

# Bulletin

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*NOW*  
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## LONGSHORE STRIKE

- **EAST COAST DOWN**
- **ILWU FACES CRISIS**

BY DAN FRIED

The rank and file longshoremen of the ILA have upset the applecart of the shipping bosses!

Behind the strike? A militant union membership with a 21 year history of never having settled a new contract without a Taft-Hartley injunction being thrown at them. The ILA ranks are not a bunch who willingly accept a 'big' money package (as is being offered in this contract), a pat on the head, and advice from 'leaders', bosses, and government that they be good boys and say 'uncle'.

Even less so in 1968 when the longshoremen smell a rat. The name of the rat is 'containerization.' 'Containeriza-

(Continued on page two)



**HANSEN  
CASTRO  
AND DUBCEK**

**ANATOMY OF  
YSA CONFAB**

**NIXON'S MILLION  
DOLLAR CABINET**

**SSEU FACES  
SELLOUT**

**TC HOSPITAL HEADS  
REDBAIT OPPOSITION**



HARRY BRIDGES

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN.

SAN FRANCISCO-- An explosion is being prepared on the west coast docks. All the illusions about Harry Bridges' magical Mechanization and Modernization agreement are being swept away.

The employers are sharpening their knives and the livelihood of every west coast docker is threatened. Every docker is threatened. Even Bridges after all the years of boasting and the tons of propaganda defending his sell-outs is forced to admit that the future of the union is in danger.

The most immediate sign of the crisis is the smoldering dispute between the teamsters and the longshoremen over jurisdiction in handling containerized cargo.

This flared into the open when the teamsters picketed several docks recently, claiming that ILWU members were taking their jobs by handling the unloading of containers from trucks on the docks. A PMA injunction against the pickets forced the teamsters to retreat and the issue is now being negotiated between the ILWU and Teamsters leaders.

This is only the appearance however. Underneath it is the growing fear among longshoremen for the future of their jobs as well as the increasingly obvious intentions of the employers to begin an attack on the ILWU.

## CONTAINERS

We have warned in previous issues of the Bulletin that containerization threatens to decimate the maritime workforce. This is no theoretical question concerning the longterm future but an immediate crisis with practical impact in the next few years.

Already new maritime terminals have been completed in L.A. and Oakland designed to handle containerized shipments. Not satisfied with the profits to be obtained from this new mechanization the employers headed by Matson Navigation Co. are moving immediately to slash wages and working conditions.

Claiming that the ILWU-PMA agreement does not cover work done in container freight stations they are demanding a separate agreement. Their intention is to pay the standard teamster warehousemen's rates of \$3.88 for the first 6 hours and time-and-a-half guaranteed for the last two hours.

Already it is reported that a Japanese consortium has signed a contract with a trucking firm for the new L.A. terminal and has leased a portion of the Oakland facilities. Its intention is to use teamsters at lower pay scales.

It is obvious that this is only the beginning and as contain-

# ilwu faces container crisis

erized cargo becomes general there will be an all out war on the docks. The ILWU leadership because of its entire history of class collaboration and sell-out is completely unprepared to deal with this crisis. Rather than arming and mobilizing the ranks for the coming struggles the leadership is attempting to cool things through back room deals.

This is not to say that the Bridges leadership will not fight. Any labor bureaucrat will struggle to save his position when his back is to the wall. What we are saying is that Bridges is incapable of arming and mobilizing the ranks with a program and is incapable of fighting politically in a period of deep capitalist crisis.

## WAR

Bridges' entire policy during the 50's and 60's has prepared the present crisis just as his policy during the war period prepared the crisis that hit in 1948.

The ILWU policy during the war can be summed up with one quote from Bridges who was carrying out the Stalinist line to the letter. 'In this period the unions must be converted into instruments of the speed-up.' Or further on April 8, 1942: 'The ILWU, a large part of which embraces the loading and discharging of practically all the ships entering Pacific coast ports, proposed to its employers and the government a plan to have the entire longshore industry on the Pacific coast operated exclusively under the control of a joint management-labor government board. We devised the program and we pushed for its adoption. In proposing the establishment of such a board, the union agreed to set aside any and all provisions of its entire collective bargaining agreement, if any such provisions or the contract in any way blocked an all-out war effort.'

In other words turn over everything won in the historic 1934 struggles to the good offices of the employers and the government.

It was precisely such a policy that led the employers to try to finish the job in 1948 by using the Taft-Hartley and the beginning of the cold war to destroy the hiring hall and the six hour day. This led to the '48 strike, the last strike on the west coast docks.

## SELLOUT

The last twenty years have seen Bridges continue the old policy of class collaboration with a vengeance. This culminated in the historic 1960 M&M sellout with a six year contract and its renewal in 1966 with a five year contract.

These agreements gave away all rights in return for a few concessions to the older workers and prepared the present crisis as surely as the wartime agreements prepared the '48 crisis.

Under M&M the older workers, 'A' men, were guaranteed 35 hours work and a fund to be used for pensions. In

return they gave up all rights to negotiate on automation. 'B' men with no union votes and no benefits were employed as a supplementary work force and while receiving no fringes their work produced much of fund. In addition many casuals with no union rights at all are employed in specially busy periods.

For Bridges the agreement was ideal. Using the cover of the temporary capitalist boom he was able to buy off the older more conservative workers and prevent the younger workers whom he fears from playing any role in the union. By thus playing off the ranks, keeping up a constant barrage of 'left' talk and horsetrading with the employers he has been able to hold on to his power.

Now that the capitalist boom is ending and we are moving into a period of intense class struggle it is necessary to see just how blatant his sell-out was. Now that all jobs and pensions are in danger we can read in the ILWU supplement to the pamphlet Men and Machines the following incredible statement: 'At the suggestion of the union the wage guarantee feature of the old agreement was dropped. Because tonnage had increased beyond all expectations the wage guarantee had never been used'. What pragmatism! Not even to be able to see a year ahead! Or still more they write: 'The no lay-off provision was also dropped. The parties are convinced on the basis of the experience of the last five years that they can control the size of the workforce so that no layoffs will be necessary'. And now listen to this: 'It must be pointed out that both the no-layoff and the wage guarantee were limited to reductions in work opportunity occasioned by increased productivity, and neither was applicable in the event of curtailment of work opportunity attributable to general economic recession or depression'.

Who do these idiots think they are fooling? The threat of a recession is real enough but, it is precisely containerization which threatens work opportunity through increased productivity. With a leadership like this who needs Matson?

## BANKRUPT

If all of this is not bad enough the November 8 'Dispatcher' adds insult to injury. Right in the middle of the container crisis they devote most of the issue to pensions and conclude that pensions are in danger unless the union can maintain 30 million hours of work to make the necessary payments. The article also wails about the poor employers who might go out of business if forced to increase their per hour contribution to the pension fund. Apparently no one has informed Mr. Bridges that these employers whose welfare he is so solicitous about have made an estimated super profit through mechanization of about \$200 million over the

life of the M&M agreements.

After hearing this one might think that Bridges had gone about as far as he could. Never underestimate Harry. To see to it that all the sell-outs stick the ILWU has even agreed to compulsory arbitration or grievances and a no-strike provision. The union is being delivered bound hand and foot to the employer and to the state's courts.

What this means in practice was seen in the recent L.A. dispute where the employers locked out ILWU'ers who refused to work a rat-infested ship. Rather than break his precious contract Bridges had dockers in S.F. handle L.A. ships. Or during the recent grape boycott Bridges refused to honor farmworkers pickets and the ILWU loaded scab grapes bound for Vietnam. Time and time again the fear of courts and injunctions holds the ILWU leadership back from any struggle.

As long as there was a lot of work and apparent security the ranks would tolerate Bridges' leadership. Today everything is turning into its opposite and it is necessary to begin immediately the construction of an alternative leadership to Bridges.

We say there will be no solution from following out Bridges' policy of waging civil war with the Teamsters for ever diminishing numbers of

jobs. This war is precisely what Matson and the PMA want as it will weaken both unions and allow them to carry out their policy of wage slashing.

