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TEN CENTS

Revolutionary
Strategy In
The Days Of
Comintern

berkeley-

AN OCCUPIED CITY

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO--While this is being written Berkeley remains an occupied city, troops bivouacking in the parking lots, bayonets on every street corner. Thousands of police and National Guards stand ready to gas, club, murder and maim workers and students in the event of the slightest disturbance.

It must be made very clear that the incident of "Peoples Park" has little or nothing to do with the overwhelming use of force and terror by the State. Berkeley is the sharpest expression yet of the government offensive that is being mounted against the student movement. It is a clear reply to the revisionists of PL-SDS and SWP-YSA who

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWELVE)



CHARLESTON WILL WIN

WITH UNITED LABOR STRENGTH



A FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR NMU CONTRACT

ALL OUT FOR CHARLESTON WORKERS

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

The battle for union recognition of the hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina is now well into its third month. This strike has become a tremendous test of strength and its outcome will influence the future of the entire working class.

Almost immediately the strike became much more than a fight between a group of hospital workers and bosses. The workers of Local 1199B, RWDSU, have dug in and are prepared to fight on until victory. They are carrying for-

ward the best fighting traditions of the American working class in an organization campaign which takes off from the fight of the CIO in the 1930s.

Facing the workers are not simply the hospital bosses or the City of Charleston but the State of South Carolina and its Democratic Governor McNair supposedly the most "moderate" in South Carolina since the Civil War. Most important, the workers face the textile and tobacco corporations which give the Governor his orders.

These billion dollar companies know and fear what the organizing of 550 hospital workers can mean for the entire state and the entire South. Non-union cheap labor will disappear if millions both black and white, follow the example of the Charleston workers. The bosses' tool of racism can be smashed and thrown aside by these struggles. So these bosses, not just some archaic plantation owners but some of the biggest capitalists in this country, are threatened by the small determined group of Charleston workers.

Just as the bosses stand behind the hospitals and the government, the labor movement must line up behind the workers. This is the significance of the growing support within the union movement for the Charleston strike. The AFL-CIO has launched a Charleston Hospital Strike Fund with a contribution of \$25,000. The AFL-CIO Executive Council recently stated that it is "determined to do everything in the power of the AFL-CIO to help win this most important struggle" and it urged all AFL-CIO unions to "contribute generously to help the strikers."

This support, though not enough and late in coming, is an extremely important beginning. It is the power and determination of the workers

which has forced the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to take this first step, and they can and must be forced to do much more.

POWER

It is the power of the labor movement which can win the fight in Charleston, in spite of the bureaucrats who sit on top of it. Meany and his fellow officials would never launch such a struggle but they must respond to it. The Charleston struggle demonstrates concretely why it is so important to fight against splits from the AFL-CIO. By their fight the Charleston workers are advancing the cause of all workers - they are fighting for support from the labor movement and at the same time they are putting the union bureaucrats to the test.

Local 1199 of New York is giving leadership to the Charleston workers as part of its national organizing drive. If 1199 split from the AFL-CIO as it had threatened to earlier this year, it would not have been possible either to appeal for support from the AFL-CIO or to put the AFL-CIO bureaucrats to the test and begin the struggle to expose them and to build a new leadership within the labor movement. The Charleston fight is many times more powerful because 1199 remains within the AFL-CIO. But this is just the beginning. Now the

job of fighting within the AFL-CIO for all-out support to the Charleston workers is posed all the more sharply.

STRENGTH

At this point the Charleston strike is stalemated. Now is the time to mobilize the full strength of the labor movement behind it. Democrat McNair, Republican Nixon and the billion dollar bosses will not listen to prayers and vigils but they must listen to the organized power of the union movement. Now is the time to mobilize the support, not just of the top leadership, but of the rank and file of the unions throughout the country. Mass labor demonstrations and meetings in solidarity with the Charleston workers must be fought for and organized. In New York such a mass meeting can be held in Madison Square Garden. Financial aid must be forthcoming from all unions. Proposals for picketing the New York offices of big Southern companies have been made. The rank and file must also participate in these actions.

FULL SUPPORT FOR THE CHARLESTON HOSPITAL WORKERS!

DEMAND AN ALL-OUT FIGHT FROM THE AFL-CIO ON THEIR BEHALF!

FOR MASS LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS, MEETINGS, AND FINANCIAL AID FROM ALL UNIONS!



1199 MEMBERS PICKET GOVERNOR MCNAIR IN NYC

teamsters and auto cement unity



WALTER REUTHER

BY FRED MUELLER

The founding conference of the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) will take place in Washington on May 26 and 27. The conference will formally inaugurate the combination of the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters which has been projected for almost a year.

The ALA program expresses the complete bankruptcy of these bureaucrats. After all their denunciation of the AFL-CIO leadership the ALA comes forward with a program which has absolutely nothing to offer as an alternative to the Meany bureaucracy. All these fakers can come up with is vague talk of "organizing the unorganized", "strengthening collective bargaining" and development of machinery to cope with conglomerates, support to the agricultural workers (who remain part of the

AFL-CIO), cooperation with other groups to organize community unions, the promotion of equal opportunity, and, last but not least, "a massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate American urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods."

Meany can go along with practically all of this. He objects to the Kennedy-type promises and argues over the record of his bureaucracy in supporting equal opportunity, helping the agricultural workers and so forth.

FRAUD

As the Bulletin has pointed out before, this dispute is a fraud from top to bottom. None of these bureaucrats can confront the main issues: the attacks upon the working class now - the anti-union legislation, inflation, automation, racism, the ghettos and the whole crisis of the cities. Of course Reuther has demonstrated his opinion of the demands for a shorter work week and a full cost of living escalator clause to combat inflation. He rammed a complete sellout down the throats of the auto workers in the last contract. No one knows more concretely than his own members what an utter fraud Reuther and his liberal talk is. He sells out on wages and working conditions. He aids the Wallaceites and encourages black nationalist confusion by refusing to fight discrimination and the fantas-

tic speedup in the plants.

Above all Reuther is just as dedicated as is Meany to the imprisoning of the working class and the labor movement in the Democratic Party trap. All they do is orient towards slightly different sections of the bosses, but they have fought and will continue to fight against a break from the bosses and the building of a labor party.

All the talk of organizing continues to be just talk. In addition the ALA has had little success in winning new affiliates from the AFL-CIO. Sensing the weakness of his position, Reuther has claimed for the record that he is not interested in raiding the AFL-CIO. The fact remains that only New York's District 65 is now moving towards affiliation with the ALA, after splitting from its international affiliate, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union (RWDSU).

65

District 65 is forming a new national union, along with some other small locals in the process of leaving the RWDSU. These include several Southern locals. The new national organization will be made up of predominantly Negro locals. The District 65 leadership has pointed to the "lily-white character" of the RWDSU leadership in order to explain its split.

Instead of fighting discrimination they have run away from it and actually streng-

thened the racist forces within the unions. The irony of this is that now Livingston and Robinson are leading their members into an alliance with Reuther, against whom the charge of lily-white leadership, not to speak of the even more serious charge of refusing to fight racism and discrimination on the job itself, is certainly appropriate. So much for the consistency and principles of the 65 bureaucrats! 65 members should not be fooled. The fight against discrimination cannot be won apart from a fight on attacks facing all workers and cannot be won without a fight inside the labor movement.

The May issue of the 65er headlines "Massive Organizing Tied to Disaffiliation." In the same issue the 65 leadership is forced to come out in support of the Charleston, South Carolina, hospital strikers. 65 has sent a contribution to aid the strikers and is publicly supporting the strike, but nowhere in their report of the 65er is it explained that this nationally significant struggle is being waged by the Charleston workers as part of the RWDSU.

Livingston and Robinson have just split from the RWDSU, and among their major charges has been that the International has made it too difficult for them to organize. Thus they speak of "organizing tied to disaffiliation." But the Charleston struggle speaks much louder

The workers in Charleston, in Local 1199B, and with the aid of New York's Local 1199, are organizing tied to affiliation. This is undoubtedly an embarrassing situation for the 65 bureaucracy.

1199

Local 1199 and District 65 previously worked very closely together. In last year's Labor Day Parade both unions carried signs against the war in Vietnam. Now they have split, as 1199 remains inside the RWDSU, and the 65 leadership begins to talk about the racism of 1199 as well as of the RWDSU leadership.

1199 President Davis bears some responsibility for the split and these phony charges now being leveled against 1199. Several months ago when he was preparing the ranks for a possible split from the AFL-CIO he engaged in the same kind of charges leveled against the RWDSU.

The split between 1199 and 65 is an unprincipled split reflecting the pragmatic and narrow outlook of the union bureaucracy. The ranks of 65 and 1199 must fight for unity in spite of and against the bureaucrats. In 65 this means insisting on a real fight for the 100% union shop, the \$100 minimum and organizing, combined with all-out support to the Charleston hospital strike and a fight to reaffiliate to the AFL-CIO.

RANK & FILE PROGRAM FOR NMU CONTRACT FIGHT



NMU MEMBER PAINTS A LIFE PRESERVER ON BOARD SHIP

BY DAN FRIED

NEW YORK--On June 16, after eight long years, the present contract of the National Maritime Union with the shipping bosses expires. The NMU should be preparing for a real fight-- a fight to reverse the deterioration of merchant seamen's buying power, working conditions and loss of jobs that has taken place over the past eight years. But the NMU's negotiating team under its \$90,000 a year salaried President, Joseph Curran, has made it clear that it is going into what should be a battle--with hat in hand.

Curran admits that for the bosses, the only thing that counts is the buck--they couldn't care less about the livelihood of the seamen. To seriously expect "good faith" from such people is suicide. The only thing the bosses will listen to is power--the determination of the NMU to fight to the finish for its demands and to win the full support of all waterfront unions if a strike is necessary.

The NMU has to show it means business. This means a strike deadline of June 16-- "No contract, no work". Curran's talk of extension "if there has been real evidence of good faith", weakens the NMU.

SECRET

If the NMU means business, this means a two year contract subject to ratification by SECRET REFERENDUM. This will help insure that the rank and file have the final say on the contract.

A real battle with the bosses also means that the east and gulf coasts get shut down lock stock and barrel. This means fighting for an agreement with the longshoremen's unions to refuse to handle any cargo of shipowners being struck by the NMU, INCLUDING CARGO ON FOREIGN FLAG-SHIPS.

Curran's tactics on the

other hand only strengthen the bosses rather than prepare the NMU for a fight. These tactics include an agreement that the bosses continue to operate passenger ships if there is a strike-- an agreement which the NMU PILOT says "was considered encouraging evidence of good faith" by the employers who supposedly are making a tremendous sacrifice to continue to maintain passenger operations.

