

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

Progressive Labor Series

PROGRESSIVE LABOR
AND THE
TRADE
UNIONS



US TROOPS MURDER 567 VIET VILLAGERS IN 15 MINUTES



*HALF
MILLION
MARCH
AGAINST
WAR
IN DC*

**THREE PAGES --- The Meaning of the March
and the Way Forward--Interviews with Trade
Unionists--Workers League Intervenes**

**S.S. UNITED STATES
MUST SAIL AGAIN!**



EDITORIAL

The March--Its Meaning and the Way Forward!

BY THE EDITORS

On November 15th over a half million people poured into Washington from all over the U.S. to march against the policies of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. On that day Nixon got his answer from the "silent majority." As thousands of youth and trade unionists made their way to the Washington Monument the potential for the building of a mass movement to go way beyond the present reformist leadership and towards a revolutionary alternative was posed.

Above all it was the youth who came forward in this struggle. November 15th was not of the character of the last Washington march two years ago which was predominated by hippies and Che posters. This time broader and more serious sections of the youth entered the struggle, displaying their desire to take up the fight against a rotten and decaying system.

At the same time thousands of rank and file workers arriving on their union buses and individually with their families, many for the first time joining the anti-war struggles, expressed their growing hostility to the attacks they now face from capitalism.

WORKERS LEAGUE

It was within this context that the Workers League raised the only alternative for the development of that movement amassed on the Capitol Mall and the only way forward to the victorious struggle against the system which is hellbent on destroying the working class throughout the world. It was the construction and leadership by a revolutionary party that the Workers League raised in its intervention around a working class program to unite the struggles of the workers and peasants in Viet Nam and the workers and youth in the U.S. against the capitalist rulers.

The lesson of November 15th was above all the necessity to build a revolutionary leadership capable of developing the mass struggle of the youth and the fight within the trade union movement to take this struggle into a political confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its reformist supporters.

The leadership of the march in the form of the New Mobilization Committee did everything in its power to avoid this confrontation and to deliver the masses up to the Goodells and the McCarthys. The liberal and conservative politicians were aided and abetted by the trade union bureaucracy, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

The strategy at all times during the demonstration was to keep the body of marchers dispersed and prevent a real coherent organized march. Instead the crowd was massed throughout the day to listen to the drivel from various capitalist poli-

ticians. The line of the march was best expressed by Sen. Goodell who said: "We are not here to break a President or even a Vice President. We are here to break the war and begin the peace."

It was within this framework of middle class protest politics that the New Mobe sought to channel the masses in Washington. It was a very friendly arrangement that these leaders made with the Administration. No wonder the Committee received such praise from the capitalist press and the Administration. Chief Davis of the Civil Disturbance Unit described the "rapport" and "cooperation" with the police as "wonderful."

It was the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, who all but dissolved themselves within the Mobilization Committee, that played the central role in mobilizing the youth not behind the banners of the revolutionary party but into the arms of Goodell, McGovern and McCarthy. These tendencies gave the necessary left cover to the Committee and to the capitalist politicians.

FRUSTRATION

The real frustration of thousands of the youth with the futile pressuring of these reformist leaders was expressed in the violence that broke out in front of the Justice Department, a confrontation that the rulers had wanted and was quickly met with canisters of tear gas.

While the violence expressed the frustration of the youth, these adventures are as reactionary as the perspective mapped out by the Mobilization Committee. The leadership of these adventures--Youth Against War and Facism, the Weathermen, and the Committee to Aid the NLF--have absolutely no intention of confronting imperialism by mobilizing the working class in a political battle with capitalism. These tendencies have nothing but hostility towards the working class. They perpetrate the lie that youth are radicalized by getting their heads smashed and getting tear gassed. To defeat the government you must have a disciplined party that takes on the state on its own grounds, based on the power of the working class.

The demonstration held under Progressive Labor's Worker-Student Alliance in front of the Labor Department in support of the GE workers was an attempt to pose an alterna-

tive to the Mobilization Committee and the adventures of the Weathermen. It sought to channel the youth who are more and more turning towards the working class for leadership into a purely student action without posing a working class program for power to link the struggles in Vietnam with the class struggle at home.

BUREAUCRACY

The most criminal role of all in this mobilization was played by the trade union bureaucracy. At a time when the key question in the struggle against the war is the leadership of the organized working class, the trade union leaders did everything to prevent the independent intervention of the labor movement, leaving the workers atomized. The union bureaucracy organized its contingents on buses, only to drop and disperse them under the leadership of the capitalist politicians and the reformists.

The Hospital Workers Local 1199 sent 1500 members on 28 buses from New York to Washington. When the workers arrived there they found no organized contingent, no banners, and no placards from 1199. Other unions did the same.

Above all what all these tendencies refused to pose was the POLITICAL struggle by the working class against capitalism. Yes, we say the task must be to break not only the President and the Vice President but the whole capitalist system that is at the root of the war in Vietnam and the war against the working class at home. This is why the Workers League fought in Washington and will continue to fight on the basis of a program that poses the doom of imperialism. Central to this struggle is the fight by the labor movement to build its own party to lead the youth and sections of the middle class against the parties of war, inflation and unemployment--a labor party.

There should be no doubt that Nixon intends to continue this war and to step up the war at home. Nixon is preparing the battering ram within the right wing of the ruling class to use as a threat against the working class. This is the meaning of the rising figure of Spiro Agnew whose attacks on the anti-war movement have risen to new heights and were given their full expression a few days prior to November 15th.

Taking his tactics from Hitler, who

sought to discredit the "democrats" in Germany by raising the spectre of the conspiracy of appeasers who sold out the national interest to the enemy at Versailles, Agnew has found his liberal scapegoat to discredit that section of the ruling class pressuring for and end to the war.

Agnew has chosen Averill Harriman as the scapegoat who he contends as chief negotiator "swapped some of the greatest military concessions in the history of warfare for an enemy agreement on the shape of the bargaining table." Agnew is preparing the way to step up the war and demand the total capitulation by the Vietnamese people. It is this type of rumor which will in the future be taken up by the fascists and used to crush all resistance.

AGNEW

While Nixon gives Agnew some rope, he is very careful to cover himself and the Administration with his announcement through his press secretary after the demonstration that he will "seek a just and lasting peace" combined with the White House's view that the demonstration was "generally peaceful."

This cover contradicted the previous rather hysterical statements from another wing of the Administration housed in the Justice Department. It was here that the Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst stood in the window of the Justice Department with an American flag pinned to his shirt.

The Justice Department did its best to whip up a frenzy about the violence expected on the 15th and ordered the thousands of troops into Washington. After the march Attorney General Mitchell accused the Mobilization Committee of inciting the crowd and perpetrating violence.

The seemingly contradictory statements from the Administration represent not only a split in the ruling class but a deep crisis within the Administration itself. This crisis represents the deep fears of Nixon and the entire capitalist class of the growing hostility of the youth and the working class to its rule and the mass mobilization of the working class against the system.

It is within the context of the deepening political and economic crisis of imperialism and the beginnings of a mass mobilization against this crisis that shows not only the potential but the absolute necessity of constructing a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and among the youth to bring the entire system tumbling down. The war to end all wars will be the struggle of the working class against capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist society. This is the task of the Workers League.

workers league was only alternative on mall

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

WASHINGTON, D.C.-- The intervention made by the Workers League on the Capitol Mall here was the biggest and best ever in the history of the League. Over 100 League members and supporters marched the half mile from the Capitol to the Washington Monument in well disciplined formation holding aloft nine huge cloth banners amidst dozens of cardboard placards.

Workers League contingents, including branches, organizing committees, individual members and supporters, many identified by the banners they carried, came in from Manhattan, Brooklyn, Columbia University, Stony Brook, Cornell, Penn State, Goddard, Central Michigan State, Connecticut, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston.

On both banners and placards were the slogans that the League had campaigned around for the last three weeks to build its contingent: All Troops Out of Vietnam, Beat Back Inflation With Wage Gains, Fight Unemployment with Four Day Week, Full Support to GE Strikers, Fight Racism-Jobs For All, Break With the Two Parties of War, Inflation and Unemployment -- Build a Labor Party. These same themes were taken up as well in spirited chants the whole length of the march of "Nixon Out - Labor In", "Jobs For All-Four Day Week", "Victory to the Viet Cong", and "Build a Labor Party Now".

The slogans flowed from the overall purpose of the Workers League's intervention which was to bring to the trade unionists and the youth

gathered in Washington the message headlined in the last issue of the Bulletin--Only Labor Action Can End The War. The main point of the slogans was that labor can only end the war by breaking with the very middle class protesters who ran the November 15th action and by taking up an independent fight against the war as part and parcel of the overall class fight. This fight, and this was driven home on every banner and placard, requires the immediate construction of a labor party.