## UNITY

The ILWU and the Teamsters showed what they could do in the last warehouse strike when a coordinated and jointly led strike established a real unity in action. This is precisely what is needed now. A joint ILWU-Teamster plan must be drawn up. Not for a temporary truce but to declare war on the employers. Rates equal to those for longshore must be established for all warehouse and container stuffing work.

A united struggle by the IBT and the ILWU will be unbeatable. No matter how you divide the jobs containerization is going to decimate the work force. The only alternative is a joint struggle for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. The new ALA claims it is for this; the ILWU leadership has always given it lip service. It is no longer a nice slogan for labor day parades. It is now a matter of life and death for the working class.

There must be an end to the disunity in the ILWU! All are in this together! We must fight for full union rights for all 'B' men!

The entire Bridges approach  
(continued on page 11)

## LONGSHORE STRIKE SOLID

(Continued from page one)

York.

tion' like other plans based on automation and modernization now being applied with increasing vigor by capitalist industry throughout the U.S., Japan, and Europe, at the expense of workers jobs, aims at one thing--more profit for the bosses.

## CONTAINERS

Mr. Gleason knows all about this, of course. He admits "that when the full weight of containerization is felt", the number of jobs for ILA men will be cut in half. Gleason says that while it may have taken 16,000 man hours to unload and reload an old style freighter, "a fully containerized cargo of the same size can be handled in only 1,100 hours." Evidently, Gleason thinks that the best he can do is save only half the work force.

Now Gleason is forced to retreat from his crass sell-out. We learn that Gleason had actually agreed with the bosses that the union would 'REFRAIN FROM INSISTING' on the right for the union to load and reload containers brought to the New York docks from within a 50 mile radius of the port and belonging to the New York Shipping Association members.

The shippers in Boston and Philadelphia refuse even to accept the 50 mile radius clause demanded by the ILA for New York. On the other hand, the ILA ranks in these ports insist that they get at least the guarantees of New

## BUREAUCRATS

Regardless of the re-worked wording that Gleason comes up with-- and the bosses may agree with this in order to end a crippling strike--the agreement will not be worth the paper it is written on if it is not enforced. This is how the bosses hope to get around any agreement on the union's rights to unload and reload containers. Labor bureaucrats like Gleason are notorious for allowing the bosses to violate the contract on issues like this.

We are not against containerization or automation, but the employers should be made to pay for it, not the workers. The workers have the power to win a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay--a tremendous power as shown in this strike which has shut down shipping 100% from Maine to Texas. The shipowners, who never do a stitch of productive work are moaning and groaning about the let up of profits and along with their man Cole, are urging the government to "take the initiative" in bringing the strike to an end.

It will soon become clear once again, that if the longshoremen are to win they will have to be prepared to take on the government as well as the bosses. This means a fight along with the rest of labor for a labor party and a labor government, not two bosses' parties and a bosses government no matter who wins the election.



ALBERT SHANKER

NEW YORK--With friends like Al Shanker and Vic Gotbaum, the workers in this city don't need any enemies. If things aren't bad enough with the low salaries and the increasing deterioration of their working conditions, combined with the threat of the Taylor Law hanging over the worker's heads if they dare to fight back, the supposed representatives of the city workers, the union heads, are now giving full support to putting new teeth into the Taylor Law.

Mr. Shanker whose union was out on strike for over two months and which has been heavily penalized by the Taylor Law and Mr. Gotbaum whose 80,000 workers face a contract battle in January recently announced their full support for a mandatory cooling-off period to be written into the Taylor Law 'for poten-

## Gotbaum & Shanker Run to Albany To STRENGTHEN The Taylor Law

tial strikes that threaten to create emergencies.' These bureaucrats don't say one word about repealing this vicious anti-labor law, but want to strengthen it by limiting more and more the basic rights of the workers to strike and to bargain collectively.

### PHONIES

It was only a year and a half ago that these same bureaucrats got up at Madison Square Garden in front of 25,000 workers to declare their dedicated opposition to the Taylor law. In those days these phony leaders declared their determination 'to defend the right to maintain and improve wages and working conditions, to defend the right to strike so that no legislator nor government officials can take away this right' and that the major unions in this city UFT, DC 37, and the TWU stand together in defense of one another 'until this law and its promoters are left in the dustbin of history.'

There is one thing to be learned; that is never, never trust a labor bureaucrat no matter how militant he sounds. The brave calls to fight today become betrayals tomorrow.

### HOT

Things are getting pretty

hot for the bureaucrats these days. The ranks more and more are getting sick and tired of the lousy settlements their leaders have been trying to shove down their throats. While the bureaucrats sit in their fancy offices the workers know that they are being hit from every direction by the City.

With every major confrontation, the labor bureaucrats are threatened so they turn when the chips are down to their friends, the bosses, to help put down the fiery ranks.

As a matter of fact, the labor leaders are beginning to sound more and more like the bosses, witness in particular Mr. Gotbaum and Mr. Shanker. Mr. Gotbaum recently said that union leaders needed to 'take a tougher stand' with members who rejected accords that the leadership had reached with management. And remember what Mr. Shanker had to say to the delegates assembly of the UFT when opposition arose to the school settlement - he called this opposition a 'disgrace' and promptly dismissed the meeting.

These words from the bureaucrats only echo what the President of Con Edison, Mr.

Luce, had to say a few weeks ago during the Con Ed strike. Mr. Luce said that the rebellious ranks who refused to buy the agreements their leaders had negotiated had to be stopped, that the legislature should pass a law making the decisions of the bureaucrats binding on the members, that the ranks not be allowed to ratify their contracts, that 'democracy' was getting in the way of 'collective bargaining.' The bosses know who their friends are - the labor bureaucrats.

### DEALS

It is clear that the kind of 'collective bargaining' the bosses and the bureaucrats want is an arrangement so they are free to make deals, to take the control of the unions and the fight for wages and working conditions out of the hands of the rank and file members of the unions. Mr. Gotbaum says 'expertise is needed'. This expertise is embodied in the now existent Office of Collective Bargaining which Mr. Gotbaum and his fellow bureaucrats gave full support to it. OCB takes bargaining out of the hands of the ranks and hands it over to the labor bureaucrats and the government in the form



VICTOR GOTBAUM

of a Tri-Partite Commission. OCB bases itself on the principle of managerial prerogative and limits the scope of collective bargaining to wages and time and leave rules. In other words working conditions cannot be bargained on.

The labor bureaucrats stand exposed as the representatives of the bosses and not the rank and file workers. These leaders must go and go now. They must be thrown out before they sell every basic right the workers have won over the last 50 years. The unions are the organizations of the workers, not the bureaucrats. The ranks must replace these sellout leaders with representatives of their own who will fight for the interests of the workers and not the bosses.

## nixon's twelve --no plumber

BY LUCY ST JOHN

If there have been any illusions about who runs the government, they can be quickly dispelled by a look at Nixon's new cabinet. Clearly this country is not run by or in the interests of the working man.

There is no candy coating on this cabinet. It consists of millionaires, bankers, lawyers for corporations, a couple of hack politicians and two academicians whose interests lie with big business. The only 'compassion' these men have is for profit.

Poor Mr. Kennedy, the new head of the Treasury, will have to take a pay cut of \$198,750 - he ordinarily makes \$233,750 a year as head of the Illinois National Bank. Of course Mr. Kennedy really doesn't have to worry; he gets a pension of \$82,983 a year. Mr. Rogers the new Secretary of State now earns \$300,000 a year as a corporate lawyer and Mr. Mitchell the new Attorney General makes \$200,000, that is not to mention millionaires like Blount, Volpe, and Hickel.

### PROFITS

The driving concern of these men of course is to maintain the profits to maintain free enterprise, at any cost - cost that is to the working class. These men as representatives of the capitalist class are 'pragmatists' that is totally without principle or 'ideology'

except a commitment to advancing the greed of the ruling class at a time when they are feeling the pinch.

