

# Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

NOV. 15  
AND THE  
REVISIONISTS  
by  
Tim Wohlforth

PL SERIES  
WSA  
AND THE  
PARTY

HOOVER  
JAN 30 1970

**pre-revolutionary situation**

## MASS STRIKES SWEEP ITALY AND FRANCE



SCENE AT THE PIRELLI AUTO PLANT IN MILAN, ITALY DURING RECENT STRIKES

**BEAT GENERAL ELECTRIC-BEAT NIXON!**

**Labor Must Call Mass Rallies to Threaten  
General Strike to Bring Arrogant G.E. to Knees**

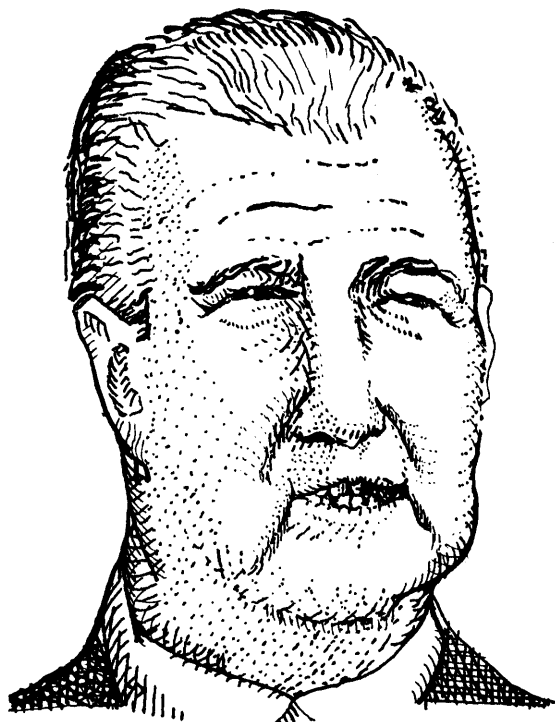
**vietnam**

**LODGE RESIGNS AS  
SPLIT IN U.S. RULING  
CLASS WIDENS**



## EDITORIAL

# Lodge Resigns as Split in U.S. Ruling Class Widens



SPIRO AGNEW  
LEADS THE PACK

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

"I will tell you my husband made the comment to me, looking out the Justice Department it looked like the Russian Revolution going on." This is how Mrs. Mitchell, wife of the head of the Justice Department, described her husband's reaction to the November 15th mass march in Washington. What Mr. Mitchell saw from his balcony was the growing mass opposition involving thousands of youth and workers who said by their participation in Washington that they are no longer prepared to sit back and support the policies of U.S. imperialism. What underlies Mr. Mitchell's raising the spectre of the Russian Revolution is above all the fear of the movement of the working class against capitalism.

The frenzied reaction from the Justice Department, the resignation of Lodge as chief negotiator in the Paris talks, and the growing outcry and exposure of the atrocities against the Vietnamese people by U.S. imperialism reflect the deepening political crisis within the U.S. ruling circles. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the capitalist class to conceal the real character of its rule.

Lodge's resignation from the Paris "peace" talks exposes the inability

of the U.S. ruling class to maintain their bargaining position in the light of the growing opposition within the U.S. to the war. Nixon's failure to appoint a new high level replacement for Lodge, combined with his firm statements about the U.S.'s intention to perpetrate this war, indicates that a section of the ruling class feels that a compromise may open the door to struggles by the working class internationally that could very well spell the doom of imperialism.

It is not just the Nixon Administration or the American government that is at stake in this war but the whole fate of the international capitalist class, a class faced with an increasingly hostile working class and a deepening world economic crisis. This is why George Brown, former Foreign Secretary in the Labor Government, last week openly called on the Labor Party to give full support to Nixon's war against the workers and peasants in Vietnam. In reaction to the criticism raised over the reports of atrocities by U.S. troops in Vietnam, Brown remarked: "I suspect there are an awful lot of spectres in our cupboard too." He went on to say that he wished the Americans would "stop weeping" and "just get on with the job."

The job Mr. Brown is talking about

is the job of conducting the war against the working class. Mr. Brown and the Labor Party in England are sitting on the same powder keg as Nixon, as the British working class moves more vigorously against the attacks on their wages and working conditions. The British capitalists indeed have "spectres in the cupboard", most recently the open repression by British troops of the Irish workers. But there will be more spectres, more atrocities to come as capitalism is more and more backed up against the wall by the international working class.

While sections of the capitalist class are preparing for a new stage in the Vietnam war, to demand total and bloody capitulation by the Vietnamese workers and peasants, other sections are becoming increasingly aware of the difficulty of containing a restless working class at home in the context of a growing economic and political crisis. The fears of this section are that the seams may come apart in the attempts to conduct a war on two fronts. The struggles of the G.E. workers are a big warning that the American workers like their brothers in Vietnam and Europe are not going to stomach Nixon's "bitter medicine."

The growing unrest in the armed forces and the reactions to the atrocities perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, combined with the mass mobilization of the youth and sections of the working class against the war, and the offensive by the workers in the shops has created an inescapable crisis for the capitalists who require stability in order to save a decaying economic system. At the same time this crisis opens the way for revolutionary struggles in the U.S. on the order of the French May-June days and the current

"Red November" in Italy. The road is being paved for the construction of a mass revolutionary party to lead these struggles to victory.

The American ruling class is quite aware of this threat and are preparing for it. This is the meaning of the witch hunt against the New Mobilization Committee launched by the Justice Department a few days after the demonstration in Washington. Agnew has been joined by another member of the Administration, Mr. Blount, Postmaster General, in his attack on opposition to the war. Nixon's cultivating of the South and Agnew's taking over of Wallace's program of attack on the "left-wing liberal press" are not just a question of Nixon seeking more votes in the South but of preparing a group in the ruling class that has all the anti-labor and racist equipment stored up for the attacks on the American working class.

While the Nixon Administration is arming for new attacks on the working class internationally, the Soviet leaders are happily sipping cocktails and nightclubbing in Helsinki, the setting for negotiations on arms limitation. In Paris the North Vietnamese are making new offers for "private talks" with the U.S. The Communist Party in the U.S. gives full support to the liberal politicians in the Moratorium Committee, liberals who may oppose the war but fully support the attacks of the Nixon Administration on American workers. The Italian Communist Party is doing its best to contain the explosive struggles of the Italian working class against the employers and the government.

The working class has in the past been led into capitulation to capitalism by the Stalinist parties. These parties today are preparing similar betrayals as the working class and the youth enter to challenge capitalism with all their might. Only the perspective of Trotskyism can pose the way to victory.

It is with this understanding that the Workers League says that the American working class must now take a lead in aiding its brothers in Vietnam by taking the first steps towards the destruction of U.S. imperialism by building a labor party to pit its full strength and power against capitalist rule.

## mass strikes sweep italy and france

BY FRED MUELLER

The strike wave continues in continental Europe with virtually no pause. Italy's "Red October" has turned into a "Red November" and the struggle in France is intensifying once again.

In France, electricity workers struck for wage demands on November 19th. Paris and many provincial cities went without power for most of the day. It was restored in time to see the landing of the U.S. Apollo 12 on the moon, and then shut off once again, in a vivid illustration of the contradictions between modern science and the deepening economic and social crisis.

Police forcibly entered power stations in Paris and other cities to evict workers who were occupying plants. This led to the walkout being joined in protest by other unions in addition to the Communist Party controlled-CGT. The CGT leaders were forced to attack the Government action and warn of the "consequences."

Earlier 30,000 nuclear workers had entered the battle, striking at three atomic power plants and occupying a fourth. The atomic workers

face 2600 layoffs in the next year alone as a result of research cuts instituted by the Pompidou regime as part of its anti-inflation program.

The French peasants are more and more being drawn into action by the deepening crisis. On November 16th, French Education Minister Guichard, on a routine visit to the provinces, was surrounded by 200 farmers and made to stand in the rain for an hour as a virtual captive, to listen to grievances. Three peasants were sentenced to two months in prison over this incident, and farmers' organizations have called for national demonstrations on November 24th.

In response to this crisis and lacking any social power like that possessed by the working class, the peasantry has already engaged in many acts of sporadic violence. In May-June 1968 it showed it was capable of following the lead of the working class. Unless its anger and frustration is channelled behind the working class led by a revolutionary party, this section can become once again the breeding ground for fascist trends.

On November 19th, 10 million Ital-

ian workers brought activity to a halt in Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa, Naples and most other cities. The workers were mobilized to fight for decent low cost housing. Millions participated in protest meetings all over Italy. In Milan one policeman was killed after police tried to disperse a huge throng of striking workers.

Italy continues to hold the center of the stage in the strike wave. This was the third general strike within the year. The housing crisis is reaching incredible proportions as the exodus continues from rural Southern areas into the industrial Northern cities. Low rent housing, already existing is almost impossible to get into and then takes one third or more of the worker's salary. The government has promised \$2 billion over the next three years to build over 200,000 apartments but this, even in the highly unlikely event it should be implemented, would only barely dent the housing shortage.

Meanwhile the fight for wages continues. Italian workers are fighting back in the face of price rises for milk, butter and other necessities

which rob the worker of increases within days of his having achieved them. Public transport, restaurant and garment workers struck over pay demands in the days preceding the general strike.

The European working class shows no sign of letting up in its determination to achieve new improvements and to hold onto past gains. This is creating a tremendous political crisis for the capitalists as part of the deepening economic problems. This is reflected in the splits within Italy's ruling Christian Democrats, the worries besetting the Pompidou government in France, and the new Social-Democratic cabinet in West Germany, elected on the heels of an unprecedented strike wave by the German workers.

Meanwhile the Communist Parties seek to hold the working class back and are more than eager to enter bourgeois coalition governments for this purpose. The entering into the struggle by the peasantry and other sections of the population are sure signs of the depth of the social crisis. There is not a moment to lose in the building of the revolutionary party.



# LABOR MUST ACT TO BEAT GENERAL ELECTRIC

BY DAN FRIED

For almost six weeks the General Electric workers have manned the picket lines and vowed to "stay out 'till hell freezes over." As far as the company is concerned they have made it clear that they intend to hold out as long as possible in order to settle the strike on their terms. Their aim is to destroy the power of the unions as is spelled out in their propaganda that workers don't need a union at all.

The time has come to stop these arrogant millionaires who are trying to force a starvation settlement down the throats of the 150,000 striking G.E. workers. The time has come for labor to use its vast power --the power of 13 million organized workers--to bring G.E. to its knees and win the demands of the strikers.

