

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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MAY 19, 1969

TEN CENTS

**Socialist
Workers
Party
And The CIO**

REPRESSION GRIPS THE UNIVERSITIES

stop!

- all confrontation adventures
- separatist struggles of race against race

unite!

**workers and
students in
fight to**

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NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS CLASH WITH CLUBS AT CITY COLLEGE



WHITE STUDENTS LOCK OUT BLACKS DURING RACIAL BATTLE AT QUEENS

REPRESSION HITS CAMPUSES

UNITE STUDENTS AND WORKERS

BY THE EDITORS

"Spring Offensive" screams the front cover of the May 3 Guardian reflecting the outbreak of militant student actions on hundreds of campuses across the nation. But one week later the Guardian is forced to lead with "Yahoos Counterattack" hopefully adding "But Student Offensive Gains." A look at the reality of the past week shows that about all the students have gained is the admission of cops onto the campuses and the admission of students into the jails.

In truth it has been the government, and the bosses which the government represents, which has been on the offensive for some time now. They put Nixon in as president to carry out this offensive starting first with the poor and unemployed, adding attacks on sections of the trade unions, particularly public employees, and preparing to take on the students as well in the scope of the attacks.

Welfare budgets have been slashed in New York and elsewhere, the meager poverty programs are slowly being dismantled, educational funds are being cut in most cities and states, special laws against public employee strikes have been passed or are on the legislative calendars throughout the country, new federal laws are in the planning stages.

And the United States continues its offensive--spring, summer, fall, winter--against the working people and peasantry of South Vietnam.

REBELLION

All of this could not help but create unrest among university and high school students across the nation. And so the campus rebellions were inevitable. But the forms these struggles have taken could not have aided the ruling class more if they had been planned and led by the ruling class itself.

In demonstration after demonstration the students struggled separated, isolated. The "enemy" became the local administrations of the colleges and high schools or racism as an abstraction and concretely embodied in all who have white skins. The program around which these struggles were waged were mild reforms unrelated to the needs of the working class and students as a whole. The real need was to prepare for defense against ruling class attacks and in the course of this defense take the struggle over to a serious, prepared powerful offensive based on the only force outside the bosses with real strength to conduct an offensive in capitalist society--the working class.

The results of these worse than blind policies is now clearly before us. The political and social wreckage of the "Spring Offensive" is strewn across the nation's campuses. The blacks are isolated from the whites. The radical students are isolated from the mass of the uncommitted students. The students are held in disrepute by the working class as a whole who know a little something about serious struggle.

The ruling class have played their cards very well--in fact they let the students do most of the playing. As the radical students seized their buildings, the bosses and government officials simply bided their time, occupied themselves with an immense propaganda battle in the press to turn the working class and the people as a whole against the radical students. As divisions on the campuses grew, and the isolation of the radicals became evident, the rulers acceded to demands of the "public" they had prepared and began cracking down.

CRACKING

When it comes to cracking, these people are real experts. At least seven states have passed laws against student unrest, two more have begun investigations, while bills are pending in 16 more states. A week ago virtually every university campus in New York City was either shut down altogether or paralyzed by student militancy. As we go to press every New York City campus is open and cops are on most of them. If this be victory, we ask the Guardian, SDS, PL, YSA and the rest, exactly what is defeat?

Ah, but these "leaders" will tell us, the students have learned from all this the class nature and power of the state. We expect the same people would have chalked up Hitler's victory in 1933 as a victory for the working class because the workers soon learned the nature of



COPS ATTACK STUDENTS IN MADISON, WISCONSIN

fascism in power.

The whole situation was summed up at Columbia University when one great student SDS leader stood before the multitudes and tore up a court writ explaining that it was a "piece of paper." The students, taking this leader at his word--they will not make that mistake again--marched off to occupy a building. The next day the writ took the form of a body of armed men and outscattered the students from the windows of the building only to be hunted down and dragged to court for contempt. It is well and good to have contempt for the actions of the ruling class but a movement which is serious about expropriating this class had better begin with some realistic respect for its power.

ADVENTURISM

The Workers League will have nothing to do with such adventurism. We are not interested in the seizing of university buildings but rather in the serious preparation for the seizure of power. We are not interested in burning down libraries and other university buildings but in transforming the universities into citadels of learning for the whole people through the bringing of the working class to power. In the meantime we stand foursquare on the side of the firemen. We don't want any two-bit pseudo revolutionaries burning up books which the working class will need.

Now no one who is in the least bit sane can deny that the government is on the offensive against the students at the very same time as it is coming down on the working class as a whole. The mindless student "offensive" has been transformed into a rout and a ruling class offensive. A general of an army who does not know the difference between offensive and defensive tactics, when to advance, when to retreat in order to prepare for a new advance, might as well be in the pay of the opposing army.

What is required today is a strategy for struggle on the campus which militantly takes up the defense of the students from attacks on their democratic rights and cut-backs in education funds and links this defense to a defense of the working class as a whole. In the course of this struggle we must fight at all times to go over into the offensive.

Just as the attacks on the students are political in nature and emanate from the government--federal, state, local--so, too, we must pose the offensive politically. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are vying with each-

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STOP ADVENTURES AND SEPARATISM

other to see who can be most militant in suppressing the students and attacking the workers and poor. A new party must be built--a labor party based on the power of the American trade union movement.

As long as the struggle of the students remains parochial in character, centering on separatist demands, or aimed at the university administration abstracted from the class power which stands behind the administrator and which takes a political governmental form, or at this or at that manifestation of this class power, like ROTC and military research--again unrelated to political questions, then the idea of linking student struggles to the working class and the creation of a new party seems to students complete and empty abstractions--as so much talk from radicals.

POLITICAL

Once we can launch struggles on the campus as well as in the unions which are aimed at the real question of political power, then the concept of a labor party will take on life. Even a struggle which begins on a reform level and with a reform leadership can open up the possibility of a political struggle to pose the real political alternative.

Look at the criminal state of affairs in New York City this past three months. There have been isolated, localized struggles on every single campus of the city university system as well as on all the state-run community college campuses. In addition, dozens of high schools have been rocked by explosions. At no time have any of these "radical" leaders posed a common demonstration of all university and high school youth against the budget cuts which affect all these tens of thousands of college and high school youth.

At the very same time as the educational system is under attack, the state reduces the living standards of the poor to an impossible 66¢ a day, passes the draconic anti-strike Taylor Law, while Lindsay begins deep slashes in city jobs. Only the Workers League took up the struggle against these attacks fighting within the unions, among the poor and on campuses for a united fight back and posing within this struggle the demand for a labor party.

LEADERSHIP

The Workers League held a special National Committee meeting over the weekend of May 10 and 11th. At this meeting the National Committee decided to deepen its national work immediately to give real leadership to students and trade unionists. At the same time the work of building the BULLETIN to carry forward this fight will be stepped up in preparation for launching it as a weekly paper on October 1, 1969. The National Committee was happy to report that circulation has doubled in the period since the November National Conference and committed the League to a further expansion so that by the time of the launching of the paper we will have a three-fold expansion of circulation--primarily among trade unionists and students.

The Workers League will carry forward its struggle on the college and high school campuses around the following program:

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.

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ILWU MEETING-NO LEAD FROM HARRY

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

If platitudes could save jobs the recently concluded ILWU convention would guarantee longshoremen a hundred years of full employment. It should have been a fighting conference to prepare and mobilize the strength of the union for all out war on the docks. Instead hundreds of delegates were subjected to day after day of liberal rhetoric and stale reformism.

Coming at a time when the ILWU faces the greatest crisis in its history the convention resolutions stand as a monument to the bankruptcy of the Bridges' leadership. They are a clear warning to the rank and file that an enormous betrayal is being prepared.

It would be futile to undertake a detailed examination of all the resolutions. Taken in their entirety they provide a slightly left wing cover for a policy of capitulation to the power of the PMA and the Nixon government. For the record Bridges is for peace, jobs, more social security, lower taxes, and labor unity. He opposes anti-union laws, racism, and right wing repression. In practice he can do no more than offer a few pious hopes that those in power will see the reasonableness of his proposals.

PRESSURE

To Bridges and all his friends in the labor bureaucracy the working class is simply a pressure group. Under no circumstances is it to be mobilized as an independent force. Thus on the one hand the ILWU can

DELURY DEMANDS WAGE RE-OPENER AS INFLATION WIPES OUT GAINS

BY FRED CALHOUN

NEW YORK--With the cost of living soaring over 6% since March, workers in this city are finding it increasingly difficult to stretch their dwindling pay checks. John DeLury, President of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association, recently responded to this crisis with the announcement that this union "may" have to demand a cost of living increase this Fall. DeLury said, "We will ask all other unions to join with us."

The Sanitationmen's contract does not expire until December of 1970 but the wage increase negotiated in the last contract will be wiped out by November. DeLury pointed out that the buying power of his workers' pay checks will be less at the end of the contract than it was at the beginning. He further contended that an emergency cost-of-living increase of at least 25% be given to pensioners.

CUTS

This is situation that all workers in this city and state now face but it is only part of the grim story. At the budget hearings at which DeLury spoke it was revealed that the City plans further attacks on the working class--

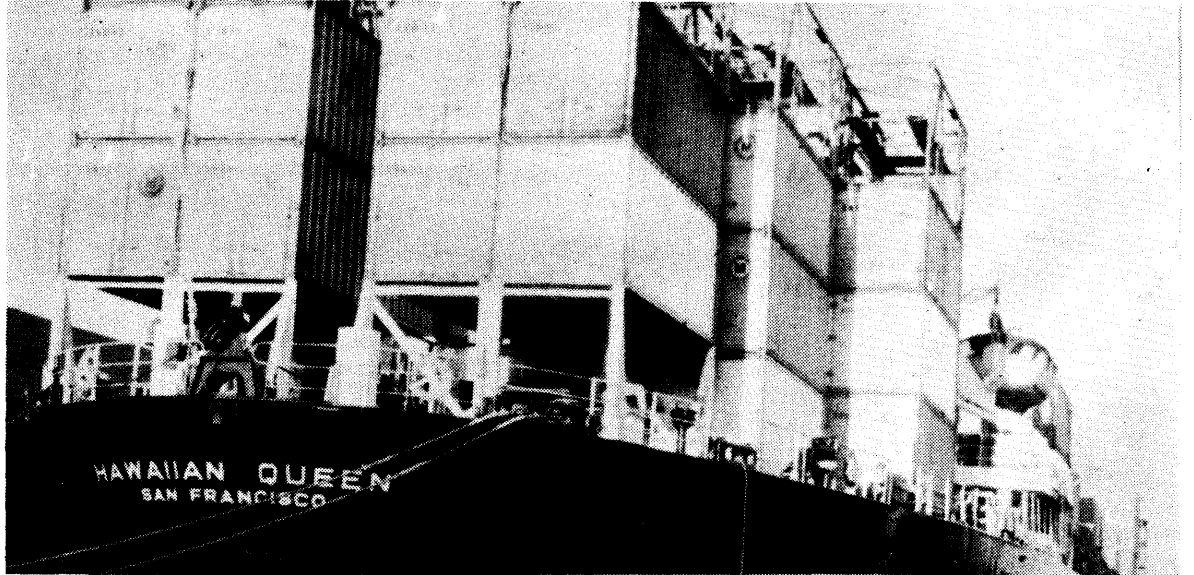
pass a perspective that speaks of labor's "so-called political friends, few of whom are sympathetic to or understand the problems of the working class" while on the other hand it praises Nixon for moving in the right direction on taxes and calls on the workers to "Keep putting on the heat - write to your congressman, your senators, the House Ways and Means Committee."