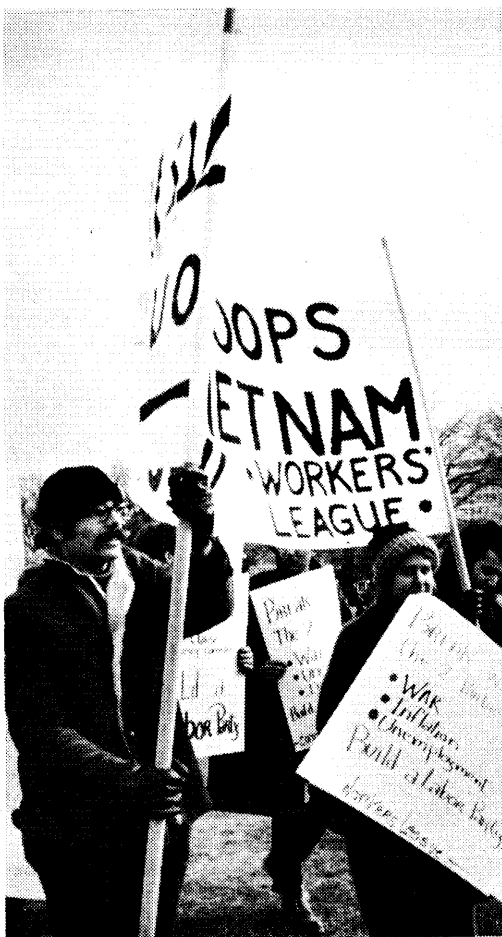
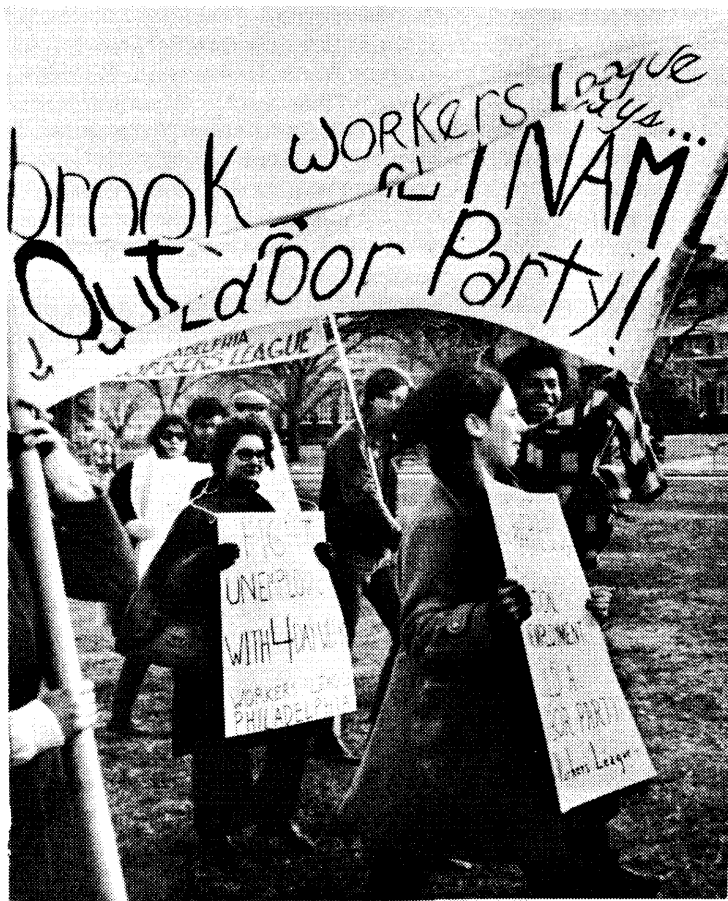
The whole intervention stood in the sharpest contrast to the overall disorganization of the day's activities for which the New Mobilization Committee and other leaders are solely responsible.

The Workers League, unlike any of the other tendencies present, such

as the SWP, CP, and PL, who have long since liquidated themselves into their respective fronts and alliances, made a real party intervention.

This intervention came as a culmination of a three month period in which the League has launched a weekly paper and virtually tripled the number of its national locations.

The Workers League is absolutely confident that it is now entering a period in which it can rapidly emerge as a more powerful force than its traditional opponents as the first step on the way to becoming the mass revolutionary party of the American working class. It is within this perspective that its intervention on November 15th and its rapid development in the recent period must be placed.



WORKERS LEAGUE IN WASHINGTON



unionists at march express agreement on labor party



BY DAN FRIED

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- The Nov. 15th outpouring of half a million anti-war demonstrators here was marked by the participation of many thousands of workers from the American trade union movement. Official delegations were present from such unions as the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and its affiliate, the Fur and Leather workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Jewelry workers, United Auto Workers, and United Electrical Workers. Unions which sent especially large delegations numbering more than 1,000 each from New York City were the Hospital Workers Local 1199, District 65, Distributive Workers of America and the Social Service Employees Union.

Many rank and file trade unionists also came on their own with their families or together with their union brothers. Rank and file groups from a number of unions were present. Most prominent among these was a group of Brooklyn longshoremens from the ILA who came with banners and held a small demonstration near the Washington monument.

There were also a number of groups and committees of trade unionists from different cities representing individual trade unionists from various unions. One such group was the Minnesota Labor Against the War group which was little more than a month old and included unionists from the UAW, Teamsters, Electrical Workers, Meatcutters, Butchers, Bakers, and Transport Workers, among others.

INFLATION

In discussing with this reporter,

BULLETIN REPORTER DAN FRIED TALKS WITH FUR & LEATHER WORKER (LEFT) AND HOSPITAL WORKER ON MALL

one of the representatives of the Minnesota group, a member of the Carpenters Union, agreed that many more workers than ever before were participating in the anti-war demonstrations both in Washington and around the country. One of the key reasons for this growth he felt was the continuation of inflation which more and more workers were feeling and connecting up with the Viet Nam War. "All these questions--of wages, hours and conditions, unemployment, are wrapped up together," he said. "As long as you've got the war you've got inflation and the working man takes home less and less even though the wages may be higher--he can't buy as much. All these issues are inter-related."

He felt strongly that not only should the labor movement fight against the war, but also for the demands that the Workers League had raised in the march--for big wage gains and the 4 day week. The 4 day week he felt was necessary to combat the recession which was developing as a result of the government's measures to "cool off" the economy. "You have to have it. My father worked



50 hours a week. I work 40 and can work overtime when I want but I don't want it", he remarked.

LABOR PARTY

When asked if he thought that the demands which the Workers League had raised on its banners could be attained within the two major parties, he admitted that even though he was on the county executive committee of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, he was quite discouraged with this party, especially since their last convention. He liked the idea of a labor party, but did not see much hope for such a party as long as the labor movement was dominated by George Meany. He admitted that Reuther was really no better and said "I'm not hopeful that any of the established labor leaders will move unless pushed."

The response of this trade unionist was typical of most of the unionists who talked with this reporter, including workers from the Meatcutters, Clothing Workers, Hospital Workers and District 65. The general feeling was that there was a need for an independent labor party and that they would support a movement for such a party 100% since the Republicans and Democrats were responsible for the war, the inflation and the growing unemployment.

CLOTHING WORKERS WERE ONE CONTINGENT WHICH CAME WITH BANNER



STATEMENT OF WORKERS LEAGUE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

A CHALLENGE TO STONY BROOK SDS-WSA

On Wednesday morning, November 12th we received a telephone call from Mitchell Cohen, representing SDS at State University at Stony Brook, L.I. He reported that the Long Island bus companies had cancelled out their buses, leaving 800 Stony Brook students without transportation for the Washington march. He asked our assistance and wanted to know how many students we could transport.

We consulted our bus company and called him back. We informed him that we were concerned with two problems: the first was the transportation of the Workers League contingent from Stony Brook to Wash-

ington, and the second was to assist in any way we could with the general problem of the stranded Stony Brook students.

We offered to take 50 Stony Brook students on our buses with the understanding that the Workers League supporters at Stony Brook would have preference for these seats. We also put him in touch with our charter agency who in turn arranged for several buses for Stony Brook.

Cohen, with the full knowledge of the SDS Steering Committee, accepted this arrangement and gave a check for \$400 to our representative on the campus. With this understood we proceeded to arrange for enough buses to take the 50 from Stony Brook plus the more than 100 in New York City who signed up to go with the Workers League.

On Thursday evening we received a call from a representative of the SDS Steering Committee informing us that SDS was cancelling out the 50 seats unless we guaranteed to them that they have their own bus. The representative made it clear that the SDS Steering Committee did not want the 50 Stony Brook students to be exposed to Workers League members. The SDS Steering Committee is controlled by the Worker-Student Alliance, which is in sympathy with the Progressive Labor Party.

We informed the Steering Committee that we had no objection to all 50 Stony Brook students traveling together and that of course the SDS could lead them, indoctrinate them, and do whatever they wished. Our only stipulation was, as we had made clear from the beginning, that the buses were Workers League buses and would operate under our general supervision since we would be held accountable for the buses and the actions of those on them.

The SDS Steering Committee made it clear that it would not even accept this arrangement and that no matter what we proposed they were cancelling out the 50 seats. They were fully aware that they were giving us barely a day's notice.

Mitchell Cohen, in particular, as he made the original arrangements with the Workers League, is fully aware that at no time did the Workers League agree to furnish a bus but that we only agreed to furnish 50 seats on Workers League buses. If he says different now, we publicly state in print that he is a liar.

The members of the SDS Steering Committee are also aware that we came to their assistance at a time when they were in a desperate situation and did everything we could to get them to Washington even though we were aware of the political nature

of the SDS leadership and opposed this political tendency. We began with the objective needs of the Stony Brook students. They are also aware that they cancelled out our 50 seats only at a time when they were able to arrange alternative transportation and no longer needed our assistance.

It is not possible for them to explain to students at Stony Brook how the interests of Stony Brook students were advanced by this action. In fact it so happened that the Workers League buses arrived in Washington fully two hours before Stony Brook buses.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this incident is that the WSA is using its control of SDS for its own factional interests and that it fears above all else any contact between SDS members and supporters and members of the Workers League. Since it cannot answer the Workers League politically, it must resort to the crudest of organizational maneuvers to seek to prevent political discussion.

We deliver a direct challenge to the WSA members of the Steering Committee of SDS. Prove us wrong by answering politically the series by Lucy St. John appearing in the Bulletin. We guarantee to print in the pages of the Bulletin what you write exactly as you write it.