## RALLIES

The AFL-CIO together with the UAW, Teamsters and other independent unions should organize mass rallies of the union rank and file in every city to kick off a campaign for victory against G.E. and Nixon who stands behind G.E. The aim of these rallies must be to mobilize thousands of workers at places such as Yankee or Shea Stadium in New York and similar arenas in other cities. The central aim of these rallies is to tell Mr. Nixon and General Electric, loudly and clearly that there will be a general strike of the entire labor movement



CAR WITH SCAB 'SALARIED PERSONNEL' PASSES THROUGH PICKET LINE AT PHILADELPHIA GENERAL ELECTRIC PLANT

if the demands of the strikers are not accepted; that labor will organize an independent labor party to fight in its own interests against the employers and the anti-union policies of the government,

This is the language of power--the only language the bosses listen to. The proposed boycott of G.E. products and the pledge of money for the strikers by the AFL-CIO, UAW and the IUE is not adequate.

It is like fighting a modern army with muskets. G.E. is prepared for a long strike and to withstand a boycott of its goods. They have very large inventories, very big foreign markets and control of domestic and foreign subsidiaries as well as huge financial resources.

Now General Electric's strategy is for a war of attrition against the striking unions. G.E. is sitting back preparing for a long strike like last

year's eight month copper strike. They are banking on Nixon's unemployment policy really taking hold and then using the threat of plant closures to bring the strikers to heel. They are banking on the growing unemployment to provide the basis for bringing in scabs who are desperate for jobs to break the union. That is why they have utilized the courts, cops and NLRB rulings to get injunctions allowing the entry of salaried "supervisory personnel" into these plants to keep them open. This is only a first step in their plans to bring in scab production workers whenever they think they can get away with it. The time for the labor movement to act is now.

## San Francisco Unionists Misled on G.E. Fight

BY OUR WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO-- A meeting here of the Labor Council brought hundreds of Bay Area trade unionists together to hear a report of the AFL-CIO's fighting strategy for the G.E. struggle. The mass attendance was a clear expression of the eagerness of the labor movement to go all out in a fight.

If any of the unionists present had expected to be given a clear lead they were sadly disappointed. A long address by AFL-CIO General Secretary Treasurer, Lane Kirkland, was an exercise in bureaucratic bankruptcy.

### ACCUSED

Mr. Kirkland drew up a list of charges against G.E. that were overwhelming and at the same time refused to draw a single really important conclusion from his facts. He demonstrated that G.E. workers were now earning wages on a level with 1960 due to the increased cost of living. Average wage increases at G.E. have fallen as much as \$.50 behind other major sections of industry and the same sad story holds for fringe benefits.

He accused G.E. of labor spying,

interrogating employees for union activity, discharge of employees for union activity, denying collective bargaining, unlawful changes in conditions of employment, huge differentials of as much as \$.90 in wages by geographical areas in order to take advantage of right to work laws and conditions in Southern and rural areas, refusal to arbitrate grievances, wage cutting through reducing established job rates and a general policy of refusing to recognize the unions in any way but through their rights to dues checkoff.

He was forced to paint a picture of government subsidies to G.E., tax incentives and courts that have done nothing to help the unions except tie up cases for dozens of years while the violations continue. The government and G.E. were clearly seeking to smash the unions.

What were his conclusions? "We don't hate the employers. They are part of our system. We don't want to break or run the company or touch executive goodies. We don't want to dictate prices or profits. All we want is collective bargaining, give and take."

### MOBILIZING

Everyone was told to go back to their unions and collect a dollar a member for the strike and not to forget to pick up bumper stickers and buttons at the rear of the hall. Information would be provided later on a possible boycott of G.E. products.

It is all too clear that these tired old bureaucrats are desperately afraid of mobilizing the ranks. They keep hoping that G.E. will provide them with a few concessions to save face and avoid a real confrontation. This is why they have already backed down on a number of their demands such as the shorter work week, hoping to receive something in return from G.E.

It was also clear from the mass response to this meeting and the

eagerness for fighting leadership that the rank and file workers will force this struggle far beyond the timid policies of the bureaucracy. This struggle poses the need for solidarity action and a head-on political confrontation with the government as never before.

## MINNESOTA LABOR HOLDS RALLY FOR G.E. STRIKERS

BY A BULLETIN CORRESPONDENT

ST. PAUL-- Some four to five hundred workers and union leaders turned out November 20th in St. Paul's From Ballroom for a rally called by the state AFL-CIO to support the G.E. strikers. This in spite of the fact that little was done by the Twin City area's union leaders to encourage the ranks to turn out. The best turnout came not from the Twin Cities but from Duluth, the Iron Range, St. Cloud and North Dakota. These areas were represented by delegates who had been elected by their locals and central labor bodies.

Main speaker William Kircher, National AFL-CIO Director of Organizing, briefed his audience on the facts of the G.E. strike and announced that the national AFL-CIO would, for the first time ever, coordinate a fundraising campaign to get at least \$15 million for the strikers; this would be coordinated through all of the more than 800 central labor bodies. This is a step forward; to make it successful, however, it is now necessary to involve the ranks of the unions in this campaign.

Outside the rally, the Workers League intervened with a leaflet and the sale of 76 copies of the Bulletin, mostly to younger rank-and-file workers.

For Mr. Meany to say "We must keep these plants shut down," ignores what has happened. The job is to REALLY shut these plants down with mass picketing supported by members of all unions. To appeal to the strikebreaking NLRB for "justice" as does the IUE leadership is suicide.

### POWER

Instead it is necessary to mobilize the power of the unions in a fight against the courts, the cops, the NLRB, the Nixon Administration and the Democratic and Republican Parties which stand behind G.E. Spokesmen for Wall Street and the industrialists are sounding the alarm for a policy of wage freezing. G.E. is running interference for the bosses battle against wage increases. The program of big business spelled out by the New York Times is for Nixon to force a "non-inflationary" settlement through "arbitration"-- that is, a settlement on G.E.'s terms. The Times raises the need for new "Statutory mechanisms"-- in plain English, laws--to provide for this arbitration and suggests that the Taft-Hartley Act be replaced with stronger anti-union legislation. The policy of the Times and those capitalist interests it speaks for is for the government to step in where G.E. leaves off in the bosses war against the unions.

There is absolutely no time to lose. The G.E.-Nixon strategy can be stopped--if labor mobilizes the rank and file of the unions in massive rallies throughout the country at which labor poses a strategy of its own--a general strike if necessary to win the strikers demands and the building of an independent labor party by the 18 million organized workers in the United States.

## Bulletin

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# Bulletin Salesman Resists Hooligan Attack on Jersey Docks

BY A BULLETIN REPORTER

FORT NEWARK, Nov. 24-- An attempt was made today to prevent a Bulletin salesman from selling the Nov. 24th issue of the Bulletin outside of the Newark-Elizabeth waterfront commission hiring hall. This issue of the paper had a front page headline on the murder of 567 Vietnamese civilians in a Vietnam hamlet by U.S. troops. A longshoreman who had come out of the hall began shouting anti-communist epithets at the Bulletin salesman, demanding that he stop selling the paper and then attempted to grab and tear up the papers.

The papers were only thrown to the ground and were salvaged and the sale continued. Quite a few longshoremen continued to buy the paper after this incident making a point that they weren't going to be told what to read by any red baiters. The two Bulletin salesmen between them sold 25 papers.

The longshoreman who made this attack and the other men who joined in the red baiting, were angry and upset over the lack of jobs on the Jersey docks. One of the longshoremen who was told that we were trying to fight against the war, said that there was "a war inside" (in the hiring hall). "Fifteen guys were trampled to death trying to get hired," he joked bitterly. This reporter was informed by another longshoreman that only 46 gangs were working on the Newark-Elizabeth docks. When there is full employment on these docks, 70 or more gangs, each of 18 men, are needed.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

The shipowners are raking in more money than ever before through containerization, only to get off the hook when workers take out their anger over unemployment on "communists". With the growing unemployment both on the docks and throughout the economy, the employers will more and more encourage conflict between workers for jobs. Some of the longshoremen who red baited the Bulletin salesman are from Jersey

City and are resentful because despite years of seniority, Newark dockers with less seniority are hired ahead of them on the Newark docks. Not long ago, '69 men at Newark demonstrated against the hiring of longshoremen from Brooklyn and other sections in the port. Through-

## BRIDGES SABOTAGES DOCK STRIKE

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO-- A seven week ILWU dock strike in Vancouver, B.C. has been temporarily halted. 3200 Canadian longshoremen have returned to work for 90 days under their old pay scale of \$3.88 an hour after twice rejecting settlements brought back by the leadership.

This struggle raises big questions to all ILWU dockers. After all the leadership's talk of international solidarity it is absolutely clear that not a thing was done to put this talk into action. In fact the Bridges' leadership conducted a policy of actively scabbing on their Canadian brothers. The strike was crippled from the start.

