFIT

It is clear that Air Canada, which made more profit than any U.S. airline last year and with productivity here higher, can well afford the increase demanded by the union. The fact that it is refusing the increase must be due to the intervention of the Federal government a-

gainst parity.

With Canada's dollar still in a very shaky position despite the deflationary measures taken last year, it is clear that the government will have to carry out even stronger measures to keep wages down. Air Canada, which is a nationalized industry, can be a pattern maker for the government to show as an example for other firms to follow.

POLITICAL

In this period, therefore, every strike is taking on a political character. Every strike will have to contend with the direct intervention of

the state on behalf of the management. With the present bills now being prepared by Ottawa and the provincial governments to make strikes illegal, it can be seen that to protect its system the government is prepared to go to any lengths.

The trade union movement must be forced to wage a relentless struggle and to take this into the N.D.P. Only by calling for an N.D.P. government pledged to fight for working class politics can the present crisis be resolved in the interests of labor.

In the present strike of the

IAM with Air Canada the C.L.C. must give every support by refusing to handle any goods that have anything to do with the firm and calling for a general strike against the intervention of Trudeau. Also important is to take this fight into the N.D.P. forcing the leadership to expose the actions of the Liberal Government and the whole sham of its policies toward the strike and to the labor movement as a whole. Only in this way by combining industrial and political action can any solution be found for this or any other strike.

USW Vote Tally Shows Hostility To Abel & Contract

BY DAN FRIED

Even more than had been anticipated, the final election results in the United Steel Workers of America reveal a tremendous dissatisfaction with the regime of USW President I.W. Abel. Abel mustered enough votes to stay in office, but only by a narrow margin--257,651 to 181,122 for his opponent, Emil Narick. This gave Narick, a union staff lawyer who had been part of the Abel "team" 41.3% of the vote.

But even though Abel was re-elected, his team was being chopped down as four incumbent district directors were defeated, and two Abel backed district director candidates lost in elections where the incumbents didn't run. The

opposition candidates were not part of any national slate led by Narick, but generally re-by Narick, but generally represented secondary levels of the bureaucracy.

Underlining the disgruntlement in the ranks with Abel was the fact that even a candidate with primarily local appeal, Morrow Brummitt got almost a third of the votes for Secretary-Treasurer against Abel backed incumbent, Walter Burke. Brummitt who has been described as a "rank and file challenger" is from Aliquippa, Pa., in the Pittsburgh area where dissatisfaction with last July's contract is very high. Narick ran ahead of Abel in the large Pittsburgh area locals where workers employed at the older

mills are most likely to be hurt by plant closings, production cutbacks and other forms of "modernization" which are increasingly being instituted by the bosses.

Notwithstanding the fact that Narick is as much a conservative bureaucrat as Abel, his support was based largely on this dissatisfaction with the contract. During the campaign, Narick had correctly pointed out that following the contract, wage increases had been eroded by inflation, the vacation schedule weakened and that a no strike clause prevents local unions from putting pressure on management. No one could take seriously Abel's boast that the pact was the "best contract in the union's history".

28,000 WORKERS STRIKE GM--BLACKS WALK OUT AT MAHWAH

BY DAN FRIED

A strike called by the UAW against General Motors at six of the company's key Chevrolet-Fisher Body plants may soon shut down all of GM if it continues. The issue in the Strike is simple: GM recently merged the Chevrolet and Fisher divisions, putting all the workers on the Chevrolet wage rates, which are about 15 cents an hour lower than Fisher. This was an unabashed attempt by GM to expand their already swollen profits by slashing the wages of thousands of workers. This hits the workers on top of the destruction of earlier wage gains by inflation and taxes. No wonder the timid UAW leadership had been forced to give strike warning at the St. Louis Chevrolet-Fisher plant!

GM forced the issue to a strike in St. Louis, in part because it wants to reduce its

huge dealer showroom inventory of 1,775,000 cars while it seeks to undermine union wages and conditions. By forcing a strike GM avoids paying unemployment compensation benefits which it would have to pay if the men had been laid off. But GM may be getting more than it bargained for once its vast production is crippled.

FORD

Meanwhile, a strike of a somewhat different character has hit the Ford plant at Mahwah, N.J., where a walk-out by mostly black workers forced the Company to shut down its afternoon shift. The strike was called by the United Black Brotherhood which together with members of SDS handed out leaflets calling for white workers to support the strike as well. The UBB claims that a foreman used a number of racial epithets in

denouncing a young black worker and is demanding the foreman's dismissal.

The most unfortunate aspect of the strike is the split that is developing between the black workers who support UBB and the UAW local, 906. The local leadership has refused to give any backing to the strike and is urging all members to return to work. The local leadership has not taken the most elementary stand against this and other racial slurs. In this way they give fuel to the fires of black separatism which is a strong tendency in the demands of the UBB.

While the UBB makes demands against racism which are in the interest of both white and black workers, they also make demands which can only lead to "all black unions" and a greater division among

black and white workers: employment of black persons in the labor relations and personnel departments and the recognition of the UBB as spokesman for the black workers in the plant.

BLIND

Black persons in management--the personnel and labor relations department of Ford--is, like DRUM's demand for "a black brother on the Board of the Chrysler Corporation", a complete blind alley for the workers. What is needed is not Black Capitalism, but a real fight against the bosses. It is not "whitey" but moneybags Ford who pushes the speedup to new levels, who along with his buddies at GM and Chrysler constantly try to raise production as they lay off workers and hold down wages. And this, even more than objectionable racial slurs, is what

hurts the workers, black and white.