While Curran is still banking on the "good faith" of the bosses, every NMU man knows where such "good faith" has left him. On the question of wages alone, as of April 1969, the monthly basic wage rate for able-bodied seamen under NMU contract stood at \$443.71, excluding overtime. This is almost \$194.00 less than what West Coast AB's are getting. The number one demand has got to be parity with the West Coast rates. Furthermore NMU overtime rates are 16% lower than the West Coast. Even a 55% increase will only bring the NMU up to the level of the OLD West Coast contract.

With the cost of living rising at the recently reported rate of 9.6%, the NMU should demand a cost of living escalator in addition to the wage increases. This means that as prices rise, wages automatically go up at the same pace. This is the only way to get protection against inflation, let alone steadily rising taxes on the city, state and federal levels.

UNEMPLOYMENT

On the question of unemployment, Curran makes a lot of noise about the loss of jobs, especially as a result of U.S. shipping bosses using foreign flag-ships, where lower wages prevail. On this question the NMU can no longer afford Curran's bankrupt policy which consists of vague threats about demonstrations in Washington and appeals to the patriotism of

the employers. The bosses and not the seamen have to be forced to pay for the loss of jobs through run-away flag-ships, automation and containerization, all of which threatens to decimate the maritime work force. The time to begin the fight is now--with this contract.

As a beginning, the NMU should demand the 4 watch system -- the equivalent of the 30 hour week with no loss in pay. Instead of less seamen manning U.S. ships, we say-- No job cuts! Instead of cutting out jobs, cut the hours worked with no loss in pay.

A real fight for this kind of contract won't mean the fight with the bosses is over. The NMU and the other maritime unions have the power, and they should use every means to fight for wage parity for all seamen sailing under foreign flag-ships. Those shipping companies who divert their cargoes to foreign flag-ships should be nationalized and operated under workers control.

Rather than preparing a fight, Curran is preparing to use the run-away flag-ship situation as an excuse for another sell-out contract. That is why the article in the May, 1969 Pilot attacking "Communists" and "Trotskyites" as enemies out to destroy the union is such a fraud. Within the union, Curran and his stooges are undoubtedly the very best friends of the bosses and therefore the worst enemies of the NMU.

Curran and Co. are simply trying to deal with rank and file dissent and dissatisfaction with the contract negotiations, by stirring up a "red-scare" witch hunt in the grand old tradition of Joe McCarthy, Senator Eastland and other labor haters. Curran's mouthpiece who wrote this mess in the Pilot tried to lump together the opposition that supported Morrissey in the recent elections together with the alleged policies of the "Communist" and "Trotskyite" "Hacks" as they are called. The article is a collection of lies and half-truths which we will deal with in detail in future issues of the Bulletin.

For now, we will just make a few brief points. The article attacks the war-time and post-war (1945-46) policies of the Communist Party in the NMU but fails to mention that Curran was the key representative of these policies of the Communist Party in the NMU from the late 1930's until late in 1945 when he began to break with the C.P. In the Pilot article, Curran's hack writers correctly attack the Communist Party's line of "retention of the wartime no-strike pledge", but fail to point out that in the June 9, 1944 Pilot, Curran's cohort, ILWU President Harry Bridges wrote an extensive

LABOR FAKERS MANEUVER WITH LINDSAY-WAGNER

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

NEW YORK--The decision of the New York City Central Labor Council to back Robert Wagner for mayor of New York coupled with DC 37's head, Victor Gotbaum's lining up behind the Lindsay slate is indeed a revolting spectacle. The city labor movement has been kicked in the teeth for eight years by Wagner and Lindsay.

Wagner's last public act in 1965, having fought welfare workers in a 28 day strike earlier in the year, was his fight to hold the line against NYC Transit workers. Unable to ram his rotten deal down the throat of the union then headed by Mike Quill, he handed the whole business over to Lindsay who from that New Years Day when he took office in the middle of a transit strike, has been on the offensive against city labor.

LINDSAY

Under Lindsay we got the Office of Collective Bargaining. Lindsay had no small role in the framing and implementation of New York State's Taylor Law. It was Lindsay who called for the National Guard against striking sanitationmen, who broke the 1967 welfare strike, and ran amok with his racist community control schemes with New York teachers.

How many times has the city labor movement had to rally in front of the civil jail on 34th Street in support of union heads who were put behind bars by Wagner and Lindsay? What has city labor to look forward to from either a Lindsay or a Wagner now armed with the new Taylor Law revisions and under the sharpest fiscal crisis in this City's history, except an all out effort to dismantle the unions through every strike-breaking, union-busting technique in the books.

At this moment the passage of the new Taylor Law in Albany, the most vicious budget cuts in 30 years, the erosion of all New York workers' paychecks through a rampant inflation, as well as

Lindsay's latest schemes to cut jobs and begin lay-offs in the civil service, scream out for the preparation of a massive industrial and political fight back.

GOTBAUM

Gotbaum whose own unions in welfare, parks and libraries are being directly hit by Lindsay's job cuts has the gall to express disgust at Van Arsdale's decision and then go on to back Lindsay from the same view on patronage. We say there will be no patronage. All these bureaucrats will get for binding their members hand and foot to the politicians will be more floggings like so many slaves groveling at the feet of their masters.

We say, however, that it will not only be Lindsay or Wagner who deliver the floggings but the rank and file of city labor as well. The refusal of these swine to have thus far led any fight against the Taylor Law or the budget cuts reflects above all their fear of mobilizing the rank and file even on the scale of the 1967 Madison Square Garden Anti-Taylor Law Rally. They know that even a partial mobilization of the ranks at this time could lead to the ranks taking an independent initiative in the direction of general strike action and the call for the formation of a labor party which figured prominently in the April 15th demonstration against the budget cuts.

WARN

We warn, in particular, Lindsay supporter John De-lury who called last month for a city-wide fight for a wage-reopener and escalator clauses in the fall, that without very much effort this demand could turn a couple of million New York City workers out into the streets in a rank and file revolt that would very much resemble May-June 1968 in Paris. This is the time bomb that will blow all the filthy complicity of Gotbaum, Van Arsdale, Lindsay, Wagner, Rockefeller and Nixon to smithereens.

article urging the permanent no-strike policy. Curran himself, in a radio broadcast on July 12, 1944, declared that the NMU officialdom "wants none (strikes) now-- or in the postwar period". He urged a no-strike policy after the war if the ship operators continued the "same attitude and thinking" they had allegedly displayed during the war.

Breaking with the C.P., Curran used the revulsion in the ranks against these and similar sell-out policies of the C.P. to appeal to the militants and carry on a progressive battle against the bureaucracy he himself had helped create. But this progressive phase ended shortly as Curran proceeded to est-

ablish his own machine in compliance with the witch-hunting provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. After the 1949 CIO convention he consolidated his power with an orgy of hysterical red-baiting with the battle cry "Dump the aliens and kick out the reds."

Curran's re-writing of history and his slanders of Trotskyists and militants is part of his effort to silence all dissent in the NMU in a period when the revolt against Curran's sell-out regime gains strength. NMU militants who join this revolt need to know the REAL history of Curran, the Communist Party and the Trotskyists. The Bulletin will present more of that REAL history in future issues.

THE SSEU AND THE CONTRACT

The Committee For A Decent Contract has been running a battle in every welfare center in New York City to defeat the contract which will mean loss of 9,000 jobs, worsening working conditions and less service for clients. We reprint here the attack made on the CDC by President Morgenstern in the May 16 issue of SSEU News and the CDC's reply.

PRESIDENT MORGENSTERN WRITES

Thirteen members whose names appear on a document published by their "Committee for a Decent Contract" are calling for contract rejection and a political strike against the government. Among their strike demands are a 30 hour week, repeal of the Taylor Law and repeal of the budget cuts. Such a strike, they tell us, will mobilize the support not only of "the entire State labor movement" but also of the "masses of poor, unemployed, students and others..." Incidentally they also demand "retention of wage increases already negotiated" as even they recognize that these wages are significantly beyond those won by any other workers in the City or State.

In 1967 we tried a strike with similar demands to break the city-wide rules on time and leave (including work week) regulations now negotiated by DC 37 for all workers in and out of SSEU, to defeat a labor law, the OCB, and to aid the poor through client demands. But we found that the other unions in our Department and other City employment didn't appreciate our taking over what they considered to be their jurisdictional province; that the "entire State labor move-

ment" didn't view us as the vanguard in the fight for better labor legislators and the poor didn't see SSEU as their patron saint ordained to take over their fight. We got support from none of these groups. Instead we isolated ourselves from workers, poor and unemployed alike (to say nothing of 50% of our members) and deprived our most loyal members of hard-earned dollars.

The three noble demands articulated by the "Committee for a Decent Contract" will only be won by uniting our members politically and jurisdictionally with other workers and with the poor in a joint and protracted fight. A unilateral action by a few thousand caseworkers will isolate our union. It might serve the egos of the more-militant-than-thou committee but it will work against the demands they profess to espouse.

This contract was negotiated by our negotiating team, not unilaterally written by it. As such, it represents certain compromises and less than what we would like in many areas. It is always easy to find something more that the workers deserve but not nearly as easy to get. It is a negotiated agreement and as such it is a good one.

OPPOSITION CAUCUS REPLIES

While Morgenstern and the 371 leadership are busy with their interior decorators getting their plush new suite of offices on the 13th floor of 817 Broadway ready for occupancy, the SSEU-371 ranks are getting kicked in the teeth by phase one of Goldberg's reorganization. One would think Morgenstern would have enough sense to know that with phase two and the elimination of 9000 union members beginning July 1 that this might just lead to bill collectors showing up one day to repossess the fine orange broadloom on his office floor. But perhaps as things get tight we can always keep the city marshal and the decorators at bay with a new dues increase.

One thing is clear. Morgenstern and his coterie of 14 bureaucrats are now sitting pretty and the last thing that they want is a fight.

Herein lies the real meaning of Morgenstern's attack on the Committee for a Decent Contract in the last issue of the SSEU News. The CDC has spearheaded a campaign over the past weeks to expose the bankruptcy of Morgenstern's sellout contract, to break through the demoralization pumped into the centers by the leadership, and to turn the union in the direction of a big NO vote on June 6. In the course of debate and agitation in the centers the leadership has been more and more discredited. By now, feeling the impact of DAB



THE TEAM THAT SOLD OUT THE WORKERS: MORGENSTERN AND ROGOFF AT TABLE, GOTBAUM SPEAKING

implementation, the vast majority of staff know full well that the proposed contract is a complete fraud. Sentiment for a yes vote comes primarily from those who are so disgusted with the contract that they are solely interested in getting their pay and getting out of the Department. The leadership is running scared. The ability to shove this document down the throats of staff is by no means any longer assured. Thus in the SSEU News we get from Morgenstern this virtual nightmare of sophistry, distortion and downright lies.