It is ironic that one day before the convention opened the ILWU leadership completely backed down on its work action against containers. Longshoremen had been refusing to load containerized cargo until they received a contract guaranteeing them the work against the Teamsters. A PMA suit forcing them into court to pay damages after a compulsory arbitration ruling against the ILWU caused Bridges to cancel the work action without a peep. Action speaks louder than words and this action revealed the real content of all the words at the convention.

CONTAINERIZATION

Containerization threatens to decimate the longshore work force in a few years. It is estimated that in five years 50% of the jobs will have disappeared on the docks. Under such conditions those remaining will be subject to intensive speed up and exploitation. It is precisely the question of a fighting strategy to hold on to these jobs and maintain the strength of the union that the convention should have taken up. The employers are deter-

mined to automate as rapidly as possible. The fierce competition opening up with Japan and Europe leaves them no choice. The speed with which they moved to haul Bridges into court shows that the government will be backing them all the way. It is criminal that a six day convention ended leaving the entire dock force totally unprepared for the approaching showdown.



FREIGHTER LOADED HIGH WITH CONTAINERS AT SAN FRANCISCO DOCK READY FOR SEA

Indeed all indications are that Bridges fully intends to keep things this way while he negotiates a total sellout in a backroom deal with the PMA. Indeed, shortly after the convention the ILWU issued a statement that "There is no threat of a West Coast dock strike. The parties fully expect to resolve their differences by negotiation." It was also agreed that negotiations are to be conducted entirely in secret. One is entitled to ask how

the leadership sees fit to allow to filter through? Meanwhile the bosses continue to automate in order to weaken the union's position still further. Even more dangerous is the totally reactionary way the struggle is being carried out. Bridges is demanding a longshore contract that will cover a number of jobs presently done by Teamster union members. For all his denials the essential direction the the essential direction of the struggle is towards a civil war with the IBT. The two unions will fight it out for a dwindling number of jobs. The PMA must be rubbing its hands in glee.

The rank and file must call a halt to this suicidal policy. Now is the time to prepare a united fight to see to it that not one single cargo handling job is eliminated. To accept the attrition schemes of the PMA is to accept a slow death. A united front of the IBT and the ILWU determined to see to it that not a single job is cut can smash the anti-union offensive of the PMA and their govern-

ment allies. Together the two unions can see to it that any attack by the employers is answered by shutting down the entire West Coast. This is the only answer to PMA injunctions, capitalist courts and attrition schemes, the independent mobilization of the power of the working class. Bridges has talked for years about the possibility of a federation of the ILWU and the Teamsters that could eventu-

ally embrace all transport workers throughout the country and even co-ordinate on an international basis. He brought this idea up once again at the recent convention. From Bridges this is all so much talk. He does nothing because he fears an attack from the government.

Unity
Transport workers throughout the country are threatened with unemployment by containers. There is no time to wait for timid bureaucrats to move. Unity in action is needed now in sea, air, rail, trucking and docks. The construction of a rank and file movement in the ILWU that can achieve a fighting unity with the IBT against the employers will have taken a tremendous step forward in this direction.

HANDS OFF THE UNIONS
NO JOB CUTS
ILWU, IBT UNITE AGAINST THE PMA!
FOR AN ALL TRANSPORT WORKERS FEDERATION!

Mexicans Get Heavy Sentences

As part of a mounting wave of political repression aimed at smashing all student and worker protest in Mexico, the Diaz Ordaz government has meted out the most harsh jail sentences to members and sympathizers of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party). Sentences ranged up to 8 years. Among those sentenced was the Argentine socialist journalist, Adolfo Gilly, his wife and one other non-citizen. Gilly, along with the others, was framed up on phony charges of "criminal activity" such as organizing Marxist meetings, "inciting to subversion", "conspiracy" and other stock-in-trade charges of right wing witch-hunters. Gilly received a sentence of 6 years and 3 months and a fine of 5,000

pesos.

The government prosecutors went out of their way to make sure that the defendants were convicted on charges for which there is no bail, even though they have filed an appeal. The government of capitalists and landlords thus tries to terrorize the working class and student militants into submission. But such tactics can in no way solve the crisis which is mounting in Mexico and throughout Latin America.

The Workers League calls on all workers organizations and socialists to join with us in protesting these brutal sentences. We demand the immediate release of the members and sympathizers of the P.O.R. and an end to political repression in Mexico.

LABOR UNITY WILL WIN IN CHARLESTON

class action not prayers needed

The leaders of the strike do not view it as a class struggle. Abernathy and Coretta King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are trying to revive the old non-violence of the sit-in days. Their perspective to win is to be "patient" and to hold marches and vigils and fill the jails until somehow the government yields. They do not see the struggle as a fundamental class battle but rather as a struggle for "human rights and dignity." Abernathy says that this is simply a struggle of "black people" to unite the "black community." The leadership of Local 1199 is in complete agreement with this.

This is not just a black struggle that white workers can support if they feel like it. This is a workers' struggle and support from all workers must be won for it. It is precisely through racism that the bosses have been able to keep unions out of the South. All workers will gain from a victory for the Charleston hospital workers.

For years Leon Davis has spread the idea that 1199 is a "unique" union which really has nothing in common with the rest of the labor movement. Earlier this year there was talk of 1199 leaving the AFL-CIO. 1199 members have been encouraged to see it as a "civil rights union." Charleston shows how wrong this conception is. The demands of black workers for equality in every sphere of life are not separate from the fight against the bosses and their representatives in government. This means a fight

within the labor movement, and a political fight against the bosses who rest upon and use racism.

Davis tries to win through publicity, relying on favorable notices in the capitalist newspapers such as the NY Times and the NY Post. An editorial in the NY Times was reprinted and distributed to union members. What the editorial said was that the hospital bosses should yield, even though their reluctance was "understandable" due to the "irresponsibility" of the union in the past. So, the union hands out leaflets calling the union irresponsible!

This is the very same newspaper that denounced the union in July 1968, when it struck for the \$100 minimum. Are these now going to be dished up as the union's friends? This is the same policy as the union's past support to Rockefeller who then proceeded to stab the workers in the back by slashing the budget and raising taxes.

KEY

What neither Abernathy nor Davis understand is that the key to victory is the united power of the working class. This unity must be fought for.

MASS LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE CHARLESTON STRIKE!
FOR FULL FINANCIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT!

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BULLETIN



WALTER REUTHER JOINS ABERNATHY AND LOCAL 1199B LEADERS FOR MOTHERS DAY MARCH

BY MELODY FARROW

One of the most important union battles in years is entering its seventh week in Charleston, South Carolina. Since March 20, more than 500 workers at the two largest hospitals in Charleston have been on strike for recognition of Local 1199B, in a struggle being given leadership by New York's Local 1199.

This, however, is no longer simply a strike for recognition. It is a tremendous explosion representing the drive of thousands of workers throughout the South, to put an end to decades of sweatshop conditions, poverty wage levels and company towns. As we said in the last Bulletin, this strike must pave the way for the unionization of all Southern workers, in the big textile mills, the meat packing firms, the steel mills, the trucking companies and more. Like the Memphis sanitation strike last year, it is opening a new stage in the struggle of American workers.

STATE

It is not just that these workers are catching up to their fellow workers in the North but that they will have to take on the armed might of the state to win these gains. The days of peaceful civil rights marches and of theories of non-violence are over. A new wave of bitter class struggle is sweeping across the country. These courageous workers have stood up to injunctions, beatings, jailings, and bomb attempts. The National Guard has virtually taken over the city. While the strikers picket, Guardsmen follow along side, their bayonets pointed threateningly at the workers' faces.

The South Carolina government has issued injunctions to stop the strike but they have failed to break it. The Governor of the State has declared that South Carolina will never recognize the union. He is petrified that if this strike succeeds it will open up the flood gates, and he is right. In the present period of crisis, the bosses will do anything

to preserve the cheap labor of the South.

To win the demand for union recognition the workers have to fight the real enemy, not just the hospital administrators but the government of South Carolina itself and all its anti-union laws and edicts. The workers are showing in struggle that they will not bend before the state. What is necessary is an all out fight back.

In order to win mass labor support must be mobilized. Thousands of Negro workers in Charleston are solidly backing the hospital workers. Hundreds have already gone to jail. Some white workers have also begun to give support. The small South Carolina AFL-CIO is backing

the strike. The national AFL-CIO has finally come out with a statement of support. On May 11 a mass march of some 15,000 was held in Charleston, including unionists from all over the country.

This is just a small indication of what can and must be done. This fight is in the interests of the entire working class. It must be used to break down racial divisions, to concretely fight racism. The black hospital workers are pointing the way for all unorganized workers in the South. Mass labor demonstrations in support of the Charleston workers must be organized in the South and all over the country. Funds must be raised throughout the union movement.

Why Wallaceite Cop Won Minneapolis Primary

BY J. RENEE

MINNEAPOLIS--As a result of the recent primary elections, Minneapolis is threatened by the prospect of a police lieutenant for mayor. It is a logical reward for the labor skates, who now do not even have a Democrat to support, for years of class collaboration with the boss politicians of the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party.

The city primaries provided a three-way contest between a Democrat (Hagstrom), a Republican (Cohen), and an 'independent', the police officer running on a 'law and order' platform (Stenvig). (Oh yes, also running was Dave Thorstad of the SWP., who conducted a completely irrelevant campaign that provided neither leadership nor program, except to call for power to the black communities.)

PROGRAM

As usual the leadership of the majority of the unions gave their official endorsement to the D.F.L. candidate. Neither the bureaucrats nor D.F.L. politicians could even pretend to present a program to solve the crisis that Minneapolis, like the other major U.S. cities, is facing. How could

they? They see the threatened breakdown of the school system, the transportation system, each element of the so-called "urban crises", as a separate problem rather than as flowing from the insoluble dissolution the capitalist system is undergoing. And the solutions they look for are within the existing two-party system, supporting and upholding the capitalist enterprise.

Given no class leadership, no program to fight for or to increase their understanding of the problems they face, the voters, including the working class wards, gave Stenvig, the Wallace-like candidate, enough votes to put

SUCCESSFUL TWIN CITIES MAY DAY

MINNEAPOLIS--At a very successful May Day meeting on May 2, the Twin Cities Workers League commemorated the first anniversary of the French May-June days by deepening the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

The 30 trade unionists and students attending the rally showed that the potential for building of the party here in the U.S., here in Minneapolis grows every day.

The speaker emphasized the

him way ahead of the field. They turned to the man who promised to "solve" the crisis, by "controlling" its victims. Hagstrom, the D.F.L. candidate, ran a poor third, leaving the labor skates with the choice of endorsing Stenvig or the Republican Cohen, who will probably become their "lesser evil" though he is only a less crude Stenvig.

TREACHERY

The betrayal of the labor bureaucrats is entirely in keeping with their cynical, absolute treachery in refusing to publicize, to say nothing of rousing the entire labor movement against the drastic anti-labor bills now being drafted in the Minnesota State legis-

lature. These dangerous bills are an immediate threat against the very existence of all Minnesota school teachers as an independent force and if made into law will undermine the quality of state education from grade school all the way through college and university.

Only the BULLETIN has been carrying on a consistent campaign in the labor movement and schools warning the working people of this direct challenge to their basic rights, for anti-labor legislation which hurts one section of the working class weakens the entire class.

The Workers League has not and will not remain idle under such threats to the workers, teachers, and students. We are intensifying our campaign to unite the advanced workers and their allies whether in unions or elsewhere to mount a counter-attack against the capitalist representatives in the legislature and their allies: the labor bureaucrats and revisionists, the SWP and SDS, and the so-called black-militants who by their silence and adventurism divert and weaken the struggle against the enemies of labor.

