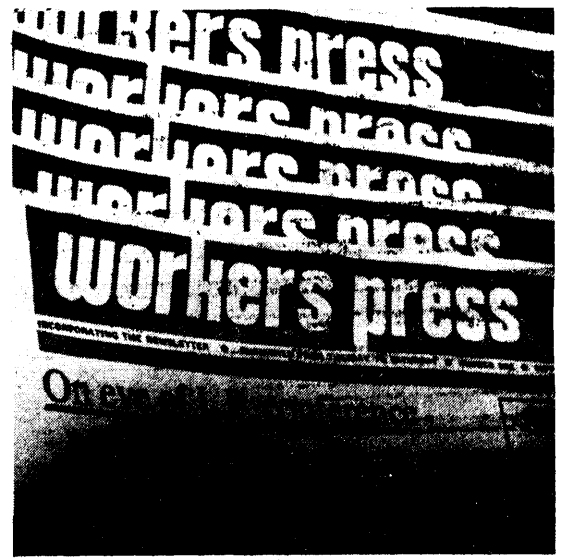


Launch Weekly Bulletin as British Daily Hits Streets

JAN 10 1970



Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 6, NO. 2-116

SEPTEMBER 22, 1969

TEN CENTS

NIXON, KENNEDY COULDN'T CARE LESS AS:

UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS TO 4%



**Fight Breaks Out
On Jersey Docks
Over Jobs**

**Behind The
Soviet-Chinese
Talks**



CONFLICT RAGES IN ULSTER

British Put Lid On Workers

BY PAT CONNOLLY

In the aftermath of new clashes in North Ireland between both Catholic and Protestant workers and the occupying British troops, it becomes ever more clear what British imperialism has in store for the Irish working class.

In Belfast, Sir James Chichester-Clarke announced the resignation of the Inspector General of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the Northern Ireland police force, and named his suc-

cessor, Sir Arthur Young, former Police Commissioner of the City of London. Sir Arthur took leave from that post in 1952 to direct police operations against Malayan guerrillas, and again in 1954 to direct operations in Kenya against the Mau Mau uprisings. He is now in charge of police operations against the workers of Northern Ireland.

At the same time an official London Commission of Inquiry into the North Ireland police recommended that the

regular police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, be relieved from all military duties.

RIOT TROOPS

The British government, of course, can well afford to take the RUC off military duties, now that it has over 7,000 riot troops occupying North Ireland to maintain "law and order".

Those "socialists" who called for British troops in North Ireland, and who refuse to call for their withdrawal, have insisted that there would be a "pogrom" if the troops were not there to protect the civil rights of the Catholic workers.

Now they are confronted by a situation in which the imperialist troops themselves are preparing the "pogrom". "Heavy squads" of specially armed and trained soldiers, trained to pick out the ringleaders of demonstrations, have been in operation in Belfast in the past week, and dozens of arrests of militants followed in the sealed off ghettos.

The Unionist government has always based its politics on the so-called advantage that union with Britain would give Protestant workers, British imperialism can no longer give "advantages" to the Protestant workers, nor reforms to the Catholic workers.

The Wilson anti-union laws, increasing unemployment in Northern Ireland (which already has an unemployment rate 3 times higher than England), as well as the crisis in shipping and engineering in Belfast, all

give the lie to any reforms for either Catholic or Protestant workers.

It is this which has thrown the workers into struggles on religious lines. It is interesting to note that there are no barricades in the middle class and upper class sections of Belfast, and the well-to-do Catholics and Protestants have no street battles over religious differences. This division has been perpetuated among the WORKING CLASS; the British ruling class must perpetuate this division or face a working class united against them.

PROGRAM

The tasks facing Irish workers demand a revolutionary program for their solution, and a revolutionary party to lead and carry out the struggle for that solution. The scatter-brained reforms of the middle class "socialists" who support the invasion of imperialist troops and then whine about pogroms will lead the workers to nothing but defeat. Only the Fourth International, the Socialist Labour League both in England and in Ireland has fought unceasingly for a program to unite Catholic and Protestant workers in the struggle for a socialist Ireland within a United Socialist States of Europe.

Withdraw British Troops!
United Defense of Protestant And Catholic Workers!
End The Special Powers Act!
Nationalize Basic Industry!
For a Workers And Farmers Government!



BRITISH SOLDIER FIRES ON IRISH WORKERS AS POLICEMEN DIVE FOR COVER

SOVIETS AND CHINESE TO HOLD TALKS

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The precarious relations between the Soviet Union and China have entered a new stage with formal negotiations set over the border dispute. Behind this move stands the maneuvers and machinations of the United States as well as various factions of the ruling bureaucracies in the workers states in the face of the growing revolutionary action of the world working class.

It would be a mistake to see the new detente spirit between China and the U.S.S.R. as something permanent or really that peaceful under the surface. It must be remembered that a number of reports indicate that the agreement to negotiate was prepared for with an actual threat of war on the part of the Soviet Union. It was this very large stick, as well as carrots which Kosygin unveiled in private during that chat in Hanoi over the dead body of Ho Chi Minh.

For example, Victor Louis, a Soviet journalist entrusted with leaking the most smelly of proposals (he was the one who recently visited Formosa), claims that "some circles" in the Soviet leadership are advocating the application of the so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine" to China. This can only mean what it involved in Czechoslovakia---invasion.

DETENTE

However temporary the detente, it is real enough. It reflects a certain momentary convergence of three forces -- the Kremlin bureaucracy, the Chinese bureaucracy and the United States ruling class -- under conditions of increased pressure from the working class internationally. It would be a mistake to underestimate the role of the United States in the affair and to picture the United States

as simply wishing to exploit the differences between the Kremlin and Peking even to the point of war.

It is true that the United States seeks to exploit this clash and so far has done a pretty good job of it. But Nixon is also becoming increasingly aware that a United States-Soviet agreement to stop revolution internationally would not be worth the paper it was written on as far as Asia is concerned. At the same time a direct military confrontation between Russia and China could very well push China empirically towards a more revolutionary position in Asia precisely at a time when the international crisis is the most intense and the working class in Asia is seeking the revolutionary road.

NIXON

This is what lies behind Nixon's very carefully worked out proposal to lessen certain travel and commerce restrictions with China-- a proposal which pre-dated the Soviet-China border detente by only a couple of weeks. The policy of Nixon now is aggravate Sino-Soviet relations, but only to a point; to support the Kremlin over Peking, but only to a point; and at the same time offer a little something to Mao as well.

No doubt fear that the United States might be getting a little too friendly with China helped contribute to Brezhnev's move to open negotiations with China over the border question. At the same time it must be remembered that Brezhnev rules for a bureaucratic stratum which rests on socialist property forms. This bureaucracy is forced constantly to see-saw between open collaboration with the imperialists, and shoring up its own common defenses with the rest of the workers states against the imperialists.

Max Frankel of the New York Times

describes the situation this way:

"Slowly, sometimes even perversely, the big triangle in world relations is taking shape. Peking and Moscow against Washington in Vietnam, sort of. Moscow and Washington against Peking in India, in a way. Washington and Peking against Moscow behind Rumania, in a manner of speaking."

COEXISTENCE

The Chinese agreement to discuss the border dispute with the Soviet Union together with the statements on the 20th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution about "peaceful co-existence" with the USSR, were not simply a matter of response to Kremlin war threats. It also fits into a general turn in China away from the Cultural Revolution and towards a certain consolidation of the bureaucracy and the army.

There are a number of indications of a consolidation of power on the part of the army and the more moderate section of the bureaucracy headed by Chou En-lai. At the same time it would be a mistake to think that the internal struggle in China is in any sense over or that the Chinese bureaucracy will ever develop the kind of control in China that Stalin had in the 1930s. Even at this late date the Chinese have been unable to get the universities running again or to completely crush the independent initiative of the Red Guards

OFFENSIVE

The most important factor to keep in mind is that all this jockeying on top among the bureaucrats and capitalist rulers is their reaction to the deepening world crisis, and the new offensive on the part of the international working class. There can be

no peace in any of these countries or between them as the class war intensifies. The only force capable of defending the workers states, carrying forward the political revolution against the bureaucrats, and bringing the working class to power in the capitalist countries is the Fourth International.

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NIXON COULDN'T CARE AS UNEMPLOYMENT SOARS

Unemployment soared last month to 4%, a 0.5% jump in one month as hundreds of workers hit the streets. On the East Coast docks, docker fought docker, and on the West Coast, teamster fought docker. From Pittsburgh to Chicago blacks fought whites on construction sites. These battles were all over the vastly diminishing number of jobs as a result of Nixon's recessionary moves to make the workers pay for the crisis of the capitalist economy.

Abel's call for the fight for a four day week did not come too soon. The demand for full employment through the four day week at full pay combined with the struggle for big wage increases is the only way to defeat the government's policies of unemployment and the continuing inflation. This is the only program which can channel the great militancy of the ranks not against each other but against the real cause of the problem- the employers and their government.

The government just could not care less how far it has to drive down the standards of the workers to save its economy. As the rise in unemployment was announced, Nixon's spokesman, Secretary of the Treasury and a former banker, David Kennedy, complacently answered questions before Congress. The 4% unemployment rate was not only "acceptable", Mr. Kennedy said, but an even higher rate might very well be necessary to save the economy. Kennedy in fact refused to put a ceiling on the number of jobs that would have to be cut out.

Kennedy was joined in his proposals by Arthur Okun, Johnson's chief economic advisor, who said that the "facts of life" are that unemployment will probably go above the 4% mark in the next year.

The "facts of life" however, are that the labor movement is going to have to confront these rascals whose only concern is to solve THEIR balance of payment problems, their profit squeeze, at any expense to the working class. This means the labor movement faces a political confrontation with the government which is perpetrating these policies. As Abel posed it, the simple trade union struggle is not enough. The trade unions must build a political weapon, a labor party, to meet these vicious measures head-on.

These measures are no accident- they are part of a strategy on the part of the capitalists to reduce the standard of living of the workers in order to stave off the crises of a decaying economy. This means hitting the powerful trade union movement with a good dose of unemployment, to destroy its strength to fight back, to set employed workers against unemployment problems by cutting wages. "Fortune" magazine, the spokesman for big business, maps out the strategy in an article entitled "Labor 1970: Angry, Aggressive, Acquisitive."