RECORD

Let us set the record straight, Brother Morgenstern. We will have no truck with your campaign to slander the past victories of this union or to utilize past defeats for which you and your predecessors were responsible as an excuse for your present betrayal. The 60 caseload was won in 1965 as a result of a bitter 28 day strike by the rank and file, not by the graciousness of an arbitrator or the existence of federal guidelines. It showed what a fight could achieve. The failure after '65 to enforce the 60 caseload as well as the defeat of the '67 strike flowed from the division of staff, the SSEU's isolation from the labor movement - the blame for which lies with you and your predecessor who refused to carry through merger two years ago when it was first advocated by members of the CDC. But merger has now taken place, the source of weakness removed. Your argument therefore from the standpoint of these past defeats is as groundless as your sophistry about the "inherent unenforceability" of the 60 caseload and the city's "incompetence".

As for your argument relating to the virtues of Goldberg's reorganization, that we are about to enter upon a heyday of "social work not paper work", let us repeat what we have said throughout our campaign. Reorganization is part and parcel of the attacks on workers and poor alike launched by Albany in the form of the Taylor Law and the budget cuts. The

cut of 9,000 social service jobs in welfare is nothing more than a scheme to transfer our jobs to clerical employees who will do them at 1/3 less pay. It is fundamentally aimed at the decimation of the civil service in New York City. For caseworkers and supervisors this means not social work but NO work, i.e., attrition. For clients the two month backlog of service requests in the Brooklyn DAB service units shows that in addition to being hit with a starvation grant, clients are to be hit with the elimination of the few services previously available.

FALSE

It is simply false, Brother Morgenstern, that this contract goes no further than previously in the direction of compulsory arbitration. We are the last to call for a strike over any grievance; arbitration has its place within this sphere. But this contract goes way beyond those of past years giving the arbitrator a carte blanche to fix workload and job specifications which don't even appear in the signed contract. This completely negates the independent role of the union in negotiating and defending its contract provisions. Eisenberg's ruling against the HCI's furthermore shows just what we have to expect from this arrangement. To say, as you do, that the union can always strike even in violation of what it agrees to in the contract is a ridiculous refuge, the logic of which is to say that it makes no difference what appears in the contract.

FIGHT

It is on the most decisive question of all, the potential for a fight back, that Morgenstern concentrates his greatest powers of distortion and

sophistry. The CDC has raised demands for the repeal of the Taylor Law and the budget cuts and the demand for a 30 hour week, not in a vacuum, as Morgenstern suggests, but as essential demands for mobilizing labor and client support for demands flowing directly out of this contract fight, namely: retention of all wage increases negotiated, no job cuts, ironclad workload and job specification provisions, retention of full promotional opportunities, no retreat on the 1967 transfer clause and no compulsory arbitration.

We are completely opposed to a "unilateral action by a few thousand caseworkers" and Morgenstern lies when he suggests the contrary. Our perspective is to achieve a NO vote in the SSEU and through this to turn around supervisors and clerks so as to pose a strike threat by a united Welfare staff. To strengthen our position we then propose a fight in the city and state labor movements for support around the issues of the Taylor Law, the budget cuts and the shorter work week. Neither these three "noble demands" as Morgenstern cynically terms them, nor solutions to the present crisis facing staff will be achieved by waiting for Lindsay supporter Vic Gotbaum to take up the fight on his own initiative. A No vote on this contract landing like a bomb in the middle of the Gotbaum-Lindsay honeymoon is precisely what is required to make Gotbaum and Company fight - and a fight, even the threat of a fight from Morgenstern and Gotbaum on this contract can and will force Lindsay to scrap reorganization for good. This is why we say vote No on June 6.

Committee for a Decent Contract.

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REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY IN THE DAYS OF COMINTERN

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Third International. The greatest contribution of the Third International during its Leninist period from its founding in March of 1919 until January 1924 was its development of revolutionary strategy. Although Stalin destroyed the Third International with his betrayals of the international working class, the rich theoretical and practical gains of this period were continued by Trotsky and form the basis for the program of the Fourth International.

Today the international bourgeoisie finds itself in a crisis which threatens to bring its whole system down. It is under such conditions that its class strategy flowers and its instincts for self-preservation become strongest. The ruling class has had a few hundred years to develop this strategy having ruled under all possible forms of state. All this experience is now mobilized by them in order to maintain themselves in power at any cost. The greater the danger, the more the bourgeoisie attains its greatest concentration of forces, of political and military means of deception, of coercion and provocation.

The working class has not had such time or opportunities. All its defeats have cost it dearly with the destruction of lives, leaders, and organizations. The working class does not have the advantages, the economic and social control of society which the bourgeoisie had before its overthrow of feudalism. This is why the working class must have a strategy and a strong disciplined party which has assimilated into its very roots the history of working class struggle, its defeats as well as its victories. This is why we must turn to not only a general consideration of strategy but also to those first five years of the Communist International which elaborated an international program for victory on the basis of the critical strategical experiences of the working class.

analysis

Revolutionary strategy is based on analysis of the historical, social, economic and political pre-conditions for socialism and social revolution. Conditions for social revolution are created only when the old social order no longer allows for the development of the productive forces. At the same time there must be a certain level of development of the productive forces so that socialism and communism as an economic system offers material advantages.

However, this does not mean that the old ruling class merely collapses of its own efforts. In order to replace a reactionary ruling class, there must be a social class which is strong enough numerically and influential enough industrially. But even more important this class must possess an understanding and a program for a new social order which meets the needs for the development of the productive forces. This class must be conscious enough and powerful enough to overturn the old order and establish a new one. Above all a party is required which contains the program and the history of working class struggles. These factors make up the objective and subjective preconditions for social revolution. They form the basis for the development of revolutionary strategy.

Trotsky defines tactics and strategy in this way: "By the conception of tactics is understood the system of measures that serves a single current task of a single branch of the class struggle. Revolutionary strategy on the contrary embraces a combined system of actions which by their association, consistency, and growth must lead the proletariat to the conquest of power."

Tactics are the "art of conducting isolated operations" while strategy is the "art of conquest" of the seizure of power. The whole conception of strategy is that it is based on an objective analysis of conditions which are constantly changing. Strategy must always take these changes into account, must be reviewed. It is only within this context that tactics become meaningful. Strategy is an overall plan which includes all the parts, all the various kinds of actions. Each action and intervention is viewed within the context of the overall strategy. All actions and works are seen in combination, growing and developing, each built



FIRST CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, 1919: TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV AND KALININ

on previous actions. What must always be kept in mind is the goal, the preparation for the taking of power. All isolated actions are subordinate to this goal.

CI

The principles of revolutionary strategy had been developed throughout the struggle against the Second International but took root in 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution. However, it was the work of the first five years of the CI, through the strategical experiences of the working class in those years, its defeats as well as its victories, in which the strategy and tactics of the revolution were elaborated and given life.

by lucy st. john

The period of the first two Congresses was one of revolutionary upheaval generated by the war. Objectively the working class was strong enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie but it was the subjective factor--the lack of a developed revolutionary party which was lacking. In most cases the Social Democracy held the leadership of the traditional organizations of the working class and fought to save the bourgeoisie.

The revolutionary wave after the war subsided before the Communist Parties could develop and prepare in the struggle with the Social Democracy so as to gain the leadership of the class. Defeats were suffered in Germany in 1919 and again in 1921 along with the abortive revolution in Hungary and the failures in Italy.

third congress

These set backs posed the necessity for a basic reassessment at the Third Congress. It was clear that the working class was in need of a more complex revolutionary strategy. It was therefore essential that the Congress learn from the strategical experiences of the past years. The Third Congress became in fact the "highest school of revolutionary strategy."

The Third Congress began with a complete analysis of the world situation. The revolution was seen flowing from three sources, the decline of Europe, the feverish development of America, an upsurge which would inevitably lead to crisis and depression, and the colonies where it was pointed out the proletariat would play a role

incommensurate to the stage of capitalist development and to its numerical strength. These channels were seen as interrelated and reciprocally influencing each other.

This period was seen as a time of preparation and consolidation for the coming struggles. The first task of the Congress was "to cleanse the working class, including our own ranks, of elements who do not want to struggle and who use this or that theory in order to cover up their aversion to struggle and their inner inclination to conciliate with the bourgeoisie." But the second and no less important task as Trotsky posed it was: "To learn the art of struggle, an art which by no means falls from the skies like a manna for the working class or its Communist Party. The art of tactics and strategy, the art of revolutionary struggle can be mastered only through experience, through criticism and self-criticism."

The past years had seen many heroic struggles, the death of Liebknecht and Luxemburg in the struggles of 1918 were a cruel reminder. But as Trotsky said: "Comrades, we desire not only heroic struggles, we desire first of all victory." Not every struggle leads to victory but defeats must not be the result of the party, of revolutionary impatience rather than a clear strategy for victory.

march action

The Third Congress took up the question of the March struggles in Germany and concretely the questions of revolutionary strategy. The revolutionary struggles in Germany had been defeated in 1918. The Spartacist group had only been formed in the throes of the crisis without a complete break from the Social Democrats. The leaders of the Spartacist, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered and the German party beheaded of its leaders.

Strike struggles continued into 1920 but the working class as a whole began to realize the need for organization, for preparation. Many workers in this period joined the ranks of the Communist Party with this understanding. In March of 1921 at the ebb of the revolutionary wave struggles broke out in the mining areas of Central Germany. Traditionally the workers in this area had represented a more backward section of the working class even though their living and working conditions were in many ways

worse than the majority of the class. These workers had been patriotic and had been loyal to the Emperor.

Now the militancy of these workers was in contrast to the workers in Berlin and Saxony who had after the defeats of the previous years become more cautious. Trotsky points out in relation to the workers in Central Germany that during a revolutionary epoch "it happens not infrequently that a most oppressed and backward section of the working class, awakened for the first time by the thunder of events swings into the struggle with the greatest energy and evinces a readiness to fight under any and all conditions, far from taking into consideration the circumstances and chances of victory, that is, the requirements of revolutionary strategy."

These workers engaged in actions, strikes and demonstrations holding meetings during working hours and "carting out their foremen on wheelbarrows." The Chief of Police, a Social Democrat, decided to move in on the workers. Concurrently the German Communist Party made the decision to conduct a more active revolutionary struggle. This the Third Congress pointed out was a correct turn, but the way that turn was carried out was another matter.