Bulletin

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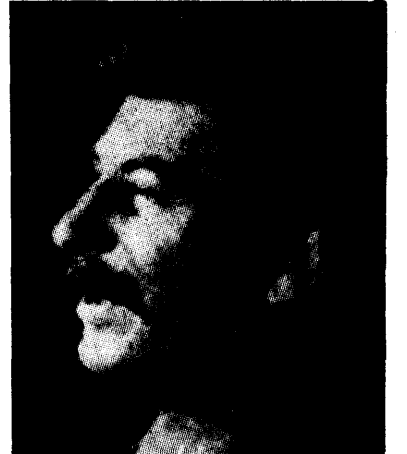
WHERE PROGRESSIVE LABOR REALLY STANDS



PROGRESSIVE LABOR
PARTY LEADERS
(FROM LEFT):
FRED JEROME,
BILL EPTON,
MILTON ROSEN, AND
MORTIMER SCHEER

Progressive Labor claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist" party, and claims to fight for the working class but underneath this phrasemongering is a movement that subordinates the struggle for a proletarian revolution to middle class protest politics. Its program is based on Stalinism and the Popular Front, the policies that led millions of workers to bloody defeat in this century, in China in 1927, in Spain, in Germany and in Indonesia. PL's road to revolution is the road to betrayal of the coming revolutionary struggles.

A SERIES OF ARTICLES BY LUCY ST JOHN



PART TWO-- PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND THE TRADE UNIONS (CONTINUED)

on the "center-left coalition"

It is in this period that PL seeks to hamstring the working class with the very policies which crushed it in the past. PL is preparing even more brutal betrayals by tying the working class through alliances and coalitions to the middle class and to the capitalists when above all what is required is this independent struggle against capitalism. It is the program of reform not revolution which underlies PL's "Trade Union Program" as well as its practice in the unions.

PL begins by saying in its recently published "Trade Union Program" (PL, August, 1969) that of course the "ultimate goal" is the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and that of course only the working class is capable of carrying this through. This, however, is "long range." With this aside, PL maps out its "main strategy" for today--the construction of a "Left-Center coalition to lead the working class."

At the heart of the "Left-Center Coalition" is the same methodological approach inherent in the conception of the "bloc of four classes" and the Popular Front or "Peoples Democracy." As Walter Linder describes it in the November, 1969 issue of Progressive Labor, it is "a coalition of revolutionary, com-

munist forces along with the mass of workers ready to fight the bosses." Further elaboration of this coalition involves a mechanical, formal set of definitions similar to a complicated set of instructions for Chinese checkers. It is totally removed from the actual existence and development of the working class.

PL divides the trade union movement up into the Left, the Center, and the Right. The Center as defined by PL is made up of "the vast majority of workers; its leadership is militant, class oriented but non-communist." It is "ready to fight for immediate demands. . . under rules established by the ruling class. Their struggle, therefore, is contained within the system and does not challenge it." The "Right" consists of such labor bureaucrats as Meany and Reuther but not all of the labor leaders. The Left is made up of "communists following a path of revolution, not reform, based on Marxism-Leninism."

What is missing from this description of the Left-Center-Right is political and programmatic content of these "forces" and of the "coalition." The Center is set up as something neutral standing between the Left and the Right. The Left-Center

coalition is also considered neutral standing between revolution on the Left and reformism on the Right. This is the kind of reasoning Stalin used to justify the Kuomintang as a neutral arena for the struggle of the masses.

The political consciousness of what PL calls the Center is not neutral. As Lenin pointed out in "What Is To Be Done": "We have said that there could not have been Social-Democratic consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and to strive to compel the government to pass necessary labor legislation, etc." Similarly, Lenin repeats: "Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the ONLY choice is--either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course. . ."

While PL admits to this, the whole conception of the Left-Center coalition as a leadership for the working

class denies it. The very conception of a "coalition" implies a completely external and separate relationship between the "left" and the working class, not an interpenetration of the two, and through this interpenetration a change. It remains a static relation. This is because PL cannot confront the question of changing the trade union consciousness of the "Center." The program of the coalition is the program of the center, the program of reformism, which PL contends must be the basis for leadership within the trade union movement.

BUREAUCRACY

By refusing to pose an alternative to trade union consciousness and making this the basis for leadership in the working class, PL ties the workers through its Left-Center coalition to the bureaucracy. By basing its coalition on the perpetuation of the consciousness of the center, it subordinates the working class to capitalism, and in this sense forms an alliance between the working class and capitalism.

This "coalition" is justified on a number of equally erroneous bases, all of which have as their aim restricting the working class as a whole

within the confines of reformism.

First is the fact that "communists" are present in this coalition, although as PL makes clear they do not play a leading role. The role of the "Left" is to help the "Center" along the sidelines--"pointing out" little lessons and propagandizing on "political truths about the state." The "Left" cheers on the "Center" while at the same time it uses it as a "base" to protect PL from "red-baiting" and as a fishing pond from which PL can recruit a few workers.

Secondly, for PL the workers must fight now on the trade union level and later the political. While PL attacks the "stage" theory, the whole basis on which the Left-Center Coalition is constructed is precisely this "theory." As Lenin once said: "When the 'ultimate goal' is pushed further and further away from our agitation, that is reformism."

Thirdly, and by far the most absurd of PL's contentions is that the work-

struggle the working class would have come to power long ago.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Lenin in his polemic "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder" took up these latter two points in relation to the resistance of the Communist movement in Britain to working in the Labour Party. "Revolution," Lenin says, "is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, and this change is brought about by the political experience of the masses, and never by propaganda alone." Lenin points out that the "fundamental law of all great revolutions is that the masses must have their political experience." The "mere repetition of the truths of 'pure' Communism, are of no avail."

PL's "ultra-leftism" is hardly a question of their being over zealous about revolution, rather it is so much jitterbug to hide its refusal to take

mental Problems of the Young Communist Movement" published in 1922: "Even in their contents our demands are absolutely different from the reformist demands put forward by Social Democracy. These people have drawn up a program in which they set forth their minimum demands, and in which they have allowed themselves to be guided by the principle of going out for only those that can be carried out under the rule of capitalism. We, however, in fighting for our demands, do not think it necessary to stop to consider whether or not they can find a place in the profit-making system of the capitalist class. Indeed we make a full turn about and make demands of such a nature as will spell the doom of capitalism." These demands "are not to be considered individually, but as going to form a system."

At the same time these demands are part and parcel of the party's struggle for socialism: "All our

In the U.S. this program is posed in the context of the fight for a labor party. The mass of American workers have not taken the step taken by workers in every major capitalist country, of politically breaking from the capitalist parties and forming their own party. The demand for a labor party is the means of overcoming the contradiction between the development of a fantastically powerful trade union movement and its inability to develop a political arm in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. The fight for the labor party on the basis of the transitional program, a socialist program, is the way to drive a wedge between the working class and capitalist politics. This political consciousness is what lays the basis for the formation of a MASS revolutionary party.

To abstain from this political struggle is to leave the working class under the grips of capitalism. The gap between the small forces of the vanguard and the necessities for independent political struggle posed by the situation facing American workers cannot be overcome simply by urging workers to support it. It is in the process of the struggle by the working class for a political alternative, that the revolutionary party is built. It is not a question of two stages but part of the same process.

While PL recognizes the contradiction between the power of the unions and their limitations, it can pose no way of overcoming this contradiction. In its "Trade Union Program" it states: "This dual character of U.S. trade unions--tremendous class struggle alongside an inability to move beyond the capitalist system--has marked the last 100 years." This is correct but what is the alternative: "Something more than trade unionism is needed to lead the battle against the ruling class all the way, to a new system." PL cannot tell us what this "something more is."

"Understanding the necessity for the long range goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and propagandizing about it is not enough. The working class learns only through political experience in struggle.

PL cannot come to grips with this task so it zigs and zags from opportunism to ultra-leftism. Trotskyism is the only tendency which bases itself on the strategy of the Transitional Program, on the strategy which led to the victorious October Revolution and was developed for the international working class by the early Communist International. This is the only alternative. PL has refused to confront Trotskyism. It has taken the road not to revolution but to betrayal through its bloc with Stalinism.

The "Left-Center coalition" is the reflection within the working class of Stalin's and Mao's "bloc of four classes", "Peoples' Democracy", or the Popular Front. To make a "bloc" with the working class means to subordinate the interests of the working class to the interests of other classes. Such a bloc can be made only on the basis of the present consciousness of the class, trade union consciousness. It is precisely upon this false consciousness that the bureaucracy rests in the trade unions. The "Left-Center coalition" means a bloc with the trade union bureaucracy and the subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie.



PROGRESSIVE LABOR REFUSES TO RAISE ANY POLITICAL DEMANDS WITHIN THE UNIONS. ABOVE TRADE UNIONS CALL FOR LABOR PARTY AT RALLY DURING IMMEDIATE POSTWAR UPSURGE

ing class has spontaneously come to political consciousness, has in fact broken from reformism. This is what PL contended after the last Presidential election. This was no more than a cover for its inability to pose a political alternative. "The main lesson," PL said in the February 1969 issue of PL, "is that more and more working people are giving up on elections. . . we were entirely right to place confidence in the working class, that we were right in expecting the elections to fail to provide window dressing for imperialist rule." Apathy is not going to lead the working class anywhere. It does not represent the conscious rejection of "imperialists rule" or the fight for an alternative to its rule.

PL's alternative "Don't Vote! Organize!" expressed its inability to pose this political alternative, to pose to the mass of the working class the need to take up the struggle for power. PL told the workers to organize, organize a more militant trade union fight. The question of how to take this fight to victory was left unanswered. The point is that the working class cannot defeat "the bosses," "racism," "strikebreaking" the "sell-out leaders" without taking these struggles on the economic level onto the political level.

Fourthly, PL's perspective boils down to propaganda about the correctness of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" combined with the trade union struggle. This is not sufficient for raising consciousness. If that was all there was to revolutionary

on the central task of the revolutionary party of raising the political consciousness of the working class as a whole for the struggle to take the power. This is not an easy task. PL has rejected it in favor of "alliances," "coalitions" which keep the working class subordinated to capitalism.

Contrary to PL's schematism, Marxism does not form "alliances" with the working class, but bases itself on the working class as the only revolutionary force. The task of Marxists is to fight within the working class, within the trade unions, to organize the rank and file workers on the basis of a program which poses within the concrete struggles of today the necessity to fight for political power.