"If real G.N.P. holds flat through next spring and unemployment moves up from the present 3.6% to 4.5%, as Fortune's Business Roundup has projected, labor attitudes could change quite rapidly. 'Even a few layoffs can have a dramatic effect' says Horst Brand of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. 'Rank and file militancy declines. There is a greater tendency to trust the leadership's judgement as to the best policy through the downturn.'"

AWAKENING

These self-assured spokesmen of big business are going to have a rude awakening. The "dramatic effect"

will be something quite different- this has already been shown by the actions of the working class in every major capitalist country. We are not living in the 1930's. The workers have built a fantastically strong trade union movement; they have vastly improved their living standards in the period of the boom. A vast majority of the working class has never known unemployment, the older workers have bitter memories of the past.

The ranks of the labor movement are not about to give this up without a vicious battle. This militancy in the ranks has forced even the more conservative labor bureaucrats such as Meany and Abel out of the woodwork with a proposal to fight back against the coming "economic disaster".

The ranks, however, cannot put their "trust" in these leaders--this is what the employers are counting on. We must be suspicious of them every minute. The ranks must demand that Abel put his call for a four day week into action Now! A battle must be waged against the complicity of the labor leaders in dividing the ranks in the struggles in construction and longshore.

SCIENCE

There is no time to waste. There is no telling how far the government is prepared to go. In answering this question for the Nixon Administration, Kennedy said: "You have to look at all the indices. It's not an exact science, but an art." The point is that a scientific approach to the question of the capitalist economy can only

reveal that the system rather than solving its problems will go from one crisis to another.

A Marxist understanding of political economy, which is a scientific understanding, shows that the working out of the objective laws of capitalist development pushes the system more and more towards breakdown. The tendencies toward crisis and breakdown operate despite the conscious policies of the capitalists and their government to control them. In fact we can say that the possibility of a crash on the 1929 level may very well be in the offing.

It is impossible for capitalism to prevent these crises. Despite the efforts in the last years of the U.S. government to control inflation, it has soared. The crisis has deepened. It is true, as Kennedy posed it, that the government just does not have the information and "science" to deal with these problems. The very steps which it takes to correct inflation and the balance of payments problems may very well precipitate the kind of crisis which will bring about a collapse on the order of 1929.

This is what is worrying the capitalists. One economist at the University of Michigan, responding to the impact of Nixon's policies, said that there is "a distinct danger of overstaying a restrictive policy and pushing the economy over the edge into an unnecessary recession."

The Economic Council of Canada, Trudeau's advisors, have expressed fears about Trudeau's "restrictive monetary and fiscal policies" which might interfere with the Council's

"expansion" perspective.

The French newspaper, "Le Monde" has been even more specific. A financial journalist in the September 30th issue warns of signs which could lead to another '29 crash. As he points out, strong measures to deal with inflation in one country could result in a chain of business failures in a whole number of countries.

The capitalist economy is a world economy - a blow in one country can set off a whole series of crises. This is what happened in 1929, when the signal for the Wall Street crash came from the failure of a bank in Austria. Here is what "Le Monde" says:

"Who can be sure that there will not one day be in London, or Frankfurt, in Geneva or in that paradise of the Eurodollar, Nassau, a bank failure which will bring down the whole edifice by a chance shock wave effect?"

It is no wonder the capitalists are anxious. Because what underlies the whole shaky system and all the "indices" is the class struggle and the resistance of the working class to the measures the capitalist governments take to stem their crisis. This becomes the key question in this period. Every movement of the working class whether in France, Britain, Italy, Argentina, or the U.S. only deepens this crisis and poses its actual destruction.

The future will be determined not by the machinations of the economists but by this class struggle. The only solution to the anarchy and crises of capitalism for which the workers have to pay is the fight for a socialist system, a planned economy based on the needs of the vast majority of those who live in this world.

World's First Trotskyist Daily Out in Britain



FIRST TROTSKYIST DAILY IN THE WORLD.

BY DAN FRIED

The first edition of WORKERS PRESS, the world's first Trotskyist daily newspaper, rolled off the press in London on September 27th. The next day there was a march of 1,500 members and supporters of the Socialist Labour League, Young Socialists and the All Trades Unions Alliance to celebrate the inauguration of the daily paper which succeeds the Newsletter as the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain.

The march was held in Brighton on the eve of the Labour Party Conference. Brighton's narrow streets rang with slogans like "Workers Press In! Wilson Out!" After the march, there was a mass rally at which Gerry Healy, the National Secretary of the SLL declared: "We have only just begun. We are going to tear down the capitalist system shred for shred. We are now going to use this paper to build the mass revolutionary party.

We are out to establish the independence of the working class from its class enemies."

The publication of WORKERS PRESS is a historic step forward in

NEARLY \$ 4000 COLLECTED FOR WEEKLY BULLETIN

the building of a working class leadership not only in Britain but on the continent of Europe as well, where an unprecedented strike wave is surging forward, particularly in France, Germany and Italy.

The publication of the daily Trotskyist paper in Britain has been a tremendous inspiration to the Workers League in the U.S. and has given us a glimmering of what we will be able to do with the Weekly Bulletin, the first

edition of which will be off the press on Thursday, October 30th. This is the day we have been preparing for. All the final technical and organizational steps are now being taken for the production and distribution of the Weekly.

The first issue of the Weekly, which as we have reported will continue to be 12 pages, will feature the first in a series of articles on the Progressive Labor Party by BULLETIN Editor, Lucy St. John.

As we head into the home stretch of the Weekly Fund Drive, a total of \$3,892.76 has been collected, an increase of \$1,457.88 over the total reported in the last issue of the Bulletin. This means that we still have a very large sum to collect on pledges, which total over \$7,500. Although there is not much time left until the Nov. 1 deadline, we have assurances that all pledges will be paid in full and on time.

Especially heartening has been the continued addition of new pledges from Workers League members, supporters and Bulletin readers. These include a number of mail contributions from readers in different parts of the country. We want to say that these contributions, no matter how small, are greatly appreciated. We appeal to the rest of our readers to send in whatever they can to the Weekly Fund Drive today. Follow the example of one of our friends in New York, a veteran of the socialist movement for more than 5 decades, who writes: "Congratulations on starting the weekly. I hope you can keep up the vigor and vivacity of your English cousin. Here's a bit to help with the launching."

FIGHT FOR JOBS HITS JERSEY DOCKS



LONGSHOREMEN
LOOKING FOR WORK
ON JERSEY DOCKS

BY DAN FRIED

PORT NEWARK-- The crisis of growing unemployment on the docks in the Port of New York erupted at Port Newark on Tuesday, October 7, when 300 "G" card New Jersey longshoremen refused to work unless ALL of them were given jobs. The "G" card men, also known as '69 men, were admitted as registered longshoremen in 1968 and 1969, get the same wage as other longshoremen, are union members but are not entitled to regular union benefits and do not receive any guaranteed wage at all. If they don't work, they don't eat. A Waterfront Commission spokesman said that there is work for many men almost every day. But men have complained more than once to this reporter that they have worked only once in two or three weeks.

The situation came to a head on Oct. 7th after a number of longshoremen with higher seniority from other sections in the port--Brooklyn, Jersey City, Bayonne, and Hoboken -- were hired ahead of the Newark-Elizabeth G men. On Wednesday there were 180 unfilled jobs and the gangs were working short because the '69 men as a group were still refusing to work.

44 of them were arrested and their cards withheld for allegedly interfering with Waterfront Commission hiring agents. On Thursday the dispute continued, and the hiring hall area was crawling with cops armed with brand new four foot riot clubs and ready for action.

RESENTMENT

As on the previous two days, the '69 men were all milling around outside the hiring hall. There was a tremendous amount of resentment against longshoremen from other areas like Brooklyn, who, according to one '69 man, had voluntarily come out to Jersey for jobs. Other men said that the Brooklyn men had been sent out by the Waterfront Commission and had to take the jobs in order to qualify for the guaranteed wage. An unofficial spokesman for the '69 men claimed "There is work for them in their own sections. They just come out here because they know they will get better work here".

But the fact is that there are NOT jobs for these men in their own sec-

tions. Add to the steady loss of jobs through pier closures in Brooklyn and Manhattan the fact that there is now a so-called 'pre-Christmas slump' in hiring on the docks throughout the port, and the fact that the '69 men have absolutely no security, and you begin to see the explosive situation where longshoremen are fighting amongst themselves for a shrinking number of jobs. The Waterfront Commission talks about "peaks and valleys" in employment in the industry and says that there will be a "peak" after the current "valley" which is, they claim, temporary. All we can say is, don't count on it.

The union leadership is doing nothing about the rotten employment situation or the conflicts among the longshoremen and the growing feeling among '69 men that they don't need any union at all. After the first two days of the work stoppage, the '69 men complained that not one representative of the Jersey Locals, 1233 and 1235 was to be seen even to listen to the complaints of the men. As almost anyone in the ILA will tell you, the top leaders like Gleason and Scotto are only concerned with looking out for themselves, checking off the dues and trying to keep the rank and file from asking embarrassing questions.

With the growth of containerization and the "anti-inflationary" policies of the Nixon Administration, which have already started a recession, a program to fight for jobs on the docks is urgent. First of all, the union should re-open negotiations with the Shipping Association to extend the guaranteed annual income and full union benefits to ALL the men, including the '69 men.

Secondly, the union has to fight for regular jobs for all dock workers. The only way to begin this fight is to demand the thirty hour week at 40 hours pay now throughout the Port of New York.

CAUCUS

The formation of a port-wide caucus in the ILA to organize a fight for this program and to discuss a rank and file program on containerization, container money, and working conditions is urgent. Dock workers interested in this fight should contact the Workers League, 243 E. 10th St., New York City, phone, 254-7120 or speak to a Bulletin salesman.

SCOTTO STALLS AT MEETING ON ILA CONTAINER MONEY

FRANK DOMINICK

BROOKLYN--More than 500 Longshoremen crowded into the Brooklyn ILA Local 1814 hall to attend the Local's October 6th membership meeting. An unusually large section of the membership, particularly higher seniority men turned out in anticipation of a report on the container fund payment.

There was never any doubt that the men had come down to hear about the container money and were impatient to get to this point which was the last item on the agenda. This shouldn't surprise anyone because they were fed up with the stalling tactics of ILA President Thomas Gleason and Local 1814 President Anthony Scotto over the container money which rightfully belongs to the longshoremen but is held "in trust" jointly by the Shipping Association and the ILA officials. Every member of the ILA in the Port of New York is well aware that since 1964 they have gotten only a miserable \$98 while the Shipping Companies have made billions of dollars off containerization.