The police head, Hoersing, issued an order against holding meetings during working hours. The Communist Party then called for a general strike to aid the workers of Central Germany. This was done with little or no political preparation.

trotsky

Trotsky in his analysis at the Third Congress dealt in detail with the policies of the German CP. A general strike is not something which the working class responds to readily at the first call. This was especially true in Germany in a period in which the working class had suffered a number of defeats, and where there existed a large Social Democratic party and trade unions whose leadership was in opposition to the CP. The situation was further complicated by the fact that during the revolutionary wave there had been a number of police attacks on the workers. It was not possible to win the masses of the German workers merely on the basis of the police attack.

Trotsky pointed out that the ABC of revolutionary strategy requires that every serious mass action must be preceded by large-scale, energetic agitation, centering around action slogans and emphasizing the main point over and over again. This agitation can then lead to more decisive calls for action ONLY if it reveals after probing that the workers have been aroused and are ready for revolutionary struggles.

But it was precisely this ABC of revolutionary strategy which was violated by the German CP during the March events.

Before the police moved into the area of turmoil, a general strike broke out there. But the workers in the rest of Germany did not respond. The revolutionary ebb had begun and the German bourgeoisie had started to reestablish its order. The masses of the working class were cautious and demoralized.

A section of the German CP at the Congress attempted to justify their summons on the basis that in a revolutionary epoch the party must carry out an exclusively aggressive policy of revolutionary offensives. These lefts contended that the March struggles were an offensive.

But the Comintern pointed out that it was rather the ruling class in the form of the police that had launched the offensive. This should have been utilized in order to unite all the workers on the basis of defense. The purpose of the agitation should have been to focus attention on the events in Central Germany, breaking down the resistance of the labor bureaucracy and building for a truly general strike. This would form the basis for the further development of revolutionary struggle. If the masses failed to respond, it would be necessary to sound a retreat. In this way the German CP could have shown the masses of the working class its ability to lead and would have gained the confidence of the workers.

This however was not the policy of the German CP which jumped ahead into what it called an offensive without the support of the majority or even large section of the class outside of the immediate area of struggle. When the working class refused to move, the Party attempted to move them through mechanical means literally dragging workers out of the plants and with acts of terrorism.

The result was to counterpose the militant minority to the vast majority of the class and to set one section against the other. Such a perspective could only lead to defeat and a strengthening of the ruling class.

This was precisely the strategy of the German bourgeoisie in that period--to provoke a section of the working class into action, to isolate it and defeat it, at the same time picking off its leaders.

infantile disorder

Both Lenin and Trotsky were opposed in their evaluation of the March events by the Lefts in the CI. It was to these forces that Lenin directed his "Left-Wing Communism--An Infantile Disorder."

The position of the Left adventurers was that revolution was on the agenda and must go ahead

hollow slogans: "Only a traitor could deny the need of a revolutionary offensive; but only a simpleton would reduce all of revolutionary strategy to an offensive."

to the masses

Lenin counterposed to the Lefts the slogan: "To the masses - to the conquest of power, through a previous conquest of the masses." The Third Congress tackled the very heart of revolutionary strategy--preparing an offensive by winning over the majority of the working class. The task was "To lead the present defensive struggles of the proletariat to extend their scope, to deepen them, to unify them, and in harmony with the march of events, to transform them into decisive political struggles for the ultimate goal."

It had become clear from an analysis of the defeats of the past years that the resources of the



SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN SESSION, DECEMBER 1919 WITH ZINOVIEV PRESIDING

full force with the most extreme measures regardless of the willingness of the class to struggle, regardless of the position of the bourgeoisie. At the Congress one of the Lefts said: "What can you expect? The working class of Germany is permeated through and through with philistinism, with middle class ideology, petty-bourgeois spirit. What then can you do about it?" What they in fact proposed was the blowing up of plants and railroads in order to worsen the conditions of the working class and force them into revolution. The strategy of these adventurers was reduced to the following:

"The principal characteristic of the present period of the revolution lies in this, that we are now compelled to conduct even partial battles, including economic ones, i.e. strikes, with the instrumentalities of the final battle with arms in hand."

Trotsky attacked this conception as "strategy turned topsy-turvy." It was exactly when the ruling class was seeking to provoke sections of the class into defeats that these forces wanted to make this kind of struggle the example, as the formula for revolutionary struggle. The situation was indeed revolutionary. But the working class had realized after its initial defeats that it needed a strong organization, a party for victory. Masses of workers flowed into the parties in this period.

The task as the CI posed it was to win over the majority of the industrial workers and the decisive sections of the peasantry. As Trotsky put it "the theory of always taking the offensive and waging partial battles with methods of armed uprising is so much grist to the mill of the counter-revolution."

This is precisely what the ruling class was looking for in order to defeat the working class in partial struggle, piecemeal in order to undermine the working class's faith in their ability to win.

Both Lenin and Trotsky at the Congress pointed out that the lefts had drawn incorrect and simplified lessons from the Russian Revolution seeing the struggle merely as a call for insurrection rather than seeing the years of struggle that had gone into building the Bolshevik party. The strategy of revolutionary struggle was taken for granted, tactics were replaced with the slogan of waging the offensive. Trotsky exposed these

Communist Parties, politically as well as organizationally, were not sufficient for the final victory. Genuine communist parties with their roots in the working class which could win predominating influence over the majority of the working class and bring its leading section into struggle was what was required.

Through propaganda and agitation the parties had to establish influence over the working masses through participation in the every day struggles of the class thus working towards the building of experienced mass parties.

It was within this general conception of strategy that the CI elaborated its perspective including the development of the conception of a transitional program, the Workers and Farmers government and the tactic of the United Front.

transitional demands

The Comintern opposed the minimum program of the Social Democrats--which had the effect of strengthening capitalism and sowing illusions within the working class that reforms could be won under capitalism--and put forward the conception of a transitional program.

The strategic aim was the overthrow of capitalism but to do this it was necessary to win over the support of the masses by participating in and leading the everyday struggles of the class.

The Theses on Tactics stated: "The Communist parties must put forward demands whose fulfillment is an immediate and urgent working class need, and they must fight for these demands in mass struggle, regardless of whether they are compatible with the profit economy of the capitalist class or not." The purpose of the demands is to bring together the working class into a force which is capable of smashing capitalism. The program said: "The workers who fight for partial demands will automatically be forced into struggle against the entire bourgeoisie and their state apparatus."

The basis for the united front tactic was the understanding that the situation no longer provided the imminent possibilities of revolution but what was required was for the communists to win the confidence of the masses through the fight for transitional demands and by assisting the working class to resist the offensive of the bourgeoisie.

The united front was directed towards those countries where there existed large reformist parties which held the leadership of a large if not majority of the working class. It did not mean that the party should absorb itself in mass movements or cease to struggle to gain leadership of the class or to hold back criticism of reformism. The task was rather to create mass pressure which would force the reformist and centrist leaders to either take part in joint action on specific issues or explain to their members why they would not.

The united front was not considered as a durable agreement leading to some kind of regroupment and the disappearance of differences. The purpose was to bring masses of workers into political struggle exposing the bankruptcy of their leaders and making it possible for the communists to win over the rank and file of the reformist organizations. The result

ability of the party to take advantage of the revolutionary situation.

After the Third Congress the German Communist Party carried out the necessary change. The struggle began for the masses under the slogan of the united front. This tactic over a period of two years was very successful. But at the same time these new methods of work were becoming transformed into set formulas of works of routine.

ruhr

Early in 1923 the French occupied the Ruhr region. The crisis of the bourgeoisie was brought to a climax. There was a tremendous financial crisis with an incredible depreciation of the Mark, economic chaos resulted with a crisis of parliamentarism and an utter collapse in the ruling class's confidence in itself. The Social Democracy



LENIN ADDRESSES THE DELEGATES OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN 1921

was to widen the split between the Marxists and the reformists.

Together with the united front was raised the slogan of a workers government. As Trotsky states, the purpose of the slogan is to pose the question of power transitionally, while the Communists know that a genuine workers government will be achieved after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat established. In order to accomplish this it is necessary for the working class in its majority to support the Communist Party. Since this was not the case, the CI proposed the following approach: "Socialist workers, syndicalist workers, anarchist and non-party workers! Wages are being slashed; less and less remains of the 8 hour day; the cost of living is soaring. Such things would not be if all the workers despite their differences were able to unite and install their own workers government."

The slogan as thus posed becomes a wedge driven by the Communists between the working class and the bourgeoisie. In as much as the reformists are tied with the bourgeoisie it acts to wrench the ranks from the reformists. The slogan counterposes the working class as a whole politically to all the groupings of bourgeois politics.

The Third and Fourth Congresses thus laid forth a strategy and tactics for preparing the working class, for above all developing a strong party to carry forth the struggles internationally for world socialism.

fourth congress

After the Fourth Congress and with the death of Lenin the Comintern began to experience the repercussions of the struggle which was shaking the Bolshevik party. However, it was the defeat of the German Revolution in October 1923 which became the center for the debates within the party. Trotsky said that "the German events of 1923 form the breaking point that inaugurates a new, post-Leninist period in the development of the Communist International."

The German events of 1923 showed that the German party had not fully assimilated the lessons of the first four congresses. These events in a way show the other side of the coin from the failures in 1921 in relation to strategy--the in-

was in disintegration. At the same time there was an enormous flow of workers into the Communist Party, a turn by the petty-bourgeoisie toward communism and a sharp decline in the morale of the fascists. All the prerequisites for social revolution were there by the summer of 1923. But the German Communist Party lagged behind the working class much as a section of the Bolshevik Party had in 1917.

The German CP entered the period of crisis continuing its propaganda policy of the last two years with only quantitative changes. The daily struggle of the press, meetings, work in the trade unions and parliament can create its own tactical routine and can divert attention away from the strategical tasks flowing from changes in the objective situation.

The German CP did not see the onset of the revolutionary crisis in time. It continued to carry on its agitational and propaganda work on the basis of the united front at the same tempo, in the same forms. At the same time the party was growing automatically. A sharp tactical turn was necessary, a new interpretation of the united front, new methods of organization and of technical preparation to show the masses and the party itself it was time for immediate preparation for the struggle for power. It was necessary to consolidate the party's growing influence organizationally and to establish bases of support for a direct assault on the state. It was time to transfer the whole party organization on to the basis of factory cells and to begin work in the army.

indecisiveness

The German CP had been burnt by the events of March 1921 and avoided until the very last months the idea of organizing a revolution, preparing for insurrection. By the time they began there was too little time left. Its preparations were conducted at a feverish pace, the masses were unable to follow it. The indecisiveness and lack of confidence of the party was communicated to both the working class and the bourgeoisie. At the decisive moment the party retreated without giving a fight. The German CP entered a coalition government in Saxony. The CI had recommended

this policy in order to facilitate the arming of the workers and the preparation for the uprising, using Saxony as the basis for organizing the insurrection throughout Germany. But the arming was not even begun and the uprising not carried out. The coalition government lasted nine days. Reaction swept Germany with the defeat of the workers and the offensive was taken by the bourgeoisie.