Such a program is a transitional program; it does not ignore the economic struggle but generalizes it, uniting the class from industry to industry on the basis of demands that confront the objective needs of the working class and poses the way to obtaining victory.

The conception of the transitional program is not new. It has its origins within the Marxist movement and in particular in the program of the Bolshevik Party. It was developed more fully by the Communist International during its first five years. It stood in contrast to the minimum program of the Social Democracy and the maximum program of the "Left Communists."

Here is how the Young Communist International posed it in "The Funda-

agitational work and other activities are inspired by the consciousness that no lasting improvement can be brought about in the position of the masses of the proletariat and no reorganization of youth labor is possible as long as capitalism remains in existence. . . We raise these demands in order to take the working class through a struggle so that the masses of workers will realize, if they are to be able to live, the capitalist society must die."

This was the perspective of the international movement in order to lead the working class to power. Stalin tossed this strategy to the winds when he took up the banner of "socialism in one country." He replaced it with an alliance with reformism through the Popular Front.

TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

Trotsky fought Stalin for the strategy of the early Communist International. He developed it in the light of the strategic experiences of the working class in the decades after. This work found its expression in the founding document of the Fourth International--the Transitional Program--"The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

The transitional program is based on the class struggle in this epoch. It raises such demands as the 30 hour week, the escalator clause, nationalization of basic industry under workers control, defense guards, and the formation of a workers government to carry out this program.

MUST READING!

Discussions With Leon Trotsky 35¢
On The Transitional Program

Leon Trotsky On Labor Party 20¢
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BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS
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The difference between a transitional program and the reformist program of Progressive Labor can be shown if we look at PL's actual program and practice in the trade unions.

In the October, 1969 issue of CHALLENGE, PL attempts to deal with the crisis in the construction industry. PL sees the problem as a "scheme" of "Big Business" to utilize non-union labor to replace union labor. "If all the workers are union workers, the work can be shared out fairly." PL contends that if all the labor is union "there will be more work to share out." "Don't forget," says PL, "there is a rising need for construction."

What exactly does PL think is the meaning of the 75% cut in construction expenditures by Nixon? Does PL contend that this cut represents Nixon's recognition of the "rising need for construction" or that this is going to mean that "there will be more work to share out." Above all this cut will mean a slash in jobs, union and non-union, in construction.

Already lay-offs have started on the construction sites, working conditions are deteriorating rapidly, inflation has cut away at the wages. Racial discrimination is used on the job to keep the workers divided. The blacks are often given the worst jobs and are used as a threat by the employers against the white workers. The union bureaucracies have perpetuated this situation.

Nixon's cuts will mean that more bitter attacks are in store. These cuts are combined with the plans not only of "big business" but the government to destroy the power of the unions. Secretary of Labor Schultz has demanded an all out war against the construction unions, to lower the wages and create conditions under which fewer and less skilled workers will be necessary. In the cards is a plan to chain the unions to the government through a tri-partite board including the government, the bosses, and labor whose purpose it will be to police the "inflationary" wage demands. This is combined with the attempts to take the training programs out of the hands of the union and put them in the hands of the government to break down the skills and train workers who will do all jobs, using unskilled workers to do skilled work at unskilled wages and increasing the productivity of the workers.

But the major question in implementing these policies is the power of the unions. The chief part of the scheme of the government and the employers is a good dose of unemployment to weaken and eventually destroy the unions by setting employed workers against unemployed.

PL absolutely ignores this attack. It lies to the workers when it says that "there will be more work to share out." Nixon's cuts have made that clear enough. There cannot possibly be a fair sharing of the work, union and non-union combined under conditions of rapidly increasing unemployment.

CRISIS

These attacks are not confined to construction alone but face the working class as a whole. The capitalists in all countries are taking measures to control a crisis which is heading the capitalist economy to breakdown. This is the meaning of Nixon's recessionary policies and Pompidou's austerity measures. Unemployment jumped 0.5% in September, 1969 alone and will continue to rise. Unemployment is both a result of the attempts to slowdown the economy and at the same time is a conscious policy

progressive labor's program and role in the unions

of the employers and the government to drive down the working class. All the wage control schemes the governments in the capitalist countries have attempted to institute have proved futile as the working class continues its offensive.

Through unemployment the employers and the government hope to remove the impediment of the trade unions in order to slash wages, take a whiplash to the workers who are on the jobs, and destroy completely the independence of the working class from the state. Racism will become the heat to ignite the fire to divide the workers, the employed and unemployed, and enable the government to smash the unions. Only through these attacks on the working class can the capitalists attempt to save their fast declining system.

It is this crisis which underlies the conflicts between the Negro and white construction workers and between the black unemployed and the unions in Pittsburgh and Chicago, and also between the Teamsters and Longshoremens on the West Coast and between the dockers on the East Coast.

While PL may not want to face up to the crisis and the growing threat of unemployment, the workers are experiencing it. On the construction sites the black workers legitimately fear that they will be laid off first. The white workers see the struggles by the black nationalists as threatening their jobs. The unemployed see the unions as their enemy in preventing them from getting the jobs they need. Racism is used by the employers and the government and encouraged by the policies of the construction unions to keep the work-

ers divided and avoid the confrontation with the real enemy.

STRATEGY

What is required is a strategy which confronts these attacks and can unite the workers, black and white, employed and unemployed. The only demand that addresses itself to the real problem of unemployment, the only demand that can unite the workers is the demand of JOBS FOR ALL through the THIRTY HOUR WEEK at a full weeks pay. The plans to slash wages and the soaring inflation must be countered with the demands for big wage increases and an escalator clause. To the attempts to destroy working conditions, we must demand union control over conditions in the shops. If the bosses and the government have to cut back, if they cannot run industry to meet the needs of the working class, we say nationalize basic industry under workers control.

The policies of "Big Business" are the policies of the government. The fight on the basic economic demands of wages and jobs of necessity involves a confrontation with the government. This cannot be met through the fights of the workers in individual shops or simply on an economic level. The fight must be a political confrontation. Labor must build a powerful political weapon, a labor party, to fight for their interests.

This is the kind of strategy that is necessary not only for construction workers but for the working class as a whole. It is within the framework of this strategy that all the specific demands for any particular industry can be raised. It is within the context of this program that a real

assault on racism can be made through uniting all workers and unemployed around a program that welds together their interests, which does not counterpose the interests of one section of the working class against another.

Because PL has no understanding of the crisis it has no strategy for uniting and mobilizing the class as a whole in an offensive against the attempts by the government and the employers to make them pay for a decaying system. Its program for construction is based on false premises--that there is no crisis, no real threat of unemployment. It avoids the basic confrontation on jobs, wages, and working conditions and in so doing perpetuates the divisions between workers.

NATIONALISM

Despite all its admissions of past errors and all its attacks on the black nationalists, it continues to see the struggles today through the eyes of black nationalism. Thus instead of seeing the conflicts in construction as a result of the crisis and the attacks on the working class, PL sees it as a question of a racial conflict between a "large pool of non-union black workers" and unionized white workers. In other words they ignore the basis for these eruptions, the attacks on the class and the CLASS STRUGGLE.

PL begins not from the struggles and interests of the class as a whole but from the false consciousness of the expression of this struggle and the specific interests of the black workers. It begins therefore as the nationalists do by separating out the situation facing the black workers from the class struggle as a whole and from a classless analysis.

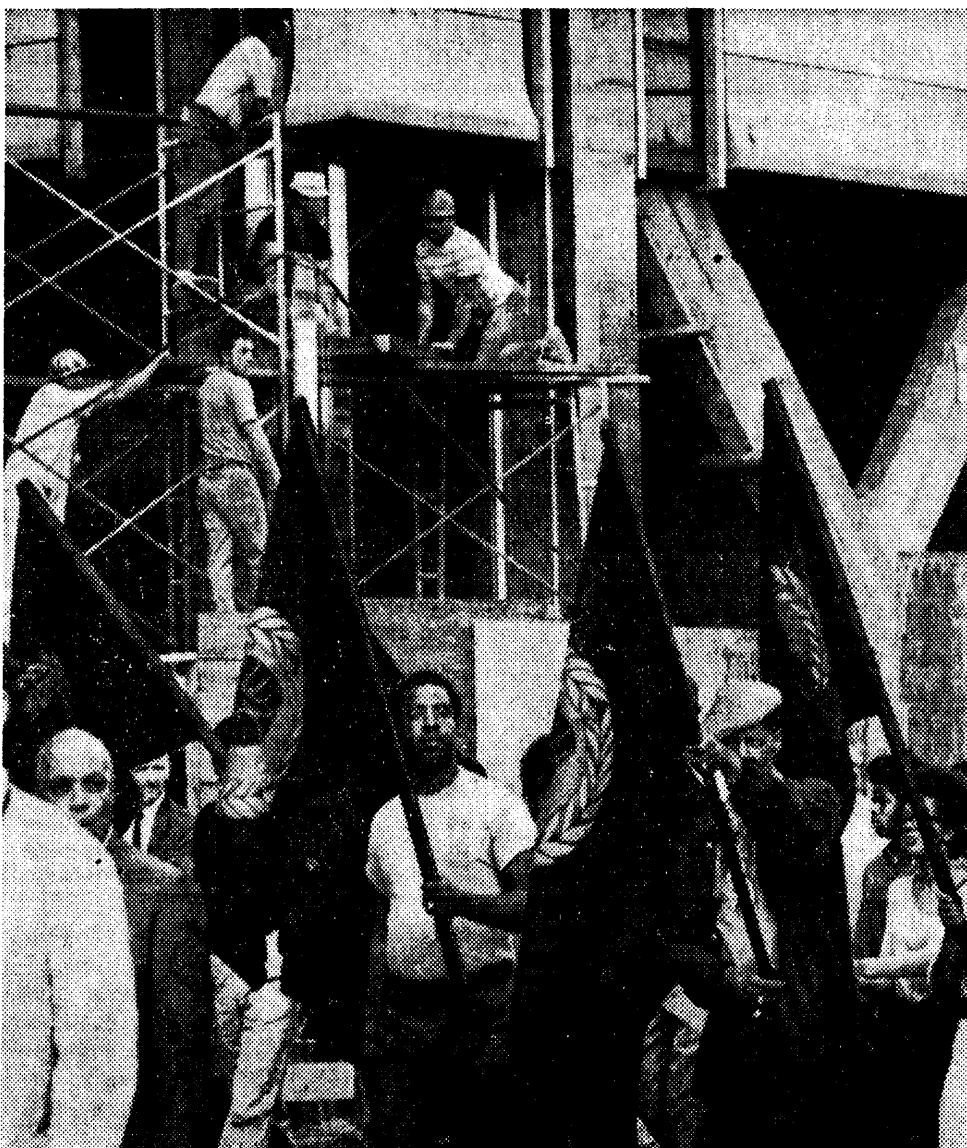
Basically PL has not changed its position on black nationalism one iota. (See the basic analysis of PL's position in the pamphlet by Tim Wohlforth, "New Nationalism and the Negro Struggle"). It maintains its support to black nationalism by refusing to take a clear, unequivocal stand against it. This organization is basically opportunist; it is spineless. It always wants to stand in the middle of the road and this it contends is "Marxism-Leninism." To the question of PL's attitude towards the current expression of the Negro struggle in the form of black nationalism, it gives in its own words "a dialectical 'Yes and No'." This is done through the formula: "We do not deny the national aspects of the oppression of the black people, but we emphasize the fundamental class basis of oppression. That is why we say that the black liberation movement will be national in form and working class in content."