While Canadian dockers refused to handle wheat shipments the ports of Seattle and Portland were running continuously in order to handle diverted cargo. Huge shipments of steel and over 5000 autos from Europe and Japan were unloaded at West Coast ports and moved directly to Vancouver by rail. Perishables for the Canadian export trade, such as 45,000 boxes of apples, were shipped into the U.S. and loaded by ILWU members onto foreign ships.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Vancouver dockers face exactly the same threats of automation and unemployment from containers as dockers on the West Coast. Their struggle takes place as the Canadian government is preparing legislation to shackle the unions. Indeed the Canadian Minister of Labor, Bryce MacKasey, is preparing to forcibly end the dock strike through emergency legislation if no agreement is reached.

out the port there is friction among the men from different piers and in different seniority groups over a shrinking number of jobs. There is resentment of whites against blacks and blacks against whites. As in the construction industry, the employers try to divert the fight for

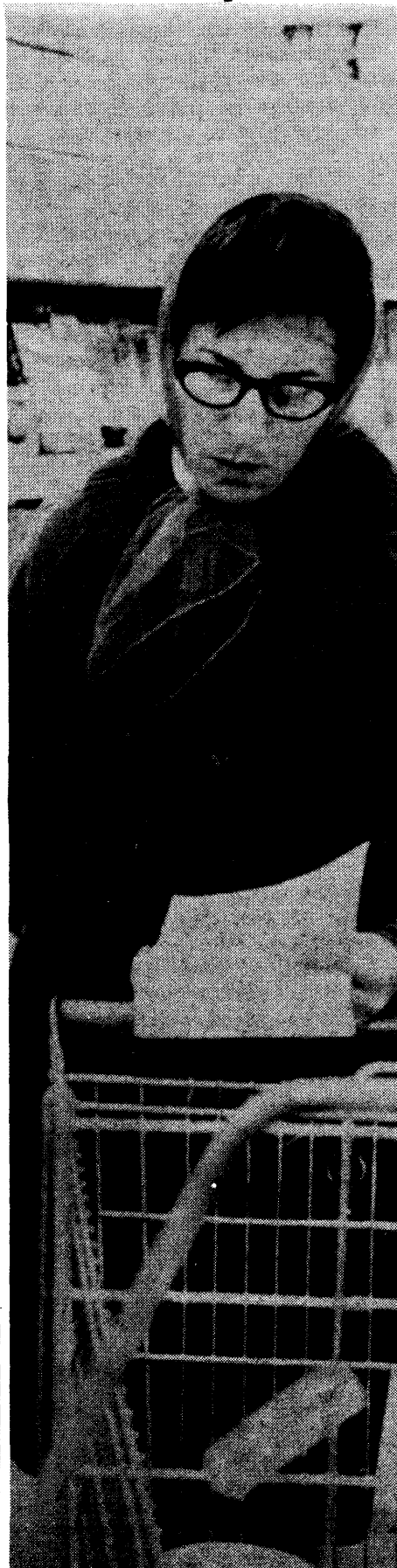
jobs into racial conflict.

The Bulletin has said and will say it again--there is no solution to unemployment for one group of workers to get jobs at the expense of another. There must be a fight in the ILA for jobs for all based on the 4 day week at five days pay.

defending management proposals and has seen fit not to run for re-election.

The 90 day truce must be seen as an opportunity to prepare an all out struggle to shut down Vancouver completely if dockers demands are not met. West Coast dockers must demand a thorough accounting from the leadership and a fighting policy of refusing to handle any diverted Canadian cargo. The Vancouver strike makes it very clear that the ILWU leadership is preparing great betrayals for dockers here in 1971.

## Prices Soar, Recession threatens as Nixon 'Cools Off' the Economy



SKYROCKETING PRICES

The October rise in the consumer price index of .4% and the alarming .5% jump in the wholesale price index make completely clear that Nixon's anti-inflation program is having absolutely no effect upon inflation. J. Dewy Daane, a governor of the Federal Reserve Board, went so far as to declare in a London talk last week that price stability could probably not be achieved until early in 1971. As a result the U.S. trade surplus continues to erode and the U.S. deficit in balance of payments for the third quarter stood at 2.53 billion on the liquidity scale. With the first break in the momentary lull in speculative activity brought on by the revaluation of the German mark, the dollar could well find itself at the center of new speculative pressure.

At the same time Nixon's deflationary policies have begun to have a solid impact on production and employment. October figures revealed that industrial production has declined now three months in a row. This is coupled with a 12% decline in housing starts, a 1% decline in new factory orders and a 4% decline in auto production.

Meanwhile unemployment remained at a high 3.9% for October. The main thrust of the Nixon Administration's pronouncements consist of assurances that there will be no let up in the deflationary drive until inflation is checked.

A glimpse of how far Nixon is willing to go came through in the remark of another governor of the Federal Reserve Board, Andrew F. Brimmer, who said in Paris last week that an unemployment rate of 7% would be unacceptable. It is clear from this statement that the government is prepared to go way beyond the present 4% unemployment figure.

Last week Milton Friedman, University of Chicago economist, came right out and said that in his opinion continuation of Nixon's present policies will lead the economy into a major recession.

What he did not say was that the purpose of such a recession would be to clear the way for the employers to drive back the conditions and wages of American labor under conditions of heavy unemployment.

The fight now being waged on the G.E. picket lines in stopping Nixon's attempt to make the working man pay for inflation is critical. But picket lines will not in the next period stop mass unemployment. This is why the construction of a labor party is the central task facing the American labor movement today.

## workers league

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# WHERE PROGRESSIVE LABOR REALLY STANDS



PROGRESSIVE LABOR  
PARTY LEADERS  
(FROM LEFT):  
FRED JEROME,  
BILLEPTON,  
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)

### worker-student alliance or revolutionary party

Progressive Labor has found its "road to revolution" in Stalinism and the perspective of "socialism in one country". This "theory" was the cover for the rejection of the strategy laid down by the first four congresses of the Communist International of the international struggle of the working class for socialist revolution. The theory of "socialism in one country" was translated in practice into the subordination of the working class, and the program of the working class to take power, to the leadership and program of the middle class and the bourgeoisie through the Popular Front and the "bloc of four classes".

Progressive Labor today carries out the logic of this outlook by substituting alliances and coalitions between the working class and middle class forces for the construction of a revolutionary party based on the working class and with a working class program for political power. PL's "strategy" is to build a middle class student movement justified with a working class cover. PL's road is a centrist road, attempting to find

some middle ground between revolution and reform; between the working class and the capitalist class.

This is what lies behind all its endless forms of the Worker-Student Alliance. With a dialectical NO we say the WSA is neither working class in form nor working class in content.

It represents blocs of the working class with the middle class on the basis of a middle class reformist program.

These alliances have gone through various periods of development, depending on what "works" in any particular area or situation. PL puts it

this way: "In the past, we have allied with workers by supporting strikes or by launching pro-working class on-campus struggles." These alliances PL sees as "temporary". The latest form of the alliance, the "campus-worker student alliance" is seen as more permanent.

STUDENTS JOIN STRIKERS IN 1965 WORKER-STUDENT ALLIANCE DEMONSTRATION.  
STRUGGLE IS KEPT ON ECONOMIST LEVEL.



#### PICKET LINES

The original use of this "student-worker alliance" was based on the conception of students going to join the picket lines of strikes near their campus in support of the workers and then to try to get workers to support student struggles on the campuses. The "political program" of this alliance was: "to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam now; that no one be drafted for Vietnam; to support the just struggles of each other for better conditions on the job and on the campus." ("A Program for Action-Workers-Student Alliance" by Jeff Gordon, Progressive Labor, Feb.-March, 1966.) On this basis PL sent eight Columbia students up to a G.E. strike in Schenectady and more members of the WSA at the University of

Maryland joined the picket line at the Curtis Brothers Furniture Co., in Washington, D.C.

This conception was also behind the WSA's "summer work-in" in which students go into the factories to get summer jobs in order to observe "the exploitation of workers". "The main emphasis," PL says in the August, 1969 issue of Challenge "is not to organize or preach to the working class, but to get a deeper understanding of the problems workers face, their ideas, and their power in struggle. While doing this students will also talk to workers about racism, the student movement, the war, etc." PL has one warning for this work: "It is crass arrogance to suggest that students will organize workers who have been on the job often for years and who know much more about it than we do."

The other side of this was the fight during the San Francisco State dispute to get the striking oil workers to support the "Third World" struggle there.

In other words the students go to the workers as students, observe their problems, support their strikes and maybe propagandize a bit about the war and the student struggles and racism. The POLITICAL content on which this alliance is based is clearly the trade union consciousness (which is bourgeois consciousness) of the workers and the reformist consciousness of the students!

#### "CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS"

PL makes this clear when they say: "It is the aim of the revolutionary party-the Progressive Labor Party-to struggle to build working class consciousness among the vast majority of the students." "Class consciousness" PL defines as the understanding by workers "that all bosses are the same and are the enemy of the workers. A class conscious worker also understands that it is only through the unity of all workers that workers can win a decent life for themselves."

What PL describes here is trade

union consciousness or the understanding by the working class of the need to struggle to better its conditions within the confines of capitalism.

The Worker-Student Alliance here is a bloc with the working class on the basis of trade union or reformist consciousness. The struggle for the working class to go beyond trade union consciousness is subordinated to this bloc. The purpose of it is to maintain the working class at its present level of struggle, to prevent the working class from gaining what Lenin termed "class consciousness", the understanding of the need to struggle for power.

There cannot be any other content to this "alliance". Students as students represent the middle class. To contend that students can somehow gain "class consciousness" by rubbing shoulders with the workers, by observing them being exploited and feeling sympathy for them is middle class idealist rubbish. This represents, as PL put it, "crass arrogance", it means that the role of students is to pander to the false consciousness of the working class.

The only way for students to become

"pro-working class" is by subordinating themselves to the leadership and program of the working class BY JOINING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. They become "pro-working class" not by being students but by being members of the party, by fighting for the program of the party, by building the party.

The youth have a vital role to play in the building of the revolutionary movement. Within the revolutionary party students can make important contributions to the development of theory, the penetration of the working class and the training of a Marxist leadership within the working class. However, these contributions are made not on the basis of being a student but on the basis of being a member of the party of the working class, and carrying out the tasks of the party wherever he is.

On the campuses the major task is to build a Marxist cadre primarily through the fight against the revisionist tendencies. The middle class tendencies which breed on the campuses find their way into the working class. The revolutionary party cannot be built without a bitter struggle on the

campuses as well as in the working class against revisionism, against Stalinism and reformism.

Through the Worker-Student Alliance, PL seeks to subordinate the revolutionary party, the real leadership of the working class, to the students and to the spontaneous struggles of the working class. It blatantly belittles the role of the party whose task it is to develop socialist consciousness in the working class. This consciousness cannot be developed by the students, by the workers in their struggles, or a bloc of the two. It can only be brought, as Lenin put it, "from without", from the revolutionary party.

#### STUDENT POWER

The most recent form of this arrangement is the campus worker-student alliance. According to this formulation the students support the campus workers' trade union struggles. This we might add is a degeneration in a sense of the first formulation in that it enables the students to pretend they are fighting for the working class by never leaving the campus. This alliance is nothing more, absolutely nothing more than the attempt by PL to give its strictly student power struggle on the campus a working class cover.

In the third form the "worker" part of this formula is filled with struggles which are supposedly "pro-working class" and which the students fight for on the campus. This includes support to black nationalist struggles on the campus, such as PL-WSA support to the "Third World" students' demands at San Francisco State last winter. This was all justified on the basis of "fighting racism". PL held that by supporting black nationalism the students were supporting the working class. It used the same kind of rationalization during the Columbia struggles in which PL sought to perpetrate the conception that the strictly student struggles were working class because they raised demands against the expansion of Columbia into the ghettos, against the eviction of local residents.