In his analysis of the defeat Trotsky drew on the lessons of October. He wrote: "In our epoch of abrupt turns the greatest difficulty for a revolutionary leadership lies in being able to feel the pulse of the political situation at the proper moment so as to catch the abrupt contingency and to turn the helm in due time." Trotsky termed the danger represented by the failure of the German CP that of "the crisis of the revolutionary leadership on the eve of the transition to the armed insurrection."

The German CP had been caught up in a passive fatalism--that some how by continuing as usual the revolution would come. Above all revolutionary strategy requires an understanding of the objective conditions and combining this understanding with subjective action. The whole tactical art as Trotsky pointed out consists in this: "We seize the moment when the combination of circumstances is most favorable to us."

"It cannot be thought that history mechanically creates the conditions for revolution and presents them thereafter, at the party's request, at any moment, on a plate: here you are, sign the receipt please. That does not happen."

The key is the revolutionary leadership which through a period of prolonged struggle is tempered, gains vision, resolution and fighting ability which will recognize a revolutionary situation and at the proper time work out a plan for the final defeat of the ruling class.

stalin

The Fifth Congress of the CI met eight months after the defeat in Germany. Trotsky saw the main task of the Congress to be: "to call this defeat clearly and relentlessly by its name, and to lay bare its subjective cause, ...secondly, to establish the beginning of a new stage during which the masses would temporarily drift away, the social democracy grow, and the communist party lose in influence; thirdly to prepare the Comintern for all this so that it would not be caught unawares and to equip it with the necessary methods of defensive struggle and organizational consolidation until the arrival of a new change in the situation."

But the leadership of the Comintern now under full control of the Stalinist forces proceeded differently and as Trotsky wrote this outlook represented the basic strategical mistake of the Fifth Congress and spelled out the decline of the CI.

The defeat in Germany was viewed as "only an episode." Zinoviev remarked: "The political perspectives remain essentially as before, the situation is pregnant with revolution. New class struggles are already unfolding again." There was a refusal to deal honestly and objectively with the situation.

Trotsky pointed out: "But isn't it already clear that there cannot be serious talk of Bolshevik strategy without the ability to survey both the basic curve of our epoch as a whole, and its individual segments which are at any given moment of the same importance for the party leadership as a railway curves are for the locomotive engineer? To open wide the throttle on a steeply banked curve is surely to run the train over the embankment."

division

From the Fifth Congress a deep division opened up between Trotsky and the Left Opposition and the dominant leadership of the CI under Stalin. Stalin put forth the theory of "socialism in one country" the theory that there could be successful national struggles. This theory represented a complete break from the conception of revolutionary strategy embodied in the theses and resolutions of the first four congresses, a unified strategy based on the international character of imperialism.

Trotsky in his criticism of the Draft Program of the CI states: "The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions, that is, the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts. Trotsky insisted that no single communist party could establish its program



TROTSKY ADDRESSES THE DELEGATES OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN 1922

by proceeding solely or mainly from the conditions or tendencies and developments in its own country."

The "theory of socialism in one country" was based on the conception that socialism could be built on the basis of the national state if there is no intervention. What must follow from this is a collaborationist policy in relation to the international bourgeoisie in order to avert intervention. The task of the parties of the CI then becomes to protect the Soviet Union from intervention and not to fight for the strategical goal, the conquest of power. This theory was a guarantee to the new privileged strata in the Soviet Union that there would be no more upsets and that the privileges of the bureaucracy would not be sacrificed to the struggle for world socialism.

The basic issue at stake in Trotsky's struggle against Stalin was whether the Third International was to be an instrument for the defeat of world capitalism or an organization prepared to sacrifice the basic interests of the working class for a temporary agreement with capitalism and the defense of the bureaucracy.

Stalin showed that he was prepared not only to sacrifice the interests but the very organizations and lives of the working class.

china

The tragedy of the Chinese revolution showed clearly the future of the CI and the lengths to which Stalin was prepared to go to defend the bureaucracy. After the war, beginning in 1919, there opened up in China a period of militant workers' struggles and the growth of the working class movement in China culminating in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1920. In 1923 Stalin decided that the CCP should join the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang.

In 1925 a general strike broke out in Shanghai and spread all over China. In the leadership of these struggles was the CCP. The trade unions grew. At the same time the peasants began to unite in a vast agrarian movement. This was the beginning of the Chinese Revolution.

China became a key part in the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky within the CI. At issue was the strategy of the permanent revolution. Trotsky contended that under imperialism the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution, the achievement of national independence and unification and the break-up of pre-capitalist forms of rural economy, could only be carried through to completion under the leadership of the working class and through the proletarian revolution. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in the colonial countries would tend to "grow over" into the socialist revolution. Trotsky viewed the revolutionary struggles in the colonial country from the point of view of the world strategy and the working classes in the advanced countries fighting to overthrow capitalism and thus insure the establishment of socialism on a world scale.

What followed from this strategy was the necessity to organize the working class independent of the national bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The task of the CP is to educate the working class to

struggle against the bourgeois democratic tendency.

lenin

This policy had clearly been delineated by Lenin and was incorporated into the resolution on the colonial struggles at the Second Congress. In the "Theses on the National Question", Lenin said: "The entire policy of the Communist International on the national and colonial question must be based primarily on bringing together the proletariat of all nations and countries for the common revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." The tactics of this strategy were made explicit in the resolution of the CI:

"A resolute struggle must be waged against the attempt to clothe the revolutionary liberation movements in the backward countries which are not genuinely communist in communist colours. The Communist International has the duty of supporting revolutionary movements in the colonies and backward countries only with the object of rallying the constituent elements of the future proletarian parties—which will be truly communist and not only in name—in all the backward countries

and educating them to a consciousness of a special task, namely that of fighting against the bourgeois-democratic trend in their own nation. The Communist International should collaborate provisionally with the revolutionary movement of the colonies and backward countries, and even form an alliance with it, but it must not amalgamate with it; it must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in an embryonic stage."

Stalin, however, completely rejected these principles, proceeding not from the interests of the working class but from the interests of the bureaucracy, of maintaining class peace internationally.

In order to justify his betrayal of the socialist revolution, he contended that the revolution must be bourgeois-democratic. He counterposed the conception of the "democratic dictatorship" to the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the former conception which Lenin had abandoned after 1917. In fact Lenin attacked this conception in his "Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." As Lenin put it "There can be no alternative but the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dreams of some third way are reactionary, petty-bourgeois lamentations."

Following from Stalin's theory was the conclusion that the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang was to be the leadership of the revolution in the form of the "bloc of four classes" (workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie). The CCP was ordered to enter the KMT and abide by its discipline. As Borodin, the CI representative in China put it, "The present period is one in which the Communists do coolie service for the KMT."

chiang kai-shek

Stalin gave full support to Chiang Kai-shek and said of the Kuomintang: "We are convinced that the Kuomintang will succeed in playing the same role in the East and thereby destroy the foundations of rule of the imperialists in Asia."

In March of 1926 Chiang's troops took Canton by coup. Many Communists were arrested, the Soviet advisers were placed under house arrest. Following the coup, Chiang put tight restrictions on the Communists. It was shortly after this coup that the Kuomintang was admitted to the ranks of the CI. There was only one dissenting vote--Trotsky's. Trotsky although he had little information of the struggles going on in China warned against the dangers of the alliance with the Kuomintang and demanded the independence of the Chinese Communist Party. Trotsky warned that under the leadership of the nationalists the working class and the revolution would be led to defeat.

In the Spring of 1927 the labor unions and organizations under Communist leadership began a series of uprisings against Shanghai's warlords. The workers, the CCP and the left wing of the Kuomintang expected the Nationalist forces under Chiang to come to their aid in occupying Shanghai and overthrowing the warlords and the bourgeoisie. In fact the CCP promoted the time of entry of the troops in Shanghai as the moment of liberation. The slogans of the uprising were: "Hail the National Revolutionary Army! Welcome to Chiang Kai-shek!" There were rumors of a right wing coup but Stalin ordered the CCP "to hide or bury all the weapons of the workers to avoid military conflict between the workers and Chiang Kai-shek." This was an open invitation to Chiang who on April 12th ordered his troops to begin an attack on the unions and organizations of the workers. Thousands upon thousands of workers were massacred, including many Communists.

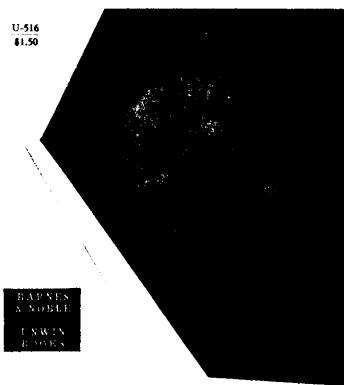
betrayals

Stalin completed his betrayals of the international working class by renouncing the united front tactic in Germany through the theory of "social fascism" which prevented the unity of the working class and prepared the way for the rise of Hitler and the total defeat of the working class under fascism.

It was on the basis of the brutal betrayals and against the policies which led to them that Trotsky began the struggle to establish a new International, culminating in the establishment of the Fourth International in 1938. The program of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program, contains the strategy outlined by the Comintern in its first five years. It is this program and only this program that contains the strategy for victory today. Only the International Committee of the Fourth International are the continuators of this strategy.

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We have been able to purchase a limited quantity of this soon to be out of print book. It contains in their entirety: "The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk", "The Lessons of October" and "Stalin Falsifies History" (1927). The Lessons of October is particularly important both as a critical appraisal of the role of the party during the Russian Revolution and as a critique of the German events discussed in this article.

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THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Get Cops Out of the High Schools!

Beat Back the Lindsay Budget Cuts!

BY A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

NEW YORK--The radical movement is entering a new period. In Berkeley, California last week police fired into a student demonstration killing one student, seriously injuring several others, and wounding about 70 more. This act of police violence is indicative of an increasingly repressive atmosphere around the country.

The increase in repressive actions by the police is also reflected by their movement into high schools. Arrests of students while they are in school have become a regular occurrence in many high schools, while the frisking of students has become even more frequent.

The police have also taken upon themselves the responsibility of checking students'

arms for needle marks as just another aspect of their campaign of harrassment and intimidation of high school students. This repression has taken on an unreal, police-state character when students hear from their friends how on the way to lunch they were dragged off the sidewalk by police into apartment building hallways to be frisked and roughed-up.

REPRESSION

Most of the arrests made in high schools have been made for drug abuse but police stationed inside the schools have increasingly taken on the role of general disciplinarians. Both students and administrators conceive the police as the politically repressive force that they, in fact, are.