CLOUD

From the very beginning of the meeting, the issues of containerization and unemployment hung like a cloud over the meeting. Scotto did most of the talking throughout the meeting. It was like a one man show. In "explaining" his endorsement of Lindsay for Mayor, Scotto admitted that not only was containerization here to stay, but that without the building of a container facility on the Brooklyn docks, the Brooklyn waterfront was dead. He endorsed Lindsay because he was the only candidate in favor of the City building the Brooklyn container facility which would then lease space to the shipping companies.

Rather than mobilizing the union for a portwide fight against the destruction of jobs, Scotto talked about "saviors" like Lindsay who are in league with the shipping magnates and the Wall Street banks. Then he came up with other gimmicks like a deal with the U.S. government to open up the army base and bragged about his negotiating with the President of the Meyer line to keep the line in Brooklyn. All this is peanuts and everyone knows it.

JOBS

Scotto told the meeting that with containerization the number of men working the docks would be cut way down but that no one who is working now has to worry because they will continue to get the "guaranteed annual income".

But the longshoremen aren't buying Scotto's line-- they want JOBS, regular jobs, and not guaranteed income with all kinds of conditions, loopholes, and delays in payment. Many longshoremen feel that the "guarantee" is a crock-- the phoniest deal to come out of the last contract. That's why there was so much concern about jobs and the growing unemployment expressed in the discussion at the meeting. The men are worried.

This came out most sharply in Scotto's report on seniority where he said he will propose a "compromise" between section seniority and "borough-wide" seniority. At the meeting the men were almost evenly divided between borough-wide seniority and section seniority, depending on whether their pier is busy or slow. As usual, Scotto was hedging his bets. The problem is that there are not enough jobs and the prospect is for

even less with more docks closing unless there is a fight against dock closings and for the 30 hour week (at 40 hours pay).

Seniority, no matter if it is section, borough or port-wide, is no solution. The union leadership, having no program to fight for jobs, encourages these divisions between young and old and between the different areas in the port. But the divisions which threaten to tear the union apart (to the great delight of the Shipping Association) are for who gets a slice of a smaller and smaller pie.

When the report on the container money finally came to the floor, Scotto announced a big "victory" by saying they had gotten the NYSA to release the container money-- which he admitted is about 3.7 million dollars altogether (and for all we know is supposed to be a lot more) -- from the pension fund. The only thing holding up payment, he said, was a "technical" question and a dispute within the union, particularly with New Jersey, over how to split up the money. While the Shippers want to make it a "Christmas" bonus, Scotto said he was pushing for a "Thanksgiving" bonus.



TONY
SCOTTO

Fearing that they might never get the money until they retire, the men were at least happy to hear they were supposed to get it sometime this year. But it is easy to see that the ILA leadership is still stalling. Scotto tried to make the men at the meeting think that it might be worth their while to wait a little longer because as he said, in the negotiations over how to divide the money, he was pushing for the money to be divided ONLY among A, B and C men and the hell with the Jersey men, most of whom are D and E. Since most of the men at the meeting were A, B and C men, they cheered.

UNITY

But the other men were flabbergasted. It was as if a bucket of ice cold water had suddenly been thrown over their heads. One of the men said that Scotto was a s.o.b. who tried to turn the longshoremen against each other, even though he felt Scotto couldn't get away with splitting up the container money this way.

But make no mistake about it-- Scotto is only trying to play one part of the union off against another while he feathers his own nest. The men who cheered better think twice. They can't get a damn thing at the expense of their union brothers. The leadership is encouraging this kind of division within the union which can only help the bosses, and the leadership encourages these divisions as a cover for its own bankruptcy. There must be a fight for unity of the ranks around a fight for jobs now--before it is too late.

FRENCH SOCIETY IN CRISIS

THE FRENCH Communist Party's policy is an easy target for criticism by all manner of 'leftists' in France and outside. Many correct points are made in the course of these criticisms, together with useless abuse such as that indulged in by Cohn-Bendit and the anarchists.

But the fact remains, as much or even more since the events of May-June, that the Communist Party continues to control the strategically decisive sectors of the French working class.

The support for Jacques Duclos in the first round of the 1969 presidential elections was a further striking confirmation of that fact.

Thus, through a series of experiences, which to the politically advanced vanguard were betrayals—and, apart from the major cases of 1936, 1944-1946, 1953, 1958 and 1968 there have been many lesser ones—the working class has not yet been broken from the control of the Communist Party and CGT (CP-controlled confederation of unions) apparatus.

As a result of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939, the CP suffered a comparatively small number of defections in its higher and middle echelons. It re-emerged after 1941 as the leading force in the armed resistance movement to the German occupying forces, laying particularly heavy emphasis on the national character of the struggle.

It survived the Cold War without a big loss of support and, although its electoral strength fell heavily during the early stages of the Fifth Republic, the

vote for Duclos shows that almost all the loss has been recovered.

Despite the adulation of Stalin which was a feature of the French CP's political line, with its leader Maurice Thorez featured as his faithful henchman and representative in France, the Party came through the turmoil of 'de-Stalinization' relatively unscathed. Even among its intellectual supporters those who left the Party or joined the opposition were a minority of political invalids with no working-class audience.

This impression of continued strength was confirmed by the ability of the Party and its trade union officialdom to canalize and control the revolutionary energies of the working class in May-June 1968, and to retain the main body of its supporters.

Ever since the 1934-1936 period, then, the Communist Party has been able to make the claim to be the leading party of the French workers.

The continuous decline of the Socialist Party (SFIO) which, as the low poll of Deferre and the recent splits in its ranks show, now survives as a working-class party in only a few areas, reinforces this claim.

Over almost two generations the CP has built up a position in the big factories, the main sections of organized workers and the working-class towns and suburbs, a position which, at first sight, seems to be impregnable.

Strategic objective

Its apparatus is a close-knit, coherent, **bureaucratic** force. Its cadres are, for the most part, disciplined and blindly loyal to the Party leadership and line. The Party combines features of the old-style, continental social-democratic parties with others taken over in a deformed way from the

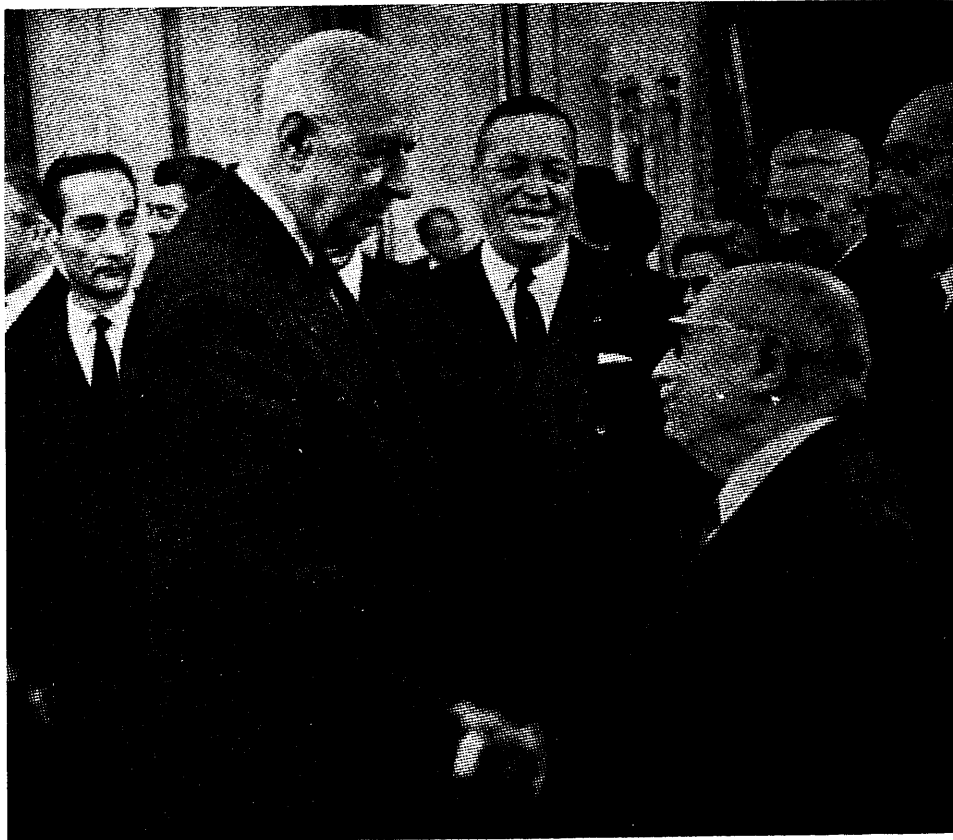
PART FOUR

The C. P. and the working class

By TOM KEMP

A new and highly concentrated proletariat came into existence during the 1920s and 1930s and the Communist Party grew.





A friendly handshake between CP leader Jacques Duclos (right) and de Gaulle. The vote for Duclos in the recent elections confirms that, despite May-June 1968, the Party still has control over considerable sections of the French working class.

organization of the sections of the Communist International adopted in the 1920s.

It must be emphasized, however, that this is only the appearance.

The question is to probe out this apparent strength, show more concretely upon what it is based and, at the same time, reveal the inherent weaknesses in the French Communist Party. It is only on this basis that discussion on the correct tactic can proceed in line with the strategic objective of breaking the French working class from the Stalinist stranglehold and building the revolutionary party in France.

To carry out this task at all thoroughly would require an extensive study of the history of the French revolutionary movement over the past 50 years or more. All that can be done here is to refer briefly to certain significant features in that history.

The French Communist Party was founded after a prolonged struggle of tendencies in and around the Socialist Party when, at the Congress of Tours in December 1920, a majority decided to accept the 21 Conditions and join the Communist International.

It was clearly the attractive power of the Russian Revolution which brought about the Party's formation. Its fortunes were thus inextricably linked to the fate of that Revolution and to the bureaucratic degeneration which took place in the Russian state and in the Communist International under Stalin. This was both the strength and the weakness of the Party; it remains fundamental to an understanding of its position in the French working-class movement.

It is important to stress also that the French CP never became a genuine Bolshevik party and did not acquire in its early years any revolutionary experience or make any independent contribution to Marxist theory or tactics.

In its first years the French Party came up for prolonged discussion at the Congresses of the Communist International precisely on these grounds. Its leaders remained strongly influenced by social-democratic or anarcho-syndicalist methods.