A good example of the ruthlessness of these men and their one and only concern can be seen in Mr. Hickel of Alaska who has been appointed to head the Department of Interior. The Department of the Interior at least in the traditional sense has been established to 'conserve' the nation's resources. Mr. Hickel appropriately enough made his million in a state with vast resources which he of course used to his advantage. He is known of course as Alaska's 'celebrated entrepreneur'. Mr. Hickel's position on natural resources, federally owned resources, is to make them available for 'free enterprise'. Putting Mr. Hickel in charge of the Department of the Interior is like putting a confessed rapist in charge of a girl's seminary.

Mr. Volpe's past is quite similar. Mr. Volpe made his million in construction, which in part meant construction of state highways. The highways in Massachusetts are some of the worst and no sooner are they built when they have to be rebuilt - of course with a profit for the builder. For this service to the public, Mr. Volpe is made head of the Department of Transportation.



DICK NIXON AND HIS DIRTY DOZEN PREPARE NEW ATTACKS ON AMERICAN WORKERS

The Secretary of Labor, Schultz, who has even been welcomed by some labor bureaucrats, heads the School of Business at the University of Chicago. If there are any dreams about him being an impartial arbitrator, we have only to look at his credentials - he is on the boards of a number of large corporations.

### PRIVATE

Nixon is no fool. He has surrounded himself with the best of the bourgeoisie's administrators. Their motto is 'private enterprise'. This they pose as a new solution - let private enterprise solve the problems.

The fact is private enterprise is not something new. It has ruled in this country from its origins and is in fact not the cure but the cause

of the decay of this country. We say private enterprise has had its chance. It is time this country was run in the interests of the millions of working people and not for the profit of a few.

We warn the workers, that the next period will mean greater and greater attacks

on the working and living conditions of all workers, on the basic instruments of the workers, the trade unions, so that the problems of the bosses are solved. The protection of private enterprise and profit means exactly this and that is what Nixon's cabinet is all well trained for.

### SAN FRANCISCO SAN FRANCISCO SAN FRANCISCO

#### • party •

Food, Drinks, Music, Dancing. Saturday, Jan 18th, 8:00pm  
For friends and readers.

#### • class •

American Pragmatism  
A Marxist critique of Pierce, Dewey, James.  
Sunday, Jan 26th, 8:00 pm  
A series of 5 classes on alternate weeks  
Workers League, 644 Oak St., S.F. 626-7019

# ANATOMY OF YSA CONFERENCE

## a classical case of centrism

BY BOB JOHNSON

CHICAGO--The 8th National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held here on Thanksgiving weekend, revealed the unquestionable numerical growth of the organization in the last immediate period. At the same time the essentially centrist and pragmatic political character of it and the SWP, its parent organization, also was completely revealed. Only by understanding this can all the twists and turns of this organization be understood. And understanding is essential for the SWP and YSA will be around for some time to come when people will have even forgotten that SDS once existed while the role it will play will be extremely dangerous to the development of the American working class.

The SWP and YSA begin at all times with themselves--their organization. This organization is seen not as the instrument of the working class for coming to power and certainly not as politically the American section of an international party guided by an international strategy for the struggle for power. Rather the organization has become a 'thing-in-itself'. The party as an organization is to be built and anything which 'works' pragmatically is done to build that party.

### BERNSTEIN

It is in many ways a modern day version of the old German Social Democracy, a small group to be sure and in political position closer to a Kautsky than a Bernstein but the method is the same--the goal the same and the role of this organization in future developments of the working class will be similar. 'The movement is everything; the goal is nothing.' So said Eduard Bernstein. Among the first to attack him for this open opportunism and abandonment of Marxism was Karl Kautsky. But in the end Kautsky proceeded as did Bernstein. And so it will be with the SWP and YSA.

The YSA has combined the most extreme liquidationist policies and political positions with a constant tendency to recoil from the very logic of these policies when they concretely threaten the party's organization. At the same time the YSA teaches and studies Trotsky's works only to lash out with venom at anyone inside or outside its organization who takes these works seriously insisting upon a revolutionary strategy as the guide to the work of the organization.

### CENTRIST

In the past period the YSA has grown both from those who see it as a firmer organizational expression of the general revisionism of the New Left - Black Power, Student Power, Bring the Troops Home, etc. - and those who turn to it precisely because of the bankruptcy of such tendencies and the inspiration of the May events in France thinking they are joining a serious Marxist movement. At the conference it was the liquidationist forces who were most vocal but at the same time the search of real revolutionary politics was expressed in a muted fashion among many of the YSAers. The leadership's traditional centrist spirit steered a middle course willing to lash out at left or right so long as the organization itself was preserved.

### YOUTH

Four main reports were written by the National Executive Committee and presented to the convention. The first of these, 'The New International Youth Radicalization', was introduced Thursday afternoon by Mary Alice Waters to an enthusiastic group of well over 500 youth, consisting largely of YSAers and contacts, many of whom were attending their first political convention.

Her report began and ended with only impressions of this youth radicalization, accepting it at face value, with no attempt being made to probe beneath and analyze the connections between this radicalization and the actual crisis of the capitalist system. Without this analysis the only perspective is 'youth power'.

### NOVACK

In the discussion, one delegate from Berkeley said that the YSA was the only force that had made the point last spring that the working class can be looked upon as an ally, and that the YSA had really cut through the Marcuse, new left perspective. Another fellow from Seattle was so impressed with this new notion of a Trotskyist perspective as being some kind of alternative that he even suggested that Mandel would have 'helped' a lot more if he had mentioned the SWP

and the YSA in his talk when he was on tour in Seattle.

Then the floor was turned over to George Novack. Novack delivered a speech entitled, 'Can the American Workers Make a Socialist Revolution? A Marxist Answer to New Left Critics'.

On the surface such a defensive posing of the question might seem out of place at a conference of the movement which presumably has always fought for a working class perspective as opposed to 'new left' hostility to the working class, to the conceptions of the workers as apathetic and bought off.

In reality, while attacking SDS and others, Novack was really concentrating his polemic against the YSA itself and all its contacts in the hall. But he was doing this only to provide them with a theoretical cover for their present new left politics.

He remarked: 'Marxists staunchly refuse to latch on to substitutes to the working class'. This is truly amazing talk for an SWPer. But what did he mean by this. Certainly not what the Workers League means by such an expression. We must ask, what about the abandonment of even pretense of a working class perspective and the hopeless tailing of every middle class reformer who comes along, what about the virtual liquidation of the party into the peace movement and in the adaption to the middle class black nationalists? Novack answers the questions that is on everyone's mind by reversing the old roles. As in the thirties, he goes on, when it was the union movement which was progressive and which pulled into struggle and led the minorities and the youth, now today it is the minorities and the youth who are struggling and will play the old role of the unionists and ultimately will lead the bulk of the working class into the struggle.

### SDS

On Friday, the convention moved several blocks away to Chicago's new Circle Campus of the U of I. Numerous curious students attended the sessions.

The first report on Friday was by Larry Siegel on 'The '68 Elections and Beyond... Socialist Youth Politics in America'.

The main thrust of his report was summed up: 'Next year we are going to be competing with SDS for leadership of the student movement.' In part the discussion revolved around 'defensive formulations' versus blind anarchist tactics in response to pressures within the organization itself. But the key issue was the relationship of YSA to SDS. Not only was no speaker opposed to basing next year's strategy around a rivalry with SDS, the main question that emerged was whether or not to liquidate sections of YSA into SDS.

One delegate from Boston reflected this pressure quite strongly. Trying to build a radical youth organization independent of SDS was quite lonely and was not fruitful, so the best thing was to submerge the YSA in Boston into SDS. That is what PLP has done and it sure paid off for them. He got a considerable applause for his remarks.

Naturally the majority line prevailed and while the YSA will adapt to SDS it will maintain completely its organizational independence.

### PANTHERS

The YSA has adapted not only to middle class whites, but middle class blacks as well. A group of Black Panthers from Chicago intervened at this point to collect on the offer to speak extended to them from the NEC. And speak they did.

In the typical black nationalist 'rap session' style, one Panther went on and on in the usual confused manner, trying to make some sense out of history as a black-white struggle.