Many cops were stationed in

high schools and junior high schools after student protests and, in general, since the teachers' strike of last Fall. In this context we can see the police as a response to student unrest by the city government and its controlling business interests.

In our worsening economic crisis economic stability can only be achieved at the price of political instability. To combat the inflationary trend in the economy (i.e., to stabilize the economy) the government was forced to resort to budget cuts. High school "disorders" can be viewed in a broader context as a response to these budget cuts and their economic causes (i.e., the war in Vietnam). Police repression can, in turn, be seen as a response to the student uprisings.



COPS PATROL CORRIDORS IN FRANKLIN LANE HIGH SCHOOL

The question is: how will we respond to the police repression and how will we organize our movement?

LEADERS

Several groups have attempted to give leadership to the high school struggles: SDS, High School Student Unions, Black Student Unions, and other nationalist groups. The direction most of these groups have taken is toward organizing high school students as

part of the "community". Thier influence has been felt in the "community" demands raised by most high school radical groups. They have furthered the cause of nationalism and therefore have served to divide the struggle of the working class for political power.

The result of this approach to organizing has been the use of confrontation tactics. These tactics reflect the isolation of the left wing and, in general, student movement from the working class. Of course, clashes with the police are inevitable but to lead students into battles that can only result in mass arrests and physical injuries is completely irresponsible.

STRUGGLE

The only real basis for struggle in high schools, as in the universities and in industry, is on class lines in a political struggle against the government.

The Seward Park High School Student Union has started this fight in high schools across the City, beginning with a petition addressed to Mayor Lindsay, the City Council and Governor Rockefeller. This petition protests the increasing police repression in high schools and colleges across the country, and the new repressive laws against students and workers - including laws which take away scholarships and state aid from students who take part in "disruptive" political activity, anti-labor laws like the Taylor Law, and anti-working class measures such as the budget cuts in Welfare, in public education, libraries and hospitals.

At a time when more and more educational facilities are absolutely necessary, the city and state governments are cutting back on public higher education and pitting black and white students against each other for the fewer places available in college.

The petition demands are:

1. An end to legal and police repression.
2. An end to the budget cuts.
3. Expand public colleges-free higher education for all.

The fight for these demands is the concrete alternative to all of the confusion, misleadership and racial divisions on the campuses.

Anyone who is interested in working in this campaign should contact the Seward Park High School Student Union at 254-7120.

TONY BOYLE OF UNITED MINE WORKERS REDBAITS BULLETIN

BY DAN FRIED

The April 15th issue of the UMW Journal prominently features an article by miners' president W.A. Boyle devoted to an hysterical red-baiting attack on Communists and "Trotskyites." This attack comes at the very same time when a widespread rank and file opposition is growing within the union against Boyle's collusion with the bosses and his crass selling out on safety and well as working conditions and job security.

Boyle attacks the Communist Party paper Daily World which has featured a number of exposes of mining conditions, the Militant which is characterized as put out by "the Trotskyite splinter of the CP" and the BULLETIN "which is distributed from New York City and which is full of red propaganda." The "red propaganda" which so upsets Boyle is our consistent defense of the rank and file against bureaucrats like him.

"The Communists never give up", Boyle states. It seems that 40 years ago they were for "nationalization of the coal industry." John L. Lewis is then praised because he "preserved the union and the collective bargaining system under free enterprise" from the Communists.

NATIONALIZATION

First let's set the record straight: it is true that the Communist Party called for nationalization of the mines 40 years ago but they have long since deserted this and every other socialist demand. In the current period it has only been the Bulletin which has consistently raised this demand.

Boyle praised Lewis for upholding the "free enterprise system" in the mines and of course pledges to continue this crusade. And exactly what has the free enterprise system gotten for the miners? Since the postwar years hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost in the mines. At

the same time working conditions have deteriorated and there has been a complete collapse of any meaningful safety regulations.

More recently Boyle has done his all for the "free enterprise system" in the mines by investing union funds in coal enterprises, collaborating with the coal bosses against the mine workers on questions of safety legislation and given up any struggle to protect union members jobs. As a result the coal barons are making more profits than ever, Boyle and Company live in luxury in their plush offices in Washington, but the miners are dying early deaths from black lung or searching for jobs in Dayton or Chicago.

DICTATOR

The bulk of Boyle's article is given over to quotes from the Constitution which states that any member can be suspended or expelled if he circulates so-called "false statements", or causes "to be circulated any statement



wrongfully condemning any decision rendered by any officer of the Organization or is a member of the Communist Party or other 'dual organization.' Clearly Boyle's attack is the prelude to the use of all the dictatorial powers of the union against growing union dissidence. Such is the way Boyle preserves free enterprise within his union.

Boyle is simply trying to divide and intimidate his pp-

osition which has ferried, so indirectly in non-union coal mines. Tell us, Mr. Boyle

for growth because Boyle is so unpopular in the union. During the political strike of W. Virginia coal miners for legislation against black lung disease last February, Boyle tried to issue back to work orders and his name was booed by the miners every time it was mentioned. The New York Times recently reported that consumer-safety crusader Ralph Nader has now turned his guns on the abuses of the Boyle regime and is publicizing the following facts, which are not new to most UMW members: "that at least 550 of the 1,186 union locals were 'bogus' organizations of retirees on pensions with fewer than 10 actively working miners required by the union constitution to qualify them for local charters and thus for voting rights." Boyle, like John L. Lewis before him, has been able to use these bogus locals composed of pensioners who fear their benefits depend on the goodwill of the regime, to maintain control of the union. Nader also points out that the union pays the convention expenses of such "retiree-delegates" to attend UMW national conventions. These practices are the well-worn stock in trade of union bureaucrats and are nothing new. What is new, is that Boyle, like Joe Curran in the NMU, is afraid they may no longer work.

Nader makes more charges: (and we wonder if Boyle will now attack him as a Communist) "that Mr. Boyle's stewardship of the union had been 'derelict' in pressing for mine safety reforms, had allowed millions of dollars of members' dues money to be spent for convention expenses, bands, photographs and 'souvenirs' while the union administration hired only a single mine safety official and had extended loans and other favors to corporate executives who were involved directly or indirectly in non-union coal mines. Tell us, Mr. Boyle

are these also "false statements" that you are so afraid of being circulated, or are these the real facts you would like to see swept under the rug?

PROGRAM

The great weakness of Nader's statement is that it is in the form of an appeal to 89 year old President emeritus of the UMW, John L. Lewis, to lead a revolt in the union against Boyle. Aside from the question of Lewis' age, the appeal is misplaced because not only is Boyle Lewis' hand-picked successor but for all his record of militancy and resistance to the government, Lewis ran the UMW with the same bureaucratic stranglehold as Boyle. The fruits of Lewis' policy of collusion with the government and mining interests in the post-war period meant that hundreds of thousands of miners jobs have been sold down the river through increased automation. No, there is no future for the miners in Lewis or his policy of giving up jobs, safety and conditions in exchange for wages and the UMW welfare fund.

A new leadership from out of the ranks is needed - a leadership that will demand sufficient union safety inspectors in every mine; that will fight to rally all of the labor movement to demand a real national safety bill in Washington, a bill written by UMW miners' committees; union shop steward control over speed-up in the mines; a full cost of living escalator clause to protect miners against inflation; a thirty hour week with working hours further reduced as productivity increases - with no loss in pay; nationalization under workers' control of all mines and companies that refuse to meet these union demands. This is our program, Mr. Boyle - a program for the workers. Yours is a program for the bosses.

interview with a windowwasher

BY MARTY JONAS

(The following is an interview with a window washer, member of Window Cleaners' Union, Local #2, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO)

Could you first tell us some of the issues involved in the recent strike?

I'd like to begin with some of the economics of the windowcleaning industry. First of all, the Building Service League, a group of window-washing firms, has estimated that as a result of the post-war building boom, the amount of glass being cleaned has doubled in the last ten years. In New York glass is measured by acreage. The 60 story Chase Manhattan Bank Building has a total of seven acres of glass. New York City is loaded with glass. So, about 1,600 window-cleaners are employed, a third more than in 1951, when the 24-story Lever house started the trend to extensive use of glass. The increased demand for window washing is reflected in booming revenues for some big cleaning compan-

ies. National Cleaning Contractors, which operates in all the big cities, reports a jump in its gross income in window washing from \$600,000 to over \$2 million in the last ten years. Allied Maintenance reports an increase of the same scale. The window cleaners of New York City demanded an increase in their weekly wages from \$132.50 to \$167.50. The window cleaning bosses replied that this demand would double the cost of cleaning windows. They apparently think that the general public as well as window cleaners are mathematical idiots.

What about the leadership of this union?

The Window Cleaners Union has been in the hands of the same group of bureaucrats for the last 20 years. A group of out boys wanted to get themselves elected and so they promised the window cleaners the moon. 35 hour week, 2 year contract, \$5 a day for scaffold men (on and off the scaffold), \$165 a week union scale in 1969, and so on. These were the promises of

Row B before they got elected and replaced Row A before the strike. Everybody from Row B was elected except for the Secretary-Treasurer and a Business Agent. They were all that was left of Row A.

Then there was an entirely new leadership, pretty much?

Right. Now we come to the strike. There's never been such a long strike in the history of the Union. Row B thought it could put a lot of pressure on the employers by staying out long. After we were out five weeks, the employers made an offer. \$31 over three years. The negotiating committee urged in a leaflet that the window cleaners reject this offer. The membership did, by a 3-1 margin.

Who were the negotiating committee?

The negotiating committee represented the militant minority in Local 2. Just working men who've gotten a bellyful of crap from both Row A and B.

Right in the middle of the strike, the head of the Union,

the Secretary-Treasurer was found dead in an apartment house not his own. Of the officers, he was the only one of the old guard left. Then, Henry Mayer, lawyer for the employers charged that Shishkowsky had been murdered by members of Local 2. Mayer was seeking a way of knocking Local 2 out and throwing it into the hands of 32B, a company union of the first order. The Union was eventually placed in trusteeship--placed in the hands of who else but Cancellere, head of 32B.

A couple of weeks ago a meeting was called. Schauder, the president, makes a motion. Coincidentally, the mike doesn't work. The motion is that the negotiating committee be dismissed and the negotiating be done by a committee consisting of seven from the executive board plus three elected from the rank and file plus the paid officers. So the settlement wasn't by the negotiating committee, even though the letter sent out says that an agreement was reached between the negotiating committee and the

employers.

What was the reaction to the suspension of the negotiating committee?

Complete uproar. But it was done anyway.

SETTLEMENT

What kind of settlement was reached?

The whole bit was a sellout. Most people wouldn't think that was the case--most readers of the capitalist press would think window cleaners got a good deal. The bosses have been saying that we got a \$60 week increase and that they're going to have to raise prices 40% to compensate. Here's the real story.