Until 1923 Trotsky, who was familiar with conditions in France, was a close friend of Alfred Rosmer and other French leaders and followed closely the development of the working-class movement in that country, sought to change the party.¹

What was needed was to break it from its parliamentary and reformist habits or from the sectarian adventurism which co-existed with them. Before serious progress could be made along this path the changes in Moscow, culminating in the struggle with and defeat of the Left Opposition, imposed the imprint of Stalinism on the Party.

During the 1920s, at the behest of the Stalinized Comintern, the Party gyrated between adventurism and opportunism, and several leadership changes took place. The switch to the tactics of the 'Third Period' had per-

haps a more devastating effect on the Party's fortunes than in any other country.

Trotsky used the French experience to write a detailed critique of this Stalinist turn, which urged a revolutionary offensive in complete disregard of the real situation in the working class.²

The history of the first ten years of the Communist Party can be summed up statistically. At the founding Congress of Tours it had about 120,000 members and was the majority party in the working class. In 1929 membership had fallen to 35,000 and by 1932 to 20,000. Its parliamentary representation, the circulation of its press and its influence in the trade unions declined correspondingly.

During this period, in which the Party's fortunes reached their nadir, a hand-picked leadership acceptable to the Soviet bureaucracy was installed. Men like Thorez, Duclos, Frachon who were to control the Party for 30 years or more—and in turn train their understudies and successors—were placed firmly in the saddle. This did not take place without some bitter struggles, including that with Doriot, a former Young Communist leader and popular deputy for St. Denis, who later went on to form a mass fascist party. The evolution of Doriot did much to condemn in advance all opposition to the Party line in the eyes of loyal members and workers.

In fact, the conflict between Doriot and Thorez arose over the question of an approach to the Socialist Party for a united front against the threat of reaction and fascism during 1934. Ironically, Doriot, after his expulsion, became a fascist while Thorez took over the policy he had at first opposed and made it the basis of the Popular Front of the next few years.³

When Thorez became Party secretary (after a brief and undisclosed flirtation with the Left Opposition) he was only 25. His obedience to Moscow was ensured, he was energetic, he set himself to emulate Stalin, he was a good orator who could make an effective appeal to the working class and command their loyalty. A Comintern agent at his side supervised the formulation of tactics and assisted in his political development (the Czech Fried who was later to be shot down by a KGB agent in Brussels).

From 1934 the Communist Party went through a remarkable process of expansion which enabled it, within a short time, to resume its position as the leading working-class party.

After his earlier reluctance, Thorez showed himself a particularly skilled supporter of the Popular Front. After the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1935 the Party was able to drop its opposition to militarism and patriotism and proclaim itself the most genuine supporter not only of anti-fascism, but also of the national cause.

There were, however, deeper reasons for the Communist Party's success at this stage. First of all there was the development of the working class itself.

French capitalism, as a result of the war and the reconstruction and boom which followed it in the 1920s and early 1930s, was becoming more heavily industrialized and concentrated. Big new plants had been set up in heavy industry and engineering and there was considerable expansion in new sectors such as motor cars, aviation, chemicals and electrical power generation and equipment.

A new and more highly concentrated proletariat had come into existence. Partly recruited from the peasantry and artisans proletarianized by the development of capitalism in the more backward regions of France, this new industrial proletariat also included large numbers of immigrants. By 1930 there were over three million foreign-born in France, most of them belonging to the working class.

This new and growing working class had no traditions of organization. The newcomers did not therefore come under the control of conservative trade union bureaucracies of the sort which existed in Britain and Germany. The trade union movement in France, split between the old CGT and the CGTU affiliated to the Red International of Trade Unions, was still numerically weak and had little to offer these workers.

As far as they became class-conscious, therefore, they tended to escape the social-democratic and trade union organizations and look elsewhere. This was a great opportunity for the Communist Party and offered a considerable recruiting ground in the 1930s. The Party provided not only a political alternative for these new masses, but offered, through its diverse organizations and activities, a framework for their social life.

From 1934 the Party began to move into local government in a big way, taking charge of many municipalities in the working-class areas. This placed jobs and patronage at its disposal.

Through social reforms it was able to build up further support and become, as it were, an accepted part of the landscape. It had its own territorial 'strongholds' just as, through work in the factories, it was building up an industrial base.

Assisted by the growing menace of fascism and the economic depression, the Popular-Front line enabled the Party to extend its influence and establish deep roots in the working class. It also won support in some rural areas through its peasant policy and attracted to its ranks some of the most brilliant intellectuals of the time. The Communist Party thus became a real force, disciplined, with an extensive apparatus, a varied press and spokesmen on all major subjects.

In a working class where, as already emphasized, the trade unions were weak and loose and where the Socialist

Party had never had a trade union base, the Communist Party assumed a commanding position.

By comparison the Socialist Party (SFIO) was much more an electoral apparatus without roots in the unions or the factories. Its appeal tended to be to the labour aristocracy in certain fields, and especially the white-collar workers and civil servants, rather than to the main contingents of the industrial proletariat. Its electoral strength and the parliamentary importance of Leon Blum and the other party leaders rested on quite a different base to that of the CP. The fragility of the SFIO was shown during the war and in its progressive decline ever since.

Also, for reasons which cannot be investigated fully here, the Left Opposition was weak, fragmented and made a series of political errors which, combined with unfavourable objective circumstances, prevented it from making a serious challenge to Communist Party dominance.⁴

The same can be said of the attempts to set up a centrist party in France, first by CP dissidents and then under the leadership of former Popular Front Minister, Marceau Pivert, in the shape of the **Parti Socialiste Ouvrier et Paysan** (Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party). The latter, despite having several thousand members at its formation in 1938, sank without trace during the war.

On the basis of this short survey it is possible to understand why, in 1936, at a time when the working class surged on to the scene with the sit-down strikes in a revolutionary way, the Thorez leadership was able to control the movement and bring it to an end.

It is true that there were criticisms within the Party, as well as from without, but they were stifled and proved ineffectual. Working-class support remained solid during the first part of the Popular-Front experience when the betrayal was being carried through.

After 1937 the weight of the Party in the working class appreciably diminished. Its slogans awakened less of an echo and it encountered some setbacks. But its capacity to place itself at the head of the working class when it was on the move was demonstrated again during 1944-1946.

By appearing as the most consistent and determined armed fighters against the occupation and Vichyites, it rallied to its banner militant sections of the youth and the working class. It had at its disposal at the time of the 'liberation' large bodies of armed men. In many areas and in the big factories its authority was undisputed. The bosses, who had mostly collaborated, were discredited and demoralized. If the way to power was not actually open, it was certainly quite possible to prepare the working class for such a goal.

But by co-operating with de Gaulle's

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government in Algiers from 1943 and its method of operation in the French resistance, the Party was already committed to a programme which excluded such an eventuality.

Maybe some of the partisan leaders and many of their supporters did not understand this. Certainly, to the Party cadres, the policy could be presented as a tactical manoeuvre made necessary by the international alignment of forces (the needs of the Soviet Union as expressed in the Yalta-Potsdam agreements) and by the risk of a military take-over by the Anglo-American forces in France. And once again, as in 1936, the Party was able to carry the working class with it.

Reflecting on the situation after the frame-up which led to his expulsion from the Party in 1952, veteran leader André Marty, proclaimed for 30 years as one of the heroes of the Black Sea mutiny in the French fleet, expressed his doubts.

'Many workers were thus right,' he says, 'to see that in 1944-1946 we missed the bus, the bus of a profound change in the situation of the working masses and of the social and economic structure of France. This change was

mediate post-war period, when the fate of the bourgeois state and of French capitalism was at stake, the Communist Party used its power over the working class to prevent it moving in a revolutionary direction.

It was precisely at this period, too, that the Party reached its peak in size and influence, when it regained and extended its position in the factories and municipalities first acquired in the 1930s.

It also established its control over the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) (which had been combined with the Communist CGTU in the 1930s) and held the majority after the split away of the reformist CGT-Force Ouvrière after the Second World War.



Until 1923, Trotsky was a close friend of Alfred Rosmer (second from left) and other Party leaders. Later Stalinism imposed its imprint on the Party.

expected by everybody in France. . . .

The fact was that the Party joined the government first of de Gaulle and then of Ramadier and governed jointly with the SFIO (socialists) and MRP (popular Catholic party) until they were pushed out when the question of Marshall Aid came up.

The policy of Thorez was quite openly to restore the bourgeois state—the 'democratic' Fourth Republic—and to use his influence with the working class to permit the salvaging of the economy under capitalist control. In return some concessions were made to the working class and the CP was allowed, through its Ministers, to take the credit for them.

THROUGH the decisive im-

After the strikes of 1947 and during the period of the Cold War, Party membership and influence perceptibly declined, but it retained its position in the working class for lack of a serious challenge to it. Its electoral strength fell back from its peak, but remained considerable (in fact in 1956 the Party polled 21.2 per cent of the registered voters against 22.2 per cent in 1946). It was sure of the passive support of the working class through the ballot box—which was what its leaders desired most of all.

It was not able to mobilize the working class on questions which the masses did not understand or felt indifferent towards—e.g. US General Ridgway's visit to Paris in 1952 and the strike against the arrest of Duclos at the same time. When the working class went into action independently, as in the public services general strike in August 1953, the CP sought to contain the movement and bring it to a conclusion; in this case it was finally successful. What it would aim to do in the kind of crisis which blew up in May, 1968, could have been predicted.

Through the whole of this period the CP leaders looked back nostalgically to the 'tripartism' of the 1944-1947 years. They desired entry into a governmental coalition of parties which was bound to include the 'left' of the bourgeoisie: in other words a form of Popular Front.

This was supposed to provide the specifically French, parliamentary road to socialism, preceded by an 'advanced democracy'. Although the formulations and theoretical gloss have changed through the years, and the establishment of the Fifth Republic, with its presidential constitution, required some modifications, the basic conception has remained consistent.

National roots

The French Communist Party has thus for many years adopted a consistently reformist class-collaborationist position. Like the Labour and social-democratic parties of Europe, it has accepted the capitalist system of rule.

It can be shown that the French, like the Italian, Communist Party, has put down deep national roots and has acquired a social base not unlike that of the reformist bureaucracies in countries like Britain or Germany. The grip on the CGT gives it a position in the factories and other enterprises among the organized workers.