He denounced SNCC as a white man's bag but then added that before the Panthers, SNCC had

been the only organization with revolutionary politics in the country. The YSA did not applaud at this point. Then he went into how the Panthers last year set out to destroy the New Politics convention in Chicago and he got a wild applause. These YSAers were not sitting on their hands. Then he said that he was opposed to the Panthers electoral alliance - everyone applauded - because, as he continued it was an alliance with a new political grouping. The applause stopped. He denounced the concept of a new political party, like the Labor Party.

He went on to enthuse the anti-Marxist James Boggs and he denounced the working class as 'shit' and 'imperialist' and said that it 'ain't

gonna make any revolution'. While this didn't draw much applause, when he went on to relate how the Negroes and the Third World was the new revolutionary force, and closed with a list of his heroes, all middle class radicals including Sun Yat Sen, Che, and Fidel, he got a cheering, standing ovation.

The second Panther that spoke got a little more to the point, giving the address to which money could be sent (no leaflets or pamphlets - just money) and then denounced the whole convention as a bunch of white sissy crap. Bored with the hour long discussion on SDS he was forced to listen to before speaking, he said that that kind of stuff was bullshit and that if the YSA didn't like SDS they should go and 'burn their office down'. He menacingly warned YSAers and all others to clear it with the Panthers before setting foot in the ghetto or 'we will send you to the cemetery.' He got the usual standing ovation, even though the implications of his remarks could not escape the body, that if the Panthers took a dislike to the YSA they might just come over and burn their office down.

This threw the convention into a bit of disorder, especially when the next report was on the black struggle itself, and there were several loud shouts to the effect that 'to hell with the YSA report - we got the real leaders here now'.

### CHICAGO

At the Saturday session there was a considerable drop in attendance as Carol Lippman gave her report on: 'Young Socialists and the Fight Against the Vietnam War'. After the split in SMC the YSA was left painfully alone in its work in the peace movement. Now it has a new gimmick, organizing among G.I.'s and it hopes to draw back all the Stalinists, liberals and pacifists who deserted their single issue front for Peace for the greener fields of coalition politics. Now that the elections are over, by impressing them with this work.

The discussion on the report centered around the Chicago anti-war demonstrations during the Democratic Convention. As around other questions there was considerable opposition to the majority which had denounced the demonstrations as a left cover for McCarthy and had pulled YSAers off the streets when the bashing of heads began. One comrade, not a delegate, from Madison desired the floor, and after a little fuss the presiding committee allowed him the floor.

The YSAer from Madison denounced the flip-flop on the question of the demonstrations and got a prolonged applause. Robin David, from Madison added that he felt it was wrong for the YSA to have pulled its people off the streets when it was duty bound to be with the students even if what they were doing was objectively wrong. Both David and the other fellow got a lot of applause.

### ROOM

There is, regrettably, real room in the United States for the temporary growth of a group like the YSA. With its organizational cohesion and its complete abandonment of principle for adaptation to whatever is 'going', it serves as an expression of the middle class frenzy and confusion as the capitalist crisis deepens. This is no mere passive reflection but a vicious active role of turning middle class students into a political weapon directed objectively against the interests of the working class. What else can be said for the role of the SWP and YSA in supporting the black nationalist attacks on the unity of the American working class and contributing in this way to the growth of Wallacism as well?

As the class struggle deepens a tendency like this will tend to fall in the background at moments when revolutionary leadership of the working class is needed only to come forward with all sorts of diversionist activity during ebbs in the struggle. So it was with the Mensheviks and so it is today with the State Capitalists and Pabloites in England. At the same time it will seek out a more substantial material base for its organization. In the long run no organization can last on the temporary ebbs and flow of the middle class radicals no matter how dedicated its cadre is to its little apparatus. As the leadership of the SWP well knows from past experience this base lies in the trade union movement.

This whole past opportunist experience of the SWP and YSA is training it for what will be a much needed role to give a left cover to the trade

(Continued on Page Nine)

# hansen, cuba & dubcek the logic of pragmatism

BY FRED MUELLER

The Socialist Workers Party has finally attempted to explain in some detail Fidel Castro's support of the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia last August. The SWP has long considered the Cuban regime to be the closest thing to Leninism and proletarian internationalism since the early years of the Russian Revolution. There is therefore the challenge of explaining the contradiction between Castro the supposedly Marxist fighter against bureaucracy and Castro the supporter of the bureaucracy in Czechoslovakia. Since, in addition, the SWP has claimed to see in the forces around Dubcek the rebirth of Leninism and workers democracy, there is an additional challenge, explaining the opposition of Castro to these very same forces.

Joseph Hansen addresses himself to some of these questions in a lengthy article in the November 25 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. This article is revealing of Hansen and the SWP's method as well as of Castro's. As far as they are from Marxism, there is nevertheless a course of logic to their political positions which must be understood from a Marxist, that is materialist, standpoint.

## ESCALANTE

The immediate question facing Hansen is the contradiction between Castro's earlier moves against the so-called Escalante faction or micro-faction within Cuba and Castro's support to Moscow in Czechoslovakia. On the one hand, in relation to Escalante, we have what has been described by the SWP as an exemplary anti-Stalinist position and struggle on the part of Castro. Castro first attacked Escalante in 1962 and he was exiled to, of all places, Czechoslovakia. Escalante returned to Cuba several years ago and 10 months ago he was rearrested and this time imprisoned after being tried as an opponent of Castro who followed Moscow's line. Both in 1962 and in 1968 the SWP applauded Castro's actions. How is it that the supposedly anti-Stalinist Castro



HANSEN: A MESS OF CONFUSION FROM LOGIC OF PRAGMATISM now lines up with the same old Guard Stalinists whom Escalante was accused of trying to appeal to against Castro?

Hansen examines Castro's speech and finds in it, not surprisingly, hostility to Moscow. On this basis he tries to explain Castro's stand as flowing from his devotion to the world revolution. According to Hansen, Castro has merely assessed the events in Czechoslovakia incorrectly but he continues to "subordinate all other interests to the interests of the world revolution." If Castro receives a few more facts, he may well correct his position. Hansen takes Castro completely at his word. Castro speaks of a counterrevolutionary danger in Czechoslovakia. Hansen tries to show Castro where he is wrong. This is a worthless method. It does not enable us to understand anything about the situation. No matter how hard he tries, Hansen cannot

convert Castro's support for the Kremlin into a progressive act. Castro's phrases mean no more than the proper orthodox statements of Brezhnev about defending socialism against the danger of counterrevolution. Yet, Hansen of course begins his analysis simply from these phrases.

## CONTRADICTIONS

Let us examine just a few of the contradictions which Hansen's belabored attempts to prettify Castro's position land him into. Why is there any more reason to believe Castro than to believe Brezhnev when he talks piously about socialism? Hansen himself describes Castro as maintaining "a bias against democracy." Let us examine all the evidence, and not just the pious rhetoric. What grounds are there for stating that Castro "subordinates all other interests to the interests of world revolution"?

Castro criticizes the Kremlin's cultivation of and trade relations with various right wing Latin American regimes, but what about his own silence over the recent struggles in Mexico? Mexico has not participated in the OAS blockade of Cuba, so Castro is silent. Hansen is also silent. Speak up, gentlemen of the SWP, is this an example of the "subordination" of "all other interests" to revolution?

Castro's criticizes the Kremlin's cultivation about his own trade policies with Spain? Has he spoken out loudly and clearly on the Franco dictatorship lately? And what about the Cuban's silence on the general strike and prospect of revolution in France earlier this year? On all these questions, Hansen is tongue-tied.

To speak of Castro on the basis of his theory and practice as a fighter for the world revolution as against the Kremlin is a parody of Marxism. We do not approach this question by labelling Castro's actions as either anti-Stalinist or pro-Stalinist. We do not begin with Castro's speeches separate from his actions, nor from his speeches and actions abstracted from the class struggle and the class basis of the Cuban leadership itself. With the empirical methods of the SWP, without a correct class analysis, we are left with a maze of contradictions. These apparent contradictions in Castro's policies can only be understood by a correct analysis of the Cuban regime.