The fight against the speed-up, for wage protection and for a 30 hour week as a defense against the layoffs can only be fought in the UAW as a combined fight of black and white workers. The demand of the UBB for representation of the black workers can only lead to a breakdown of the very foundation of industrial unionism itself--to the immense delight of Ford and the other labor-haters. It was only the militancy and unity of black and white workers against the paternalism of Henry Fords' slave empire that brought the union to Ford in the first place.

Black-white unity against all racial discrimination! Fight for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay--no layoffs! No wage cutting--for FULL cost of living escalator clause!

students face crisis of leadership

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viciously attacked and red-baited SDS. They were particularly upset when SDS on its own mobilized several hundred primarily minority high school students. They urged their "black high school brothers" to break off all relations with white students.

In the meantime, the YSA branch on the campus--the YSA seems to have played almost no role in any of these hundreds of campus actions across the country--issued a leaflet critical of SDS for offering any programmatic demands outside of support for the Afro-American Society. Even this "support" was to take no action form-- which helps to explain how the YSA capitulation to black nationalism has contributed to its complete paralysis on the campus in the face of a movement encompassing hundreds of thousands of students.

The Progressive Labor dominated SDS Expansion Committee took a slightly different tact. First of all it correctly refused to support the reformist and separatist Afro-American Society demands which only help the ruling class in splitting up the students. Next they attacked the SDS majority demand of open admissions from neighborhood high schools on the grounds that it is a reformist demand and encourages petty bourgeois strivings among working class youth. They counterposed to these demands the demand that 197 university-owned apartments be opened to ghetto residents. This is supposedly a reflection of the worker-student alliance.

REFORMISM

We, for our part, cannot see how demanding apartments for ghetto residents is any more or less reformist than demanding the admission of high school students from the neighborhood. As far as encouraging petty-bourgeois strivings is concerned, this is the kind of ultra-leftism which can only come from those who already have the opportunity to go to college. The desire of working class youth for a decent university education and a chance therefore of a decent job is completely progressive and can take on a revolutionary character under the current conditions where the capitalist crisis is requiring the government to cut back on all forms of aid to education rather than to expand educational opportunities.

Most important of all, PL's demands represent a form of adaptation to a STUDENT POWER level of struggle. Seeking to lead a section of students, it searches for some demands around which to mobilize these students--preferably demands which allow it to be independent of other sections of the student movement. As with black nationalism, which they criticize because of its "form" but support because of a supposedly working class "content", PL takes a centrist position on student activism. It fails in any real way to pose to students the necessity of POLITICALLY linking their struggles with the working class and on this basis not only allying student struggles with those of the class, but building from among the most ad-

vanced students and workers a serious party theoretically armed for the struggles ahead.



A case in point was the recent budget cuts demonstration in Central Park. Called by clients groups to oppose the drastic cuts in Welfare payments, it was supported by a section of the trade union movement. The Workers League intervened and despite the opposition of PL was able to get a section of the SSEU to raise demands linking the cuts in the welfare budget with the Taylor Law and the job cuts in the city. We also posed the struggle for a labor party as an alternative. The very same forces which are cutting the living standards of the poor, taking away jobs from workers, passing anti-union laws, are also cutting funds for the city university system and passing and planning new laws aimed at the students' democratic right to fight back.

Here was an opportunity for a real battle to bring students into a common struggle with the working class and the poor against the common enemy. But the student leadership, including PL, kept the students away. The PL Expansion Committee has said nothing about these attacks on the working class and has no alternative political program for struggle on or off the campus. It just has another gimmick around which to conduct student power struggles.

Despite these fundamental weaknesses of PL which tie it to the rest of the student leadership,

the SDS majority moved to expel PL because of its few strengths. Not only did the SDS majority expel PL because of its criticisms of black nationalism but also as a capitulation to the anti-communism of the Afro-American society types.

It is important that just three months ago another group was expelled from SDS for the same reason--Marcus' SDS Labor Committee. That time it was PL which led the chants "Fight Racism" and pushed through the expulsion. Then as today we opposed these expulsions regardless of our differences with the expelled groups because we saw in them a blow by the middle class against even the most emaciated attempts to defend the working class.

AUTO

Recently Mark Rudd and the rest of the Columbia SDS majority have decided to implement their version of a student-labor alliance. Together with the Panthers they have gone to Mahwah to aid a group of black nationalist influenced workers engaged in a wildcat strike over an issue of a racial slur from a foreman in the auto plant. Here we have unity in action between black nationalist workers and middle class new left white students which deepens the divisions between black and white workers in the plant. No attempt is being made to bring about a united working class struggle in the plant. It is a repeat of the disastrous DRUM business all over again and shows how confusion and revisionism on the campus has a directly harmful impact of working class struggles.

PROGRAM

The Workers League is the only organization with a program which really unites the students with the working class and takes the working class forward in the POLITICAL struggle against capitalism. We fight on the following demands:

OPPOSE THE BUDGET CUTS in education, welfare, and other community services. Demand open enrollment in all universities and colleges.

FIGHT REPRESSION OF STUDENTS AND LABOR by opposing the Taylor Law and other anti-labor laws, by defending the Panthers and SDS Labor Committee against frameups, by getting the cops out of the schools, and by fighting against all attacks on the democratic rights of students and teachers.

BUILD THE LABOR PARTY based on the rank and file workers. The basic question is one of power, and only the working class can take power in the interests of students and workers against the bourgeoisie.

CONSTRUCT THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY based on the development of Marxist theory, committed to an all-out struggle in the interests of the working class as a whole, linked to the world party of the working class, the Fourth International. Students can play a vital role in the theoretical and practical development of this party but only by carrying out a ruthless struggle against all revisionist tendencies on the campus.