THE SWP AND RISE OF THE CIO

By Dan Fried



DURING FAMOUS BATTLE OF DEPUTIES RUN TEAMSTERS UNDER TROTSKYIST LEADERSHIP ROUT COMPANY VIGILANTE FORCE IN 1934 MINNEAPOLIS GENERAL STRIKE

The Socialist Workers Party was without a doubt the leading party of world Trotskyism from the 1930s until the 1950s. The degeneration of this party has transformed it into the major prop of revisionism internationally playing much the same role as Kautsky did in the latter period of the Second International.

The revisionist role of the SWP did not simply emerge from out of nowhere in the 1950s. Its roots can be found precisely in the most healthy period of its development in the 1930s. The purpose of this article is to trace the roots of the SWP's revisionism as it expressed itself within the greatest strength of the SWP--its trade union work. This will not only help us in understanding the degeneration of this party but also in developing a revolutionary line for trade union work today.

minneapolis

Part of the mystique of the proletarian past of the SWP, which is especially used to fortify the image of Dobbs and Cannon, is the experience of the American Trotskyists as leaders of the Minneapolis general strike of 1934. As a result of the strike, Minneapolis became a union town, the Trotskyists dominated the Central Labor Council using their base in the leadership of Teamsters Local 574 in a mighty drive to organize the over-the-road drivers. Art Preis reports in his book *Labor's Giant Step* (Pioneer, 1964): "The Minneapolis union...spearheaded a tremendous expansion of unionism throughout a great open-shop area. In August 1938 this organizing drive was climaxed by the winning of the first over-the-road drivers contract, with union wages and conditions including the closed shop, in an eleven-state area ranging from Montana to Ohio and Minnesota to Oklahoma."

The basis for this organizing drive had been laid by the victorious May and July-August 1934

strikes of the Minneapolis drivers. These strikes, nominally called by Teamsters Local 574 of the AFL were not led by the old leadership of that Local but by an organizing committee called the "strike committee of 100" which was under the leadership of a group of younger rank and file members of 574, members of the Trotskyist organization of that time, the Communist League of America. After the initial stages of the struggle, the top leadership of the League including its National Secretary, James P. Cannon, were on the scene in Minneapolis to give leadership to the entire struggle.

The American Trotskyists from the start displayed the qualities of tactical flexibility, organizational finesse and quickness to seize on opportunities for involvement in mass struggle that were the greatest strength of the early Trotskyist movement in America. In his lectures on "The History of American Trotskyism" (Pioneer Publishers, New York 1944) Cannon says: "This was a strike that began with such a wallop that the whole country heard about it, and about the role of the Trotskyists in its leadership---...the jokes about the Trotskyist 'sectarians' began to turn sour."

flavor

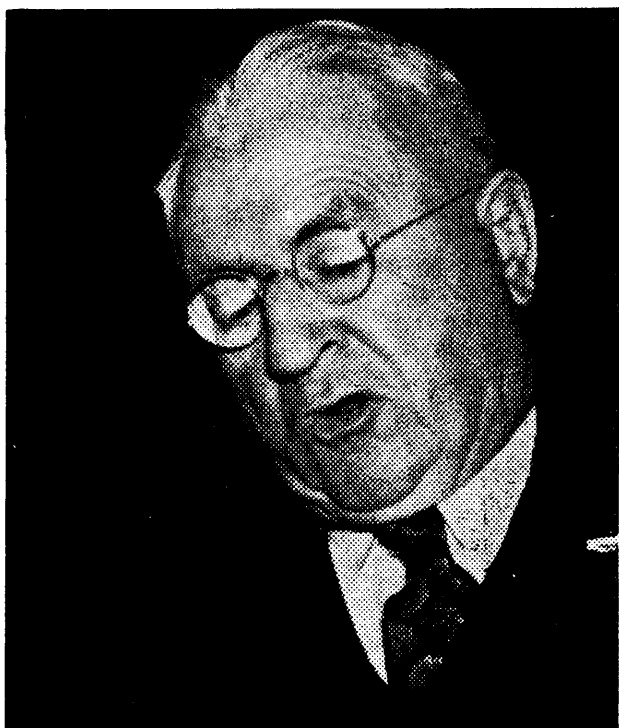
Cannon's description of the May strike which closed down the entire city, gives something of the flavor of the events:

"The attempt by the bosses and the police to crush the strike by force culminated in the famous 'Battle of the Market.' Several thousand special deputies in addition to the whole police force were mobilized to make one supreme effort to open up a strategic part of the town, the wholesale market, for the operation of trucks...They were going to have fun down there just beating up strikers. One of the special deputies wore his polo hat. ...He and the whole mob of deputies and cops ran into a mass of determined organized pickets

of the union supplemented by sympathetic unionists from other trades and by members of the unemployed organizations. ...The battle has gone down in Minneapolis history as 'The Battle of Deputies Run.' There were two casualties and they were both on the other side. That was one of the features of the strike that lifted Minneapolis high in the estimation of the workers everywhere. In strike after strike of those days the same story had been monotonously repeated in the press: Two strikers killed; four strikers shot; twenty strikers arrested, etc. Here was a strike where it wasn't all one-sided. There was one universal burst of applause, from one end of the labor movement to the other, for the militancy and resoluteness of the Minneapolis fighters. They had reversed the trend of things and workers militants everywhere praised their name."

From the point of view of organization, discipline and inventiveness, the strike leaders pioneered in the use of procedures that were later used by the auto workers with proficiency in the great Flint sit-down strikes of 1937 and other struggles--the union commissary, the emergency hospital, the Women's Auxiliary and the "flying squads" of pickets on wheels. But behind the superb organization was a political conception which Cannon describes:

"The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of the period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" President, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of



SWP WAS UNABLE TO FIGHT TOBIN POLITICALLY

the workers. "Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. ...Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

The initial period of the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis strikes based on the conception of 'the class fight' as outlined above by Cannon represented the highest development of the American Trotskyists as an INDEPENDENT leadership in the trade union movement. The involvement of the SWP in the trade union movement in later years, even when the party had considerable forces in CIO unions, never had the independent leadership characteristic of this early period. In fact, as we shall see, even the work in the Teamsters which grew out of the Minneapolis struggles was characterized by adaptation to "progressive" elements in the late 1930s. But this adaptation had its roots in the theoretical and political weaknesses of Cannon and the Trotskyists which prevented them from translating their power and leadership in the Minnesota class struggle into a political struggle.

stalinism

Honest class struggle unionism, the leadership of an almost "model" union by itself could not by "force of example", destroy the influence of Stalinism and build a Marxist leadership in the unions in America or anywhere else. What the Communist League of America built on the picket lines and in the streets of Minneapolis was being undermined by the Stalinist Communist Party in the corridors of the Farmer-Labor Party. The Stalinists, who, according to Cannon, had "been driven out of the trade unions" in Minneapolis, had been able to penetrate and in collaboration with the trade union bureaucracy, take over the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and, as V. R. Dunne pointed out in the 1938 Discussions with Trotsky on the Labor Party, "...the Stalinists in controlling the apparatus of the FLP control more than just the apparatus--they make it difficult for us in the unions." Eventually, these difficulties caused not only by the power of Stalinism in Minnesota, but nationally and internationally, meant that Roosevelt and IBT president Daniel Tobin could, with the open collaboration of the Stalinists, destroy the power of the Trotskyists as a force in the Teamsters by railroading 18 leaders of the Socialists Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters to prison under the provisions of the notorious Smith Act in 1941.

Not only in Minnesota, but all over the country, the alliance of the labor bureaucracy with Roosevelt and the state via the Democratic Party was decisive for the ruling class in undermining the growing power of the CIO and preventing the development of an independent labor party which could open the road for a workers and farmers government in the U.S. The Stalinists with their policy of the "Popular Front" support to Roosevelt and the Democrats and their vast influence in the CIO played a key role in holding back the labor party development and propping up capitalism.

The fight for a labor party, a struggle against the Stalinist popular front line within the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party--was a fight which had to be linked at every moment with the fight in the unions.

This, the SWP failed to do. Dunne and the SWP leadership understood how the Stalinists could "make it difficult for us in the unions", but even after the 1938 discussions with Trotsky, could not fuse the economic and political struggle. Political struggle tended to be seen as an aid to the work in the unions rather than a vital necessity for the struggle of the unions and the working class as a whole.

pragmatism

Related to this separation of the trade union and the political struggle, was a deep strain of anti-intellectual, 'know-nothing' pragmatism that pervaded in the Cannonite proletarian section of the SWP. This tendency was strongest in the proletarian stronghold of the SWP--Minneapolis. This tendency was represented in the attitude of a former National Committee member and leader of the SWP in Minneapolis-St. Paul, who personally told us that as far as the Stalinists go, "We don't have to fight them", politically and theoretically. Presumably, they will dry up and wither away by force of our shining example.

This same anti-political, anti-theoretical outlook combined with "proletarian snobbery"--looking down one's nose at "intellectuals", led the SWP to give up the struggle for the students and intellectuals in Minnesota, leaving them in effect to the Stalinists who used them to build a base against the Trotskyists in the unions and in the Farmer-Labor Party.

It is clear that the experiences in Minneapolis and in various AFL and CIO unions before the war were not accompanied by the kind of theoretical development that was needed to raise the leadership of the SWP above the level of American pragmatism and impressionism. To his dying day, Trotsky was concerned about this problem. This is clearly revealed in the stenographic report of the discussion between the SWP leaders and Trotsky held in June 1940, shortly before his death. The discussion reveals the pragmatism of the SWP leadership, the impatience with political struggle and theoretical problems which were often seen as an obstacle to the "concrete work" of the Party. It was this economist separation of the political and theoretical struggle against the Stalinists from the practical trade union work that had characterized the Minneapolis work.

But underlying this economism was a political bloc with the "Rooseveltian Progressives" in the unions who were led by a wing of the bureaucracy in the CIO in opposition to the Stalinist wing. While the "Progressives" representing the militants had been opposing the Stalinists from the left on trade union questions, the Stalinists following the Stalin-Hitler Pact had taken a left, anti-war, anti-Roosevelt stance and were preparing to run Browder for President against Roosevelt. Trotsky proposed a tactic to reach the Stalinist workers and expose the CP leadership: critical support to Browder's candidacy. Cannon was adamantly opposed, feeling that there were bigger fish to catch elsewhere in the CIO, that such a maneuver would be unpopular with the SWP's Progressive allies, that it "would disrupt our work." He saw it not as a question of the SWP attempting to expose and if possible destroy the influence of Stalinism in the class, but of bookkeeping--"What we gained from the Stalinists we would lose otherwise", he said.

trotsky

Trotsky replied: "How to break the Stalinist party? The support of the Progressives is not stable. It is found at the top of the union rather than as a rank and file current. Now with the war we will have these progressives against us. We need a stronger base in the ranks. There are small Tobins on whom we depend. They depend on the big Tobins. They on Roosevelt. (Not long afterward Tobin and Roosevelt collaborated to put the Trotskyists behind bars--D.F.) ... It would be fatal to pay too much attention to the impression we can make on the pacifists and our 'progressive' bureaucrat friends. In this case we become the squeezed lemon of the bureaucrats. They use us against the Stalinists but as the war nears call us unpatriotic and expel us. These Stalinist workers can become revolutionary, especially if Moscow changes its line and becomes patriotic".

Cannon attempted in the discussion to pin the opportunistic policy that Trotsky had referred to as the SWP's on the Lovestoneites who he described as "--attorneys for the labor fakers, especially in auto". The Lovestone group was the advisor and mentor to UAW President Homer Martin, who with the encouragement of John L. Lewis (who at that time was something of a "Rooseveltian Progressive") was trying to cement a bureaucratic stranglehold over the UAW, and was leaning

increasingly on a virulent redbaiting, anti-communist campaign. Martin was opposed by a bloc of the Reutherites and Stalinists. Cannon disowns the policy of the Lovestoneites, saying: "We followed a more careful policy. We tried to exploit the differences between the Martin gang and the Stalinists. For a while we were the left wing of the Martin outfit, but we extricated ourselves at the proper time."