More recently this conception has been the basis for PL's very unprincipled alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party in Cambridge, Mass. Peace and Freedom by the widest stretch of the imagination is not a working class party. It is a middle class reformist formation. PL, the WSA and P&F have been engaged in a "Rent Control Referendum Drive." The August, 1969 Challenge poses it this way: "A fight is shaping up between the working people and students of Cambridge, Mass. and the U.S. ruling class." This is supposedly the implementation of PL's WSA program: "Less Talk, More Action, Fight Racism."

#### PROTEST POLITICS

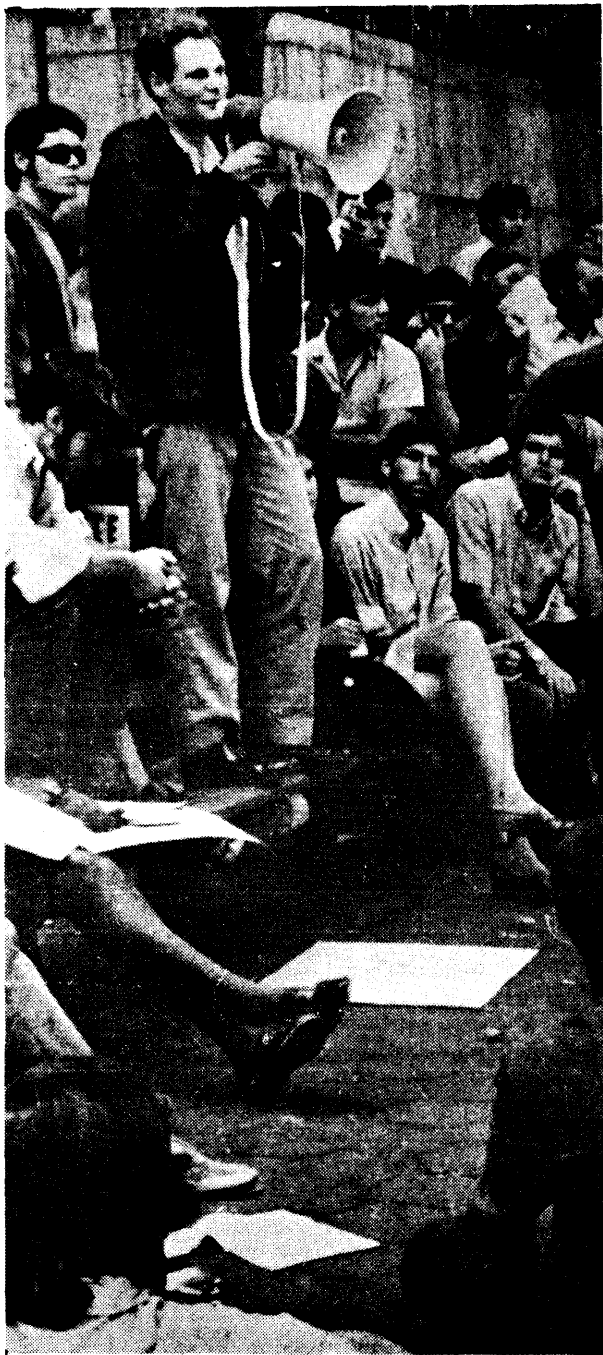
What PL contends are "pro-working class" struggles are nothing but middle class reformist protest politics based not on the working class but the "people" and the "community". These terms are used to hide PL's rejection of the revolutionary role of the working class and its substitution of a popular front or bloc of various "revolutionary forces". The working class is seen only as something to help the other struggles along--the students, the blacks, the "community".

The "community" fight, the clients fight, the fight against racism, all become substitutes for the political struggle for power by the working class under the leadership of the revolutionary party.

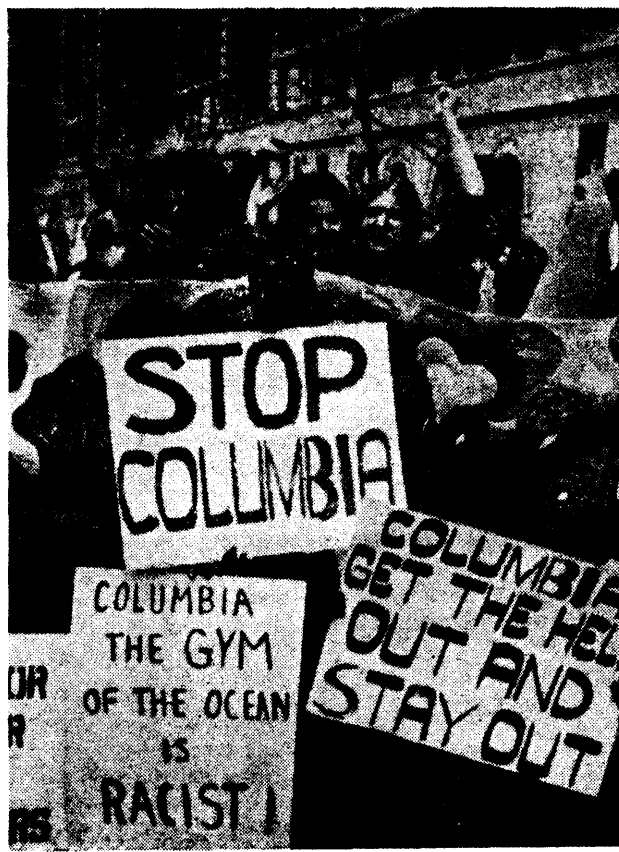
PL attempts to fight what it calls "economism" and to raise "political consciousness" with something far below the level of "economism" or trade union struggles - that is



PL LED  
STUDENTS SUPPORT  
FIGURE FLATTERY  
STRIKE WHERE PL GOT  
MANY WORKERS FIRED.



THE STUDENT-WORKER ALLIANCE IS ACTUALLY A COVER FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR TO CARRY OUT STUDENT POWER STRUGGLES. AT LEFT IS STUDENTS RALLY WHERE PL SPOKESMAN CALLS FOR ALLIANCE WITH CAMPUS WORKERS WHILE BELOW IS DEMONSTRATION AGAINST UNIVERSITY EXPANSION AT COLUMBIA.





middle class reformist politics. This is the way Walter Linder puts it in the November, 1969 issue of PL: "Communists must bring socialist ideology to the working class. To do this they must discuss issues that go far beyond the bounds of the trade union structure: solidarity with workers in other countries (proletarian internationalism); the need to ally with students and revolutionary intellectuals; the need to struggle on fronts other than factory--committees, schools, on questions of taxes, services, and all the other areas in which the bosses exploit the working class and ultimately the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

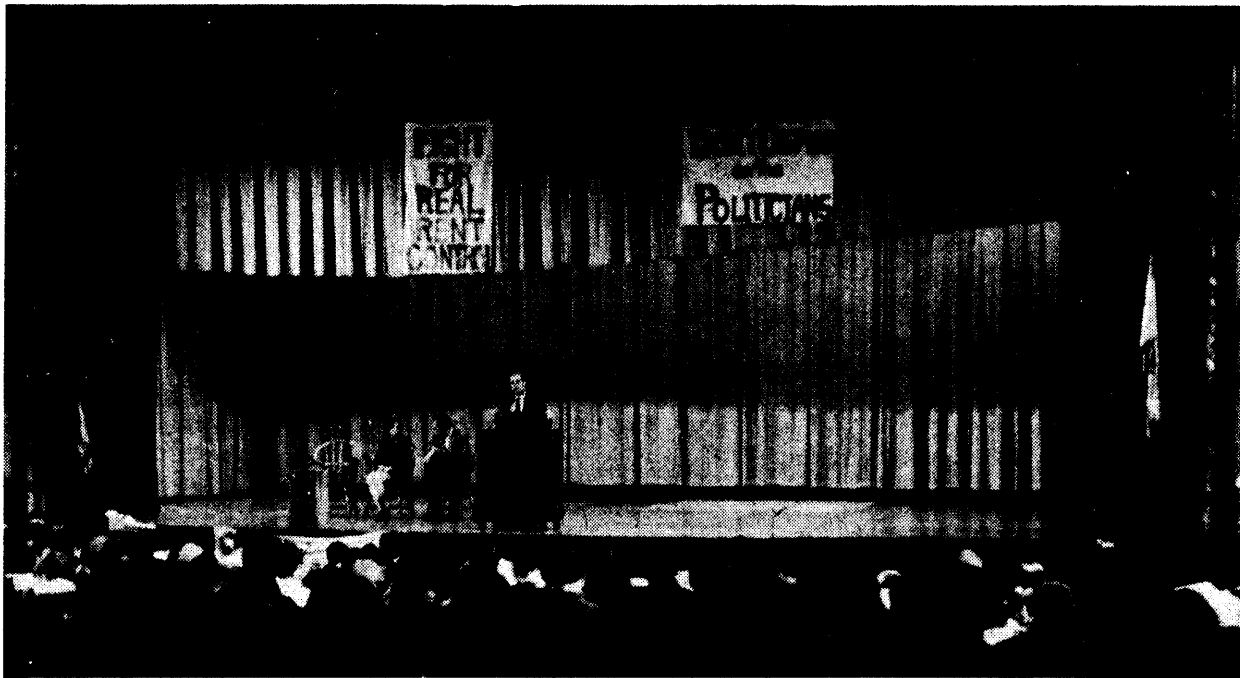
#### LIQUIDATIONIST

The point PL completely misses is that the basic confrontation between labor and capital is what raises the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the heart of "socialist ideology". While the working class shares with other sections of society the evils of capitalism such as bad housing, schools, hospitals, racial discrimination, high taxes, etc., the source of these problems lies in the contradiction between capital and labor and can only be solved through the struggle of the working class against capitalism. The basis of this struggle lies in the factories where the working class is organized together and is pitted directly in a

class battle.

It is the CLASS STRUGGLE and the party leadership of that struggle PL seeks to avoid by substituting the students "pro-working class" confrontations on the campuses and in the communities, by its refusal to fight in the unions for a program to unite the class in the fight against the employers and the government. It substitutes "long range" propaganda about the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "mass struggle" and "mass action" for an independent political struggle by the working class

HERE IS RECENT  
PEACE & FREEDOM  
PARTY RALLY  
IN CAMBRIDGE  
DEMANDING  
"REAL RENT  
CONTROL".  
PROGRESSIVE  
LABOR REFUSES TO  
BREAK FROM  
BOURGEOIS  
POLITICS AND CALL  
FOR LABOR PARTY.