We got a three year contract. Remember Row B's promises? \$169.50 minimum by May 20, 1971.

Four weeks vacation after 17 years. Big deal. It used to be 20 years.

Power scaffold--\$1 additional a day, bringing it to \$4 a day. Rope scaffold and boatswain chair--\$1 additional per day bringing it to \$5 minimum per day. This is only for on the scaffold

Nothing on the 35 hour week, nothing on safety and working conditions.

What was the vote on the settlement?

466, yes. 416, no. There are still many window cleaners out who refuse to come back.

SAFETY

Was safety an issue in the strike?

It wasn't but it should've been. Scaffolds are too loaded down with workers, in order to get the most work done in the least time. Window washers are given bonuses for doing more than they're paid for--that yearly minimum wage is a myth--so you find them doing what's called "crossing windows"--that is, scaling across the outside of a building to get to the next window instead of going inside, in order to save time and get more done.

What about automation?

Well, those big towers they're going to build downtown will be cleaned outside completely by automated machinery, from top to bottom. There's nothing in the settlement about this.

What is the militancy of the ranks like?

I can see a real opening for a principled opposition group in Local 2. There's a lot of militancy, but it was all wasted during the strike. It all went into anarchistic acts like throwing eggs at store windows. During the strike, some guys printed up a leaflet telling what the issues were in the strike and calling for the aid of the rest of the working class to the window cleaners because "an injury to one is the concern of all." They showed it to the head of the strike committee and he said he'd like to get more printed and pass them out to everyone. He was pretty enthusiastic. But when he brought it down to the Union office and showed it to them, they said they wouldn't print it because it was "too extreme."

Nixon Changes Court To Prepare New Attacks

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

We can say that this is the year of the dirty wash for the ruling class in Washington. There was the Pueblo mess, then the Flying Pueblo mess, and now the Fortas mess. That great pure "democracy" (bourgeois democracy that is) has been tarnished indeed as the sacred Halls of Justice, that protector of "democracy", have been littered with the refuse of corruption.

Abe Fortas, it was revealed by Life, received and then returned \$20,000 from a certain Mr. Wolfson, a multimillionaire industrialist, who incidentally is at present serving a jail sentence for stock manipulation.

At these revelations a great indignant roar went up from the other thieves in Washington. One can hardly believe that Fortas' goings on were unknown in Washington circles. It was only after Life's expose that an investigation was ordered. Life itself was not doing this digging to preserve "democracy" but as a scheme to get some new advertisers. The full dope on Fortas is in fact being held under lock and key by the Justice Department.

CLASS

The point is that it is not a question of the corruption of one individual but the corruption of a class, the capitalist class, which seeks to preserve its shaky system regardless of the cost and its representatives that fill the organs of government.

The cries from those politicians in Washington are truly a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Concurrently with the revelation on Fortas have come the reports filed by 99 senators on their personal contributions and "honorariums" -- the latter just an honorable sounding term for a Fortas type deal.

perusal of these reports indicates in just whose interests those Democrats and Republicans rule. The donors include: the National Association of Manufacturers, National Investment Bankers Association, U.S. Steel, American Management Association, International Telephone and Telegraph, American Bankers Association.

The present administration represents most blatantly this supposed "conflict of interest" business. However, it is hardly a "conflict," these rulers obviously represent one class and one class only, the capitalist class. There is Kennedy, Secretary of the Treasury, previously head of the Illinois National Bank. There is Rogers, Secretary of State, previously a lawyer for big corporations. There is Blount, a millionaire, Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, whose family owns a rather large construction firm which does big business in highway construction. Need we even elaborate about Mr. Hickel.

NIXON

And last but not least are the tops--Agnew and Nixon. Mr. Agnew it was revealed prior to the election had big interests in real estate and banking. Mr. Nixon's campaign against Kennedy in 1960 was a real tear-jerking display. He was a "poor farm boy" whose wife could only afford a "cloth coat." Well times have changed--Pat now sports a full length mink and Dick is reportedly worth a half million bucks.

CRACKDOWN

So what is all this hullabaloo about Fortas. The question for the ruling class is hardly his "conflict of interest." The point is that the Supreme Court and in particular its more "liberal" members, such as Fortas, Black, and Douglas

are becoming burdensome for the current Administration in its crack down on civil liberties. The Court has been able to maintain a degree of independence because of the lifetime service of its members. The Court, however, is very much a part of the state and must inevitably follow the policies of those who control the state, the bourgeoisie.

The present court with its "liberal" majority was constituted during the boom period of the fifties when the bosses could afford class peace through concessions in the way of wages to the workers. The Korean war was over and the anti-communist hysteria of the McCarthy era could then be quieted. The major work of this court was the dismantling of the McCarthy period rulings and policies--the attacks on the civil liberties of radicals, search and seizures, wiretapping, and the authority which had been given in full to the law enforcement agencies--as well as the steps taken in relation to rights and equality of the Negro people represented first in the 1954 decision outlawing segregation.

But today the rulers face a different situation--the boom is over and the capitalists face a severe economic crisis which must be solved at the expense of the working class and sectors of society, students, blacks, which seek to resist these attacks. Today this is most clearly revealed in the absolutely vicious legal attacks on the students and civil liberties.

So Fortas has become the needed excuse to discredit that more "liberal" wing of the court which might be slow in taking up this offensive. The Administration has already begun its attack on Douglas whose enemies have even remarked that he "has



ABE FORTAS

had four wives and, presumably, many expenses." This is indeed ludicrous, but has become a lever for the government to begin a tax inquiry on Douglas.

POLICY

The question is not a matter of support to Douglas, or Fortas but to see the attacks on them as an indication of what the policy of the ruling class is. It is clear that for the bosses, liberalism is dead. It is no longer a matter of reforms to the working class. Nixon has made this clear in his appointment of Burger to the Court. Burger's "personal integrity" includes his hard line policies on "law and order."

Let there be no illusions here. The "morals" of the ruling class are rules created to keep them in power. They are as quickly broken by them as they are made. All their demogogy and self righteousness are a cover for mobilization of all the forces of the state from laws to bayonets and chemical warfare to maintain their rotten system.

WHY CCNY DUAL ADMISSIONS IS SHAM

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

NEW YORK--The recent "settlement" negotiated between the City College Administration and the Black and Puerto Rican student groups is a complete sham which exposes the futility of the present confrontation struggle on the university.

In terms of the demands presented by the black nationalists, and to whom the demands were presented, the settlement can well be called a victory. The nationalists wanted a "third world" studies department and got it. The nationalists wanted open admissions for Black and Puerto Rican students and got an agreement whereby 50% of the 1970 freshmen class will be admitted without regard to grades from nearby ghetto schools which are predominantly Black and Puerto Rican.

But the real question is whether, as a result of these concessions, any significant number of working class youth will get a meaningful higher education and whether this in turn will make it possible for these youth to escape the welfare rolls into decent jobs of any sort?

NO

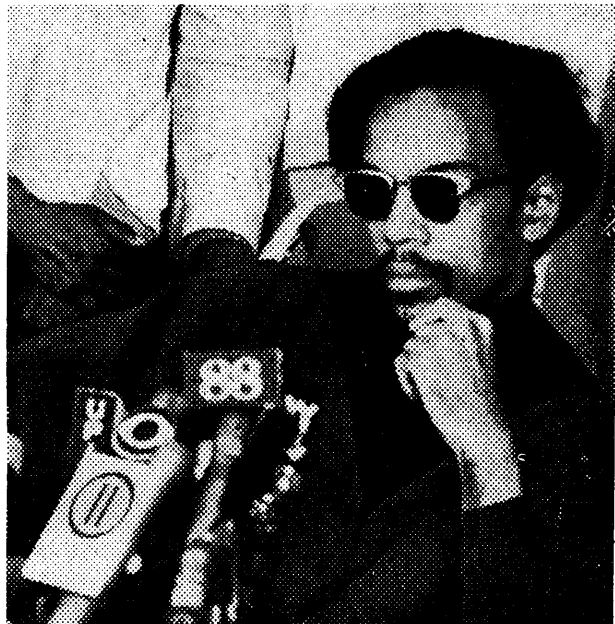
The answer is clearly no. What the nationalists have succeeded in establishing is the same track system in the colleges which working class youth fight in the high schools. Youth without the academic training to succeed in college because of the decaying public school system, will be "tracked" through the university and if they last out the four years dumped on the labor market with a diploma not worth the paper it is printed on. Education so constructed will be no more meaningful than the high school education the student got to begin with. The university officials are obviously counting on a high rate of college drop-outs from the program to lessen its costs in the later years--drop-outs brought about by the complete meaninglessness of the separate education these youth will be given.

The only meaningful solution to the education of working class youth is a real program of increasing the quality and expanding the educational system on all levels--from grammar school on up--combined with an expanded university system which is free to all. It is not just a matter of City College. Columbia and Harvard should also grant a free education to all who qualify academically. And working class youth should be able to qualify academically through real improvements in the public school system.

It is not even a matter of academic education. A real program of vocational training of all sorts, with the latest equipment, the best instructors, tied to union sponsored apprentice program which is also needed for youth who wish to become skilled workers.

JOBS

If such an education is really not to discriminate against working class youth then youth over 18 should be paid while training so they



CHARLES POWELL WHO NEGOTIATED DUAL TRACK DEAL

can support themselves and contribute to the support of their families.

It does one no good to be a Harvard-trained member of the army of unemployed. Any expansion of the educational system requires at the same time a struggle to expand job opportunities. This means that if there are not enough jobs for all then everyone should work a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay or increase the quantity of production to meet the needs of more people.

Only such a program which provides a serious education for all from beginning to end, with the increase of the quality of education, not just its quantity, with a general raising of the cultural level of society as a whole, can blend with a program of expanded jobs to employ America's youth to rebuild this country and the world has any meaning. Anything short of this is nothing but a dishonest sham which aids those who cannot provide decent education and decent jobs by covering up for them. We say the City College program is such a sham.

The truth of the matter is at precisely the time when City College made these "concessions" the government is not only not expanding the educational system but is, in fact, making slashing attacks on it. The City has already made cuts in the City University budget while at the same time making similar cuts in the high school budgets. Class size in the public schools next year will increase by a pupil, not decrease. The program of the capitalist government is one of deepening the decay of the school system not countering it. How ridiculous this City College program is within this context.

At the same time the Nixon government openly plans recession for the United States as a whole which will mean less job opportunities even for those few youth who do get the proper education.

SHAM

Within this context the City College struggle

is worse than a sham; it is an open betrayal. What was needed was a united struggle of all students to beat back the budget cuts and in the course of this struggle to raise its own demands for the expansion not contraction of the educational system. This struggle could have been combined with a defense of the working class as a whole from anti-labor legislation like the Taylor Law--passed in part to hand-cuff militant teachers who could upset the educational budget cuts--attacks on living conditions through inflation, attacks of jobs, etc.