But it seems clear that the SWP was not only the 'left wing of the Martin outfit' but had adapted to Martin since he was in opposition to the Stalinists from the left according to B. J. Widdick writing in the 1938 New International, theoretical journal of the SWP. In his articles on the UAW at that time, Widdick who was the SWP's leading trade union reporter saw Martin's role as that of a misguided progressive, not as a dangerous bureaucrat. "Martin", said Widdick, "answered the Stalinist attack with an essentially progressive program, unfortunately applied in a bureaucratic fashion...this played directly into the hands of the Stalinists". There is a tendency here to see the Stalinists as the "main enemy" in the labor movement and to begin from that premise rather than from the point of view of building the Trotskyists as an alternative independent leadership.

This is what Trotsky is attacking when he discusses the CIO "Progressives": "Their existence is a reflex of this new movement (The CIO- D.F.) but is is not a direct reflection of the rank and file. It is an adaptation of the conservative bureaucrats to the situation. There are two competitors, the progressive bureaucrats and the Stalinists. We are a third competitor trying to capture this sentiment. These progressive bureaucrats can lean on us for advisors in the fight against the Stalinists. But the role of an advisor to a progressive bureaucrat doesn't promise much in the long run. Our real role is that of third competitor..."

Later in the discussion, Dobbs lauds the SWP's growth of support among the rank and file achieved through the bloc with the "Progressives". Trotsky asks him if we can "get them to go against Roosevelt" and "For whom will they vote?" Dobbs replies: "I don't know. Maybe Roosevelt. For us to turn to the Stalinists will sow real confusion in their minds. It should not be rushed in any case." Trotsky then says: "I believe we have the critical point very clear. We are in a bloc with so called progressives--not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt--once in four years. YOU PROPOSE A TRADE UNION POLICY NOT A BOLSHEVIK POLICY. BOLSHEVIK POLICIES BEGIN OUTSIDE THE TRADE UNIONS. (Our emphasis--D.F.) The worker is an honest trade unionist but far from Bolshevik politics."

Trotsky further points out how the adaptation to the "Progressives" thwarted the independent role of the Party not only in the unions as such but on the level of political action as well: "Last January we discussed a campaign in the unions to have our own trade union presidential candidate. We were to propose to him that we would vote for him if he were nominated. Even Lewis. We were to begin the campaigning for a labor president. But not a thing was done. Nothing appeared. Nothing in the Northwest Organizer. (The paper of the Minneapolis Teamsters edited by Dobbs--D.F.) ... Why? It signifies an immediate clash with our allies, the machine, the conscious Rooseveltians who would immediately attack, a clash with our own class enemies such as Tobin. ... I discussed ... two years ago on this same problem ...but the Northwest Organizer remains unchanged. It is a photograph of our adaptation to the Rooseveltians."

In the light of this discussion we can see that the loss of influence in the unions and the accompanied retreat from a revolutionary Marxist line in the recent period was not simply the result of isolation because of the post-war prosperity. The wiping out of its great base in the Minneapolis labor movement was partly caused by the SWP's inability to develop this base politically and in the process train its own trade union cadres as real Marxists.

cio

While the SWP lost many of its trade union cadres during the war, the Party did go through a period of expansion and very significant growth in the trade union movement during the period of the late-war and post-war upsurge of the working class. We will see however to what extent the SWP learned the lessons of the 1940 discussions with Trotsky. During the war the SWP's trade union policy could be characterized in one word

--"caution", as is pointed out in Tim Wohlforth's "Struggle For Marxism in the U.S.". Perhaps the SWP could point to an excuse in the early war period when the Stalinist and reformist (Hillman-Murray-Green) bureaucrats were able to by and large keep the workers under the screws of the wartime wage freeze and the no-strike pledge--with the notable exception of the United Mine Workers. But by 1944 with the growing movement against the wage freeze and no-strike pledge taking hold especially in the CIO unions, the SWP had little excuse for the policy of "caution" behind which they hid their hesitance to project an independent course in the unions.

Nevertheless the SWP eventually did respond to what Art Preis correctly called "American Labor's Greatest Upsurge". The high point of the strike wave was the 113 day strike of some 225,000 auto workers against General Motors, ending in March 1946. The GM workers won an 18-1/2 cent an hour increase without any "company security" clauses which the UAW leadership had conceded at Ford. Preis writes: "In the twelve months following V-J Day more than 5,000,000 workers engaged in strikes. For the number of strikers, their weight in industry and the duration of the struggle, the 1945-46 strike wave in the U.S. surpassed anything of its kind in any capitalist country including the British General Strike of 1926."

On the crest of the upsurge the SWP held its November 1946 convention at which it reported that 1013 new members had come into the Party since the previous convention. In addition to reports of the union fractions in auto, steel, rubber, railroads and maritime, Dobbs reported to the convention that "almost one half of the Party members belong in the trade unions, primarily in the basic industries. A relatively large number hold posts of various kinds in the unions. Many of the new recruits are prominent trade union militants in the major industrial areas of the U.S. where a total of 41 SWP branches are now functioning..."

At the same time Dobbs reported that the SWP was rapidly gaining ground against the Stalinists, "that as our party roots itself more and more deeply in its class it not only gathers strength but cuts the ground from under the feet of Stalinism". Again, we encounter the false theory of the automatic demise of Stalinism resulting from trade union mass work. Dobbs recognized that with the beginning of a "left turn" against "Browderism" the CP was in crisis, but despite his words of optimism, the SWP had not learned from the 1940 discussion with Trotsky. As the CP was preparing the formation of the Wallaceite Progressive Party the SWP missed an opportunity to expose the popular front basis of the Stalinist policy. As Tim Wohlforth points out in his history, "The SWP should have offered as early as 1947 to give critical support to such a campaign (a national CP electoral campaign on a class basis--D.F.) and to withdraw its own candidates if the Stalinists ran on a class line."

In the union movement, the SWP was projecting the "organization of a progressive left wing". This policy stated abstractly could cover a multitude of sins, especially for a party such as the SWP which despite its growth did not feel capable of projecting a really independent struggle to become the third alternative against the "Progressives" and the Stalinists that Trotsky had talked of. In practice the SWP was still playing 'trade union caucus' politics. Their policies tended to originate with the internal union situation and to fall into the trap of tailing progressive forces and caucuses such as the Reuther caucus in the UAW and Curran in the NMU--until the witch-hunting of these bureaucrats forced the SWP to attempt to form blocs with Stalinist-led caucuses, as in the UAW.

UAW

This process is best illustrated in the SWP's policies in the UAW during and after the war. In 1944 a "rank and file" caucus arose in the UAW to challenge both the Reuther and the Stalinist influenced Addes-Thomas wings of the bureaucracy. The rank and file caucus was led by a number of militant secondary leaders, some of whom were members or supporters of the Shachtmanite Workers Party. "Its program was simple: rescind the no-strike pledge; press for independent political action by labor; elect UAW leaders pledged to these views." (See The UAW and Walter Reuther by Howe and Widdick, Random House, 1949). The SWP also supported this caucus which Preis speaks very highly of. But the SWP did not build anything out of it. Howe and Widdick wrote that "soon the 'Rank and File' caucus disintegrated. Once the war was over

its major plank became irrelevant, and most of its people went back to the Reuther camp." While this statement is nothing more than an apology for the capitulation of the Shachtmanites to Reuther, the SWP in fact went along with them, if not into the Reuther "camp", at least into his caucus.

Wohlforth summarized the subsequent history of the SWP's post-war UAW policies in his "Struggle for Marxism in the U.S." as follows:

"The party auto fraction had supported the Reuther caucus against the Stalinist-backed Thomas-Addes caucus in the closing days of the war when Reuther favoured a more militant trade union policy than did the Stalinists. This relationship with the Reuther group continued into 1946 and early 1947, when it was becoming increasingly apparent that the Reuther formation was becoming more conservative and was engaging in the most virulent forms of red-baiting against the Thomas-Addes caucus. In 1947 there developed serious differences within the party leadership over whether or not to switch support to Thomas-Addes. Swabek and Dunne (with Cannon's backing, Cochran insisted later) favoured continuing support for Reuther, while Cochran and the auto fraction pushed for a turn to Thomas-Addes. Neither side considered a third formation realistic. The auto fraction finally supported Thomas-Addes but at a time when the Stalinists were losing control of the caucus. This support did not lead to any significant contact or work with the Stalinist workers, something Cannon was later to see as a virtue."



UAW'S BIG FOUR: RICHARD FRANKENSTEIN, GEORGE ADDES, R.J. THOMAS, WALTER REUTHER

While the SWP never whitewashed Reuther the way the Shachtmanites did, there is no doubt that in his report in the May 1946 Fourth International on the 1946 UAW convention, Art Preis is critical of Reuther but within the framework of support. Reuther is only mildly criticised for his leadership of the GM strike and is lauded because his leadership "was a model of resoluteness compared with the conservative and timid Thomas". What is obviously decisive to Preis is that even though Reuther made unprincipled appeals to "questionable and reactionary elements", "the main base of the Reuther caucus consisted of the most progressive militants". What is most revealing is that the SWP was still following a policy of blocs with "progressives". As for the possibility of an independent role for the SWP, all Preis can say is, "There was no movement in the ranks prepared to push a third alternative to the two presented by the main divisions of the convention". The SWP could not go beyond the role of a "critical" cheering section for the election of Reuther as President of the UAW. Preis wrote that Reuther's policies while far from "socialistic" (which Thomas had asserted) "do represent a policy of militancy and a program aimed at resolving the broader and deeper-going issues of the American scene. As one delegate expressed it to this writer, 'Reuther wants to do something about inflation and profits and housing. He wants to fight'."

Here in a nutshell is expressed all the pragmatic adaptation to progressive bureaucrats of which we have been speaking. Reuther is not seen as a bureaucrat attempting to capture the radical sentiment of the workers and to render it harmless and under the domination of the labor bureaucracy. Instead he is seen as a non-socialist who has a (capitalist?) "program aimed at resolving the broader and deeper-going issues of the American scene." As for implementing the laudable program,

the best Preis can say for Reuther is that he and Thomas both made "vague expressions...during the course of the convention for a possible 'progressive third party'."

What is decisive in the SWP's trade union policy is not simply whether or not the party involved itself in caucus formations which were led by revisionist tendencies or sections of the trade union bureaucracy. Marxists function in the unions with the utmost organizational flexibility. It is impossible to abstractly determine what caucuses to enter, when to break with a caucus, when to attempt to form an independent caucus under the leadership of the Party, etc. Trotskyists do not exclude the formation of blocs and collaboration with scoundrels and bureaucrats if these maneuvers can help the Party to develop a leadership in the unions against these very same scoundrels and bureaucrats.

Trotsky had said in the 1940 discussions, "These bureaucrats are Rooseveltians, militarists. We tried to penetrate the trade unions with their help. This was a correct maneuver, I believe." In the same breath Trotsky says, regarding the Progressives and the Stalinists, "Our real role is that of third competitor". The tactic of relations with caucuses is therefore subordinate to the strategy involved in the building of the revolutionary party as an independent leadership in the trade unions. What is decisive is Trotsky's dictum as he had stated it in the 1940 discussions: "Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions."