Now we repeat dialectics is not a middle of the road outlook between on the one hand "yes" and on the other hand "no." This is eclecticism and leads to taking no position on anything.

This little formula enables PL to keep one foot in the door of the black nationalist movement while at the same time not taking responsibility for the obviously reactionary character and results of this movement.

In practice it maintains the very "national form" it attacks in its continued support and demand for

PL CANNOT SEE THAT BEHIND RACE CONFLICT OVER CONSTRUCTION JOBS (PITTSBURGH DEMONSTRATION BELOW) IS CONTRACTION OF ECONOMY



black caucuses. One of the major problems PL saw in the Pittsburgh dispute was that the black workers have been unable "to organize themselves into a black construction workers' caucus to fight for their interests." This caucus must be as national in content as it is in form organized on the basis of the special interests of the black workers as opposed to the white workers.

DIVISIONS

While PL calls for a united union, they seek to maintain the divisions on the basis of black caucuses. All of this is done to avoid the fact that the interests of the workers whether black and white are the same and that what is required is the mobilization of the working class as a whole against the real problem--capitalism.

PL cops out of the basic struggle on jobs, wages, and working conditions by posing the main fight as the "Fight Against Racism." "Fighting racism" says PL, "is the key element in the struggle." This reduces itself to two things--one is to continue the divisions through black caucuses and the other is nothing but phrasemongering about fighting racism.

Phrasemongering about fighting racism becomes a substitute for PL's confronting the basic class struggle and posing concretely the real solution to eliminating racism--the fight by the working class for socialism--and the basis for a real fight against

even after the SSEU had been totally defeated in its strike in the summer of 1967, largely because of its isolation from the other workers in the department in the AFL-CIO and the rest of the labor movement. The bureaucracy together with PL and the Black Caucus were not concerned with the interests of the workers but only with preserving their privileges and the SSEU as an arena for "left" propaganda and recruitment. When the WL supporters took this fight to the ranks in the form of a petition drive, they were opposed by PL and the leadership. When it was clear that the ranks wanted affiliation and supported the WL's drive overwhelmingly, the leadership and PL jumped on the bandwagon.

JOB CUTS

This past winter the City announced that the upcoming SSEU contract would have to include the elimination of 9,000 jobs from the Department. Clearly, this represented the movement by the government to deal with the growing economic crisis by making the working class pay through unemployment and the attacks on the working conditions in the shops. These job cuts came at the same time of the budget cuts affecting all City and State services.

PL, oblivious to this crisis and the resultant attacks on the workers' basic living and working conditions, became the more virulent spokesman

employment, you will have to wait until PL mystically without a struggle brings socialism to the working class. So while they were distributing leaflets calling for "revolution" outside the union hall, they were completely supporting the sell-out betrayals of the bureaucracy inside the hall.

IMPACT

The real impact of this betrayal is now being felt by the workers within the centers. As more workers leave and are not replaced, each worker has more and more work. The bureaucracy in the union has refused to do anything about the situation. After the Delegates Assembly had passed a motion for a very limited work action, this action was called off at the next meeting without even calling a membership meeting. The calling off of this action was supported by PL. One of its members, however, conveniently left the room during the voting.

PL has refused to confront not only the bureaucracy but the political struggle against Lindsay and the City by refusing to pose independent political struggle by the trade union movement against Democratic and Republican parties. PL despite all its supposed concern for the clients refused to take up the political battle necessary against the budget cuts.

WORKER-CLIENT ALLIANCE

As a substitute for this basic class struggle on the attacks facing the working class and for the political fight which is required to beat back the government's policies, PL hides behind its Worker-Client Alliance.

PL's rationalization for this alliance is that the attacks on the workers stem from the attacks on the welfare clients' grants, and that the workers should have sympathy for the clients. The purpose of the alliance is to get the workers out on the picket lines of demonstrations called by the WCA on the basis of the clients demands for things such as "School Clothing Now." Workers demands are attached to the demonstration.

While PL is conducting these demonstrations the real attacks remain--the situation facing the workers in the centers as a result of the job

temporarily unemployed--and the lumpen proletariat. The interests of this section of society are determined by their removal from the basic relationship between capital and labor, from their removal from the productive process. They are in no sense an independent force apart from the workers and the capitalists. Their demands, their program and their struggle do not confront the basic struggle between the working class and capitalism. This basic struggle is raised at the point of production.

The Worker-Client Alliance is a cover for avoiding the real struggle against the bureaucracy, the employer, and the government. This is combined with PL's campaigns around the victimization of the members of the WCA as a result of the WCA actions in the centers and the victimization of one of its members, Doug Weller, by the Administration.

FIGURE FLATTERY

This campaign within the SSEU is similar to PL's similar work in Figure Flattery and is behind the actions PL is brewing in the San Francisco Phone Workers struggle. These campaigns consist of isolated adventures to get the workers to support "communists." After a few demonstrations or picket lines combined with propaganda, the struggle in the union is ceased. We have not heard a peep about Figure Flattery since the campaign over the firing of militants. No doubt in a few months PL's struggles in the San Francisco CWA will be over.

We say these workers must be defended to the fullest. However, PL's aim in these campaigns is something else--they are used as an excuse to avoid the necessary fight in the unions. Wally Linder in his article, "Don't Abandon the Workers" writes the script for these shows. Having Communists in the unions, Linder contends will make the bosses attack the communists and the workers. "Certainly the bosses will try anything to dislodge communists from leadership. . . And, of course, murder has never been an unthinkable last resort for bosses. But it is JUST SUCH A FIGHT that can force a discussion among the workers about the value and role of the communists in the working class."



racism now within the working class--the program to unite all workers in a common class economic and political struggle for power. The fight against racial discrimination must be conducted within this framework.

We can see the whole implementation of this outlook in PL's work in the Social Service Employees Union in New York. At the heart of their policies here are the same problems which are posed in PL's analysis of the crisis in construction and its program.

SSEU

PL's role in the SSEU is of a two prong character. First they serve as a left cover for the bureaucracy, supporting every single one of its sell-outs and betrayals. The only circumstances under which it confronts the leadership is over the defense of its members who have been victimized or in defense of its isolated adventures in various centers. The second prong is its activities in the Worker-Client alliance to divert the struggles away from the basic questions facing the workers and the political struggle against the City and State governments.

When supporters of the Workers League fought within the SSEU for affiliation with the AFL-CIO they were opposed by the joint force of PL allied with the union leadership and the black caucus. This was opposed

for the bureaucracy's complete acceptance of these attacks and the elimination of 9,000 jobs. Committee for a Decent Contract, supported by the WL, was the only force in the union that fought against these cuts.

PL's main spokesman in the union became the hatchet man for the bureaucracy in launching a brutal witchhunt against the members of this Committee. The Committee was attacked by PL's opportunist for attacking and embarrassing the leadership when the Committee called on the ranks at a membership meeting to vote down the job cuts and for denouncing the leadership when it prevented the vote.

PL defended the job cuts in a leaflet on the basis that you cannot fight on "structural changes," the real solution lies in "revolution." The other reason was that the cuts would not mean lay-offs. PL rationalized this with the conception that welfare workers are somehow different than other workers--they "serve the people" and therefore cannot fight job cuts. The real question PL said was getting more money for the clients. This business about welfare workers being different is precisely the garbage the government uses against all public employees. What PL is saying and they say the same thing in their construction program is you cannot fight these job cuts now, you cannot fight unem-



PL ORGANIZES WORKER-CLIENT DEMONSTRATIONS (LEFT) AS COVER FOR SUPPORT TO BUREAUCRACY

(RIGHT) GOTBAUM, MORGENSTERN AND COHEN

cuts and the budget cuts being fully implemented. These futile adventures of PL's have not solved a thing or posed the way forward.

At the heart of the Worker-Client Alliance is the bloc of four classes through which the program of the working class is subordinated to the shortrange interests of other classes and the real confrontation with capitalism avoided. The workers and clients are seen as equal forces. PL makes clear that the clients must be in leadership of the Worker-Client alliance. This alliance subordinates the interests of the workers to the interests of a peripheral section of the working class--those who are

This PL says raises the political consciousness of the working class because the workers feel sympathy for the victimized or even dead "communist." This is idealist rubbish fitting of the martyrs of the church but not "communists." We can only say that if the Bolshevik Party had proceeded in such a way, there would have been no October. It is clear that PL would rather decapitate its leadership or its members rather than to wage the fight to mobilize the working class in a political confrontation with the capitalists.