## NATIONALIST

Castro is a petty bourgeois nationalist tendency. Stalinism is the leading agency of imperialism within the working class movement. To speak of pro- or anti-Stalinism in relation to Castroism only confuses the issue.

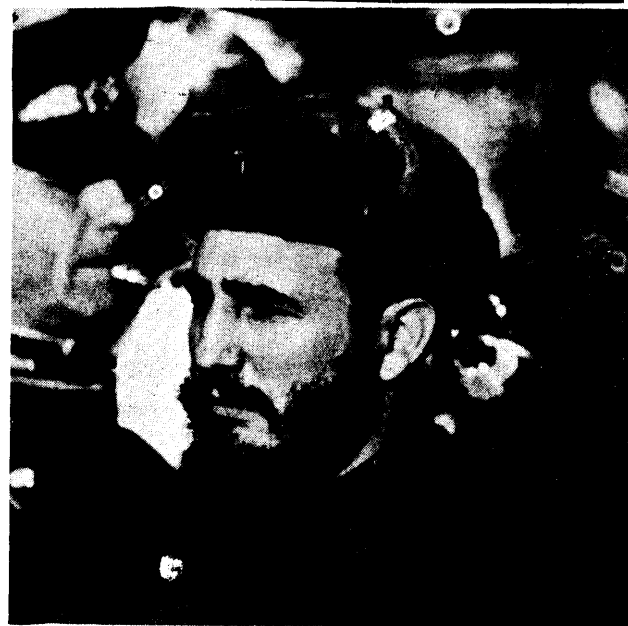
We make no concessions to the view that Cuba is some kind of worker's state, where a socialist revolution has taken place. In response to the moves and threats of imperialism, Castro has carried out an agrarian reform and nationalization of industry more extensive than any capitalist government before or since. This does not make Cuba "socialist" or a workers state.

Nor is Castro's the first Bonapartist regime, balancing between the classes on a national and world scale, which uses socialist rhetoric and labels itself "Marxist". To take this rhetoric at face value and proceed from there, as does the SWP, leads logically to the view that Syria, Guinea, Algeria under Ben Bella, Indonesia, Ghana under Nkrumah, and numerous other "leftist" nationalist regimes are or were workers states.

What Castroism stands for is not the socialist revolution, but the national liberation of the colonial countries separate and apart from the socialist revolution on a world scale. Not having any perspective for the overthrow of imperialism, Castro looks toward a redistribution of the wealth between the advanced and colonial countries. This is a completely utopian perspective. It has, in spite of all the rhetoric, nothing to do with socialism and certainly nothing to do with the working class.

## STALINISM

The course of the Cuban revolution has been closely intertwined with Stalinism since Castro responded empirically to the economic and politi-



FIDEL CASTRO IN MOSCOW

cal moves taken by the imperialists against the Cuban Revolution. The Castro regime has maintained itself by obtaining massive aid from the USSR. This is reflected in Cuba's payments deficit of about one billion dollars to the Soviet Union.

The alliance between Moscow and Havana, however, has always been an unstable one. Up to a certain point the interests of both partners coincide. Since both regimes begin primarily from national considerations, friction is inevitable, although the differences have not been decisive up to the present.

The Soviet bureaucracy is based on a privileged section of the working class and on property issuing from a victorious workers revolution. This conservative bureaucracy fears struggle, seeks to maintain the status quo at all costs and to maneuver for the most favorable position in relation to the capitalist world.

The Castro tendency, on the other hand, represents historically and in its current role a petty bourgeois grouping, with no ties to the working class movement. It reacts to the crisis in which it finds itself in a far different way than does the Soviet bureaucracy. It is far less cautious, more inclined to middle-class adventurism, to theories of guerilla warfare based on the peasantry as the means of toppling imperialism. Castro counterposes Moscow class collaborationism, a petty bourgeois perspective. This is not the first time a middle class tendency has attacked a bureaucracy within the working class movement from an ultraleft standpoint. The SWP and other revisionists see only the criticism and ignore the class content.

## INCENTIVES

Whatever question Castro touches he betrays his own ignorance and hostility to the working class. On the question of moral and material incentives Castro counterposes to the material incentives used with the Soviet bloc his conception of moral incentives designed to inspire the masses. This is completely idealist rubbish which Lenin and the rest of the Bolshevik leadership struggled against tirelessly in the early years of the Soviet state. The demands of the workers for higher wages and more consumer goods are entirely progressive. Castro makes them out to be reactionary, telling the workers to postpone their desires for an improved standard of living until the next generation.

Within Cuba today, Castro's perspective is not one of industrializing the country. He has no perspective other than that of maximizing the production of sugar for sale on the world market. The Cuban economy is viewed completely apart from the world economy by Castro, since he has no perspective for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism on a world scale.

The standard of living of the Cuban working class and the entire population has undoubtedly grown since the overthrow of the Batista regime. Castro is being forced more and more to attack the workers, however. The masses have absolutely no political power, which is concentrated in the hands of Castro and the petty bourgeois clique around him. Most important, Castro has moved within the last year to silence any critics of his policies. These include workers demanding more consumer goods and higher wages, intellectuals demanding democratic rights and attempting to criticize the regime. Castro wants to silence possible sources of opposition. This was the meaning of the Escalante trial. It was not, of

(Continued on Page Eight)

# INTERNATIONAL REPORT—EUROPE

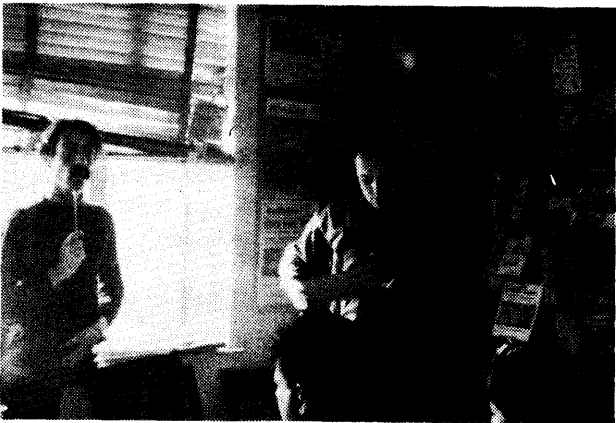
The National Conference of the Workers League was opened with an international report given by a representative from the International Committee emphasizing the need to see the program and work of the Workers League in the context of the international crisis of capitalism and the struggles of the international working class and of the international Trotskyist movement.

The international report began with a discussion of the deepening crisis of the world capitalist system. 1968 began with a monetary crisis and ended with close to a monetary catastrophe. The situation is worsening as capitalism goes from one crisis to the next. The measures taken earlier in the year, the institution of the two tier gold system only postponed the crisis. The devaluation of the pound and the two tier system have by no means solved the crisis which world capitalism faces. The recent monetary crisis over the Franc only confirms this. At the same time we see the growth of inter-imperialist rivalries among the world bourgeoisie as a direct result of the efforts of each capitalist class to solve its problems at the expense of the others. One year ago France was stabbing U.S. and British capitalists in the back, now it is the reverse.

## DISEQUILIBRIUM

What is central to the crisis of imperialism is the political disequilibrium created by the emergence of the working class internationally. At a time when the ruling class is attempting to establish economic equilibrium this in turn creates and is being disrupted by major political events. The Tet offensive by the Vietcong last January showed to the imperialists that the Vietnam war could not be won. The May-June events in France created even greater problems for the imperialists. DeGaulle has directly linked the latest monetary crisis to the uprising of the workers and students last spring.

These political events, the worldwide upsurge of the working class in Vietnam, France, Czecho-



DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC REPORT AT NATIONAL CONVENTION

### I.

The devaluation of the dollar and the pound mark the end of a whole period of equilibrium for post-war capitalism. It opens up a new phase in the relationship between the capitalist class and the working class.