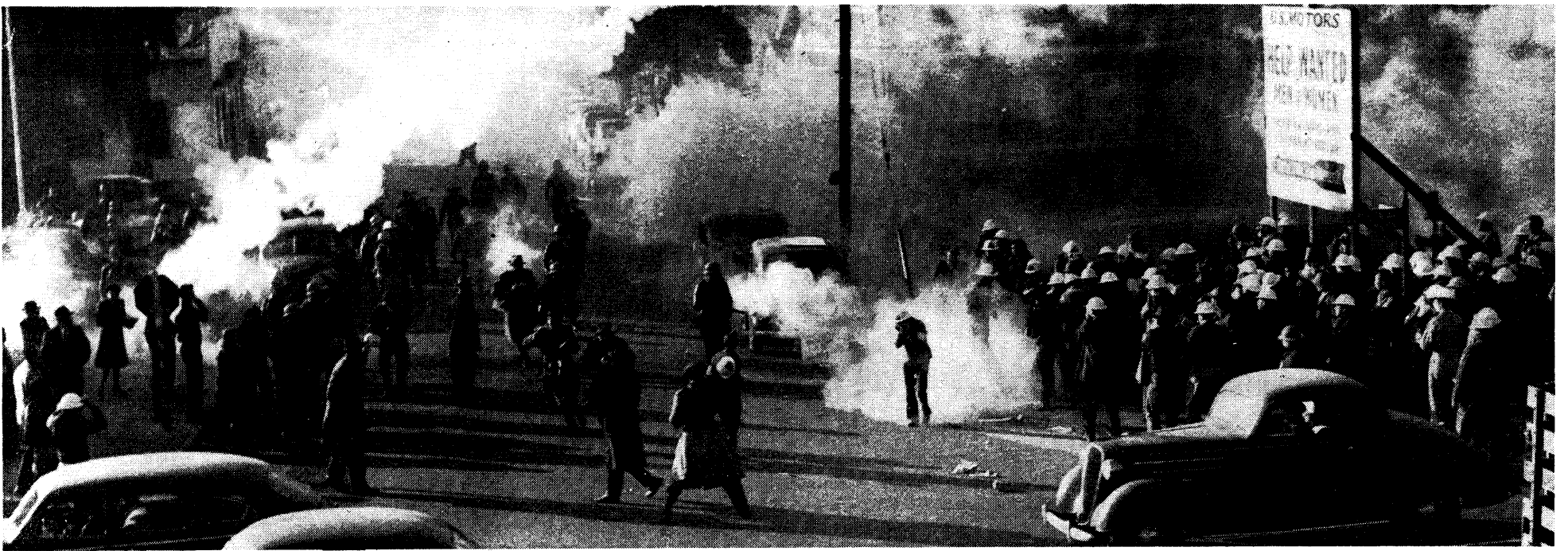
What is decisive is that in the course of flexible maneuvering, there is no adaptation to the bureaucracy or the backwardness in the ranks.

We could see in the work of the SWP in various caucuses of the UAW a tendency to sacrifice their own independent policies--to adapt to the moods of militant workers and the left turns of progressive bureaucrats. This tendency had as its philosophic mentor, American pragmatism, not dialectical materialism. This same pragmatism, an entrapment in parochial "militant trade unionism", was evident in the same period even under conditions where the SWP was able to lead struggles of caucuses organized under its own leadership.

Calumet

An article by J. Lyons in the March 1947 SWP "Party Builder" provides a good example of how this approach of beginning pragmatically with the given union situation abstracted from the needs of building a Marxist leadership in the class as a whole leads to opportunism. The article describes an SWP-led caucus campaign for election of a slate of officers known as the "Unity" slate in an election for posts of a Steelworkers local in Calumet (Chicago suburb), Illinois. The slate won nine out of the 12 posts and only narrowly lost the Presidency of the Local, running in opposition to a Stalinist backed slate which had been in the leadership of the local. With the rising cost of living being a big issue in the working class at that time, the central demand of the SWP was the cost of living escalator clause. The Stalinists counterposed the demand to hold down prices by continuing the OPA.

The SWP campaign was conducted with admirable organizational expertise, theatrical grandeur and public relations which any politician would envy. Morale based on the upsurge in the class struggle was high. But it was conceived on a narrow, opportunistic plane. "Our objective", writes Lyons, "was to win the posts; therefore



AS WORKERS SING SOLIDARITY FOREVER COPS BREAK UP ELECTRICAL UNION PICKET LINE WITH TEAR GAS DURING POST-WAR STRIKE WAVE

we were extremely careful not to advance points which would frighten and drive away any considerable section of the workers. Had we been in for educational purposes, our objective would have been to mobilize the advanced section of the workers. In this case, we would probably have advanced many far reaching programmatic points at the expense of possibly losing the support of the more backward elements. Since our objective was to win, we could not afford this risk; consequently, we advance those points which would mobilize the widest possible sections of workers."

What is revealed is that the SWP's campaign for the Labor Party demand which Cannon had declared should be advanced not just as propaganda, but agitational as early as 1942, was tossed out the window--in order to win union posts. The Party is transformed from a vanguard into a union election machine. Lyons describes how the campaign workers in discussions with other workers would pick out a particular point in the program which would be attractive to that particular worker. There was something for everyone, apparently. "Thus, each individual worker was given the impression that the point discussed by the (Unity slate) operator was the MAIN POINT in the program, and in most instances, that individual was well satisfied with the program."

cochran

This adaptation to "trade union policies" as opposed to Bolshevik policies eventually led to a major factional explosion in the SWP in 1952-53. A section of established trade unionists, the core of which was the auto fraction in Flint and Detroit came out in open revolt against the Leninist Party. The leader of this faction was Bert Cochran who had been the leader of the Party's auto fraction and a protege of Cannon. His base was that of the older conservatized trade unionists who Cannon correctly saw had been corrupted by 13 years of "prosperity" and material privilege. They were tired and wanted out. Cochran's liquidationist line was clearly tailored for them.

Cannon was aghast at this conservative "infection" that had erupted in the SWP, but he did not understand that these elements together with himself and the Minneapolis trade unionists were the targets of Trotsky's warnings in 1940. The Cochranite trade unionists were never developed by the Party into Party people trained to be revolutionary Marxist leaders of the class. Instead they were militant trade unionists who were caught up in the parochialism of narrow trade union politics. This never bothered Cannon until the "infection" threatened to destroy the SWP as an organization.

While the "orthodox" belief in the Party held by Cannon and the Dobbs wing of the SWP forced them to fight the Cochranites, their lack of understanding of Marxist theory and the dialectical method upon which the Party rests also led them eventually to adopt the very liquidationist politics of Cochran and Pablo which they had opposed in 1953.

With the departure of the Cochranites and the deepening of the prosperity and conservatism of the 1950's, the SWP lost just about all its trade union cadres. In their place the SWP gave lip service to its "proletarian" traditions while increasingly orienting to middle class currents and leaders. The best the SWP could do in relation to the trade union movement in the post-Cochran period was the publication of "Labor's Giant Step" by Art Preis.

This book is an excellent and invaluable objective account of the CIO and the American labor movement. . . . But in it the role of the SWP as a

vanguard party struggling to develop leadership in the class does not come through. Instead it from time to time gives the SWP 'merit badges' because on occasion, parts of the transitional program which appeared in the pages of the Militant were 'adopted', if not fought for, by various sections of the bureaucracy. Although Preis was a leading National Committee member of the SWP, one can read the entire book with only the foggiest notion of the real problems, discussions and activities of the SWP in the CIO. The "Militant" is only one of a number of honest sources on the history of the CIO in Preis' treatment. One would have to be in "the know" or read the introduction in order to have any idea at all that the Militant was the organ of a Party that was ostensibly struggling in the trade union movement for a Trotskyist leadership of the working class not only in the U.S. but throughout the world.

today

Today, to the extent that the SWP carries out any trade union work at all, it is done in the spirit of complete capitulation to the bureaucracy, the black nationalists, or both. In New York's Social Service Employees Union, the SWP spokesmen support the leadership of President Martin Morgenstern in his efforts to sell Lindsay's "reorganization" to the SSEU ranks. The "reorganization" plan calls for the attrition of 9,000 jobs in the Department of Welfare accompanied by intense speed-up. This is the sequel to Trotsky's warnings in 1940.

In contrast, the Workers League has taken the lead in a struggle in the SSEU against the Morgenstern-Gotbaum bureaucracy of the SSEU and DC 37, soon to be merged. Key to this is our leadership in the struggle against the contract which if not defeated will ratify the City's "reorganization" scheme. This is a fundamental struggle not only for the SSEU but for the entire working class since it poses most sharply the program of the ruling class to solve their crisis at the expense of the working class through attrition, reorganization, containerization, etc.--through unemployment and speed-up.

We have tried to approach this struggle as all union struggles must be approached--beginning from the OBJECTIVE NEEDS of the workers and not from the "mentality" or moods of the workers as the SWP tended to do even in its healthiest

period. We have been able to fuse the economic and political struggles by injecting the fight against the Taylor Law and the demand for a Labor Party aggressively into the recent Central Park demonstration against the Rockefeller budget cuts.

In our work in the SSEU and in other unions we fight to unite theory and practice in wrestling with the practical problems of building a Marxist leadership in the unions. This involves a constant struggle against the same tendencies that the SWP succumbed to: opportunistic tailing of "progressive" forces, trade union parochialism, routinism and propagandism, sectarian abstentionism, to name a few.

The Workers League looks back at the trade union policy of the SWP over the years in order to deepen its understanding of the mistakes and limitations of Cannonism, in order to carry out the building of a Marxist leadership against the bureaucracy and its revisionist supporters in the unions. But the class struggle history and traditions of the SWP are in reality OUR history and traditions which have been spat upon by the present leaders of the SWP.

britain

The Trotskyist movement has advanced far beyond the Cannonite conception of trade union work which paved the way unwittingly for the Cochranite revolt against the Party. Our British comrades in the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Socialist Labour League, have pointed the way with the organization of the All Trades Unions Alliance as the industrial arm of the SLL in the trade union movement. The SLL is, patiently, but nevertheless with a necessary sense of urgency, developing a cadre of Marxist leaders in the trade union movement that is challenging the reformist, Stalinist and "left" leaders of the working class. The All Trades Unions Alliance, numbering thousands of trade unionists, is marching forward in full support of the SLL newspaper, the Newsletter, which will be the first Trotskyist daily paper this coming September.

Far from seeing this as something "foreign" and apart from the Workers League, we see the daily Newsletter as a great advance in the development of the indispensable Trotskyist leadership of the world revolution. That is why we bring the campaign into all areas of our activity and especially into our trade union work.

The Struggle for Marxism in the United States

by Tim Wohlforth



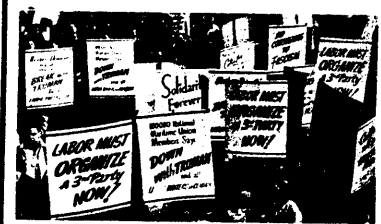
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The only existing history of American Trotskyism from its origins to today. Wohlforth traces the roots of the contemporary revisionism of the SWP to its failure to master Marxist method. Hedetails the real relations between Trotsky and the American party.

LEON TROTSKY ON LABOR PARTY

stenoographic report of discussion held in 1938 with leaders of socialist workers party



THE STRUGGLE FOR AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

Leon Trotsky on Labor Party 20c

way forward for sf state students

SAN FRANCISCO--The situation at S.F. State College is a very clear expression of the wave of repressions hitting campus militants across the country. Hundreds of students are being railroaded through the courts. They face stiff fines and in many cases jail sentences. At the same time the Hayakawa administration is preparing to deal with militant leaders through disciplinary action and suspensions. The administration rules the campus with an iron hand and a demoralized student body is incapable of formulating a strategy to fight back.