THE CONCLUDING SECTION "ON THE QUESTION OF THE PARTY" WILL APPEAR IN NEXT WEEK'S BULLETIN

s.s. united states must sail again!

**S.S. UNITED STATES---
FIVE LEISURELY DAYS OF FUN AND RELAXATION
ABOARD AMERICA'S SUPERLINER TO EUROPE.**



S.S. UNITED STATES

HERE UNION MEMBERS PROMOTE SAILING ON THE BIG 'U' NOW LAYED UP IN PORT

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK--The SS United States was laid up here November 14th. Over one thousand of the best-paying jobs in the National Maritime Union were wiped out at one stroke. Scores of high-paying jobs for engineers and mates were also abolished.

Walter Kidde Company, new owners of United States Lines, plans to get rid of all its freighters, one of the largest fleets under the American flag. Hundreds more NMU jobs will be wiped out.

BLAME

Joe Curran and the rest of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee are to blame for these job cuts. At the last AFL-CIO convention the Maritime Committee threatened a "boycott"--a strike--to get Nixon's maritime plan made public. The plan was announced in outline on October 23. It does nothing to support the money-losing passenger liners. U.S. Lines' answer to Curran and the Maritime Committee is to lay up the United States and dump the rest of its fleet.

The rank and file of the National Maritime Union must organize an ad hoc committee to fight to get the United States and the laid up passenger liners Argentina and Brasil back out to sea with full manning and with four instead of three watches on each ship with no cut in pay. Four watches are needed to get jobs for unemployed seamen.

This campaign must be kicked off

with a struggle to pass a resolution at the next New York port meeting calling for a strike against all American flag ships if the demand for operation of the SS United States is not met. The resolution must also call for the nationalization of U.S. Lines and Moore-McCormack under workers control, without payment to the owners, if the companies claim they can't afford to run the ships. The resolution must also call for

the founding of a labor party to fight for nationalization. There is no other protection against layoffs and runaway flag ships except nationalization and the threat of a strike. liners are not doomed by a strike: the cruise business is booming, sixteen cruise ships will soon be operating out of Florida under foreign flags.

Members of the NMU must turn out as an organized group at the New York port meeting on November 24th and make sure that Curran's boys don't keep this resolution off the floor of the meeting. This meeting has to be followed by a struggle to form committees on every NMU ship to mobilize the union for a strike.

The Committee for NMU Democracy and the West Coast Committee for MNU Democracy should be called on to lead in this campaign. Any group that claims to lead the ranks of the NMU must fight not only for democracy but also against job cuts so that there is a union left to fight for.

Curran has led the way in maritime in making cuts in manning scales which only whet the appetite of the owners for still bigger job cuts and cripple the ability of the ranks to fight back. Curran's deals did nothing to save the Argentina and Brasil from "temporary" layoffs which are becoming permanent. Curran, the

courts, and the "friends of labor" who support Nixon's plan are enemies in this fight.

Unless the rank and file of the NMU defy Curran's goons and take action against this layup by getting the resolution passed in the November 24th port meeting, thousands more NMU workers will be driven out of the union and into hustling fares in taxis, washing dishes, or worse.

It's time to organize and fight.

AMERICAN MOTORS LOCAL REJECTS DEAL

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

Local 72, UAW, at Kenosha, Wisconsin, rejected a one year agreement reached between American Motors Corporation and the International. The contract was to cover local conditions. The union had earlier reached a master agreement covering all AM locals concerning economic matters.

Workers rejected the local settlement despite urgings from the International and a warning from AMC President W. Luneburg that "the future of American Motors in the automobile industry is in danger."

In 1967 the UAW settled for less, economically, at AMC because of an alleged "weak financial position" than they did at the Big Three auto makers. This year's settlement was to be a "catch-up" contract. It turned out not to be.

In wages, the agreement failed to "catch-up" with the Big Three. AMC is trying to catch up with the Big Three in working conditions. This means speed-up. This is what the Kenosha workers have just rejected. Will they get away with it? Not if Reuther has his way. The latest vote the workers took will not be the last, there will be another and others if necessary.

Before they vote again they will be told what other auto workers have been told at Ford, Chrysler and other smaller plants. They will be told that they have to be competitive with General Motors. This means speeded up and sweated like GM workers--either that or no job.

GE ANGLES FOR DEAL IN UE NEGOTIATIONS

BY DAN FRIED

As the strike of nearly 150,000 General Electric workers enters its fourth week, the prospects of a settlement between the company and the coalition of 13 unions seem remote. Strikers at the huge Schenectady plant are digging in and economizing as best they can. It's no secret that they are sitting tight waiting until the eighth week of the strike when they become eligible for an average of \$65 a week in unemployment compensation.

G.E. publicly is still saying that its "take-it-or-leave-it" offer of a three year contract is the final offer. But behind the scenes the company is angling for a deal, opening the door just a crack while it stands with a big stick in one hand and a tiny, tiny carrot behind its back in the other hand. That is the meaning of the company's talk of "flexibility" which is reportedly being tossed about in the "unofficial" negotiations which have "quietly" been underway between G.E. and the UE (United Electrical Workers--Ind.) G.E. obviously leaked the content of its "flexible" offer to Business Week, the authoritative magazine of big business.

DEAL

According to Business Week, G.E. is proposing to "fill in the blank spaces" for 1970 and 1971 "with modest wage figures, perhaps a limited cost of living clause, and wage reopenings if prices soar above certain levels. UE is definitely interested." Clearly G.E. is baiting its hook, throwing in the line and seeing if it gets a nibble. The company sees this "flexible" offer as entirely within the framework of Boulwarism--of "one final offer"--which it has pledged to defend.

Publicly the UE was reported to have said that it did not consider the new offer to be a "meaningful revision." But clearly, G.E. is hoping that UE nibbles on the bait a little

and in this way puts pressure on the major union in the strike, the IUE, to resume negotiations on the "flexible" offer. In the present setup, the UE which is collaborating closely with the AFL-CIO coalition, is in effect a sounding board for G.E.

DANGER

The big danger facing all the strikers is that while G.E. considers its new offer to be based entirely on Boulwarism, the union leaders may see it as a backing down from Boulwarism. That danger was spelled out earlier when IUE President Paul Jennings said that the fundamental question is "an acceptance of unions and an end to Boulwarism. They're going to have to improve on that offer and the minute they do they've killed Boulwarism."

As we have said in the Bulletin before--it's not a question of "improvements" which G.E. is throwing on the table through its "flexible" offer, but of using the power of

the 13 unions on strike, backed up by the entire labor movement, and tying up the entire country if necessary to WIN this strike. This means no backing down on the union demands: ninety cent wage increases over 30 months; FULL cost of living escalator clause; withdrawal of G.E.'s demands that each plant be a separate bargaining unit and for management's right to lock out workers in strikes over local grievances.

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AS POLICE AND PICKETS STANDBY SCABS ENTER PLANT THROUGH COURT ORDER

Ceylonese Trotskyist Youth Hold Successful Conference

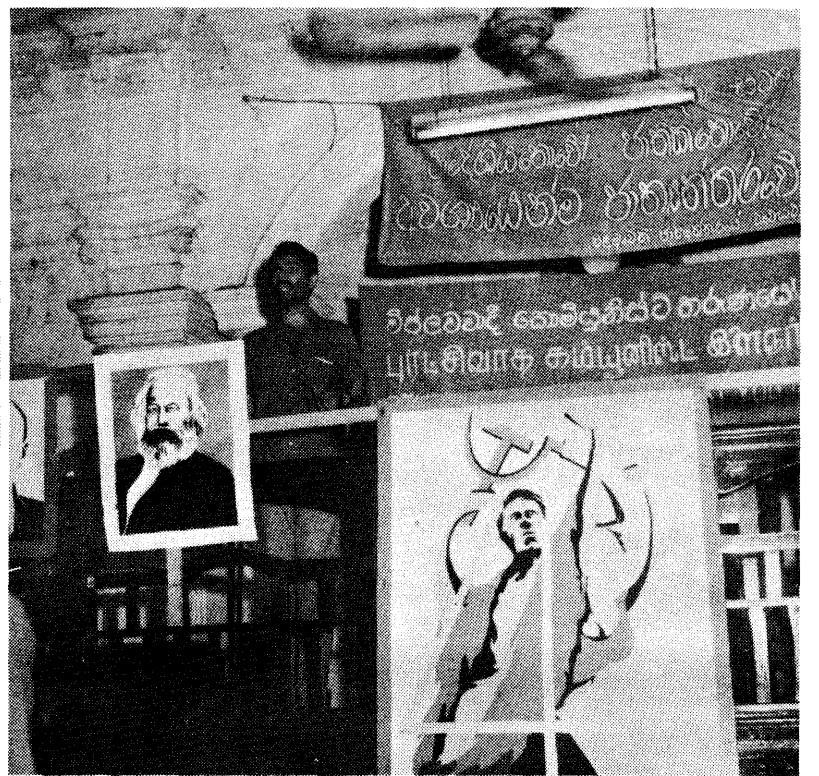
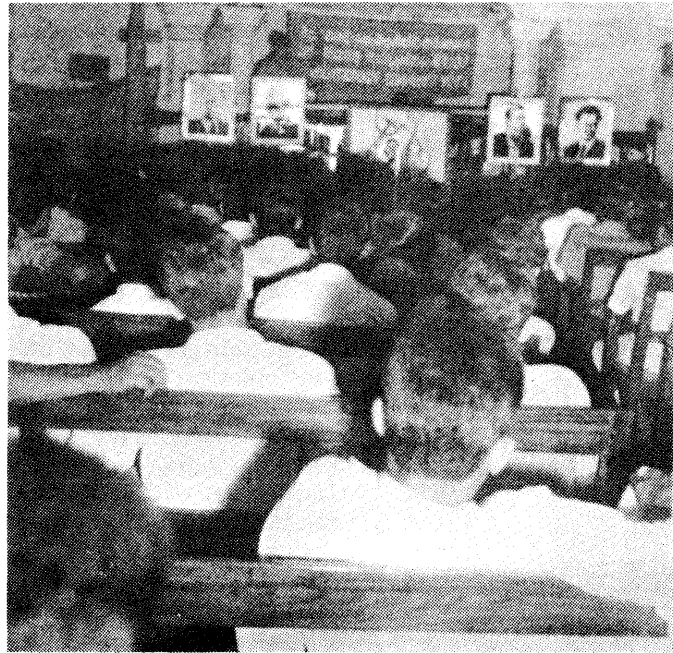
SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

COLOMBO, CEYLON-- The Second Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, the youth organization of the Ceylonese Trotskyists organized in the R.C.L. was held on the 24th of October here. Over 200 young workers, unemployed youth and students attended the conference.