This new phase now opening up will be characterized by the reassertion, a coming to the surface of all the basic contradictions in capital accumulation. The tendency towards anarchy and crisis will drive the capitalists towards the annihilation of all independent organs of the working class unless the working class is able to impose its will as an alternative to the inherently crisis-ridden capitalist system--that is to establish socialism.

The fundamental contradiction in the capitalist system is the contradiction between the development of the productive resources and the private ownership of the means of production. The rise in the organic composition of capital and the consequently falling rate of profit involved in capital accumulation forces the capitalist in a period of crisis to restore the profit rate regardless of impact on the living standards of the masses and over-all production. This illustrates the anarchy and irrationality introduced into the economy by the fact that profit not need regulates production.

Only the removal of private ownership and the profit drive in the means of production will permit the harmonious development of the productive resources. Flowing from this is our program for a socialist America, the nationalization of finance and basic industry, introduction of central planning in order to achieve a full employment economy, oriented to the filling of social needs rather than

slovakia and elsewhere are the most important feature of the recent world situation. These events exacerbate the economic crisis of imperialism and the crisis of Stalinism and unshrink the stability of both.

What is particularly important is the emergence of the working class in the metropolitan countries which has dealt incomparably damaging blows to world imperialism. This is the meaning of the French events revealing the revolutionary potential of the European working class and with it the complete bankruptcy of the Stalinist leadership.

## STALINISM

The crisis of world Stalinism is a joint crisis with imperialism. This is reflected in the recent Czech events. The intervention in Czechoslovakia has split the Stalinist movement irrevocably. The Communist Parties in France, Britain, and Italy opposed the intervention not in the interests of the working class but as a turn to their own national petty-bourgeoisie. Thus the French CP uses its opposition to strengthen its alliance with the Mitterand forces.

The Stalinists are losing the support of the working class. The Czech crisis revealed the bankruptcy of the theory of socialism in one country. Our support to the fight of the Czech workers and students means no support to the 'left wing' Stalinists like Dubcek. The fight in Czechoslovakia as well as throughout Eastern Europe is for the independent mobilization of the workers for power, for political revolution, against Stalinism. This requires the building of an alternative leadership in these countries, of a section of the Fourth International. At the same time our movement stands for the defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack. We will have nothing to do with those who equate the policies of the Soviet Union with those of imperialism.

## CONFIRM

These developments have confirmed the pre-

# ECONOMIC REPORT—

the production of profit.

### II.

In the post-war period the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system were temporarily submerged only to burst to the surface today with all the greater explosiveness. This was because:

1. The dominant role and strength of U.S. capitalism and its bullion accumulation during the War permitted the \$35 an ounce arrangement (Bretton Woods). This provided the U.S. with tremendous credit resources, reflected in the ability of the U.S. to have extended four paper dollars against every \$1 worth of gold reserve.

2. This dollar arrangement permitted a tremendous export of U.S. capital to Europe. Here and in the colonial world U.S. finance capital found outlets in industry with a lower organic composition of capital reducing the pressure on the rate of profit.

3. The intervention of the state in the capitalist economy especially through parasitic expenditures, particularly military, opened up another highly profitable investment outlet, at the cost of tremendous inflation.

4. While U.S. investment grabbed up a large share of international industry, it also provided a spur to the development of European capitalism, so that the basic contradictions in these countries were similarly postponed.

### III.

The price the capitalists have had to pay for a boom in the 1950's based upon an inflation of currency however is the present liquidity crisis.

The limits of international confidence in U.S. capitalism's ability to maintain the \$35 arrangement have been reached. The law of value is reasserting itself threatening to bring down the entire world monetary system throwing world capitalism into a deep depression. Real value militates against further dollar inflation in the form of a run on gold and consequent pressure towards the devaluation of the dollar.

The limits of confidence however on the part of international holders of dollars reflects a deeper condition in so far as inflationary dollars have given the U.S. a competitive advantage over Eu-

ropian industry so severe in this period that European capitalism is forced to resist the very U.S. investment inroads that accounted up to recently for the boom in the European economy.

Neither the SDR 'paper gold' plan nor the 'two tier gold arrangement' can resist the reassertion of the law of value against continued dollar inflation.

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class in the metropolitan countries. The International Youth Assembly in the summer of 1967 laid the basis for the understanding of the emergence of the working class particularly in Europe and the coming revolutionary struggles.

The crisis of world imperialism and the strength of the working class is reflected in the struggles of the British working class. Britain today is not only the 'sick man' of Europe but the 'dying man' of capitalism. Every measure that the British ruling class has taken to deal with its crisis, the Prices and Incomes Act, in particular, has hardly worked precisely because of the tremendous combativity of the working class. The British capitalists are moving to do away with collective bargaining and the whole shop stewards movement. The Donovan report represents a turn toward the corporate state, the attack on the independence of the trade union movement limiting bargaining to a Tri-Partite commission of the bosses, the labor bureaucrats and the government. This attempt to absorb the trade unions into the state apparatus is combined with the attack on the working conditions of the working class through

### IV.

U.S. capitalism no longer has available liquidity with which to expand in the form of unlimited credit based on the dollar. The basic contradictions of capitalism, the falling rate of profit, depression and unemployment, and economic nationalism reassert themselves as a direct result of the contractive measures U.S. imperialism takes to prevent or retard the tendency towards devaluation which is its present policy.

In particular it seeks (January 1st measures) to limit capital exports abroad, and to improve its trade surplus in order to right its balance of payments.

At the same time any advances in this direction will only exacerbate the problem in another direction. The European economy requires U.S. investment capital for continued economic growth. Improvement of U.S. trade figures must be accompanied by a deterioration of European trade figures. An improved U.S. balance of payments means a weakening of European payments. Thus as the U.S. moves in this direction it sets off protectionist moves on both sides; each country is forced to outdo the others in attacking its working class in order to gain the competitive advantage; each bourgeoisie must face a political crisis associated with these attacks. The central point is that Europe does not have the strength to shoulder the burden of the dollar.

Especially important is that this tendency towards autarchy means the isolation of each capitalist country placing a tremendous break on capital expansion. The rise in the organic composition of capital will thus be accompanied by a sharp fall in rate of profit.

The attack is now being opened up against the American working class. The 10% surcharge, the six billion cut in Federal spending, the planned recession in 1968-69 combined with the January 1st

# EUROPEAN REVOLUTION ON AGENDA

the institution of new methods of wage payments, measured day work, and productivity increases. This the ruling class seeks to accomplish without compensation. In the United States in the 1950s the bosses were able to increase the productivity of the workers by giving in return large wage

indicated the central importance of a correct economic analysis, and an international perspective in order to understand political development in the United States and the world, and to build an American section of the international revolutionary party.

increases. The British capitalists cannot do this. They must increase productivity and at the same time lower the wages of the workers.

## UNDEFEATED

Today the British working class is undefeated and is quite conscious of its powers. It is unwilling to give anything. Every increase which the working class wins drives them to demand more and more. This represents a new change in the consciousness of the working class.

The labor government today has burned all its ties with the trade unions and is being exposed to the working class. It is in a desperate situation as it cannot provide reforms. At the same time in Britain we see the growth of Powellism, a racist, who represents the future the ruling class is preparing for the working class. Powell comes out of the Tory party and is supported by it. The growth of this right wing, incipient fascist tendency to deal with the crisis of capitalism today is quite different than it was in the thirties when there was room for the capitalists to maneuver with the working class with reforms with the 'New Deal' and 'Fair Deal' policies. Today this is

not possible and the question of fascism or socialism is directly posed.

## SLL

The Socialist Labor League and the Young Socialists have played a central role in England in mobilizing the combativity of the working class on political lines. It has continually fought to expose the labor bureaucracy and the betrayals of the labor government. The SLL has consciously prepared the working class for the current attacks of the bosses and the government and has led the fight to turn the struggles of the class into a political struggle, posing the need for a revolutionary alternative. The SLL has campaigned and prepared the workers for the productivity sellout in the Engineers fight and posed the need to fight this politically. This understanding laid the basis for the Oxford Liaison Committee and the All Trade Unions Alliance representing a new leadership, a conscious revolutionary leadership for the working class in Britain.