With continued heavy immigration since 1947 the support for the CGT had tended to come more and more from a labour aristocracy of native-born or longer-established immigrant workers, the more highly skilled and better paid. In some cases the CGT has obviously made no serious attempt to recruit immigrant workers at all, and in 1968 they were often excluded from participation in the occupation of factories.

Such aspects are not in themselves sufficient to explain the continued hold of the Communist Party, nor do they permit a true appreciation of the weaknesses in its position.

Whatever it says and does the Party cannot escape from its past—from its origins as a section of the Third International, from its Stalinization under Thorez, and, therefore, all the consequences of the international crisis of Stalinism.⁶

It lives constantly under the shadow of its past betrayals which, while they may not be regarded as such now, will more and more, in the light of new experiences like May-June 1968 and then the Czechoslovakia crisis, stand revealed for what they are in the eyes of its own cadres and members.

In fact the crisis of Stalinism has its roots in the 1930s, in the Moscow Trials and the Hitler-Soviet Pact of 1939.

The position of the Party during the period 1939-1941 is another skeleton in the cupboard. There is not a single episode in the Party's history which can be written about and fully and frankly discussed before the Party membership. History must, therefore, be palpably distorted or left alone, or re-written according to the needs of the moment.

The Party is unable to deal with the Stalin era or with the relationship of Thorez to the Soviet bureaucracy. It cannot explain even its recent history so, although its theoreticians turn out a great variety of material at all levels, from the university mandarin to the new recruit, it is afflicted with a crippling sterility in its hands and theory becomes a lifeless dogma.

Of course, many inside and outside the Party have reacted to this: a succession of intellectuals have left the Party and written their books, opposition tendencies have come and gone, fellow-travellers like Jean-Paul Sartre have denounced the Party for its reformism. All the left tendencies and groups which burst into life in May-June, 1968 can say their correct things about the Party. Even bourgeois journalists who had hitherto assumed that the Party was committed to revolution discovered their mistake.

Organization

The question remains, how, despite all this, does the Party retain its position?

What Etienne Fajon said at the 10th Congress in 1946 could have been said at any Congress since, and no doubt has been in different words:

'Marxist-Leninism teaches us that in a given period we must be able to discern what is realizable. For example, the chatterings about the establishment of socialism in France at the present time are devoid of sense or are the product of provocateurs whose task it is to divide the democratic forces, for the indispensable conditions for its establishment have not yet been created.'

Everything is here. The appeal to Marxism, to realism, to democracy. The attack on provocateurs, obviously the Trotskyists and 'leftists', of the period. The plea, echoed by every Communist leader in May-June, 1968, that the time is not yet ripe, as though it were not the task of a Marxist party to speed up in every way the ripening of the conditions for the achievement of socialism, and that the discernment of the objective conditions for revolution is the task of Marxist analysis, not of surface impressionism.

Of course, the Party leaders do not openly abandon the achievement of socialism as an ultimate goal. They do not and cannot forbid the study of Marx and Lenin. It becomes all the time necessary for the Stalinist leadership, therefore, to convince their members attracted to the Party by the Russian Revolution, by Marxism, by the need for a party, of the tactical correctness of its line. Those who are disabused leave, and there is a big

turn-over of worker-militants and others.

But the Party and its auxiliaries, especially the CGT, form a powerful, organized movement. The working class cannot do without organization. The reformist alternative is weak and discredited. Consequently there is a constant conflict between the Stalinist apparatus and the working class, and yet the working class, or its strategically placed and vital sectors, cannot avoid the Communist Party and must, in most circumstances, accept its leadership.

So, who is there to vote for in most factories but the delegate of the CGT? A timid and corrupt reformist, a humble apostle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy . . .

Who is there to vote for at election time? Is there another party of the working class? Who to vote for, if not for Duclos?

This contradiction can only be resolved by the building of an alternative leadership with its roots in the class which can actually win its confidence by going through experiences with it and leading its struggles.

Verbal criticism of Stalinism is no substitute for organization, because every worker knows that organization, is vital to wage his daily struggle for bread. When the hold of the apparatus weakens is when the class moves into battle on wider issues.

Contradiction

In fact every important struggle, even on an industry or factory level, threatens its control. A national strike such as that of 1953, and more sharply still that of 1968, makes this a decisive question: a real struggle for leadership is then engaged as around the question of a National Strike Committee put forward by the members of the *Alliance Ouvrière*.⁷

Although the way in which he leads up to the point is placed differently by De Massot, the way he expressed the contradiction in the latter case is correct. He writes:

'The terms of the contradiction can be concretely formulated as follows: on the one side the most advanced sections of the working class—among them the militants of the CP and CGT who accept their leadership—tend to utilize the crisis, the mobilization of the working class in the general strike, to turn it towards a struggle for power, at the



André Marty, expelled from the French CP in 1952, wrote that the Party 'missed the bus of profound change' during 1944-1946.

same time as it is conscious that it is only by affirming the unity of the general strike, by centralizing it against the bourgeois state on these political objectives, that the development of the fight is possible; on the other side, the leadership apparatus uses its organizational position, its role as the centralized expression, on a national scale, of the working class, to split up the strike to permit the organization of elections which were to mark "the return to order".⁸

The role which the CP and CGT apparatus played can only be explained through its connections with the Soviet bureaucracy. It was in the interests of Soviet foreign policy needs that it went to work to control and dismantle the strike. But these were also its own needs as a bureaucratic layer in the

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Undoubtedly over the years the Communist Party's links with the class have become looser. While it once proudly proclaimed itself the party of youth, its cadres are now middle-aged and it finds difficulty in retaining young people like those above that it attracts.

French working class. Moreover, it was profoundly affected by the crisis shaking the whole international communist movement, the latest expression of which was the stirring of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia.

Hence the stand which the CP took after the invasion, for the first time publicly dissociating itself from the Soviet bureaucracy's decision in order to forestall or diminish the crisis in its own ranks which, close on the May-June events, might otherwise have occurred.

By the same token it expressed its own national interests in relative contradiction to those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

By its action in May-June, 1968, therefore, the French Communist Party once again expressed Stalinism's counter-revolutionary character. It showed that it had passed definitively to the side of the maintenance of the bour-

geois social order. It is impossible to find any positive character in the policies or ideologies of the Communist leadership.⁹

The development of working-class combativity, its ability to storm the heavens in 1968, took place despite, not because of the Stalinist bureaucracy of this Party. The Communist Party is not responsible for the class struggle, which is an objective reality, but it does bear a heavy responsibility for the level of working-class consciousness and, more fundamentally, for the very fact that the bourgeoisie has been able to continue to rule.

The interests of the bureaucracy are opposed to those of the working class,

⁹ As, for example, Jean-Marie Vincent tends to do in an article on 'The PCF and its History', 'New Left Review' No 52.

but, at the same time, in order to maintain its position, it has to show certain results. Indeed, it has to lead struggles and at times risk a clash with the state.

The confidence of the class cannot be retained simply by recalling the October Revolution or by pretending to be faithful to certain traditions. The cadres and leaders, in any case, are mostly drawn from the working class and it is not material privileges which primarily condition their allegiance.

Undoubtedly, over the years, the Party's links with the class have become looser. It no longer enjoys the confidence it had in the 1930s or immediately after the war. Its membership is smaller, its press less widely circulated. While it once proudly proclaimed itself the Party of youth, its cadres are now middle-aged and it finds difficulty in retaining the young people it attracts. It has become, in many ways, 'respec-

table' and conservative in every aspect, unable any longer to attract the more dynamic elements in the working class and array the intellectuals.

Stalinism's international crisis has left its ravages within the Party, and they continue. Its standing among the intelligentsia is no longer what it was. Even some of its most faithful stalwarts, like Aragon, have been shaken by the upheavals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Divisions and differences in the leadership, which at one time would not have been tolerated, are well-known and openly propounded, including in bourgeois organs. The old discipline, inherited from the Communist International, is breaking down. The Czech events have gone a long way in speeding up this process.

Nevertheless, until the working class sees an alternative in which it can have confidence, it turns to the Communist Party as its main political expression. This was shown in the vote for Duclos as presidential candidate.

Duclos, undoubtedly a clever parliamentarian and political tactician, but not a leader of struggles and hardly a credible president, could nonetheless get over one-fifth of the votes. If anything this kind of electoral support has increased in the past few years.

How to expose the CP's role becomes more than ever a central task in France. It cannot be evaded by facile anti-Stalinism. Here is a working-class party; it has a central position; the working class, despite doubts, despite the Party's crisis, continues to support it. This Party must, therefore, be placed face-to-face with its responsibilities on every possible occasion in the industrial and political struggle.

Some militants of the CP and CGT will follow the leadership of the vanguard, the French Trotskyists, but, as yet, are only a small minority of the class. The breaking of Stalinism's hold on the French working class has hardly begun, but the opportunities for it are more favourable than at any time since 1934. The class will only accept another leadership when it has finally tested out the existing one and experience has convinced it that the formally correct analysis of Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary force has been confirmed.

That can only mean getting closer to the Party militants and going through a series of experiences together with them, gaining their confidence and respect. This task of the Trotskyists in France can and will be carried out in the period ahead.

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ocean hill teachers under attack

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- One year after its founding, teachers are being fired arbitrarily from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district in Brooklyn. New York State has paid four million dollars to support the Ocean Hill district's Community Education Center. But employees of the district have no tenure and can be fired at will. Enrollment has declined from nine thousand to six thousand pupils as parents take their children away from the chaos in these schools.

The parents association of one Ocean Hill school wrote, "The Unit Administrator (Rhody McCoy) has refused to meet with us concerning the serious breakdown of discipline in I.S. 201, the appalling loss of teachers during the school year, the curtailment of the curriculum, the lack of cooperation from the Principal (Mr. Harris) in a number of undertakings by the Parents Association, including a bus trip to Albany (to protest cuts in the education budget), refusal to pass out notices to teachers for distribution to the children to take home, an attempt by the school administration to stifle the voices of protesting parents as to the deteriorating conditions in the school."

BUSTING

Community control stands exposed not as education reform but as union-busting. This is why the New York City Board of Education, along with New York State, are willing to pump four million dollars into Ocean-Hill Brownsville.

At the same time the City and State are forcing massive cutbacks in public services. They hope to push the costs of the financial crisis off onto city and state employees. This can best be done by breaking the civil service unions, including the United Federation of Teachers, which won an 18% increase in wages this summer. The Ocean Hill school board serves



CONFRONTATION DURING NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL STRIKE LAST YEAR.

as a model in trying to break the UFT by hiring unskilled and untenured local residents to replace the higher-paid and organized union teachers.