The conference showed the rapid expansion of the Trotskyist forces that has taken place during the past year in Ceylon. The International Resolution adopted at the Conference stated its determination to fight for the building of a revolutionary youth international supporting the Fourth International. The necessity for an international perspective was firmly accepted by the conference which saw its work in Ceylon as an integral part of the world struggle by the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International to rebuild the Fourth International as the centralized international leadership of the world working class.

This youth conference hammered out perspectives for expanding its activities and for developing into a mass youth movement able to provide the forces for building the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The intensification of the capitalist crisis --economic and political-- has created a real upsurge of the class struggle in Ceylon. The past two years have seen three massive strike waves involving hundreds and thousands of workers in response to the attacks of the capitalist class on the living standards of the masses. The betrayals of these struggles by the Stalinists and the Pabloites have emphasized the necessity for a new



ABOVE: COMRADE GIVES INTERNATIONAL REPORT TO CONFERENCE
LEFT: PART OF AUDIENCE AT PUBLIC MEETING OF RCY.

revolutionary leadership. The R.C.Y. and its parent organization the R.C.L. are growing in this situation which is providing unparalleled opportunities for the Marxists.

The Conference of the R.C.Y. also noted the birth of neo-fascist movements, notably one led by R.G. Senanayake and calling itself the Sinhalese Peoples' Party, using Sinhala communalism to build up a mass base. The R.C.Y. pledged to go forward in the most ruthless struggle against these forces and to build working class unity on a socialist program.

PABLOISM

The Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP)-(affiliated to the United Secretariat till 1964) and the LSSP(R) of Bala Tempoe (The Ceylonese section of the United Secretariat) and

the Revolutionary Samasamaja Party of Edmund Samarakeddy - the three Pabloite organizations are in a severe crisis. Leading members of the LSSP including MP's are openly going over to the capitalist UNP government. The LSSP(R) and the RSP have dwindled to little more than name-boards unable to publish even monthly papers regularly, and are rapidly disintegrating. The LSSP(R) the recognized section of the United Secretariat today has no more than 30 or 40 members and has absolutely no basis in the youth. The RSP is even smaller. The fruits of Pabloism are seen in this liquidation of a promising revolutionary cadre which gathered round the LSSP(R) after the majority of the LSSP entered into a Coalition government with the capitalist SLFP in 1964.

The assimilation of the lessons from this degeneration due to Pab-

loism was at the heart of all the work of the R.C.Y. The development of the Trotskyist forces in Ceylon is a sign that the upsurge of the international class struggle is providing the basis for building sections of the Fourth International in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to establish proletarian leadership in the anti-imperialist struggle and to confirm the program of the Fourth International in struggle against all revisionists, Stalinists and the petty bourgeois nationalists. The RCY conference was pervaded by this sense of revolutionary optimism. It resolved to fight for a weekly Trotskyist paper in Sinhala and a fortnightly Tamil paper from the beginning of 1970.

There was a highly successful demonstration through the main streets of Colombo and a packed public meeting after the Conference.

Prince Philip Pleads Poverty

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

Prince Philip's pleas of poverty on the November 9th "Meet The Press" interview were just too much to stomach. While the British workers have faced a wage freeze and increasing unemployment at the hands of the Wilson government, the royal family has received a total of \$1,236,000 per year from the government to support a family of five. This is not to mention the Queen's properties whose estimated worth is close to \$145 million.

While the British working class wonders how it will meet just the basic necessities of food and rent, the Prince complains that he and the Queen had to sell one of their yachts and that they may have to move to "smaller premises" and he might have to give up polo.

LOYALTY

Mr. Wilson's loyalty to royalty was expressed a few days after the

interview when he announced that the Labor Government would appoint a study committee to "thoroughly" review the Queen's finances. He made it clear that the Queen would not be left in poverty.

So while the Wilson government advocates poverty for the British working class in the form of his Prices and Incomes policy, he obliges the parasitic crew that inhabits Buckingham Palace, and is probably one of the richest families in the world, with promises of assistance.

The Queen is maintained in England by the capitalist class as a cover, as a showpiece of great imperialist Britain, attempting to tie the working class to capitalism through appeals of loyalty to the Queen.

The task of the British working class is the total expropriation of these millionaires down to the last crown jewel.

GREEKS TORTURE TRADE UNIONISTS

A Greek trade unionist told an Athens court martial that he had been tortured during police interrogation.

He and three other defendants--all clerks of the Greek telecommunications organization --were being tried under a 22 year old anti-sedition law.

The court martial of November 6th is the third in a series of "trials" of oppositionists in Greece.

In each case, brutal sentences have been imposed.

GOLDA MEIR BACKS NIXON WHILE SUPPRESSING ARABS

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Premier Golda Meir of Israel has distinguished herself as the only head of state outside of President Thieu of South Vietnam to send her personal congratulations to President Nixon for his speech on the Vietnam war. "The President's speech contains much that encourages and strengthens freedom-loving small nations the world over," she states, "which are striving to maintain their independent existence looking to that great democracy, the United States of America."

NAZIS

Mrs. Meir's statement in support of U.S. policy in Vietnam follows by one week the open admission by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan that "neighborhood" and "area" punishment was being used against Arabs in Israeli-occupied regions. What this means is that Israel is administering collective punishment against Arabs in much the same way as the Nazis did during World War II.

This week it was also revealed that one American company shot a total of 567 Vietnamese civilians in 15 minutes in one village. Such is the way "that great democracy, the United States of America" strengthens "freedom-loving small nations."

Each day the Israeli ruling clique commits itself ever deeper to the imperialist slaughter and robbery



DAYAN ANNOUNCING 'AREA' PUNISHMENT

of the ruling clique that runs the United States. There is no middle course, no compromise between Zionism and the struggle for the working class in all countries.

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AGNEW SEEKS TO SUPPRESS TELEVISION

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

It has now become clear that Spiro Agnew's attack on television news coverage reflects the outlook of the entire Administration including President Nixon himself. Press Secretary Herbert Klein not only endorsed Agnew's views but went on to put forward a threat of his own, warning the industry that if it does not correct itself "you do invite the Government to come in."

For the first time in recent American history we have spokesmen of the government speaking openly the language of news censorship. When we see this in the context of Agnew's openly rightist demagoguery--obviously sanctioned by Nixon--we can see the building up right within the Nixon Administration of dictatorial bonapartist elements who are only waiting for an opportunity to openly suppress the working class and all democratic freedoms in this country.

TELEVISION

Behind this action on the television industry lies two factors. The first is the very nature of television. While an editor may decide what film is shown and a commentator say what he wishes about the film clip, the film must show what is. In a newspaper even this original raw news material can be and is distorted as the reporter writes it up as the printed word.

The explosive significance of this difference was felt during last year's Chicago Democratic Convention when 40 million people were witnesses to the undemocratic proceedings within the convention and the violence against protesters elsewhere in Chicago.

It is important that Agnew once again refers to "the intercutting of the film from the streets of Chicago with the current proceedings on the floor of the convention (which) created the most striking and false political picture of 1968--the nomination of a man for the American Presidency by the brutality and violence of merciless police." But this is exactly what happened. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that Agnew would have had the film of the police violence suppressed in order to create a more favorable image for Humphrey.

"STABILITY"

Later in the speech he complains

SPIRO AGNEW
DELIVERING VEILED
THREAT OF CENSORSHIP
OF NEW MEDIA



of the networks' "endless pursuit of controversy" and its "ongoing exploration for more action." He contrasts this to "our national search for internal peace and stability." The problem is that the United States is in a deep crisis which is tearing apart "stability", and Agnew and company wish to maintain stability by suppressing news of the actual unrest within the country. Such is the beginning of a move toward fascism.

The other aspect of this question is that it is a reflection of the depth of the crisis existing today within

the ruling class. A section of this class seeks to pressure the Nixon Administration into a more determined effort to end the Vietnam War so that the strength of capitalism can be brought to bear on other problems, like the suppression of the working class at home and abroad. Senator Goodell reflects this sentiment as does John Lindsay.

This section of the ruling class also recognizes the tremendous spread of opposition to the war that has now gone beyond the middle classes deep into the working class

and into the army. It is seeking to find a safe channel for this dissent before it breaks out openly against the very capitalist system which is responsible for this war.

HATRED

The giant television networks are multi-billion dollar capitalist firms which have nothing but class hatred for the working class. Every day they distort the real news in the interests of the capitalist class. But their ties are with the Eastern sections of capital which are seeking to pressure Nixon. This explains why, as Agnew points out, they follow Nixon's Vietnam speech with a critical roundtable, but they did not do the same a few years back after Kennedy's Cuban crisis speech. "They can," as Agnew puts it, "make or break by their coverage and commentary, a moratorium on the war." Obviously they were not out to break the Moratorium--much to Agnew's displeasure.