## on serving betrayals to the people

Revolutionary theory and strategy cannot be developed or built outside the Marxist movement. There is no third ideology. The continuity with Marx and Engels, with Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and with the first five years of the Communist International is contained only within the Trotskyist movement in the program and practice of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Marxist theory and revolutionary strategy was destroyed within the Comintern by Stalin. Stalinism rests today like a bloody axe over the working class in the perspective of the Stalinist parties, in the perspective of Maoism and all its idealist hangers-on within the student movement. PL stands four square on this outlook.

In fact PL's "strategy and tactics" have absolutely nothing to do with "Marxism-Leninism". PL has rejected the only theoretical and practical basis on which the revolutionary party can be built. Its middle of the road, on the one hand and on the other, is a rejection of the basic premises of Marxism--dialectical materialism.

PL has nothing but contempt for revolutionary theory. It is in fact training a whole generation of youth steered in anti-theory conceptions. This is expressed in their slogans for the WSA - "Less talk, more action, fight racism". Bobby Seale at the Panther convention expressed this same attitude very clearly when he remarked that the "movement" should not have any more of this "ideological jive".

A revolutionary party cannot be built without revolutionary theory. The practice of the working class party in every sphere of work must be guided by this theory.

"Socialism in one country" marked the break with Marxism. Stalinism meant a break with dialectical materialism and the substitution of opportunism and empiricism in order to defend the interests and privileges of the ruling bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

It is upon these traditions that PL

seeks to build a movement. Here is how Milt Rosen, Chairman of Progressive Labor Party, describes the method in "Build A Base In The Working Class": "The correct line is very hard to achieve. Errors are bound to occur. The work must be evaluated continuously to achieve the right mix. To use an unscientific term, you need common sense." Unscientific indeed!

#### HOMESPUN

This homespun "theory" of Mr. Rosen's is nothing but American pragmatism, or basing practice on "what works". Common sense or pragmatism stand to Marxism and dialectical materialism as capitalism stands to the working class. Common sense is the philosophy of the Henry Fords; its predominance in the working class has tied the working class in the U.S. to capitalism.

According to Rosen, the party develops theory by throwing in all sorts of ideas obtained from the "people", mixing them up in a big pot, and then running them up the flagpole to see how they work. "All these differences of opinion," says Rosen, "reflect the various trends among the people. These differences don't fall out of the sky.... That's why you need the collective: to throw all these ideas into the hopper. The collective sorts it out and puts it together, and tries to make a scientific plan based on the various experiences that we all have had."

This soup is served up in combination with various "truisms" such as the "dictatorship of the proletariat". This method has absolutely nothing to do with Marxism, and absolutely nothing to do with science. You can no more build a revolutionary party than a surgeon could perform open heart surgery on this basis. Marxism is not a dogma, a set of slogans: it is a living science, a method. Marxism cannot be learned by Milt Rosen or Walter Linder probing their experience or rubbing shoulders with the "people". This

on the basis of a working class program which can unite behind it all other sections of society to destroy capitalism.

PL's politics are liquidationist through and through, they are a modern version of Bernsteinism. Through the collection of economic struggles on immediate demands and propagandism, the "people" will eventually come to socialism. PL in this way reduces the struggle below the political level at a time when capitalism and the state must be opposed and overthrown precisely by the workers

politically organized behind the revolutionary party. It is only this political struggle led by the revolutionary party which can unite behind it other sections of society for the solution to all the problems under capitalism.

Behind the worker-student, worker-student-teacher, doctor-patient-worker, worker-client, campus worker-student, ad absurdum alliances lies PL's rejection of the role of the REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. This is the key behind all its "strategy and tactics".

is the method of pragmatism, "what works for me" and subjective idealism, turning into yourself for the answer. Marxism is not intuition.

#### OBJECTIVE

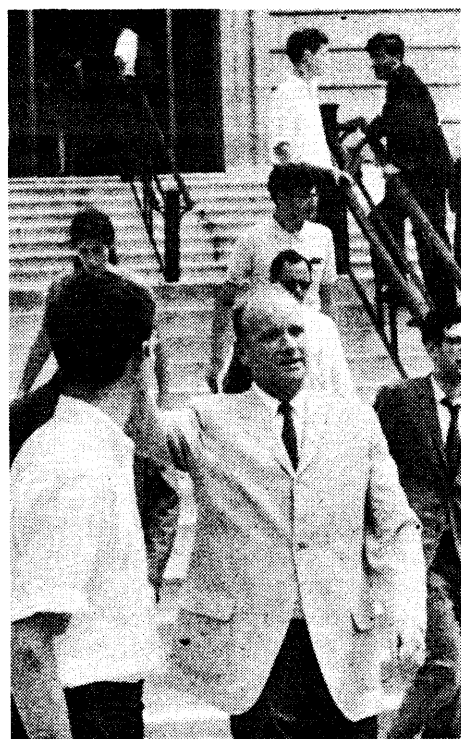
Marxism is an objective science, based not on the experiences of this or that individual, but on an analysis of the real, material world, probing beneath the surface of events to the underlying processes. Armed with theory, the revolutionary party is able to intervene within the class struggle to change the existing reality. It is in this process that theory is developed. It is through the struggle, the unity, the interpenetration of opposites that the process is taken to a higher level.

For PL, theory is reduced to slogans, and practice to the experience of various individuals which is put into a "hopper". The role of the party or "collective" is to do the mixing.

It is no wonder that PL has made so many mistakes! It is no wonder why with all its efforts, it is unable to change the consciousness of the working class, to take the struggle to a higher level. It is this method which lies behind its adaptation to the trade union bureaucracy, the black nationalists and the students. It is no wonder that PL has been wrong about every major question since its origins, including the premises upon which the organization is based--Stalinism.

#### SELF CRITICISM

PL seeks to cover its mistakes with the method of subjective idealism in the form of "self-criticism". This becomes the blanket excuse for all of PL's errors. Needless to say they can no sooner "correct" their mistakes on the basis of this method than they can develop a correct program. "Self-criticism" bases itself on the conception that if you look inside yourself, you will find the truth. The logic of this is the mess we recently saw at Woodstock.



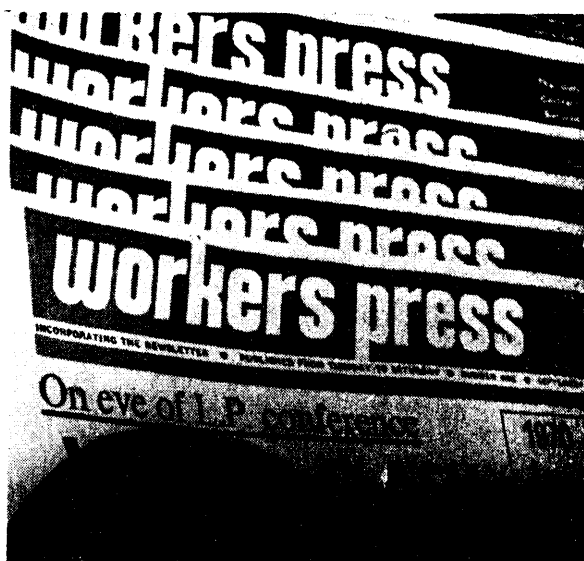
MILT ROSEN HAS HAD BETTER EXPERIENCES

This "self-criticism" is the epitome of middle class arrogance. These people in PL stand outside the class struggle and history, and breast beat about the mistakes that have cost the working class in blood, in lives, and in leaders. PL can very well sit back and apologize for Stalin and its mistakes about Stalin--but the working class paid for those "mistakes".

Are we going to hear from PL a few years from now: "We were wrong, we admit we were confused, unemployment is a problem and a danger. We apologize to the millions who are now suffering."

The working class does not need enemies like the trade union leaders when it has "friends of the people" like Progressive Labor. What PL says is that it makes no difference if the working class is defeated under its leadership as long as it apologizes.

PL has rejected the central task - to build a disciplined democratic centralist party based on the working class, built within the working class and capable of leading the working class to power.



TODAY WE LIVE IN THE PERIOD WHEN TROTSKYISM CAN BECOME THE FIGHTING PROGRAM OF MILLIONS. OVER 1,500 WORKERS AND YOUTH (RIGHT) GREET WORKERS PRESS, WORLD'S FIRST TROTSKYIST DAILY (ABOVE).



It substitutes a personal clique for a combat party.

It substitutes pragmatism for Marxist theory. Instead of building a party within the working class on the basis of a POLITICAL program to raise the consciousness of the workers in struggle, it proposes to build an organization outside of the working class, standing apart from it and based on personal ties with individual workers.

#### PERSONAL

Rosen puts it this way: "Developing personal-political ties with our fellow workers is one of the MOST POLITICAL THINGS WE CAN DO." (Rosen's emphasis) He adds "of course"--"along with the raising of our line." The point is PL has no program for the victory of the working class, no program to raise the political consciousness of the working class. Instead of developing a Marxist cadre to fight within the working class for a political program, PL advocates developing a corps of Salvation Army troops who go out to "serve the people".

PL does not begin at all with an objective analysis of the crisis and the situation facing the working class. It does not begin with the objective needs of the working class or a program for state power. This is how they can produce a whole pamphlet entitled "Build A Base In The Working Class" without discussing the crisis of capitalism and the program necessary to lead the working class to power.

Rosen says in this treatise: "While I have been greatly encouraged by the growth of PLP, it still doesn't sustain me, yet, as much as other experiences in my life....I have seen all sorts of people 'come through' for me and others under all sorts of difficult circumstances....I really believe, in my bones, that the workers and students will eventually 'come through'." We say unequivocally that



TROTSKY PREPARED FOR THIS DAY WITH LAUNCHING OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN 1938.

you cannot build a party on the basis of how it satisfies personally this or that leader or upon the BELIEF "in your bones" that the workers and students will "come through".

All of PL's alliances and coalitions are an excuse to avoid the difficult task of penetrating the working class and building a party. These formations are substitutes for the party in order to advance not the interests of the working class but the opportunist interests of Progressive Labor.

The best service PL could do for "the people" is to carry out the logic of its "self-criticism" by criticizing itself out of existence and putting an end to the "mistakes" which can only lead the working class to disaster.

The crisis today within the working

class is a crisis of leadership. The objective prerequisites for socialism have existed now for many decades. The leadership for the coming revolutionary struggles can only come from the Trotskyist movement. This movement has been built in the bitter struggle against the betrayals of Stalinism. It alone represents the continuation and development of Marxism.