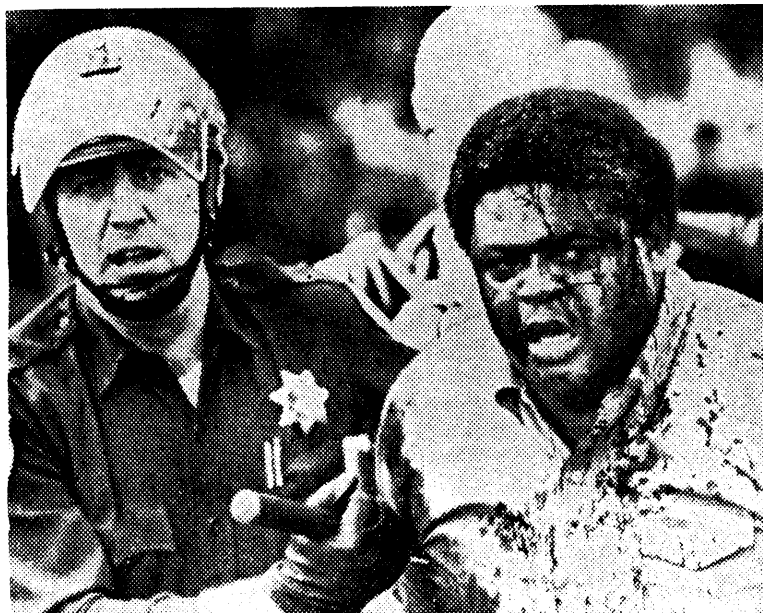
At the same time, the anarchist tactics of the students have so discredited and isolated them that the state has seized the initiative. Reagan and the Republican controlled legislature are ramming through a vicious package of bills. Five year jail sentences, \$5000 fines, mandatory expulsions and dismissal of faculty are just a few of the legal weapons being placed in the hands of the college administrations to suppress the student revolts.

The revisionists of the SWP and PLP stand completely exposed as bankrupt tendencies. Having mobilized thousands in bloody confrontations to support the reactionary demands of the BSU and TWLF they now find themselves deserted by their allies of yesterday. The nationalist leaderships are running as fast as they possibly can to ingratiate themselves with the administration and get a few positions for themselves in the planned black studies program. The opportunist alliances are now turning into civil war between the opportunists.

The PLP and SWP cannot even comprehend what is happening. The power of the state is coming down on their heads and they can only answer with a variety of reformist tactics. Thus the SWP, still tied to the nationalists, can only defend their program and tactics and run about trying to give legal advice on how to conduct oneself in court. Their entire strategy reduces itself to a legal defense committee,

a complete adaptation to the legitimacy of the capitalist state.

PL can only propose the



COP TAKES BLOODIED SF STATE STUDENT TO JAIL DURING STRIKE

precise opposite of the SWP policy. Seeing only the capitulation of the nationalists they conclude that the task is to fight even harder against racism. They see the repressions as directed against those who fight racism

and can only fight for a policy of turning to the communities, holding demonstrations and building new con-

frontations around the chant "fight racism."

On this level only confusion and more police repression can be achieved. What is required is a clear strategy to mobilize the enormous revolutionary energy of the

students in a political struggle that will pose the fight against the state for political power. The coming state legislation is not simply an attack on those who fight racism. It is clearly directed at isolating the students and destroying the potential power of the teachers to fight back through their unions. It is a clear class blow preparing the way for similar measures against all public workers and the trade unions. The legal measures now being taken against the students can only be understood within this context.

These repressions can only be fought with a class program aimed at preparing the independent mobilization of the working class to smash back the offensive of the state.

This requires first of all a common campaign of mass mobilizations of teachers and students against the pending laws and in defense of the victims of the recent strike. At the same time demands in defense of the working class as a whole which is also under attack by Reagan and Nix-

on must be raised along with the demand for a labor party.

Students and teachers at State must prepare for the time when they can close down S.F. State again but this time in a political strike with wide support among the working class of the area. But before we can wage a struggle of this nature we must conduct a carefully planned and politically led defensive struggle to break through the demoralization on the campus, the isolation of radical students within the campus and the campus from the working class. Only in this way can we lay the basis for a new offensive.

A REAL PROGRAM FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

BY A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

NEW YORK-- The Student Union at Seward Park High School on the Lower East Side has put forward a working class program for students. We have begun organizing around demands for the restoration of all the budget cuts, not only in education, but also in welfare, hospitals, and other public services; for open admissions to college for all high school students; for guaranteed jobs after graduation from high school; for an end to the draft and withdrawal of American troops from Viet Nam; for an end to the tracking system (one diploma for all students, not the present system of three different diplomas: Academic, General and Commercial); for an end to repression and militarization in high schools.

To achieve our demands we have put forward the proposal for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions. Our general effort has been to redirect the struggle in the high schools against our real enemies, government and industry, and towards our real goal, the attainment of political power. We polemicize against the various new left and black nationalist groups whose programs and tactics have led white and black students and teachers and students in general into conflict with each other. We point out the identity of interests that exist among all students and teachers.

We are educating students about the economic crisis in capitalism and, in raising class-oriented demands, we are teaching students to think in class terms. Our program has necessitated new tactics and a new strategy. We realize that if we, as students, plan to fight seriously for our program we must link up with the labor movement. Students, because of their economic impotence, will be unable to effect basic changes in society; only the working class can do this.

The student Union has been agitating for a strike to mobilize students. We are organizing workshops to devise tactics for the struggle against the government and for the formation of a labor party.

An Infantile Disorder Known As PLP

PL's latest expression of that infantile disorder--left wing communism--is found in their reaction to the recent struggles at Columbia. PL uses cantations of "Marxism-Leninism" as a cover for their totally counter-revolutionary perspective.

At Columbia PL opposed the demand for open admissions for Black and Puerto Rican high school students on the basis that a college education is "petty-bourgeois."

This is what the May issue of Challenge said: "Reject the bosses', bankers' and landlord's plot to buy you off, to make you become their front man. . . Don't agree to become a traitor to your parents, to your brothers and sisters--workers all! The schooling you need is that which teaches you to overthrow imperialist America... But you don't need to go to college for that."

Since PL is so fond of quoting Lenin, we would like to do the same to show how anti-Leninist PL's conceptions are. Lenin in his address to the Russian Young Communist League "Tasks of the Youth League" stated that the task is not to reject the knowledge accumulated in bourgeois society. "The teaching, training and education of the youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only on the basis of the totality of knowledge, organizations, and institutions, only by using the stock of human forces and means that have been left to us by the old society."

FOUNDATION

As Lenin points out Marx developed his theory not in a vacuum but "on the firm

foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism...He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail."

Lenin warns against precisely the kind of "learning" PL puts forth--simply "learn communism". "If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge and would be unable to act in the way communism demands."

This is an indictment of PL's red book learning--that by waving the book around, memorizing a few quotations from Chairman Mao--we will have cadres educated in Marxism. This is why PL's learning remains in their heads and in their mouths and not in their actual practice. It is why PL can talk about revolution and in practice carry out the most reformist policies.

There is more to be said. PL's association of ignorance with the working class shows their utter contempt for the working class. The black and Puerto Rican youth together with the masses of working class youth and their parents understand the necessity for gaining knowledge. The point is not to reject it but to fight for higher education for all. This means a fight on the campuses as well as in the working class to overturn the society which restricts education to the few and to learning which defends a decaying and oppressive system.

BUDGET CUTS HIT 1199 HOSPITAL WORKERS

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

NEW YORK-- At a Local 1199 Delegates meeting on May 8, a report and discussion on the budget cuts and how they affect hospital workers took place. A report was given on a City Hall demonstration in which several hundred 1199 members took part. The day following the demonstration, some additional money was "found" for the city hospitals.

It is not only city hospital workers who are affected by the cuts. 1199 has several thousand members working at city hospitals working under affiliation contracts with voluntary institutions. The big voluntary hospitals, like Kingsbrook Jewish, Montefiore, Maimonides and others, are also hard hit by the Medicaid cuts. The union leadership itself concedes that layoffs at voluntary hospitals are in the

cards.

Hospital workers are being hit directly by the budget cuts and all workers must face the crisis in terms of cuts and closings affecting hospitals, schools, libraries and all city services. When several delegates pointed out that this situation called for a real political fight on the part of 1199, however, the union officials opposed such a fight as strongly as they could. A motion was made that 1199 call for a one day general strike, that it fight within the labor movement for such unified action as a means of really fighting back against the budget cuts as well as the Taylor Law. The union leadership strenuously opposed this motion, and with the shabbiest and most backward arguments.

DAVIS

1199 President Davis once

again denounced even the suggestion of a strike that would affect patient care. He is beginning to sound more and more like the hospital bosses. He completely distorted the motion, making it appear that it would seek to involve 1199 in action separate from the rest of the labor movement. Just a few months ago he was talking of splitting from the AFL-CIO over a small jurisdictional dispute. Now he suggested that to even raise the issue of a one day general strike would lose for 1199 what friends it had in the labor movement! When Davis talks of friends he means the well paid conservative bureaucrats, he sees only the so-called leaders but not the ranks and what the unity of the ranks of the AFL-CIO unions could do to the budget cuts and all the attacks upon the working class.

SOCIALISM AND THE WORKERS

A LETTER

Dear Editor:

I found the articles by Fred Mueller and Tom Gordon in your May 5th issue extremely interesting.

You say with accuracy in my opinion that the students and black movement are characterized by pragmatism, revisionism, reformism, hysteria, and the grave danger--in spite of the best of intentions--of falling into the bourgeoisie's trap of divide and rule. You then counterpose the program of the Workers League.

But you leave out several steps of analysis: (1) Why, with such good intentions, do the students and the blacks commit such grave errors. In my opinion, its due primarily to (a) their impressionistic reaction to the developing crisis, (b) the self evident fact that there is no visible radical motion by the workers as a whole. The lack of action on the part of the white working class also appears to give the black workers the impression that they alone are suffering, leading them to the false conclusion that they are suffering race rather than class oppression; and as a consequence (c) the desperate (and false) assumption that if the class, and particularly its white majority refuse to play the part of revolutionary agent, that ei-

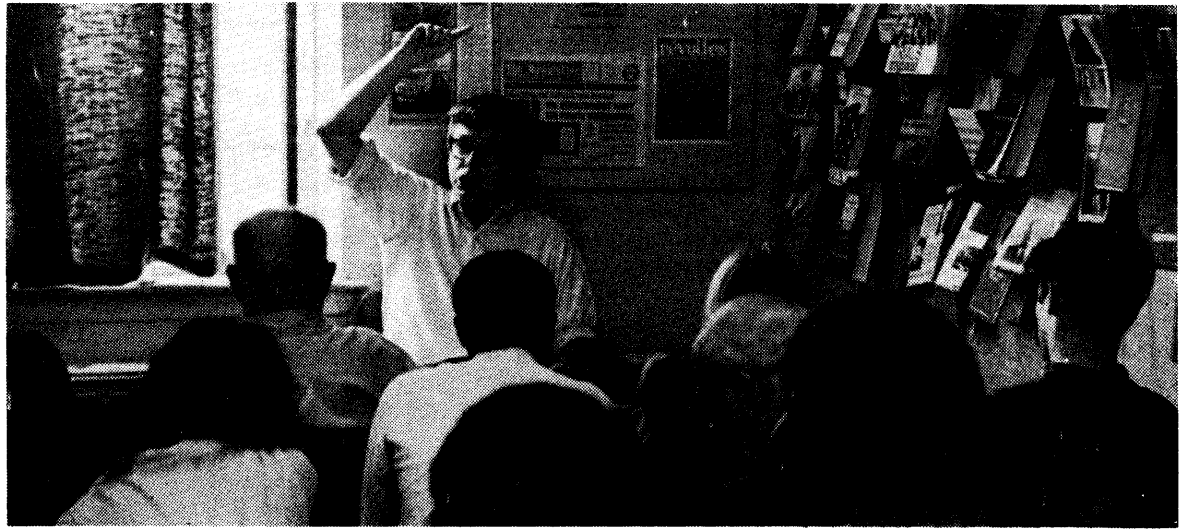
ther the students or the blacks or both must substitute themselves. Such pragmatic and desperately wrong thinking is obviously based on lack of analysis.