The way for teachers to fight this loss of union control over jobs and working conditions is not to help run schemes to make teachers "accountable". Accountability as determined in New York City's American Federation of Teachers' contract is really a plan to discipline militant teachers. Under this plan--which U.S. Commissioner of Education James Allen recommends as a way to improve the "productivity" of the schools--union, school and community representatives jointly work out "professional standards".

MACHINERY

The next step will be the setting up of machinery to enforce these standards. The firing of five teachers at Ocean Hill-Brownsville, along with the seizure of offices by community control advocates trying to impose Louis Walker as superintendent on School District 13 in Brooklyn, show the kind of "community representa-

tives" teachers can expect. It is exactly these undemocratic and union-busting tactics that are supported by James Allen! "Professional standards" can easily come to mean giving up the right to strike, accepting wage cuts, "for the good of the schools".

The American Federation of Teachers and especially Local 2, the UFT in New York City, must fight to keep their union independent of any plans designed to tie it to the state. The union must take the lead in fighting for union control of jobs, for a rollback of the budget cuts, for the 20-20 plan of twenty pupils per class and twenty hours of teaching per week.

PAY

While the teachers won a big wage increase, really just big enough to keep up with inflation, they must not be forced to pay for this with their jobs and their working conditions. But this is precisely what the City has in mind and has been its pattern with other city unions. The UFT must join with the rest of city labor in an all out fight against these attacks.

Workers League Fights Right Wing Students at Stony Brook

Kotowski, told this newspaper that the group had consulted with numerous attorneys and would have expert attorneys to pursue their case. He refused to say who these attorneys were and where the money's coming from to hire them. We strongly suspect that the group is supported by an extremist right wing organization which is out to destroy our student government."

ACTION

The Stony Brook Organizing Committee of the Workers League, which is presently seeking campus recognition for a Workers League Club on campus, has issued a strong statement demanding common action against this threat:

"Stony Brook students must not fail to recognize the threat posed by such groups as the Moderate Student Organization. They are the expression, on campus, of capitalism's crackdown on the working class and the working class movement in this period of grave economic crisis. Ready in the future to lead the offensive against ALL radical tendencies, the M.S.O. represents an embryonic fascist formation. They must not be ignored; they must be fought!

"We must not allow this group to go unchecked if we value our rights. They will find natural allies in the University administration and in off-campus conservative organizations and businesses. Only the Workers League is willing to take up the fight

in a revolutionary way. We urge your support of the Workers League Club for the defense of all radical organizations in the truest spirit of revolutionary comradeship, despite any programmatic differences."

Electrical Unions Head For Strike at G.E.

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK-- Some 124,000 General Electric workers head precipitously toward a strike on October 27th. For the first time in 20 years the IUE and the independent UE are working closely together in a united bargaining posture supported by a number of other smaller unions.

The main issue is a low money package combined with a refusal on the part of GE to give a cost of living escalator. With the unions divided the leadership long since gave up the escalator clause in this industry, so that, as Paul Jennings of the IUE puts it, they have lost every penny of gains over the last nine years through inflation.

Just as important is a confrontation with General Electric's policy of labor negotiating known as "Boulwarism". This involves the company offering only one "best offer" on a take it or leave it basis. With such a policy, which is based on the disunity of the workers and the rottenness of the labor bureaucrats, Gen-

City Deals Blow to Hospital Care Workers

BY KAREN FRANKEL

NEW YORK-- The recent agreement between the City and the SSEU-371 leadership to dissolve the title of Hospital Care Investigator in the Bureau of Medical Assistance and bring those workers into the Bureau of Public Assistance in order to alleviate the overwork problem in the Bureau of Public Assistance was a severe blow to workers in both departments.

The decision to take this action resulted from secret negotiations between the City and the union bureaucracy in response to a case dumping demanding new hiring in the Department of Social Services. The decision to dissolve the title, involving about 800 workers in the Medicaid Department was met with only confusion on the part of the approximately 250 workers at their meeting on Oct. 8th.

PRECEDENT

This decision will mean not only a violation of Civil Service regulations, but will set a precedent for the City taking similar actions involving other titles in the future.

Hot on the heels of the budget cuts and financial problems in the Medicaid Department and the hospitals, this will mean further attacks on the medical services to the poor and the marginally employed. The City has made no proposals regarding the aggravation of this problem.

OVERWORK

The overwork problem in the Welfare Centers would be alleviated only temporarily through this proposal. The only long range solution to the problem is to unfreeze the job freeze and begin mass rehiring of workers in all departments. The union bureaucracy viewed its agreement with the City as a "compromise". The term "compromise" is clearly in this situation a thin veil for a blatant sellout. As one worker put it: "Our leadership has a funny habit of snatching defeat from the jaws of victory."

The workers must not allow the union leadership and the City to continue with this foul play. The case dumping must continue until all the demands of the workers are met. The workers in BMA must work together with those in the Welfare Centers and propose a strike if necessary to overturn this vicious sellout decision.



MATTHIAS KOTOWSKI, HEAD OF NEW RIGHT WING GROUP AT STONY BROOK

BY A STONY BROOK STUDENT

STONY BROOK, L.I.-- A new reactionary student organization has been formed on the State University campus here and has succeeded in tying up the entire student activities budget in a court effort to block money going to SDS and the Black Students United.

Called the Moderate Students Organization, the group is headed by a Matthias Kotowski. Some members of the group actually profess antiwar sentiments and are active in the Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The "Statesman", the student newspaper, stated in an editorial: "The leader of the group Matthias

eral Electric has been able to keep its labor costs below that of other major manufacturing industries.

OFFER

Its present "best offer" adds up to no more than a 20¢ wage increase for most workers and an additional nickel for most skilled workers, with no cost of living escalator.

As it stands now, the UE and IUE have rejected the GE offer and GE has refused to negotiate any further. The workers must prepare for a knock down and drag out strike to bring this giant to its knees and force it to break with Boulwarism and grant meaningful wage increases backed up by a cost of living escalator.

GE reports, by the way, a hefty 11% third quarter profit increase over last year on the basis of an 8% sales increase. GE workers know where this profit increase came from--out of their hides. Now is the time to get it back.

BOSS POLITICIANS BOOST VIET MORATORIUM FRAUD



R.J. DICKS, REPUBLICAN, SELF PROCLAIMED MONARCHIST, SUPPORTER OF PHONEY MORATORIUM.

BY FRED MUELLER

NEW YORK, October 13 -- The October 15th Vietnam Moratorium observances are expected to involve hundreds of college campuses and more than a million participants nationwide. In the last few weeks this action, initiated by a committee led by young McCarthy and Kennedy supporters, has snowballed and received tremendous play in the capitalist press.

Twenty four leading Congressional Democrats have endorsed the Moratorium. New York's Mayor Lindsay and numerous other state and local politicians have joined the bandwagon. Church bells will toll, flags will be flown at half-staff, numerous firms are giving their employees time off. Even Republican National Chairman Rogers Morton, Nixon's appointee, says, "I'm for the Moratorium". Now Nixon has shifted gears and says he "understands" support for the protest! Of course Nixon is under enormous pressure for new moves to settle the conflict. The significance of the snowballing support for the Moratorium is the split in the ruling class

which has widened and will probably continue to widen until a settlement is reached.

REFLECTION

This split in the ruling class must be seen as a reflection of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants combined with the class struggle at home which is helping to undermine the world capitalist economy. A very large and growing section of the capitalists which is coming close to having the upper hand, is for extricating itself from Vietnam very quickly so as to concentrate on clamping down on the class struggle in the U.S. and Europe. These forces hope that the imperialists can maintain influence and stabilize the political situation at least temporarily through a coalition regime.

VICTORY

We are unalterably opposed to any concessions to American imperialism. We are unconditionally for the complete victory of the National Liberation Front. We warn about the influence of Stalinism. We warn

against deals of the kind agreed upon in Geneva in 1954. Conducting the class struggle at home so as to keep the maximum pressure on the imperialists is the only way to help the Vietnamese fighters to gain a victory after so many years of sacrifice.

Therefore we are completely opposed to the maneuvers of the liberal bourgeoisie, we are completely opposed to all actions, no matter how massive, which do not take a clear class stand both in Vietnam and the U.S. We are completely opposed to a bloc with any section of the capitalist class, which can only serve to increase the pressure for a coalition settlement, and to tie the working class to these politicians.

The attitude of the revisionists towards the October 15th Moratorium is very significant. It is not surprising to find the Communist Party boosting it just as it boost liberal capitalist politicians every day of the year. More significant at this stage is the attitude of the Socialist Workers Party.

SWP

In the last three issues of the Militant, the SWP has repeatedly assured their supporters and readers that the Moratorium will not be co-opted, that it is necessary for revolutionists to support and build this action. They report with pride that their own speakers will join such "influential and respected figures" as Sen. McGovern, former Under-Secretary of Commerce Howard Samuels, and many shades of reform Democrats and other capitalist politicians on various platforms.

The Militant discusses at some length the possibility of the October 15 actions being "co-opted" by the ruling class. This is what they have to say:

"The Moratorium Committee...is funded by liberal Democratic organizations and individuals.

"Despite its conservative and even pro-capitalist credentials, the moratorium has been organized in such a way that it can serve as a useful vehicle for mass antiwar opposition and cannot easily be co-opted to serve the interests of the capitalist politicians."

POPULAR FRONT

What all this means is that the SWP has gone further towards an open defense of the Popular Front than ever before. In these moves, decades of struggle against Stalinist and Social-Democratic conceptions of alliances with sections of the capitalist class go out the window. How can we even speak of the moratorium being co-opted, when, in the Militant's own words, it is organized and financed by the very same forces we are told cannot co-opt it!!!?

Over and over again the SWP points to the Congressional dissatisfaction as evidence of growing anti-war sentiment. They say:

"There is certainly a contradiction in a group of top imperialist spokesmen lending their names to help build an objectively anti-imperialist demonstration. But the contradiction is theirs and not the anti-war movement's."

It is hard to imagine a more brazen example of opportunism than that contained in these two sentences. Absolutely nothing separates these people from the Stalinists and reformists. As far as they are concerned, the Republican National Chairman and the

LEADING Senate Democrats are very naive men, allowing themselves to be

YSA REVISIONISTS WAVE U.S. FLAG

MINNEAPOLIS-- Sometimes the revisionists are so self-revealing that merely quoting their own words condemns them. Nancy Strebe, Y.S.A. leader and co-chairman of the committee planning the October 15 moratorium, is the latest victim of this "foot-in-mouth" disease.