This leadership requires the construction of a revolutionary party based on the working class and constructed within the working class by a cadre trained in Marxist theory and steered in struggle. It is not simply a question of immersing itself or its members in the workers movement, but the party fighting within the working class to raise the political conscious-

ness of the class through a program which poses the question of power within the concrete developments of the class struggle, a transitional program. This means not just presenting correct ideas and communist truisms to the working class but intervening on the basis of revolutionary theory to change the class struggle. It is only through this struggle that a party can be built, can develop theory and advance the working class on the road to state power.

We are not talking of a small propaganda group which "serves the people" but a mass party of the working class that is capable of overthrowing capitalism. This party cannot be built outside of an international movement and a common international strategy.

#### LENIN AND TROTSKY

This is the era of Lenin and Trotsky, the era of the Leninist International and the Transitional Program. Trotskyism for many years was forced to live in isolation as a result of the defeat of the working class internationally at the hands of Stalinism. But we are living in a different period, in the period of the rising offensive of an undefeated working class internationally. Trotskyism is the program not of defeat and betrayals but the program for the victorious struggle of the working class.

It is this understanding and this struggle which has laid the basis for the launching of the first Trotskyist daily paper in the world by the Socialist Labour League, the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and the launching of the weekly Bulletin by the Workers League.

This powerful weapon of the revolutionary party is dedicated to the unceasing struggle against all those pretenders and betrayers of the working class such as Progressive Labor. The revolutionary party will be built by smashing these false leaders. Progressive Labor is going to find it more and more difficult to get away with their "mistakes" whether it is in the unions or on the campuses.

#### SOCIALISM

The Workers League says that socialism is not a "long range" solution but is on the agenda for today. The only alternative to fascism and the defeat of the working class is the victorious socialist revolution. The road to revolution is the road of Trotskyism. This is the road of the Workers League in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International.

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# GOTBAUM HAILS HIS BOSS, LINDSAY

BY THE EDITORS

NEW YORK-- With the screaming headline "ELECTION VICTORY", the current issue of Public Employee Press, official organ of District Council 37, greets the election of Mayor Lindsay. The issue salutes the efforts of the District Council in getting its members' "boss" re-elected.

"It was a glorious victory," writes Executive Director Victor Gotbaum in the lead article. "Our union has had a remarkably successful four years with John Lindsay as Mayor," Gotbaum has the nerve to assert. "We expect to have a remarkably successful four years with Lindsay as Mayor now that we have supported him..." Gotbaum predicts. THE MEMBERS OF THE DISTRICT COUNCIL MUST HOLD HIM TO THIS PREDICTION!

Editor Bernard Stephens really flips out over this grand coup of his boss Gotbaum: "As a symbol and voice of the union's resurgent political power, Gotbaum is hard put to fit in appointments with political luminaries in this City, Albany and Washington."

"GLORIOUS"

While Gotbaum is hard put to fill appointments with political big shots, District Council members in the Welfare Department are hard put to handle the fantastic increase in workload and cases and the new series of restrictions implemented within weeks of the "glorious" re-election of Boss Lindsay with Boss Gotbaum's ready help. Hospital Care Investigators have had their entire title wiped out. Perhaps Brother Gotbaum



GOTBAUM (RIGHT REAR) CHEERS STRIKEBREAKER LINDSAY

might raise this little matter during one of his appointments with "political luminaries."

The greatest irony of all is that Gotbaum and Editor Stephens see the re-election of Lindsay as the fruition, the "coming-of-age" of the mass Madison Square Garden Rally in May 1967 against the Taylor Law. In fact the front cover headline states "From the Taylor Law to Victory Nov. 4th."

What is left out is that the victor on November 4th was the man who invoked the Taylor Law against striking transit workers and teachers and who added on his own threat of the National Guard to break the sanitation strike. The victory of November 4th was a victory for the Taylor Law and the bosses who stand behind Lindsay.

## TWU COMMITTEE TAKES THE UNION TO COURT

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

NEW YORK-- The so-called Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the T.W.U. has gone to court to decertify the Transit Workers Union as bargaining agent for some 29,000 employees on the subways and buses of the New York Transit Authority. As if this appeal to the labor hating courts were not bad enough, this committee has based its case on the most reactionary possible appeal--namely, "that the T.W.U. had never filed a non-strike pledge required of unions seeking certification and benefits under the state's Taylor Law."

This committee which purportedly speaks for the union rank and file and particularly its black and Puerto Rican workers, is openly supporting one of the most vicious anti-union, anti-strike slave laws in the United States. They are, in effect, calling in the cops against the workers.

COMMUNITY

All of this is justified by the leaders of the Rank and File Committee on the grounds that the T.W.U. does not represent the black workers. Their approach is no different than those so called black militants who reject the trade unions entirely and turn instead toward a solution to the oppression in the "black community" offered by Nixon and black capitalism. This program is being used by the bosses and government to tear apart the unions along racial lines, dividing and weakening the working class. Ultimately, it opens the door for the smashing of the unions and all workers organizations at the hands of fascist gangs.

This is the logic of the Rank and File Committee's creation of what is essentially a black caucus. In so doing, they turn their back on a real

struggle within the union to unite black and white militants around a program of struggle against the Transit Authority. A real possibility for such a strike is coming up at the end of this year when the transit contract expires. The T.W.U. has laid its contract demands on the table--a four day week at 5 days pay and the cost of living escalator clause are among the central demands. Instead of taking up the fight in the union for an all out battle to win these demands which are a necessity to fight unemployment and inflation--the committee rushes into the arms of the government.

UNITY

The action of this committee must be condemned by every militant in the T.W.U. Just at the time when the maximum unity of the ranks is needed in the battle for the new contract, the Rank and File Committee action splits the union down the middle. Lindsay and Rockefeller couldn't be happier.

Yes, the leadership of the T.W.U. has sold the ranks down the river before, and will try to do it again.

But the only way to fight these betrayals is to pose an alternative leadership in the union--a leadership which will fight for all the workers, black and white on a program truly in the interests of the rank and file. Such a program absolutely must include a struggle for the right to strike of all public employees, the immediate repeal of the Taylor Law and the organization of a labor party against the Democrats and Republicans. This alternative leadership in the T.W.U. can only be built by starting now with the struggle to win the 4 day week and the cost of living escalator clause.

Now that the election is all over Gotbaum tells us that Lindsay is "a fair and good boss--but he is still a boss. We want him to remain a good boss, but we are fully aware of the fact that at times he represents a point of view that differs from our own."

RESPONSIBLE

Let's get this straight Gotbaum. You just gave your helping hand to the re-election of the man who imposed the Taylor Law on striking municipal workers, who has imposed a job freeze across the board on all city employment and who is now in a battle to destroy every protection of civil service, first in the Welfare Department and then throughout the City. You know even better than the rank and file what Lindsay now has in store for city employees--now that he is re-elected. You knew it at the time you were urging his re-election. Now you are only letting the ranks get a little peek at the truth.

The rank and file will hold you responsible for the re-election of Lindsay and will learn to fight you in order to be able to fight back against Lindsay to protect their jobs, their working conditions, their standard of living. The bitter lesson here is the absolute necessity to break from all these "political luminaries" and construct a labor party based on the power of American labor and devoted to the working man and the working man alone.

## Lindsay Speed-up Hits SSEU Employees

BY A SSEU MEMBER

Only days after Mayor Lindsay's re-election, a new series of measures against the workers in the Department of Social Services was announced.

These new attacks are called "Responsibility by Accountability." In brief they call for the closest kind of scrutiny of a caseworker's work by the supervisory staff and mountains of reports on the quality and quantity of that work.

This accompanies the rising caseload--which has long passed the point of manageability--and increases the work of both caseworkers and supervisor a hundredfold. It accompanies an increasing stress on investigation of "eligibility" of welfare clients, a mass of paperwork and footwork.

"Responsibility by accountability" has thrown the Department into the atmosphere of a battlefield. At one Queens welfare center, an official from Central Office paid a surprise visit at ten minutes to five, at which point an emergency "cabinet meeting" was held and many case records were pulled and read.

All of this has caused many an older worker in the Department to remark on how everything is going back to the days of "social audit" with all its harassment and sneaking-up on workers.

Clearly this is meant not only to pit caseworker against supervisor (who both are members of SSEU-371) but to force attrition of staff. The Department has its plan to cut jobs through "reorganization" and the natural attrition rate has not been proceeding fast enough, so the Department finds it necessary to terrorize workers out of the job.

"Responsibility by accountability" is part of the overall picture that has been unfolding in the Department, including the threatened dissolution of the Hospital Care Investigator title, the curbing of field days and widespread harassment. All of it has sharpened considerably since Lindsay's re-election.

It was the contract negotiated by the Morgenstern leadership of SSEU-371 which gave the City carte blanche on all these issues. The membership of the union is now caught in a stranglehold by that contract. A campaign is necessary now to reopen the contract and beat the City back on its reign of terror.

## TWIN CITIES BUSMEN STRIKE

BY MICHAEL ROSS

MINNEAPOLIS-- Over 1,000 drivers, mechanics and office workers, members of Amalgamated Transit Workers Division 1005, struck Twin City Lines on November 17th. This was some two and one half weeks after their old contract expired.

The bus company has shown no attempt to negotiate seriously from the beginning. This was clear from their insulting final offer: a six month contract with an eleven cent pay hike! The full eleven cents would not even take effect until next February.

The company for years has been cutting back its services, hiking the fares, funneling the profits to its parent company, and then pleading "bankruptcy." They just got another 5¢ fare hike, and have used their "bankruptcy" plea to induce the Metropolitan Transit Commission to buy them out and institute public ownership. The Transit Commission plans to put this into effect within six months. But these parasites deserve not one cent in compensation.

Two years ago, after a 48 day strike in which the drivers were virtually starved out, they were forced to accept a contract which amounted to actual wage cuts. One worker explained to this reporter that he had received only a three cent pay hike. This atrocious settlement resulted in Twin Cities transit workers dropping from one of the better paid in their category (among the top five rates received by U.S. transit workers) down to around 18th place.

This time the union is fighting back with a program of a 91 cent wage hike over two years, a meaningful cost of living clause and improved fringe benefits and working conditions. Transit workers are trying to eliminate as much as possible the present twelve hour split-shift work period. Twin City Lines arrogantly demands that the work period be increased to twelve and one half hours.