(2) What has in the past held back and is now holding back the class as a whole from anything that by the wildest stretch of the imagination can possibly be considered revolutionary? Such an analysis must include a measured as well as vitriolic account of the CP sell-out from the '30s on, including both sides of the zig-zag; what prevented the SWP from filling the gap--and it was certainly more than Cannon's pragmatism; the purpose and effect of the McCarthy period of cleaning almost all would be revolutionaries out of the shops and discouraging others from entering; the combined operation by the labor bureaucracies and the bourgeoisie of selling class combativeness and working conditions for a mess of pottage....

The New Left and the blacks don't really know what theory is. It doesn't seem to occur to them to ask why the conditions against which they rant and rail exist. I'm sure that you'll agree that ranting and ranting is no substitute for analysis.

Barbara Z., N.Y.

The Bulletin replies:



WL NATIONAL SECRETARY TIM WOHLFORTH DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AT OVERFLOW CLASS

We welcome the letter from Barbara Z. and would like to point out some essential errors. First, it is not the question whether or not the black workers fail to see that white workers also "are suffering" but to see that it is entirely false as the letter states that there is a "lack of action on the part of the white working class." The record of the quantity, militancy, yes and "radicalism" of strike struggles in the U.S. in 1968 and 1969 is pushed aside and Comrade Barbara Z. sees "the self evident fact that there is no visible radical motion by the working class as a whole."

Rather than accepting such "self evident facts" we have to see the real class struggles involving black and white

workers that simply cry out for leadership of a revolutionary party that can fight to unite the class on the basis of the transitional program. The very pragmatism that the letter derides underlies the failure to pose both the tremendous potential and the urgency for building this leadership.

While Comrade Barbara Z.'s letter correctly raises the central point of the vacuum of revolutionary leadership of the working class brought about by the betrayals of the Stalinists and the degeneration of the SWP, her understanding of the evolution of the SWP slights the essential reasons for this degeneration. Elsewhere in this issue, in our article on the SWP and the trade union move-

ment, we have developed our understanding that the fundamental reason for the SWP's liquidation of a working class program and cadre lay in the inability of that party to turn its trade union forces into real Marxist cadres. Indeed, far from being any incidental feature of this inability, "Cannon's pragmatism"--the failure of the SWP to develop Marxist theory--is paramount.

The development of real Marxist cadres on the basis of an international outlook would have been the only way the SWP could have fought the impressionistic pessimism and demoralization that ravaged the party during the years of the cold war prosperity and witch hunt. Only on that basis could the SWP have seized the opportunities which began to open up in the working class movement in the early '60s and which today exist in great abundance.

We must point out that our comrades in the International Committee of the Fourth International in Britain and in France also were weakened and forced out of the shops under conditions similar to those existing in the U.S. But through their struggle against revisionism--against pragmatism--they were able to maintain the perspective of the working class into the period of the renewed crisis.

As a result, while the SWP was liquidating itself into the peace movement, black power, student power and every middle class swamp, our movement in France could play an important role in the struggle of the working class during the May-June revolution; and in Britain our comrades, the Socialist Labor League, today leads thousands of trade unionists in the All Trades Unions Alliance. It is out of these trade union forces that the SLL, despite its smallness and isolation of the early and mid '50s is today building a Marxist leadership in the trade unions around the forthcoming Daily Newsletter.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND REVISIONISM

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL

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FROM USSURI TO BANKS OF LAKE MICHIGAN

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

On Tuesday, April 29th at 3:00 A.M. in the morning a squad of supporters of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, led by Vincent Copeland and Ted Dostal who were flown in for the affair, seized the headquarters of the Milwaukee Branch of that party as part of an expulsion proceedings against the majority of the branch led by James Boulton.

The reason for the expulsion according to Workers World, was that "Boulton refused to abide by the decision to end discussion." What Workers World fails to inform its readers is exactly what the discussion was all about. It seems that following up his support of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Sam Marcy has been moving closer and closer to open support of Breshnev and Co. His latest move is to refuse to defend China in the Ussuri border dispute. At the same time James Boulton not only continues to uncritically support the Chinese leadership but seems to view himself as a Milwaukee version of Mao Tse-Tung.

TRUMPETS

Here is some of Boulton's prose from the statement which led to his expulsion: "There was a horn on the Ussuri, vibrant, as China's brass founder alone can cast for sound. The quiet ramparts of the ancient northern frontier freshened with battle standards. While the cynical

Kremlin gang flashed a signal to the anxious imperialist capitals, the armed proletarian revolution sounded a clear death note for the restorationist lords in Moscow. Even as the Kremlin butchers and the big power chauvinists beefed up their sullen squads of tank men on the Eastern buffer, genuine socialist and proletarian revolutionists the world over awakened to the exciting, cymbal-cut tones of Mao's internationalistic trumpets, springing to their feet behind the fresh and fiery red colors of the Socialist Republic of China." One wonders whether the man is writing a political polemic or a music review.

This split is another sign of the extreme depths of degeneration of these ultra-left splinters--groups without any serious perspective, with all the weaknesses of the major revisionist groups and none of their strengths. But it has a greater significance for it must be viewed as an expression of the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party from which both Marcy and Boulton emerged--in fact the breeding ground of these tendencies.

AUTOCRATS

For decades these men, as little autocrats, ran local branches of the SWP. Marcy controlled the Buffalo branch and the small Youngstown branch of the party while Boulton ran the Milwaukee branch. They had what can be called

branch factions. If someone in the branch disagreed with the branch leadership, life was difficult and sometimes impossible for them. The SWP leadership tolerated such formations--and there were others such as Dick Kirk's Seattle branch--as long as the dues kept coming in.

As the SWP entered into a new period of activity and political degeneration in 1959 these branches one by one split from the party to drift their own way. At the same time sections of the older cadre in other branches drifted out of the party into inactivity--like the supporters of Murry Weiss--or into opponent organizations like Arne Swabeck who is now a member of Progressive Labor Party. In this way important sections, perhaps even a majority, of the older cadre of the SWP, which has gone through the period of labor struggles of the 1930's and 1940's were lost to the SWP.

RESPONSIBLE

It is not enough just to ridicule these sometimes very exotic groups, many times no more than personal cliques, which have left the SWP. We must hold the leadership of the SWP--Farrell Dobbs, James Cannon, Tom Kerry and the others--responsible for their complete failure to develop within the SWP a real internal life based on the development of Marxist theory, substituting for this organizational relationship based on maintaining the party treasury and not upsetting the in-

ternal apple cart.

Contrary to what is taught and practised within the SWP and the YSA, it is precisely an internal life which is absolutely democratic, wherein a leadership battles to bring differences out in the open where they can be fought out so that the movement can learn from them, which builds a party with real cohesion, strong centralism, and relative freedom from factional splitting.

The point is not whether men like Marcy and Boulton could have been saved under different internal conditions within the SWP, but that even if these men broke from the party, the party would be all the richer from the internal education it received in the process.

NOTHING

As far as Boulton and Marcy are concerned, clearly they learned nothing whatsoever from the degeneration of the SWP. They never bothered their heads with probing its causes, getting at the roots of the degeneration in the pragmatic method of the leadership nor for a moment concerned themselves with the international task of the construction of the Fourth International. So they practice in their little circles everything that was wrong with the SWP incapable of building at all on the very real strengths of that movement, when, in collaborating with Trotsky, it led important struggles of the American working class.

65 RANKS MUST FIGHT FOR 100 & 100 PLUS

BY A DISTRICT 65 MEMBER

NEW YORK--A serious unionwide campaign must be launched immediately by District 65 if its proposal for \$100 a week minimum is to be realized. And with prices going up daily it must be realized!

Livingston has already begun to wiggle out of this commitment by tossing the responsibility to each shop isolated from any central union direction and fight. He has recommended that every shop wage the struggle in its own way, attempting to get their employers to re-open their individual contracts. He has stolen a leaf from the bankrupt hippies with their slogan of "do your own thing."

We say the rank and file of the union must not allow the 100 and 100 plus slogan to be used as a cover for Livingston's criminal split with the AFL-CIO. The ranks must demand the action of the union as a whole to force the re-opening of all contracts to ensure the wage demands are met and that all shops are 100% union.

CHARLESTON

In the meantime Livingston has given us an example of what he means by organizing



DAVID LIVINGSTON

the unorganized. Down in Charleston, South Carolina, former sister union 1199 is running a fundamental battle against the racist bosses to organize hospital workers in

the face of tremendous odds. 1199 President Davis reports that chief Livingston hack, Cleveland Robinson, has made his contribution to this drive-- by attacking 1199 as "racist" because of its affiliation with the RWDUSU and the AFL-CIO. We say this man has acted as nothing but a scab and its about time the 65 membership called him to order.

Meanwhile every revisionist creep in and around the union movement has been seeking to give the Livingston split a left cover. The Communist Party has been most prominent in this but the latest Livingston supporter is Sam Marcy's Workers World. A recent issue of this paper quotes an attack by union member George Stryker against the newly formed Rank and File Committee for expressing the political position of the Workers League and for daring to oppose Livingston's split. Stryker and Workers World maintain that the split is totally progressive because the AFL-CIO is "racist." They keep mum on Livingston's plans to affiliate with the ALA. The very same issue contains an article on the Mahwah strike denouncing the UAW as also "racist."

In this way these revision-

COVER

ists cover up for a bureaucratic split from the AFL-CIO and turn their backs completely on the 13 million members of the AFL-CIO. What is needed is a real rank and file battle within the AFL-CIO on behalf of all its members against the leadership. Only as part of such a battle can racism be eradicated from the labor movement.

We have no faith whatsoever in David Livingston, Walter Reuther, Leon Davis or George Meany. We have absolute faith in the millions of rank and file members of the American trade union movement. Despite its present leadership, in fact against its present leadership, American labor will move forward. It will conquer.

nixon plans attack on farm workers



WORKERS LEAGUE POSES CLASS ALTERNATIVE DURING LAST FALL'S GRAPE MARCH

BY DEBORAH O'CONNELL

SAN FRANCISCO--The farm workers have launched a "massive" boycott of Safeway stores in the Bay Area as the latest attempt to gain support for their long drawn-out grape pickers strike. Early indications are that the boycott will be anything but massive and in any case it is unlikely to make any serious impact on the agricultural combines who have militantly refused to recognize the union.

At stake is more than the grape pickers. The agricultural millionaires know that a breakthrough in the grape vineyards can mean the organization of millions of farm workers throughout the country.

Meanwhile the Nixon Administration is launching its own offensive against the farm workers. Nixon, who campaigned for the Presidency by eating boycotted grapes and whose campaign treasury was swollen with contributions from rich agricultural interests, is proposing to accept collective bargaining with a few "catches".

Secretary of Labor Schultz recently outlined the catches before a Senate Labor subcommittee. They include as the price for the right to collective bargaining: (1) abol-

ition of secondary boycotts like the current grape campaign; (2) a proposal to bar strikes during the harvest season--the only effective time to strike; (3) Compulsory arbitration; (4) that even this limited "collective bargaining" is to apply only to the largest farms.

ENSLAVEMENT

What this all adds up to is the continued enslavement of agricultural labor packaged as a "concession" to labor. It is part and parcel of the whole anti-labor offensive now being launched on every governmental level--federal, state and city. Today the attack is on public employees and agricultural workers; tomorrow all labor will face these slave laws unless labor unites to beat them back now.

It is quite in the keeping with the character of Chavez and Meany for these men to go along with such legislation, covered by some mild protests, with the view of ducking their responsibilities of really mobilizing the labor movement for the fight, and with the lure of some dues coming in from workers handcuffed against effective strike action.