While having no trust whatsoever in the billionaire networks, we must recognize Agnew's and Klein's threat as representing a very real danger of further suppression of the already limited news available to the American people. We cannot trust any of these people nor rely on their momentary falling out with each other to get a little glimpse of the real news.

The only way the working class can get objective reporting is to build its own press. This is why the Bulletin is now weekly. We have every intention of building it from the finest weekly in America into the finest daily in America. This is the only real way to answer Agnew and his buddies.

Czech Bureaucrats Attack Trade Union Opposition

BY MARTY JONAS

The Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia has gone on the offensive against the trade union movement in an attempt to destroy its growing opposition to the bureaucracy.

This is happening at a time when hard-line pro-Moscow Stalinists are

being shifted into important government positions and when Stalin is being rehabilitated throughout the Soviet countries.

In Prague, seventeen hard-line Stalinist hacks, supporters of Husak, were promoted onto the City Committee of the Czech Communist Party. They were officially described as "members of the working class whom the right-wing former leaders of the City Committee despised and subjected to discrimination." These seventeen are long removed from the working class by their services to the anti-working class regimes of Gottwald and Novotny.

UNIONS

At the same time the Husak regime is opening up an attack on the trade unions. This has started with measures and threats against the Czech cultural workers' unions. Minister for Culture Jaroslav Bruzek, acknowledging his lack of success in getting the unions to collaborate with the regime's cultural policy, declared that the government would collaborate directly with individuals and bypass the unions. Furthermore the unions would be curbed through state control of their funds--most of which come from the membership. Censorship will be increased.

What is being attacked here is not only cultural freedom, but the independence of the trade unions from the bureaucracy. What the Husak bureaucracy is preparing for is an attack on the larger industrial unions, such as the huge Metalworkers Union which has been in the vanguard of opposition since the occupation.



SOLZHENITSYN

The Stalinist bureaucracies are nervous over the germ of any political opposition. While Husak attacks the cultural unions in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet bureaucracy has had Alexander Solzhenitsyn purged from membership in the Soviet Writers' Union. The expulsion took place at a meeting in the town of Ryazan, where Solzhenitsyn, anti-Stalinist writer and author of "Cancer Ward" and "First Circle", was accused of publication and distribution of his books in the capitalist countries. This is a standard charge. Soviet agents are known to deliberately leak books to the West as a way of framing oppositionist writers.

WRITER

The attacks on the unions in Czechoslovakia and the continued repression against writers in the Soviet Union represent the attempts by the Stalinist bureaucracies to head off the independent movement of the working class in the Soviet countries. But as the crisis of Stalinism deepens, it is going to be more and more difficult to put the reins on the working class. The road is being paved for the construction of Trotskyist parties as part of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

U.S. TROOPS MURDER 567 VIETNAMESE VILLAGERS!

BY THE EDITORS

Following close on the wake of the Green Beret scandal of the assassination of an alleged Vietnamese double or triple agent and the Army service club scandal, comes news of what may prove to be the biggest scandal of them all, the wholesale murder charges being drawn up against First Lieut. William Laws Calley, Jr. and Sgt. David Mitchell.

When the case first leaked into the press all that was revealed was that an army officer was being held in the service beyond the normal tour because of alleged charges of killing "quite a number" of Vietnamese civilians. It has now been revealed that villagers who witnessed the slayings claim no less than 567 civilians were slaughtered in less than 15 minutes.

COLD BLOOD

As the villagers that survived describe the incident, American troops entered the village, gathered all the

inhabitants into three groups, dynamited the brick houses and burned the wooden ones, and then proceeded to shoot down in cold blood all the inhabitants. Those who survived hid under the dead bodies of relatives and fellow villagers.

What this case reveals is a little glimpse of the real nature of the Vietnamese war as an imperialist war against the entire population of Vietnam. How many other villagers have been literally gunned down in cold blood by U.S. troops who see all Vietnamese as their enemy? How can American workers allow this to continue for a minute without fighting back?

We must go forward to intensify the struggle against this war within the army itself, within the trade unions, and on the campuses demanding immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam and mobilizing the labor movement politically against the government.

NATIONALISM GROWS IN NDP

BY CHARLES HENRY

TORONTO-- One clear issue emerged from the New Democratic Party convention held in Winnipeg, the issue of Canadian nationalism. The extent to which this disease has now taken hold of the membership of the party was shown by its winning a third of the delegates at the convention. It would be wrong to assume that because the Watkins Manifesto was defeated it now means the end of nationalism within the NDP. In

fact it is the exact opposite. After the convention, Watkins, overjoyed by the large support his Manifesto received, stated that he would now organize a broad caucus within the party until his position is carried. The caucus, which will be called the Waffe caucus, will bring under its banner a vast range of the political spectrum inside the NDP, ranging from people like Berger and Dowding in British Columbia, who want to end all affiliation of the trade unions

with the NDP, to the League For Socialist Action, whose job it will be to provide this nationalism with a left cover.

The real meaning of this newly emerged centrist caucus is aptly put in their own Manifesto: "The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our lives is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external not internal."

Thus, in this way the Waffe gang with the open approval of the Pabloite LSA hopes to win over the NDP to their banner, making it completely compatible with the objective aims of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Precisely at a time when Trudeau is launching a major offensive against the Canadian working class through his policies of wage restraint, unemployment, and anti-union laws, the Watkins Manifesto tells the labor movement that the main danger is external and that we are all brothers internally for Canadian nationalism.

The opposition to Trudeau's policies was demonstrated at the recent Ontario Federation of Labor conference where delegate after delegate talked of the need for a general strike across Canada against Trudeau and Canadian capitalism who, according to Watkins and the LSA, are not the main enemies at all. What the LSA and Watkins can only end up doing is to divert the labor movement from the need to defeat Trudeau and his policies by breaking the ties of the labor movement with the NDP and splitting the working class into its English

and French sections.

The LSA has a whole history of adapting to such middle class nationalism. Their whole role over the fight for unilingualism in St. Leonards ended up in a program against English speaking and Italian workers. It must be assumed that they are now going to do the same dirty work for the capitalists on a national scale. This is the meaning of Canadian and Quebec nationalism.

The task ahead must be to carry a fight within the NDP to make it take up the fight against the prices and incomes policy, against the high unemployment, and against the anti-union laws. These were the major questions raised by the rank and file of the OFL convention and they must be brought to the NDP.

The call raised at the OFL in London for a national strike against the government must be taken up immediately in all the unions. Such an action would be a POLITICAL act against the government. The fight for a general strike by the entire Canadian labor movement must be taken up within the NDP, posing concretely the break with middle class politics within the NDP. This struggle must be conducted within the unions and the NDP on the basis of a real program for victory including an offensive on the questions of wages, jobs, and defense of the trade unions, combined with the fight for a united socialist Canada, for the nationalization of basic industry under workers control and a workers' and farmers' government.

repression sweeps montreal



POLICE SEAL OFF CITY HALL AS OFFICIALS BAN DEMONSTRATIONS

BY DAVID GODDARD

MONTREAL, Nov. 11-- The class struggle has intensified in Quebec. Serious attacks upon the French-Canadian working class are already underway, undoubtedly others are being prepared. The reactionary government of Bertrand-Cardinal-Paul, with the tacit support of the Federal government, is gearing itself for the collisions ahead.

Michel Chartrand, a UNTU leader, has been arrested on charges of sedition. This is a brazen provocation and challenge to the workers.

Laws banning virtually all demonstrations in Montreal are being proposed by the municipal government of Jean Drapeau. The pretext is the

increasingly violent tone of the unilingualist demonstrations. The government is using the separatist demonstrations as an excuse to launch attacks on the workers and students to stifle all actions against it.

There is nothing exceptional about the Montreal situation, it is simply at a higher stage of development. In the next few years we will see similar actions in Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

These demands must be raised:
Release Michel Chartrand Immediately!

Defend the Trade Unions!
Defeat All Attempts to Pass Police State Laws!

Build the NDP In Quebec Now!

Ontario Labor Meets As Trudeau's Attacks Mount

BY JUDITH LEE

TORONTO-- The annual convention of the OFL (Ontario Federation of Labor-CLC) made two things very clear. First, Trudeau has the trade unions to the wall, and Second, David Archer, President of the OFL, doesn't plan to do anything about it.

The Bulletin has warned over and over again that labor leaders like Archer and McDonald are not prepared to lead the workers against Trudeau and his attempts to make the workers pay for the capitalists' economic crisis.

Archer and Co. had their hands full trying to harness and contain the 1000 delegates' anger and militancy.

The debate on the Rand Report proves this. An MP (NDP) and member of the UAW got up and proposed "Province-wide demonstrations, lobbies, work stoppages, civil disobedience and a general strike" against Rand. Archer managed to drop these proposals and replace them with "Whatever steps necessary."

INADEQUATE

Jack Quinlan of the Plumbers Union said the "substitution was pitifully inadequate and that the Buildings Trades Unions would go their own way if necessary."

When Medicare was discussed a delegate called for a "one day general strike" of all workers, organized and unorganized to demand that the government provide complete coverage at no additional cost to the people. Archer couldn't prevent the passage of this proposal, but he was able to defeat the date proposed and another date was not set.

Again Archer was successful in preventing any mobilization or action

against Trudeau when the convention discussed the Prices and Incomes Commission. Instead he just got delegate support for his criticism of the commission.

The convention passed a resolution demanding a \$2.50 an hour minimum wage. The present minimum is \$1.30 an hour.

It was clear at the convention that the OFL-CLC needs a new leadership, a leadership that is not afraid to sever all relations with Trudeau and a leadership that will fight to bring the NDP to power.



MELVILLE WATKINS

The ranks of labor must begin the struggle to build a new leadership in the trade unions and the NDP. This fight must now center around the call made by rank and file delegates at the convention for a general strike to beat back the government's attacks.

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