The Twin Cities labor movement must give full support to the transit workers to prevent a repeat of the 1967 contract.

# sds labor-smc fight--a thieves quarrel

BY JACK ARNOLD

PHILADELPHIA-- The recent demonstration at the University of Pennsylvania called by the SDS Labor Committee against G.E. recruiters on the campus, and the controversy surrounding the demonstration between SDS Labor and the YSA-led Student Mobilization Committee highlight the dangers posed to the working class and the students by these organizations. The dispute between SDS Labor and the SMC over this demonstration represents an argument among a den of thieves on how best to advance the swamp of middle class protest politics.

The Labor Committee demonstration called on students to demonstrate against G.E. recruitment of students on campus and asserted that such recruitment while the workers of G.E. were on strike was tantamount to turning students into scabs. The demand that Labor Committee made of the Penn Administration was to ban these recruiters.

The program put forward by the Labor Committee at this demonstration makes even clearer the real character of this organization's politics. In a demonstration supposedly to support G.E. workers, this Committee put forward a program to serve the labor bureaucracy with its slogan "End Boulwarism." It is not just a question of the particularly reactionary character of G.E.'s labor policies that are at stake in this strike. This strike represents the first major showdown with the bosses' and Nixon's recessionary attacks on the working class as a whole. Much more is at stake than "Boulwarism." It is precisely the labor bureaucracy which will use this conception of the struggle to compromise by attempting to sell an offer of a few cents more as a "victory over Boulwarism."

The other demand raised by the Labor Committee--"Reconvert War Economy - Rebuild The Cities - Jobs For All At Decent Wages"--indicates the refusal of SDS Labor to confront the basic struggle between the working class and capitalism, to mobilize the working class independently in a political battle. SDS Labor seeks to substitute the propagandizing around slogans of "reconverting the economy" through tax and structural reforms for a real battle by the organized working class against capitalism. In other words,

the schemes of SDS Labor's leader, Mr. Marcus, on how to run the capitalist economy more efficiently are counterposed to a real program to mobilize the workers not only for victory in their immediate struggles but in the struggle to take power.



SDS LABOR POSES NO POLITICAL STRUGGLE OR PROGRAM TO WORKERS

While the YSA-led SMC refused to back SDS Labor's demonstration, it was hardly on a principled basis.

The SMC, run and organized by the YSA-SWP, while apparently in conflict with the Labor Committee over this demonstration, is in reality cemented to it by the same outlook. Initially the Labor Committee fought for and won the support of Phila-

delphia SMC at a meeting in which the SMC membership issued a leaflet supporting the Penn action and tying the war in Vietnam to the G.E. strike. This statement supported the G.E. strikers in their efforts to maintain decent living standards

by the YSA-SWP, passed a motion opposed to the proposed demonstration on the basis that it interfered with the Penn SMC in building the Fall Offensive against the war. Further they opposed the Labor Committee action because it was opposed to the concept of building single issue anti-war mass actions. The steering committee of the Philadelphia SMC reversed the decision of the membership meeting of SMC. Marc Bedner, SMC member and YSAer said that active support for the G.E. strikers would diminish the importance of plans for the SMC rallies in Washington.

What unites both of these tendencies is their rejection of the class struggle. The struggle by the G.E. workers and the struggle against the war are part and parcel of the same battle and represent the growing antagonism on the part of the workers and the youth towards the policies of U.S. capitalism at home and abroad. Victory for the G.E. workers and an end to the war require above all the independent mobilization of the working class against the bosses and the government on a class program--raising the demands for big wage gains, jobs for all through the four day week and the construction of a labor party to fight against the two parties of war, inflation and unemployment.

What both the YSA and SDS Labor attempt to do is to divert the students and the workers into reformist politics; SDS Labor through its program of reconverting capitalism and the YSA through its liquidation into the liberal-led peace movement.

## Stony Brook BSU 'Liberates' Student Lounge'

STONY BROOK, N.Y.-- Black Students United, a cultural nationalist group on campus responsible for the virtually apartheid living conditions at the State University at Stony Brook, recently "liberated" a student study lounge, designating it a Black Cultural Center and excluding white students.

In a statement in the college newspaper, their spokesman expressed how "laughable" he found "the awe and outrage at the efficiency of BSU's resourcefulness." Efficiency is certainly the key word for the opportunists of his clique who have jumped on the black nationalist bandwagon. Callender claims in the same article that "the newest and most effective ideology to come along in decades is the ideology of black nationalism and revolution."

The truth is that these black petit-bourgeois intellectuals like Callender and his Minister of Information, Dwight Loines, have nothing but contempt for workers and the history of the working class movement, writing off the unions as "racist".

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revolution-- until April 1917 and thus his early writings express some confusion precisely on this question of democratic demands.

#### RIGHTS

"The fight against the war in Viet Nam," Evans states, "is perhaps the most serious and vital of all the struggles involving democratic rights in the world at the moment." Without denying that the war definitely involves democratic rights, can anyone with the slightest acquaintance, if not with Marxism, then with the reality of the Vietnam war, claim that all that is involved is "democratic rights," that this is what is central? In fact, throughout the article Evans refers to the IMPER-

IALIST character of the war and the anti-imperialist character of the struggle against the war.

Lenin's real position on war is summed up rather well in the following quote: "Imperialist capitalism is the cause of war, and the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism..."

The fight against perfidious Stalinism, in the name of the class struggle policy of Lenin, is a necessary and inseparable part of the fight for peace.

#### CANNON

"The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against im-

perialism, is the only genuine fight against war. The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves. That is the road of Lenin. There is no other peace."

In case Evans wishes to know which wild ultra-leftist made this statement, his name is James P. Cannon. At last report he was still National Chairman of Evans' party. But time has passed and in the course of this time the degeneration of the SWP has gone forward at an extremely rapid rate. But the nature of imperialism has not changed. Lenin's program remains the only program for the real road to peace.

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## HOSPITAL WORKERS FIGHT BUDGET CUTS

NEW YORK-- On November 25th, hospital workers will participate in a demonstration at Rockefeller's office to protest the budget cuts. The demonstration was organized by a coalition of unions, including 1199, SSEU and 371, Fur, Leather and Meatcutters Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local 1814 of the ILA and the Bakery Workers Union.

The impact of the budget cuts has

### Layoffs Hit Workers at Williamsburg Steel

BY S. GOSSETT

At least 30 members of the Carpenters and Joiners Union were laid off last week at the Greenpoint plant of Williamsburg Steel Co. No policy statement was made and nothing was said about call-backs or standing by.

The layoffs come under conditions of a general slowdown as Nixon's recessionary policies start hitting the private sector of industry. One Williamsburg worker commented that he had "noticed a slackening off in the last couple of months."

Williamsburg Steel is a small corporation that only competes because it pays wages no higher than \$3.31 an hour. As contract time draws nearer workers are becoming more militant. The bosses are using unemployment as a bargaining bludgeon. This is why Local 2947 members must close ranks and demand that their leadership fight back.

#### PROMISED

The shop stewards have promised to call in union officials to settle the case of only two of the laid off members, while having no intention of fighting to get all of the workers back on the job.

Local 2947 members must press their mis-leaders NOW for immediate re-hiring and an end to layoffs. The way to prepare for a real victory around the contract is for the ranks to take up the fight now to force the leaders to take action against the layoffs. Essential to the bargaining program for a new contract must be the demand for a four day week combined with a real battle for big wage increases and an end to the sweatshop working conditions.

## postal workers prepare for strike action

BY PAT CONNOLLY

In a television interview Friday night, November 21st, the head of the postal workers union, Jack Leventhal, was asked to comment on Bill HR 13000, granting wage increases to the nation's postal workers, which was passed by Congress and is now before President Nixon for approval.

Standing before a militant group of

been felt sharply among the hospital workers with worse still to come. Clinics serving working class areas were the first to be hit. Bronx Lebanon Grand Concourse clinic was closed while other clinics at voluntary hospitals restricted the flow of patients. This has meant that these patients are sent to already overcrowded city clinics. The policy of cutting jobs through a "freeze" -- the job freeze -- is still in effect but the bosses obviously consider "his a minor dollar saving scheme. There is widespread talk of layoffs and closings. Although the 1199 leadership is trying to scoff at such talk as a bluff, no hospital worker should be put off guard. Job security is now being seriously threatened.

#### ATTACKS

The November 25th demonstration shows clearly that the 1199 leaders are not preparing any struggle against the hospital crisis. In leaflets passed out by the union, no mention at all was made of the attacks on hospital workers, of the closings or the job freeze. Instead workers were urged to demonstrate because the "poor" were under attack, and secondly because if the cuts are restored, more money will be available for a wage increase when the 1199 contract expires July 1970.

Yes, it is absolutely true that the poor are being attacked through restriction of Medicaid coverage and welfare allowances. But to solve their crisis the bosses must also launch an attack on the trade unions by holding down wages and raising unemployment. The trade unions are at the center of the bosses attack because their power to strike back, their refusal to let the bosses make them pay for the crisis is the bosses biggest stumbling block. It is not a question of the workers doing a service for the poor, but of the trade unions using their powerful organization to lead a united fight against attacks on both the poor and organized labor. This means a fight by the unions for a political expression of this strength, a labor party.

The reference to the contract in this leaflet shows how worried the 1199 leadership is becoming over the confrontation that is shaping up. Davis is not preparing for an all out fight in July although it is clear

demonstrating postmen, Leventhal said that if Nixon did not sign the bill, "They'd better teach the National Guard how to deliver mail."

Postal workers are among the lowest paid of all Federal employees with 85% of all workers in the five lowest paid job titles. It takes 25 years to reach the top step in the pay scale. The high turnover (23 per hundred) is an indication of the sweatshop conditions in the Post Office. Many workers will also face loss of jobs with the government's plans to modernize and automate the postal service. Postal workers are reduced to "Civil Slaves" by laws which make it a federal crime for them to strike.

Despite the vicious anti-strike laws aimed at them, the postal workers have started a militant fight against the rotten working conditions and low pay in the Post Office. It is clear if the workers do not get their long overdue wage increases, they are prepared to set up pickets around Post Offices all over the country.

that the hospital bosses together with the politicians in Albany will attempt to hold down hospital costs through control over wages. This is the meaning of all the various cost-control plans being debated in Albany. Right now Davis is talking tough. He has stated that "any attempt to impose wage controls will end in disaster" and that "no arbitration, mediation or Taylor Law is going to stop us."