What has become an absolute necessity is a complete

break with token consumer boycotts and a turn towards real, effective class actions. The ILA in Florida has shown the way with their refusal to move scab meats from the piers. If the ILWU would refuse to move grapes, the teamsters likewise, and the retail clerks refuse to handle them in the stores, this would be a tremendous blow not only for recognition but the beginning of a struggle to roll back the anti-labor legislation.

MASSIVE

At the same time what is needed is massive political demonstrations against these anti-labor laws and the struggle for the labor party to build an alternative to the bosses' parties. Let us remember that the bosses are bi-partisan. Some of the largest contributors to the Democratic Party coffers in California are also agricultural millionaires.

Only the Workers League can carry forward this struggle. We pointed the way last fall with our banners in the massive farm workers march in San Francisco and we intend to carry forward this struggle now at a critical turning point in the history of the American labor movement.

PEACENIK COMES TO AID OF HONEYWELL

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS--If only the stockholders of Minneapolis Honeywell could hear the message of morality and humanity. If only they could be shown--perhaps they do not even know--just what a fragmentation bomb does to Vietnamese children as the shrapnel explodes into their faces. If only there was a way for Honeywell to keep up its profits, continue to exploit its 20,000 workers here in the Twin Cities, without having to make all those bombs.

If only the stockholders were humane and moral like their fellow shareholder Evan Stark. He shows the way.

In an arrangement worked out between Honeywell and an ad hoc group calling itself the "Honeywell Project"

Stark, who is the director of the East Side Community Center and a spokesman for the Peace and Freedom Party was allowed 10 minutes to preach to his fellow capitalists at the company's annual stockholder's meeting April 29.

But with only two shares of stock Stark did not carry much weight. Especially when his fellow shareholders knew that he only bought the shares so that he could gain entrance to the meeting.

HOPE

For a brief moment in his talk there was a ray of hope that his message would sink into the hardened heads of the profit bloated capitalists in the hall. That occurred when Stark admitted that Honeywell had "done well by

me" as a stockholder. The applause was short lived as Stark opened up: "Our argument is that it is illegal, immoral and inhuman for Honeywell to manufacture armaments for the mass destruction of civilian poor." Stark essentially pleaded for good capitalism instead of bad capitalism.

TRAGEDY

The real tragedy of the whole affair is that Minneapolis Honeywell can switch over to non-military production without losing any money--or at least not very much money--if the Honeywell Project has its way. They offer to supply, free of charge, "scientists, marketing experts, engineers and others" to plan such a changeover.

(The "others" they refer to must include up and coming preachers like Stark.) Maybe if Stark could talk Teamsters 1145 into agreeing to a big wage cut, the company would take more interest in his plans.

Despite the efforts of the Honeywell Project, to the best of our knowledge Honeywell

is staying in the armament business as long as there is a profit in it.

It has not been learned yet whether or not Stark has sold his stock in the company. He might be holding. Perhaps he is buying. We suggest that he buy another two shares. Then next year his impact will be doubled.

WORKERS LEAGUE BRANCHES

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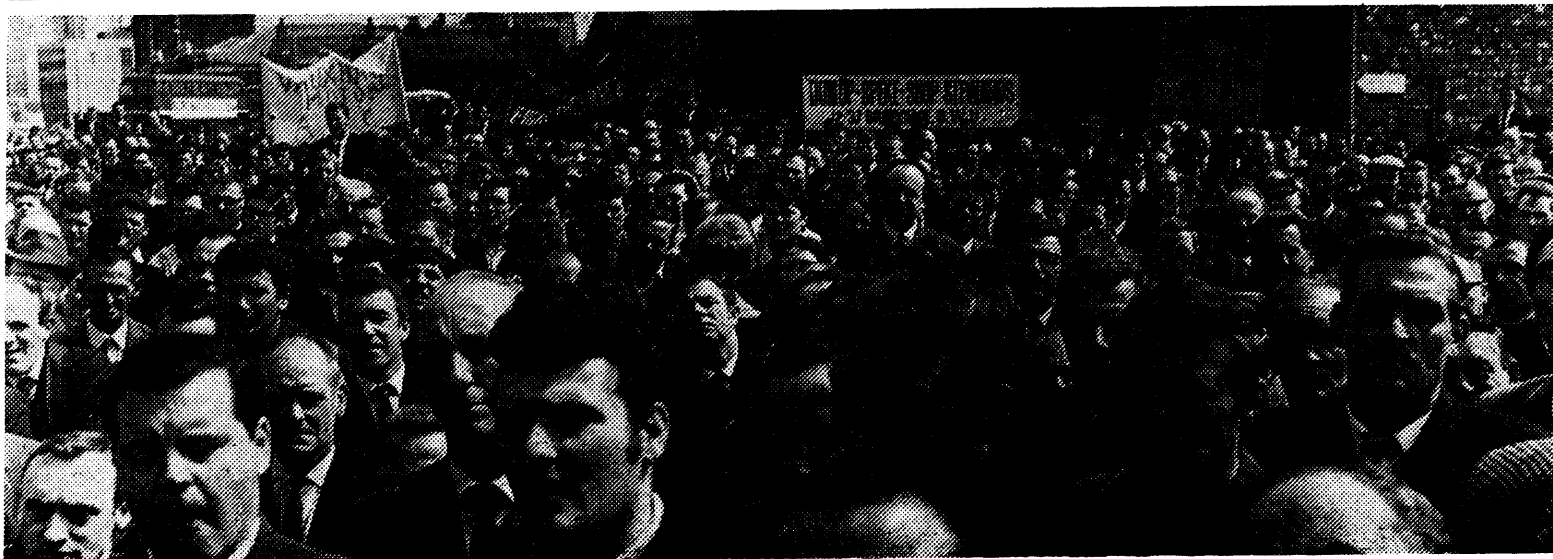
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BRITISH WORKERS HOLD POLITICAL STRIKE



SECTIONS OF 10,000 LIVERPOOL DOCK STRIKERS (TOP)
MERSEYSIDE DOCKERS VOTE FOR GENERAL STRIKE (BOTTOM)

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

On May Day the British workers answered the Labour Government's attacks on their unions with a strike that shut down major sections of British industry. More than 100,000 workers in the London area alone went out protesting the anti-union laws. In London, building sites, the docks and the great presses of the national newspapers were at a standstill. This was the first political strike against any government and its laws since 1926.

As workers marched through London and Liverpool they made it clear that this

action is only the beginning and that only continued national action could really defeat the government. As one dock-er put it, the task of the trade unionists is to 'knock the Bill back down the throats of the Labour leaders.'

STAGE

The next stage in the fight against the anti-union laws and against the government's attacks on the working class was posed at the meeting at the docks following the march through Liverpool. The meeting attended by thousands of workers passed a resolution calling for a demonstration

to the Trade Unions Congress (similar to the AFL-CIO in the U.S.) meeting on June 5th 'to demand that the TUC call a general strike to defeat the anti-trade union laws.'

The TUC leaders have called an emergency meeting on June 5th not to plan an offensive against these attacks but to work out 'voluntary' controls for the unions. These labor bureaucrats along with the Communist Party have attempted to hold back a real fight against the government.

But the ranks of the British working class, as demonstrated on May Day, have no intention of succumbing to the plans of the Labour government and their Tory backers.

While the Communist Party is seeking to limit the actions of the working class to token strikes, the struggles of the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance have fought for a strategy for victory for the working class.

Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL, addressing a meeting of the ATUA on May Day warned that Wilson would not be stopped by one or even two day token strikes. Working class power was now posed. A general strike against the Labour leaders and the Tories is what is required. 'We are concerned with the overthrow of this government if it does not withdraw.'

On May 4th a meeting 2,000 strong of the YS, SLL and ATUA raised the task of preparing the working class for the coming struggles. The indispensable pre-conditions for the successful general strike are the construction of a mass revolutionary Trotskyist Party and the launching of the Daily Newsletter.



GERRY HEALY

HELLYER RESIGNATION SHOWS DEEPENING CANADIAN CRISIS

BY CHARLES HICKSON

TORONTO--In the present housing crisis marked by the resignation of Paul Hellyer, the Transport Minister in the Trudeau government, it may be difficult to figure out who is fighting for the interests of working class people in their struggle to buy a house. This might easily be explained by the fact that the answer is--no one.

At the present moment the housing situation is chronic in its effect on the average wage earner. Estimates are that it is now impossible to buy a house under an annual income of \$12,000 which rules out this possibility for any working person. Workers are therefore left completely at the mercy of apartment landlords who arbitrarily raise rents anywhere from \$5 to \$40 per month each year. The tenant has nothing to say--he is obliged to go along with these increases.

DEFLATIONARY

If neither Trudeau nor Hellyer is actually fighting for a better deal for the workers, what is the meaning of the dispute? Simply that Trudeau has

been carrying on a deflationary policy designed to prop up the Canadian dollar against any 'run' on it that might result from the international monetary crisis. On his Federalist stand, he is faced with ten strong provincial governments opposed to any interference from the federal authority in what they consider their internal domain. Trudeau is therefore faced with the task of keeping together whatever homogeneity that is left of Canadian capitalism. Thus the incredible point is reached that Canadian capitalism cannot solve its basic crisis without threatening to come apart as a national entity.

Hellyer, on the other hand represents more than anything else the building industry. He is himself a capitalist builder in an industry which has been hit particularly hard by the economic squeeze. This involves higher interest rates, cuts in government building projects, etc.

COMPROMISE

Both sides have reached a

compromise which doesn't solve their respective problems but on the contrary aggravates them. The significant point however is that they managed to compromise at the expense of the average wage earner, that is, the working class. First, by raising the N.H.A. ceiling from \$18,000 to \$25,000 means that builders will now build to the limit and make it even more impossible for ordinary workers to buy homes.

Second, by the previous system, interest rates were fixed under the N.H.A. plan whereas now they are to be adjusted to bring them in line with the market every 5 years. This means with the rising

cost of living that workers can pay double the amount of interest for their houses and they are completely at the mercy of the financiers.

Clearly the only alternative for the working class is to refuse to support either Trudeau's Federalism or Hellyer's building interests. The only possible alternative is to fight for an N.D.P. government pledged to nationalization of land and the building industry--a government that will provide interest free homes for all working class families. The liberal government must not be allowed to make the workers pay for their crisis, the constitutional or economic one.

TORONTO PRINTERS NEED ORGANIZATION DRIVE

BY ROBERT HARTLEY

TORONTO--Several litho job shops are being organized into the Lithographers Union. For all too long these small to medium sized concerns have been ignored, and the employees therein condemned to substandard wages and working conditions. More than disregarding workers in job shops and direct mail, the printing trades unions have totally disregarded the plight of workers in big offices, insurance companies, etc., who are doing work in plant printing and duplicating.

Only with the greatest reluctance do the established unions seek to organize on anything but a trade basis. For every pressman, stripper, cameraman, there is at least one bindery worker, helper, earning sometimes

well less than half the wages of the skilled workers. Many shops have never heard of overtime pay, and coffee breaks.

At the same time that signs of unrest appear in these hitherto unorganized sectors of the working class, the Province of Ontario releases the anti-labor Rand Report. This is no accident, as the Ontario Tory government (as does the Liberal national government, which has several leading millionaires in the cabinet) rules on behalf of big business. The proposals of the Rand Report would make the organizing of these printing firms on an industrial basis extremely difficult, as it would outlaw secondary boycotts, and impose state control of vital union functions.

It does not take too much

imagination to predict the role of big business dominated government when it is faced with thousands of workers fighting for a living wage and working conditions. The state of the economy is such that not only can't the country produce adequate housing, but it is actually beginning to fall behind in the inadequate standard of living of the working class.

The fight against the Rand Report is the concern of every worker and Trade Unionist. The Workers League is conducting a series of classes relating to the questions posed by the intended implementation of the Rand Report. This class series will be of particular interest to workers in shops presently being organized by the Lithographers Union.

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