Central to this struggle has been the fight for the daily Newsletter which is the key to the development of the revolutionary party and the preparation of the working class to take power. The

base for the daily paper has been built from the years of struggle of the SLL and the Young Socialists in the trade union movement. The daily Newsletter will represent a tremendous leap forward not only for the British working class but for the international working class.

What is clear in all these struggles is that spontaneous actions of the class, as France showed, cannot overthrow capitalism. What is necessary is the creation of a centralized disciplined party and Marxist leadership internationally which will expose and smash the reformist and revisionist leadership of the labor movement and lead the working class to power. Either the working class led by the revolutionary party will put an end to the capitalist system or the capitalist class will seek to solve its problems by the utmost brutality leading more and more in the direction of fascism.

The struggles in the U.S. cannot be separated from the struggles of the world working class. In order to build a revolutionary party in the U.S. it is necessary to fight against pragmatism and American isolationism. This can be done only by a conscious effort to understand Marxism and to assimilate the history of struggles to build the Fourth International in the post-war period.



1600 BRITISH TROTSKYISTS ATTEND RALLY TO LAUNCH DAILY NEWSLETTER

# CAPITALIST CRISIS DEEPENS

measures are aimed at halting domestic inflation, helping the trade balance--that is improving the U.S. position vis a vis Europe.

But they also represent U.S. capitalism coming to grips with the falling rate of profit domestically. Only much sharper exploitation of the domestic working class; i.e. an increase in the rate of profit domestically can soften this tendency of the profit rate to fall brought on by autarchy.

This does not mean that the capitalist can halt the changing organic composition of capital. In fact quite the opposite--they are forced to increase this tendency which is already having a deep impact in the form of structural unemployment caused by automation in auto, steel, and many other industries. However, these structural changes must be accompanied by an increase in the exploitation and real lowering of the living standards of the workers still employed in these basic industries. At the same time these structural changes require an intensification of the tendency towards monopoly which present the workers with immensely powerful national and international conglomerates.

The structural changes, even without the additional burden of cyclical unemployment brought about by recessionary policies, places a huge burden on the system in the form of the permanently unemployed and, under capitalism unemployable, poor. The capitalists seek to shift the cost of supporting this section of the population upon the working class through taxation, cut the living standards of the poor through welfare slashes such as the flat grant move in New York (where welfare recipients make up 10% of the population) and pit the poor against the employed working class to break the unions.

The achievement of a higher rate of profit in each country at the expense of the working class lessens the pressure pushing capital out of each country and retards the speed at which the crisis develops--but such policies mean first of all a war against the workers producing explosions like those in France, a war the capitalists have so far not won and secondly solves nothing fundamental in the system. This short term policy is the only point of agreement for the international bankers.

No measures the U.S. can take will hold off the devaluation very long. Any success in the correction of the balance of payment will most likely result in devaluation of the pound or franc or even mark. The dollar could not withstand the devaluation of these currencies. Prior devaluation of the dollar would in turn mean devaluation of other major currencies. A round of devaluations and further contraction of world trade and investment are thus definitely in store no matter how much economic contraction is undertaken to avoid the monetary collapse.

Collapse can mean a sudden catastrophic change in the relation between classes economically and politically. This is not a period for gradual processes. It is a period of explosions, quickly developing revolutionary situations, qualitative leaps. Anything can set this off. The moments cannot be predicted exactly but the movement must be prepared now for the fact that we are in a world revolutionary period where the general tendency of crisis can lead overnight to absolute collapse. Devaluation, when it comes will solve nothing--it will perpetuate the crisis at a more critical level. This is of course why the capitalists seek to postpone this devaluation.

The key thing to understand is that the crisis is developing more rapidly than the world capitalists are acting to stem it. This fact does not arise from the ignorance of the ruling class but from the contradictions of the material interests of different sectors of that class. Thus while Martin and the financial sector are more concerned with the comprehensive needs of American capitalism and thus the stability of the dollar, the industrial sector is loath to go along with any sudden upsurge in unemployment or other measures that will cut consumption rapidly. There is also a tendency for capitalists used to buying off the class with reforms to resist a head-on confrontation though this section of capital took a sharp beating at the two national conventions.

It is this that leads to a near paralysis of the government when compared to the seriousness of the crisis. There is little hope that balance of payments deficits will be seriously improved this year. Government spending in spite of cuts will end up approximately at what was projected

last January before the cuts. The target of a 500 million dollar trade surplus will be missed by a sorry margin. In fact 1968 was the first year where for several months running the trade surplus has disappeared. So far no progress whatsoever has been made in curbing inflation--now at an all time high. It is doubtful if the American capitalists will take seriously the serious situation they are in short of a real catastrophe which will force the competing sections of the class to rally together to preserve their system. Such a catastrophe is now in the making.

## V.

In spite of the fact that the movement of the government so far to deal with the crisis has been hopelessly inadequate, steps already taken to establish economic stability have resulted in a sharp political reaction.

This is what is new in the situation; politics is now catching up with economics. This is especially clear in Britain and France but even the first movements towards a break with reformism in the U.S. immediately poses the disintegration of the two parties.

U.S. capitalism will require a bonapartist regime to deal effectively with the present crisis and this is what they are preparing.

The lessons of France, Britain, and the U.S. however is that the undefeated working class will not allow the capitalists to resolve their crisis short of a fundamental revolutionary struggle. Our task is the building of the revolutionary party now on the basis of the current crisis and therefore to be able to lead the class to power in the coming period.

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# REPORT—EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

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But they also represent U.S. capitalism coming to grips with the falling rate of profit domesti- cally. Only much sharper exploitation of the domestic working class; i.e. an increase in the rate of profit domestically can soften this ten- dency of the profit rate to fall brought on by autarchy.

This does not mean that the capitalist can halt the changing organic composition of capital. In fact quite the opposite--they are forced to in- crease this tendency which is already having a deep impact in the form of structural unemployment caused by automation in auto, steel, and many other industries. However, these structural chang- es must be accompanied by an increase in the exploitation and real lowering of the living stand- ards of the workers still employed in these basic industries. At the same time these structural changes require an intensification of the tendency towards monopoly which present the workers with immensely powerful national and international conglomerates.

The structural changes, even without the addi- tional burden of cyclical unemployment brought about by recessionary policies, places a huge burden on the system in the form of the perman- ently unemployed and, under capitalism unemploy- able, poor. The capitalists seek to shift the cost of supporting this section of the population upon the working class through taxation, cut the living standards of the poor through welfare slashes such as the flat grant move in New York (where wel- fare recipients make up 10% of the population) and pit the poor against the employed working class to break the unions.

The achievement of a higher rate of profit in each country at the expense of the working class lessens the pressure pushing capital out of each country and retards the speed at which the crisis develops--but such policies mean first of all a war against the workers producing ex- plosions like those in France, a war the capitalists have so far not won and secondly solves nothing fundamental in the system. This short term policy is the only point of agreement for the international bankers.

not possible and the question of fascism is- m is directly posed.

The Socialist Labor League and Socialists have played a central role in mobilizing the combativity of the class on political lines. It has continued to expose the labor bureaucracy and the of the labor government. The SLL has prepared the working class for the cur- of the bosses and the government and fight to turn the struggles of the cl political struggle, posing the need for tionary alternative. The SLL has camp- prepared the workers for the productiv in the Engineers fight and posed the ne this politically. This understanding laid for the Oxford Liason Committee a Trade Unions Alliance representing a ne ship, a conscious revolutionary leader the working class in Britain.

Central to this struggle has been the the daily Newsletter which is the key to opment of the revolutionary party and the tion of the working class to take po



1600 BRITISH TROTSKYI

No measures the U.S. can take will the devaluation very long. Any succe correction of the balance of payment likely result in devaluation of the pound or even mark. The dollar could not the devaluation of these currencies. valuation of the dollar would in turn valuation of other major currencies. A devaluations and further contraction of w and investment are thus definitely in matter how much economic contraction taken to avoid the monetary collapse.