Such a struggle required the unity of the students, not their racial division and a political struggle against the government not confrontations aimed at solving political problems on a single isolated university campus.

As far as the "victory" of the third world studies department goes, this is worse than a sham. It is an attempt to continue the ghetto existence on the campus rather than to wipe out all ghettos, to create institutions to indoctrinate working class youth in the reactionary bourgeois doctrines of black nationalism, rather than a struggle to liberate youth through socialist theory. It is particularly separatist, reactionary. We are completely hostile to such departments whether run by blacks, Jews, Catholics, KKKers or what have you.

We say not one penny of public funds should be spent for separatist institutions based on race, nationality or religion, on or off campus, North or South. Socialism seeks to go beyond the democratic goals of the American Revolution and the bourgeois revolution as a whole. These nationalists seek to retreat and destroy even the slight democratic achievements of that period.

We for one, unlike Progressive Labor, feel the strivings of working class youth for a decent higher education, for a job better than pushing a broom, is progressive and in fact revolutionary. The capitalist system cannot provide such opportunities to youth. The youth, if they are led into struggle for these legitimate demands, will learn this. They will have also contributed to building a powerful movement which will be capable of going over to the direct struggle for socialism.

SOCIALISM

Socialism means building from where capitalism left off, left off because it is an historically outmoded system. It means not the negation of our cultural past but its absorption by the masses and on this basis developing a far richer more progressive culture and society within which man can really develop his full capabilities.

Is this utopian? It certainly is under capitalism and thus the deepening crisis in the educational system and throughout the society. But the great industrial might assembled in America under social ownership can make what appears a dream in a capitalist society an every day reality in socialist society.

NIXON PLANS FOR WORKERS TO PAY FOR HIS INFLATION

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

With inflation continuing to rise at the astronomical rate for the last three months of 7.6% per year every worker in the United States faces the threat of having his actual living standards deteriorate. And there is no real guarantee of let-up in sight. The Nixon Administration urges us only to have "confidence" that in time the rate of inflation will lessen. One cannot eat confidence.

Dr. Paul McCracken, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors reports that the government's own figures show a gain of real income of factory workers last year of less than 1%--and that was before inflation skyrocketed to its present level.

In the meantime a great debate is brewing in government and business circles on how best to discipline the working class to accept this lowering in their living standards.

Particularly important was a recent two day conference on collective bargaining sponsored by the Institute of Collective Bargaining and Group Relations held appropriately at the Waldorf Astoria. This conference gives us only a hint of the real debate now going on in capitalist circles.

RESTRAINT

The position of the Administration was to urge restraint. The workers, it seems, should take "very seriously" Nixon's determination to slow (no one mentions ending it) inflation in the next never specifically dated period. What this means in practice is that workers should sign agreements which will mean an actual lowering in real wages banking on the hopes that in time their money may be worth a little more.

Former Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg--remember him as an appointee of the "liberal" Democratic Kennedy Administration--being out

of office, was a bit more frank in his views. His position was that wage and price controls on the order of what Wilson is forcing on the British working class should have been instituted under Johnson.

BACKBONE

But there were even some at the conference who wished to go further than these characters. One is Virgil B. Day, vice president for industrial relations for General Electric, one of the great giants of American industry. He urged upon his fellow capitalists a "stiffer backbone" to union demands as the only real way out of inflation. It seems it is all the workers fault. Industry must let it be known that it intends to support the public interest and its own (the two are the same for GE) by resisting wage demands and thus seeking to force workers to lower their living standards--all in the public interest.

And what about the fantastic

profits of GE and its friends, Mr. Day? May we suggest you test out your theories by restraining your own firms appetite for profit? What, Mr. Day, is your salary? Perhaps if you reduced it to the level of production line workers in GE plants some one might listen to you more seriously.

P.L. Siemiller of the IAM warned against proposed legislation to prohibit industry-wide bargaining, to set up labor courts and compulsory arbitration. But as to how to fight back against these threats all Siemiller could offer was to suggest to the businessmen assembled that trade unions weren't really threatening them. We doubt if Brother Siemiller made much of an impression on Mr. Day on this point.

What American labor must do today is fight back both against any attempt to push the costs of inflation on to the American working class

or attempts to straightjacket American labor through anti-labor laws. Already several unions -- such as District 65 and the Sanitation Union in New York City -- are demanding wage reopeners as gains in the past contracts are completely wiped out by inflation. This must be taken up in all unions. At the same time unions negotiating new contracts must demand iron-clad escalator clauses.

At the same time labor must be prepared for new attacks from the government. To the extent it fights back the government is prepared to come in with new chains to bind the labor movement. This is why labor must start today to mobilize its own independent power into a mighty political weapon--a labor party--so that the American workers and the people generally, not General Electric and General Motors, can determine the government's policies.

BERKELEY IS AN OCCUPIED CITY



JAMES RECTOR LIES IN POOL OF BLOOD MINUTES AFTER HE WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED WITH SHOT GUN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

reacted impressionistically to student unrest and militancy.

These forces have cheered on and attempted to provide a theoretical cover for every building seizure, every black nationalist adventure and every anarchistic student revolt. Indeed the SWP even went so far as to advocate in an article, "Why Revolutionaries Should Fight for Reforms" the abandonment of Trotsky's transitional program for a policy of reforms fought for in a "revolutionary" manner. "Peoples Park" is the concrete application of this theory in practice.

We are sure the revisionists will seek to deny paternity for this abortion but, the fact remains that the Peoples Park adventure carries out the logic of the last six months of student adventures to its final absurd conclusion.

REAGAN

Reagan's violent reaction should come as no surprise. All across the country legislatures are cracking down on the students with new laws designed to facilitate the use of armed suppression and vicious sentences against the student movement. They have allowed the students, urged on by the revisionists, to so isolate and discredit themselves before the working class that such measures could be applied with a certain amount of popular support.

An extraordinary amount of damage has been done. These so-called revolutionaries are playing the government's game, allowing it to drive a wedge between the working class and the student movement. The task of the Marxist movement is to fight tooth and nail to prevent such a development.

The government is all too well aware of the events in France in May and June. Their attack on the students is calculated to isolate and neutralize them before a frontal attack is launched on the union movement. Just as in France the blows struck against the students reveal the tremendous crisis opening up before the labor movement.

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The legislative and physical attacks on the students are an anticipation of precisely the same thing for the working class. Already anti-strike laws are on the books in most states to deal with public employee strikes. The use of the National Guard on striking hospital workers in Charleston and now Nixon's new scheme to impose compulsory arbitration on the farmworkers clearly indicate what is planned. Can any worker doubt what government policy will be toward the industrial struggles to come if it is already prepared to call in troops to defend a vacant lot littered with broken bottles? It must be clear that Berkeley is a blow directed against the union movement and must be fought as such.

POLITICS

Government intervention in the unions and student movement raises all struggles to a new level. They can only be fought politically. This means they must be guided by a conscious policy of mobilizing workers and students in a political fight against the state that will raise the question of power. Under these conditions the bankruptcy of isolated student protest is all too apparent. It must also be stressed that the events in Berkeley completely expose the criminal nature of black nationalism. Precisely at a time when only a united fight against the state can deal with these attacks the nationalists can pose only separatist policies that pit race against race and threaten to split the union movement.

The revisionists have shown themselves absolutely incapable of comprehending this question of state power. Right in the middle of the Berkeley events PL held a rally built to "fight racism". The only lesson they were able to draw from Berkeley was the need to "fight even harder against racism." They draw absolutely no new conclusions from the state's legislative and police assault on the students and union movement. Indeed the entire rally never even viewed the labor movement as a force to be mobilized to fight back. Everything is seen in terms of community or a student-worker alliance to fight racism. These people have no idea of preparing the labor movement for the onslaught to come. They think in terms of the immediate struggle only.

As for the SWP, they seem to have adapted themselves totally to the student power forces. They have no independent line but, rather seek to liquidate themselves in the confusion of the fight for a park. Their people were out distributing a huge sheet put out by the Radical Student Alliance. The entire centerfold was taken up by a picture of a flower with a fist coming out of it. The general line was the Guard should be removed and the parks should belong to the "people." Presumably they have learned much from their patron saint Che Guevara and will soon be calling for One, Two, Many Parks.

WORKERS LEAGUE

Only the Workers League has fought from

the beginning to provide a real alternative in the struggle. We start not with a fight for a park or the issue of racism but rather with the central question of providing leadership to unite the students and workers into a political fight against the power of the state.

Thus from the beginning we have fought not to see Berkeley in isolation but to view the struggle as part of what must become a national campaign to hurl back the repressive apparatus of the state. Only the working class can accomplish this and all one's strategy must be directed toward mobilizing the class as an independent force. The time to make this struggle is now, not at some later date when the "working class is moving." It is necessary to pose this strategy even in embryo to prepare the class for the mass struggles to come.

For this reason the Workers League has been campaigning to bring out the labor movement in a one day general strike to force the Guard out of Berkeley and smash all legislation now in effect or pending against students or the unions. Only if the issue is posed in this way as a defensive measure of the class absolutely necessary to hurl back the offensive of the state can the real class issues be made clear. Only through a fight to mobilize workers and students around such a perspective can the question of the fight for power through the building of a labor party based on the unions take on a real life.

To even begin a serious struggle around such a perspective is to make a qualitative break from the confusion and anarchism of the previous student struggles. The Workers League is fighting to bring out a massive demonstration of workers and students which will make as its central demand the call on the Bay Area Labor Councils for emergency meetings to take strike action.

UNITY

We do not suggest that the students just sit on their hands waiting for the workers. It is absolutely essential that a fighting united front of teachers and students be built to shut down the schools in order to force the guard to withdraw and defeat anti-union and anti-student legislation. What we do say however is that such a mobilization not be viewed as an end in itself but rather as a means of taking the fight into the AFT locals and into the union movement in general.

The central task in the student movement is to develop a cadre of Marxists who will be able to fight the adventurism and misleadership of the revisionists by posing such an alternative way of struggle that can really unite students and workers in a fight for state power.
FOR A ONE DAY GENERAL STRIKE TO DRIVE THE GUARD OUT OF BERKELEY!
FOR A MASS DEMONSTRATION TO FORCE THE LABOR COUNCIL TO STRIKE!
HANDS OFF THE STUDENTS! HANDS OFF THE WORKERS! SMASH STATE REPRESSION!
FOR A FIGHTING UNITED FRONT OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS!
FOR A LABOR PARTY BASED ON THE RANK AND FILE WORKERS!



HELICOPTER SPREADS POTENT POWDERED TEAR GAS