According to the Minneapolis Star of October 10, she urged those who could not participate in Moratorium activities Wednesday to demonstrate support by "wearing a black armband, driving with headlights on, displaying the American flag, writing their congressmen or discussing the war with family or friends".

The next day the Veterans of Foreign Wars also urged all citizens to fly the flag as a silent counter-action to the demonstrations. How now, Miss Strebe? Maybe, if you ask, Readers Digest will distribute a "By Request of the Y.S.A." sticker to distinguish the flags flying!

FLAG-WAVING

This flag waving is on a par with the total role of the revisionists within the middle class pacifist mobilization committee. They are united in a bloc with Professor Visscher, McCarthyite Democrat and his cohorts against the so-called "campus radicals".

Visscher, supported by the SWP-YSA and their spokesman, Miss Strebe, wants to stress moral revision to the war. They want to make the New Mobilization Committee a rallying point for everyone who wants the war to end--pacifists, conservatives, who feel the war is an isolated mistake, and pragmatists who want to withdraw because it is a lost cause.

The position of the YSA emphasizes once more what happens to so-called "Marxists" who lose the compass of theoretical clarity and who substitute class collaboration for class struggle.

used by the "anti-war" movement. For some reason they are forced to be anti-imperialist! Not a word about the pressure for a coalition settlement! Not a word about the real aims of the capitalist class!

PROTEST

The Workers League has refused to go along with the middle class protest movement. The Workers League warned that it was not enough to call for bringing the troops home, that it was necessary to fight with a clear international working class line of support to the NLF, and that this support had to be translated into deepening class struggle at home. Now all these warnings are coming home to roost. "Bringing the Troops Home Now" does not necessarily lead to victory for the Vietnamese workers and peasants. It certainly does not expose the role of imperialism and the nature of capitalist rule at home. By refusing to link this demand to working class demands, by fighting for the single issue peace movement, the SWP has prepared a gigantic betrayal.

ORGY

The October 15 Moratorium cannot be co-opted because it is led and financed by the capitalist class itself. The SWP's orgy of praise for the October 15th Moratorium marks a new stage in the rapid evolution to the right of this once revolutionary organization.

Flint Auto Workers Still on Strike Against Speed-up At General Motors

BY OUR DETROIT CORRESPONDENT

FLINT, MICH., OCT. 9, -- Auto workers of Local 598 are on strike against a speed-up. They have been out since September 24th. For several years now, these General Motors workers have struggled over changes in work standards. These changes occur with new model changes and inevitably result in speed-up.

In an attempted strike breaking effort GM threatened to close the plant down and move it elsewhere. The company claims that the new cars are smaller, require less manpower, and that therefore, there is no speed-up. Sam Duncan, President of Local 598, charges that the work load has been increased 25% with a 15% decrease in manpower. This is, he says, the gist of the problem.

ACCUSED

GM also accused the workers of a deliberate slowdown, that the pattern for the last several years has "been

delays of up to 80 days in attaining full production after model change."

The workers have correctly turned a deaf ear to the threat of a plant closure. But not Solidarity House: Reuther's home. It was reported that the union has contacted GM. The tops of GM and the UAW will discuss the matter. This discussion will be a costly one to the workers if they are not careful. Reuther's statesmanlike wisdom doesn't come cheap.

The anti-speed-up strikes are impending at three other widely scattered GM plants. One is in the East and the other two in the Middle West.

The auto industry faces in the coming year a smaller market than previously. Foreign imports present a serious challenge to their profits. Higher prices for cars will not make them easier to sell. In order to compensate for the declining profits the auto barons will squeeze the workers for more work. To this squeeze the workers are already responding.

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BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., New York, 10003. Printed entirely by union labor.

minn. teachers must plan strike

BY BOB JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS-- Twin City area public school teachers must prepare right now for strike action this Spring or else face a continuation of the deterioration of working conditions and wages which was written into the recent settlements in school district after school district.

The settlement this last spring in Minneapolis, this last summer in St. Paul, and this fall in suburban schools solved nothing, only postponing the inevitable clash.

What is needed right now is the building of a rank and file caucus within the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, which cuts across school districts and poses a real confrontation to force back the offensive against the teachers. Such a caucus must also work out a program of action to continue the militant job actions of this fall to see to it that working conditions do not deteriorate further in the interim. The Workers League stands ready to help in building such a caucus.

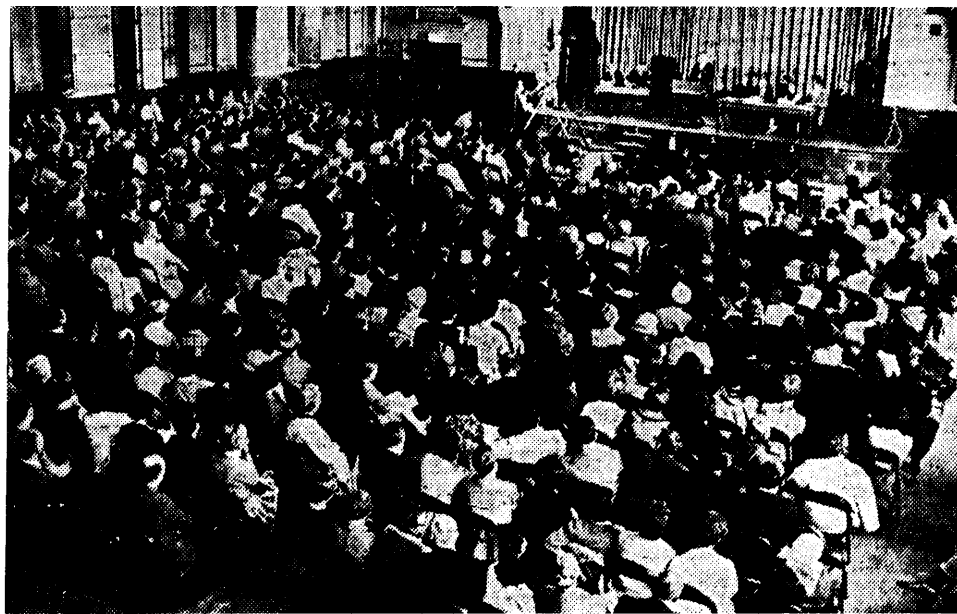
UNPRECEDENTED

This fall, suburban teachers, from one end of the Twin Cities to the other, have waged an unprecedented fight with local school boards.

In campaign after campaign, from bannered schools (informational picketing) to calling in sick, to withholding extra-curricular activities, to "working to rule", suburban teachers ran into a brick wall of opposition from local school boards.

The boards offered salary increases designed to pit older teachers against younger teachers by giving the latter larger increases (and there are fewer of them than older teachers), and by offering older and more experienced teachers increases that worked out to be less than last year's rise in the cost of living.

Furthermore, to drive a wedge between teachers and other workers, the school boards insisted that every in-



MINNEAPOLIS TEACHERS FACE NEW ATTACKS AFTER BIG STRIKE VOTE LAST YEAR (ABOVE)

crease for the teachers meant an even higher tax burden.

Under the state's "meet and confer" law, cooked up with the collaboration of the Minnesota Education Association in 1967, a law aimed at undercutting the organizational strength and militancy of the Minnesota Federation of Teachers, school boards are not legally obliged to negotiate seriously with teachers' representatives.

Therefore they have simply sat on their hands. With teachers divided up into dozens of separate districts, the

DIVIDE

strategy of school boards has been divide and conquer; teachers' militancy is worn down through scattered and poorly organized actions.

As the settlements have trickled in everyone knows, in fact, that none of the fundamental issues have been settled. It has been a stalemate.

The leadership of the MEA and the MFT bear the responsibility for this; for while the teachers were struggling they have spent most of their time

working for some legislative solution, as if some new legal form of negotiations could have made the whole clash this Fall unnecessary.

The MFT and MEA leaders have put their faith in the school boards and the state legislature and not in the ability of teachers to fight back against the attacks they are under.

And it is precisely the accumulation of a whole series of attacks on teachers, their organizations, their standard of living, and their conditions at school, that lies at the heart of the struggles that are shaping up into an all out battle.

When representatives of teachers in 40 metropolitan districts voted last May not to settle for less than 15% increases this year, they gave only a glimpse of the kind of demands teachers had in mind. In fact, A.L. Gallop, executive secretary of the MEA, in discussing the current salary demands of the suburban teachers noted: "We're only trying to pick up 30 years of negligence."

GRIEVANCES

Much more is involved than just salary demands. Every aspect of the teachers situation faces deterioration. Every teacher can relate a hundred grievances, going way beyond pay, to the questions of facilities, tenure and transfer problems, selection of books and materials, school pro-

grams, pay for extra-curricular activities, and the quality of education itself.

But it has been in attempting to negotiate on these grievances as well as pay that teachers have run into some of the fiercest hostility from the school boards.

Up to now, teachers' official leadership has USED, just as criminally as has the rotten leadership of the hospital union (local 113), the anti-strike legislation against their workers AS AN EXCUSE not to mobilize the ranks in a fight back.

It is clear. Teachers have been struggling back, not out of "choice" but grim necessity. But their every action thus far has only provoked the legislature into more ominous threats.

STRIKE

Either the teachers fight back, or they will find themselves being made to pay for a financial crisis they did not produce. Naturally, at all levels the present anti-labor legislation must be combatted. But the only way these laws will be defeated is through their open defiance. If it comes to a strike this spring there must be no backing down like last year.

Last spring the teachers leadership, in particular in the role of AFT representative Joseph Cascella, had no confidence in the ability of the teachers to struggle back against the school board.

This worked itself back into a lack of faith on the part of the teachers in their leadership to fight. Hence the vote 1450 to 1025 not to strike.

While we see plenty of "1025 Club" buttons on militant teachers, no one is wearing any "1450 Club" buttons. They would be stoned.

But the same setback suffered last spring by Minneapolis teachers, in particular, could be repeated on even a more drastic scale, this coming spring, unless teachers prepare to fight around a program for victory.

No more intimidation by anti-strike laws: Full reliance on the organized strength of the teachers as part of the entire union movement.

Prepare now for a strike if necessary.

Fight all attempts to divide teachers, older from younger, male from female, union from non-union.