In practice, Davis is really saying: Let's keep pressuring Rockefeller and maybe that will solve our problem in July. He threatens a strike over layoffs but relies on our "friends of labor" to fight these cuts. It is the SAME policy used by all these trade union bureaucrats in the Washington anti-war demonstration where thousands of workers were brought down on union buses but were sent out as individuals to get lost in the crowd. 1199 did not have one sign for the workers to carry, although they had prevented a discussion by delegates at the meeting just before the march on what slogans the union should raise. Once again Davis showed his slavish support for the very politicians who create the war as well as the budget cuts.

Davis' policy for the upcoming negotiations is to completely IGNORE the question of job security and concentrate on wages alone. This means that whatever wage gains are made in July will still leave workers open to threats of layoffs and closings.

#### DEMONSTRATION

The November 25th demonstration was called because of the mounting pressure expressed in meeting after meeting to take action against the Medicaid cuts. This demonstration must be turned into a real fight against Rockefeller and Lindsay by the unions.

The ranks must beware of the leadership's attempts to use this demonstration as an excuse to avoid a real confrontation now over the question of the job freeze in the hospitals and the attack on working conditions. The demonstration should be seen as the first step in a real campaign to end the attacks on the workers, to make them pay for the crisis in the hospitals. The Rank and File Committee of 1199 is raising the following demands for the demonstration: No Closings--Re-open the Clinics, End The Job Freeze Now, Fight Rockefeller and Lindsay with a Labor Party. It is in the context of this fight that a real solution to the hospital crisis can be posed through the struggle for socialized medicine--Free Medical Care For All!

## thermo-king men support g.e strike

BY A STEELWORKERS 2175 MEMBER

MINNEAPOLIS-- The length and intensity of the General Electric strike is showing all Thermo-King workers what lies ahead for them. Larger and larger sections of Thermo-King workers are understanding this; this is shown by the growing number who wear buttons or paste up bumper stickers supporting the G.E. strikers.

Thermo-King workers cannot afford to fight for any less than the G.E. workers went out for. Even at Westinghouse Air Brake, the UE won a three year package including 68 to 88 cents in wage hikes over that period. To its other plants, Westinghouse is making the same insulting offer as G.E., 20¢ this year, plus wage reopeners in 1970 and 1971. The wage reopener business is proposed by G.E. and Westinghouse as a way to take advantage of rising unemployment to check workers' militancy and hold back wage hikes in '70 and '71.

#### PREPARATIONS

Thermo-King management is already making its preparations for a possible strike in April. In some departments compulsory overtime apparently is being used to build up a stockpile of subassembled parts to make it possible to assemble units faster. And the recent upsurge in the contracting out (to lower paid and usually non-union shops) of plating jobs indicates what is in store--contracting out, during a strike, of the welding, sheetmetal, machine shop, tool and die, and electrical and other subassembly work.

Thermo-King workers must be more than equally prepared for the strike that is appearing quite certain on April 1st. This means preparations now for raising a strike fund, and working with the transportation unions to see that nothing moves in or out of the plant in the event of a strike.

Local 2175's leadership must mobilize the ranks around a program to win in April. This means fighting for not one cent less than G.E. is out for, for the same benefits, as well as holding on to those benefits and conditions that other Westinghouse and G.E. workers do not yet have (such as a union shop). This must be the very minimum that Thermo-King workers fight for. It is around such a program that the members of 2175 must insist that their leaders and negotiating committee fight.

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# NOV 15 AND THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

There are political lessons of the greatest importance to be drawn from the November 15th mass marches against the Vietnam war. These demonstrations revealed the tremendous potential for the construction of a mass revolutionary movement in the United States and at the same time the very deep crisis and bankruptcy of leadership.

What was posed in Washington was the need for a working class leadership of the half million youths and workers assembled. What was actually done by every tendency present, with the exception of the Workers League, was to liquidate this leadership into the mass and then leave this mass to the leadership of the ruling class through Senator Goodell and the like.

Liquidationism was the real political theme of all the revisionist tendencies. In this they follow the non-lead of the labor bureaucrats who brought thousands of workers to Washington only to disperse them, not even holding them together as union contingents.

The Communist Party, which still has certain forces and publishes a daily paper, was willing only to mobilize a contingent no larger than the Workers League to march under Communist Party banners. The bulk of the Communist Party members present on the mall were liquidated into pacifist and liberal peace organizations.

## DISSOLVED

The Progressive Labor Party completely dissolved itself into the Worker-Student Alliance section of SDS not finding it necessary even to carry fig-leaf banners like the Communist Party. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance did the same thing with the Student Mobilization Committee--their WSA.

Only the Workers League carried party banners on the Mall which posed an independent working class political program around the struggle for a labor party and the independent mobilization of the working class to take the leadership of the struggle against war. Neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist Workers Party, both of which are members of the New Mobilization Committee, had party spokesmen speaking at the rally in the name of their party. But the Democratic and Republican Parties did have such spokesmen. In this way the whole half million people were contained within capitalist political limits with the aid of the various revisionist tendencies.

## LIQUIDATIONISM

It is important to look at the political justification for this complete liquidationism as put forward by the SWP. Its most developed expression can be found in an article by Les Evans published in *Intercontinental Press* on the very eve of the Washington March. Entitled "An Ultra-leftist Endorses the Antiwar Movement," the article is a polemic against the Socialist Labour League and Workers League for purportedly switching its line on the question of the struggle against the war.

First we must point out that neither the SLL nor the Workers League has at any time in the past or is now endorsing "the antiwar movement" if what is meant by this is giving any political support whatsoever to the liberal committees which call these demonstrations. Nor, we must add, have we ever abandoned the struggle against the Vietnam war. Because we refuse to identify the struggle against the Vietnam war with the leadership of the Mobilization Com-

mittee or the Moratorium Committee, we do not confine our own activity against the war to the demonstrations called by these groups. Essentially we carry out an independent struggle against the war which is integrated with our general party fight within the working class.

At a time when the SWP and YSA confined itself strictly to anti-war activities on university campuses we took our press directly to workers throughout the country not only opposing the war but openly supporting the workers and peasants of Vietnam in their military conflict with American imperialism.

## TURN

It is true that recently the Workers League has taken a turn towards more direct involvement in the mass demonstrations called by the various liberal groups which the SWP participates in. We did this because

struggle? Or does he think that he and his friends in the Communist Party simply outfoxed these senators and sucked them into an "anti-imperialist" movement?

If we look at some of the quick footwork done by the New Mobe leaders in the last days before the march, we can see just how elastic the words "immediate withdrawal" can become--at the hands of opportunists. In a letter to President Nixon two days before the march, Mobe co-chairmen Stewart Meacham and Cora Weiss asked for a meeting to discuss "demands for the announcement and initiation of swiftly phased withdrawal" from Vietnam. So "immediate" becomes transformed into "swiftly phased", which for Senator Goodell means the end of 1970 is "swift".

## PARTY

So much for the "central axis"



WORKERS LEAGUE CONTINGENTS RAISE WORKING CLASS SLOGANS NOV. 15

that sections of the working class and broader sections of the youth, in the absence of any independent leadership from the labor movement, are utilizing these demonstrations to express their genuine hostility to this war. This makes it our responsibility to enter into this movement to give it a political leadership independent of the capitalists and their agents among the revisionist groups and labor bureaucrats.

The real purpose of the Evans article is to use the polemic against the SLL and Workers League as a way of bolstering the opportunist policies of the SWP and YSA within the peace movement at a time when these policies are coming under increasing attack both within and without the SWP-YSA.

According to Evans, "the anti-imperialist character of the movement has been determined by three slogans, for which the SWP has been the main champion." These slogans are "1. For the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam." This slogan is seen as the "central axis" which "stands in the way of any defenders of imperialist policy, liberal or otherwise, who would like to divert the struggle into a compromise that would permit the imperialists to continue their aggression."

## OUTFOXED

But it certainly did not stand in the way of Senator Goodell and Senator McGovern participating in the November 15th March. Does Evans claim that these two spokesmen of capital are not trying to divert the

we allow any other issue than immediate withdrawal to be raised, it will of necessity be a liberal middle class rather than working class demand.

## COVER

This is actually a cover for the refusal of the SWP to fight for working class demands being raised in these demonstrations. Though Evans does not bother to mention it, neither the New Mobe nor the SMC any longer confines its demands to a single issue. A number of other demands have been adopted as official ones, including demands related to black nationalism and the like. What is definitely excluded is any demand that would mean a clear break with capitalism and the capitalist parties. Clearly a McGovern or a Goodell would not speak from a platform that called for a labor party not to mention for victory to the Vietcong.

It is precisely at this point that we get to the heart of the matter. Evans claims that by keeping the movement a "single-issue" one--which it isn't--the SWP prevents it from becoming "a popular front of the notorious Stalinist variety." In actuality this single issue acts as a cover for a bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie on the war question. As in all popular fronts, this limits politically the activity of the bloc to a bourgeois program. Thus in Washington it is considered proper for a Democratic and a Republican senator to speak, but not a representative of the SWP or CP and certainly no call for a labor party is to be permitted.

In order to bolster theoretically this indefensible position Evans quotes Lenin of all people. One would think that since the question at issue is the struggle against war Evans would refer to Lenin's writings on THAT subject. But since Evans knows full well that he could not find a single word in Lenin which could even be misconstrued to support present SWP tactics he is forced to carry out a subterfuge.

## LENIN

What he does is quote Lenin on the question of temporary alliances with bourgeois democrats over questions of democratic rights and the democratic revolution and he takes these quotes from Lenin's writings of 1902. This is a complete hoax--one, by the way, used by the Communist Party to justify its popular front policies.

In the first place Lenin's whole discussion of alliances with the bourgeoisie is put forward within the framework of a country in which the bourgeois democratic revolution had not been completed. Secondly, Lenin, even in Russia, never viewed the war question as a democratic one. Quite the opposite, he saw that the most democratic of bourgeois parties and individuals stood by their imperialist class in times of war. He always insisted on an independent fight of the proletariat against the war.

Thirdly, the quotes come from an early period in Lenin's development. After the split with the Mensheviks and particularly after the 1905 revolution Lenin hardened up his whole assessment of the role of the bourgeois democrats even in the democratic revolution. He insisted on the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution. Fourthly, as Evans knows full well, Lenin did not come to a full understanding of the permanent revolution--that the democratic revolution would go over into the socialist

(continued on page 10)