Rank and File Cutters Fight ILGWU Bureaucrats

STULBERG

BY LOU BELKIN

NEW YORK--Local 10 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, representing cutters, now faces some of the most serious problems in the recent history of the 8,000 member local: wage reopeners, the question of the cut-up shops, and the struggle to make the ILGWU, with 47 craft locals, one industrial union. One thing is quite certain--the Stulberg-Dolgen leadership will do its best to perpetuate the same miserable working conditions and organizational structure, and to continue the traditions begun with Dubinsky of meticulously rooting out any opposition elements.

Representing some of the most skilled and "highly" paid sections of the ILGWU, the Dolgen leadership shoved down the throats of the membership the most ruthless contract scheme in years. This contract virtually legalizes forced overtime simply because cutters earn only \$110-\$125 per week for 35 hours. And this is considered "top pay" in the 410,000 member union.

Consequently, cutters have to labor 50-60 hours per week in order to earn a decent living of \$7500 per year.

This is a hard wage to live on with union dues of \$8.50 a month, the surtax bite and the soaring inflation. The contract, however, is rotten in other ways. The health plan is inadequate: it promises savings only on prescribed drugs purchased through the ILGWU's own drug stores, but does little in the way of hospitalization. In addition the pension plans add up to the worst of any large union in the country. For example, ILGWU members who work 20 years receive only \$75 per month, as compared with \$272 per month for District 65ers who work 20 years, or \$400 per month for Teamster members who work 25 years.

Clearly the fight must be begun for wage reopeners around 30 hours work for 50 hours pay, a demand which cuts into the question of cut-up shops.

The union and bosses' Labor Relations Committee has supposedly declared war on these shops.

But the union leadership has done absolutely nothing to organize these workers. The bureaucrats prefer to use the threat of the non-union cutters to discipline their own ranks.

Local 10 cutters must begin to take up the fight for an all-out campaign to organize these cut-up shops. In this respect we support the Independent Cutters Committee which has organized as an opposition to the Stulberg-Dolgen leadership and is presently being witchhunted.

THERMO-KING MEN FIGHT CONTRACT

BY A LOCAL 2175 MEMBER

BLOOMINGTON, MINN. --Production and maintenance workers at the Bloomington plant of the Thermo-King division of Westinghouse face a difficult fight to improve their wages and working conditions when their present contract expires on April 1, 1970.

Since 1966 conditions have been governed by a contract between Thermo-King and United Steelworkers Local 2175 providing for an average annual increase of 11¢ a year; but there has been no raise from October 1, 1968 and the expiration of the contract. A cost-of-living clause provides for a 3.5% annual ceiling.

This contract can only be considered a sell-out. It completely fails to meet the needs of the workers. This has resulted in large-scale dissatisfaction with the leadership of Local 2175, headed by Ben Stephani.

Riding the wave of this dissatisfaction enabled an opposition candidate, Stan Giesen, to oust the incumbent Chief Steward, getting 65% of the votes cast. This despite the fact that he offered no alternative policies to those of Stephani.

The fight for the new contract in

1970 has just begun. The election of five members of the negotiating committee will take place at the November union meeting. Thermo-King workers must ask all candidates one key question: what do you propose be the main features of the new contract?

The ranks must demand that the contract include: an immediate dollar-an-hour wage hike, a cost-of-living clause with no ceiling, 30 hour week with 40 hours pay, ban on compulsory overtime.

Thermo-King workers must not just demand these provisions, they must prepare for a strike to win them. They must work to extend this strike to the other Westinghouse plants to back them up.

Thermo-King has a virtual monopoly on its refrigeration, freezing and heating units. Thermo-King workers must not just fight for some sort of "fair share" of the profits, but all of it if necessary.

The ranks must especially watch their leaders in all dealings with the company. Otherwise Stephani and Thermo-King will pull off another fast one providing for no more than a 15¢ an hour hike.

NDP FACES CANADIAN NATIONALIST THREAT

BY CHARLES HENRY

TORONTO-- The most important issue before the Winnipeg NDP convention, to be held from October 28th to November 1st, is the Watkins resolution for an Independent Socialist Canada. This resolution, despite its left phraseology on socialism, nationalization, workers participation in management, etc, is designed to bring the NDP completely into line with the objective aims of the Canadian capitalist class.

The resolution starts off by stating that the most important threat to Canadian workers is external, i.e. American imperialism; that Canada has long been reduced to a resource base and a means of cheap labor within the American empire. The real meaning of the resolution becomes clear when Watkins goes on to say that Canadian nationalism today is a progressive force. This when Trudeau has already started large scale redundancies to the tune of 25,000 civil service jobs on behalf of Canadian capitalism

ALLIANCE

The resolution opens the way for the NDP through this rationalization to draw into an alliance with the Liberals and Tories. This resolution is designed to attack the principle of international unionism which is a source of real strength for the Canadian working class. Such Canadian nationalism can only split the labor movement even more than it already is. It can only end up by pitting different sections of the English speaking working class against each other and deepen the division with the French speaking working class.

It is no accident that the resolution should be supported by such people as Gordon Dowding (B.C.) who are completely against any affiliation of the NDP with the unions. Similarly with bureaucrats like David Lewis in Ontario. Here they have an alternative to a working class program.

OFFENSIVE

Today the working class of Canada faces the most important struggle in its entire history. The whole crisis of capitalism has forced the Liberal government in Ottawa to launch a major offensive against the trade unions in an attempt to take back all the gains won by the working class since the war. This is the meaning of all the anti-union laws, the mass lay offs of civil servants, the credit squeeze and the rising cost of living. The working class needs a party in power that will govern in their interests. The working class needs the NDP. The essential question now, at the NDP conference, is for NDP militants to take up the fight now for a socialist program.

NATIONALISM

This means that it is necessary to fight against all forms of Canadian and Quebec nationalism to unify the working class in Canada. For a working class government in Ottawa pledged to the nationalization of all the basic industry under workers control; a repeal of all anti-union laws; socialized medicine; a program of public housing. For a socialist Canada as part of a socialist North America and world.

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CANADIAN NDP FACES MOST IMPORTANT CONVENTION SINCE FOUNDING (ABOVE)

curran keeps grip on nmudissidents protest at convention



NIXON'S MARITIME PLAN MEANS MASSIVE ATTACKS ON SAILORS

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK-- The NMU convention held here from October 6th through October 9th changed nothing in the relationship between the union bureaucracy led by Joseph Curran, and the rank and file represented by the Committee for NMU Democracy.

Neither side marshalled its forces fully at the convention. Yet a mobilization of the ranks is needed to defend seamen's wages and jobs in the future.

As reported in the October 6th Bulletin, Curran planned to use the convention to arm his bureaucracy against rank and file militants. Curran had planned a series of amendments to the NMU constitution to do this. Yet at the convention itself, controlled by Curran through parliamentary trickery, and faced with no strong fight by the opposition led by James Morrissey, he introduced only two major amendments. One provided for new vice presidents of the union, allowing the Curran-dominated National Council to choose them.

AMENDMENT

The second amendment attempted to give to the National Council the power to choose ship's chairmen and departmental delegates, who represent the crews to the companies. Amid some confusion, the proposed amendment was amended to provide that department delegates be elected, since allowing the National Council to decide how they be selected was obviously undemocratic. The amendment to the amendment and also the amendment passed by large majorities of the 475 delegates present. This was a partial defeat for Curran.

Yet the Committee for NMU Democracy was not able to win any other victories. Instead of mobilizing the ranks in a demonstration in front of

the convention to openly oppose Curran and show support for the Morrissey Committee, the Committee refused to call a demonstration, preferring "to show that we are not disruptors" and depended on Curran to run a fair convention.

The Morrissey-led Committee stacked everything on being able to call for the election from the floor of all convention committees through which all convention business must pass. Curran refused even to allow voting on this proposal and immediately put up the committees he had appointed for approval by the convention. They were approved unanimously. Not one member of the Committee for NMU Democracy voted against them.

CURRAN

Curran continued to run the convention in the same way, refusing to recognize militants, ruling them out of order, threatening that the burly master at arms would throw them out.

The convention went on to vote \$2,000 to the striking California farm workers, to give NMU pensioners the right to vote in elections in return for their paying 25% of dues, and to praise Curran with a standing ovation. The convention was hurriedly closed by Curran after resolutions in favor of the new contract were read. No new business and no "good and welfare" session, which is an open discussion of any problems in the NMU, was allowed. No resolutions calling for a better contract were introduced by the militants.

Behind the stalemate at the convention, conditions are developing for a real battle in the NMU. Thousands of sailors are threatened with unemployment as the lay-ups of passenger ships and rustbucket freighters continues. On top of the recent lay-up of the Brazil and the Argentina, Grace Lines is threatening to lay-up the Santa Rosa and the Santa Paula. United States Lines will probably try to lay-up the SS United States after its next Caribbean cruise.

Curran is negotiating with the owners to cut manning scales in order to enlist the aid of the bosses in his fight against the ranks. Curran also will get control of pension money paid by

the owners into the NMU pension fund, if he can force seamen onto the beach before they have put in the twenty years at sea needed to get their pension paid out.

NIXON

Nixon's new maritime plan makes the situation in the NMU even more critical. It is a plan to triple construction subsidies while cutting out or greatly reducing operating differential subsidies which pay for American seamen's wages. Nixon's plan is designed to expand the American merchant fleet by replacing thousands of jobs on ancient freighters and passenger liners with the few men needed to operate giant automated container ships, lighter-aboard-ships (LASH) ships, giant ore-bulk-oil (OBO) ships, and the like. This is the plan Curran threatened to support with a boycott of shipping.

The NMU rank and file must take the lead in fighting for job and wage protection. They must fight to organize demonstrations against the Grace Line as a way of protesting the hundreds of jobs lost by laid-up passenger ships. NMU seamen must demand that the Santa Paula and the Santa Rosa not be laid up, and that the Brazil and the Argentina be operated again with full manning and no pay cuts. The ranks must demand that the Committee for NMU Democracy fight for a demonstration against the United States Lines if the SS United States is to be laid up.

DEMONSTRATIONS

These demonstrations should be the first steps towards organizing the ranks of the NMU into a fight against Nixon's planned job cuts. They should be planning to build a strike if necessary to force the passenger ships back to sea with full manning. This should be the start of a campaign to reopen the contract and demand the four-watch system on all ships with no cut in pay, payment to the men of all pension funds paid in by the companies, wage equality with the Seafarer's Union of the Pacific, and a contract guaranteeing the end of runaway ships, and an escalator clause.