Collapse can mean a sudden catastrophe in the relation between classes economi- cally. This is not a period for gra- cesses. It is a period of explosions, developing revolutionary situations, leaps. Anything can set this off. The cannot be predicted exactly but the move- be prepared now for the fact that we world revolutionary period where the ge- dency of crisis can lead overnight to collapse. Devaluation, when it comes v nothing--it will perpetuate the crisis a critical level. This is of course why talists seek to postpone this devaluation.

The key thing to understand is that is developing more rapidly than the wc talists are acting to stem it. This fac- arise from the ignorance of the ruling from the contradictions of the material of different sectors of that class. T Martin and the financial sector are more with the comprehensive needs of America- ism and thus the stability of the dolla- dustrial sector is loath to go along with den upsurge in unemployment or other that will cut consumption rapidly. The a tendency for capitalists used to buyi- class with reforms to resist a head-on con- though this section of capital took a sha- at the two national conventions.

It is this that leads to a near pa- the government when compared to the se- of the crisis. There is little hope th- of payments deficits will be seriously this year. Government spending in spi- will end up approximately at what was



# HANSEN, CUBA AND DUBCEK

(Continued From Page Five)

course, that Escalante represented a progressive solution to the crisis, but that Castro feared any opposition and particularly one which had or could develop a base within the Cuban working class.

## BANKRUPTCY

There was, therefore, nothing progressive about Castro's moves against Escalante and we, unlike the SWP do not applaud them. It is no accident that these developments come at a time when the bankruptcy of Castroism stands most clearly. The fiascos in Venezuela, Bolivia and elsewhere and the death of Guevara in particular, show where Castro's contempt for the working class and the building of a revolutionary party lead. It is becoming clearer and clearer that Castroism leads only to defeat. At a time when many questions are undoubtedly being raised in Cuba, Castro sides with the Kremlin in order to stop this questioning, to warn any developing opposition to desist, and solidify his position.

The class nature of the Cuban regime, its national as opposed to international perspective explains the zig-zags in Castro's policies. He moved against Escalante in order to warn the Cuban working class to stay in its place. He likewise supports the Kremlin, Escalante's supporters, when they call the Czech and entire Eastern European working class to stay in its place. He opposes moral to material incentives in order to hold back the Cuban working class. He oscillates between revolutionary phrasemongering and opportunism, between ultra-left adventures in Bolivia and toleration of the existing regimes in Mexico, France and Spain. And the SWP continues to whitewash Castro and Castroism even while history is confirming the correctness of the International Committee of the Fourth International in refusing to capitulate to this middle class tendency.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The approach taken by the SWP to the Czech events, the nature of its opposition to the invasion must be seen together with its attempts to explain away Castro's line. It is not enough, of course, to simply oppose the invasion. The sharpest class line must be drawn between a Marxist opposition to Stalinist policies and the line of the imperialists and all their liberal and social democratic followers.

The very nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Eastern Europe poses the threat of capitalist restoration. The bureaucracy in all of these countries defends the gains of the working class represented by the removal of these countries from the world capitalist orbit in a contradictory and reactionary way. Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy, contained in his work "The Revolution Betrayed" as well as in numerous other writings which came out of the struggle against Stalinism, is fully applicable to the bureaucracy today, in Czechoslovakia as well as the USSR.

The crisis of the Czech bureaucracy led to a split between the so-called liberals and the conservatives. These groupings reflected different approaches on the part of the bureaucracy to meeting its crisis. We do not take sides politically between the different sections of the bureaucracy. Politically speaking, they are equally dangerous and bankrupt. The policies of the Dubcek group represented a bloc with petty bourgeois elements, a right wing bloc, which through its policies deepened the dangers of counterrevolution. But the Moscow leaders are themselves the agents of imperialism and the bureaucracy represents a partial retrogression to the old order. Thus we cannot look to the Kremlin leadership to stem the tide. The motives of the Kremlin are to cut short developments out of which a genuine revolutionary leadership in these countries can be built. In Czechoslovakia the bureaucracy, led in the past period by the Dubcek group, was losing control over the situation and out of the so-called democratization process workers and students were able to organize to fight which could eventually overthrow the bureaucracy. It was the working class which the Kremlin feared above all. The only defense against capitalist restoration is the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

But Hansen says, in the course of his advice to Castro, that a return to capitalism in Czechoslovakia is ruled out completely. According to

Hansen capitalism is far too compromised as a system to have any attraction for the Czech people. This is his entire analysis! He does not see the battle of class forces, of contradictory class forces which find their reflection within the workers state precisely because capitalism continues to exist as a very powerful system on a world scale. He says, "...capitalism cannot possibly be restored in Czechoslovakia. The battle is with bureaucratism--the pattern of Stalinist bureaucratism imposed on the country from the outside."

## INCORRECT

It is hard to conceive of a more incorrect conception of the struggle for workers democracy in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe. What has become of Trotsky's analysis of the bureaucracy as a caste based upon the working class but which through its reactionary policies leads back to capitalism? Bureaucratism is not something that exists apart from class forces and the class struggle. The trade union bureaucracy in the capitalist countries, based upon a relatively small privileged sector of the working class, is leading the working class and the trade unions to defeat and destruction. This is analogously true for the bureaucracies in the workers states. Everywhere the bureaucracy in the workers movement must be fought and removed precisely because its continued power will lead to the victory of fascism and counterrevolution.

This question of capitalism is a real one, it is expressed in the crisis over consumer goods in the Soviet orbit, the growing economic and technological superiority of the advanced capitalist countries over the USSR. Khrushchev's famous conception of peaceful competition in which the USSR would overtake the US sometime in the 1980s is exposed as completely utopian. The USSR and the rest of Eastern Europe cannot be viewed apart from the world economy and the international division of labor. Fifty years after the Russian Revolution the workers states are still isolated from the most advanced technology and Stalin's whole conception of socialism in one country while it led at tremendous cost and with tremendous sacrifices of the Soviet people to industrialization, did not and can not and will not lead to the triumph of socialism in the USSR, which would be signified even in its beginning steps by a vast superiority in technique and labor productivity over the capitalist world.

This is Trotsky's fundamental analysis, arrived at through his fight to build the Fourth International. This is the entire meaning of his heroic struggle against Stalinism. Hansen and the SWP repeat the old formulas but have long since ceased to understand what the struggle is all about.

That is why Hansen speaks of workers democracy as an abstraction but winds up supporting Dubcek--critically of course! Neither the SWP nor the Castroites can see a road for the working class in the Czech crisis. The SWP looks to Dubcek and the liberals, Castro looks to Moscow, neither are interested in the working class. The SWP, like Castro, sees only the accomplished fact. We, on the other hand, oppose the invasion from the standpoint of the interests of the Czech working class. We are not obliged to give one ounce of political support to Dubcek in this fight. The only road forward for the Czech workers, as is becoming more and more clear with each passing day, is the fight for workers councils, for an international revolutionary perspective

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against the so-called economic reforms and other right wing trends, and for the building of a section of the Fourth International.

The SWP also shares both with Castro, Dubcek and the Soviet bureaucrats as well a nationalist perspective. Hansen cannot see the fight against Stalinism as part of a world struggle for socialism. He says, "The greatest single obstacle to a socialist victory in Western Europe and the United States for decades has been the treacherous role played by the leaderships committed to Stalinism and in particular, the totalitarian image conferred on socialism and communism by the practices of Stalin and his heirs." And further, "One of the reasons for the great response to the Cuban Revolution, particularly among the youth in the United States, was precisely the impression that it favored the development of socialist democracy.... It must be said, however, that the development of this tendency in the political and government arena has not flowered and this has prevented Cuba from serving as a model of socialist democracy."

## GARBAGE

There is so much garbage in this reformist and pragmatic nonsense that it is difficult to know where to begin in discussing it. The so-called totalitarian image of Stalinism is precisely what has always disturbed the middle class liberals and radicals to whom Hansen and the SWP have completely turned in the past period. It was not the totalitarian image of Stalinism which prevented the French and Italian workers from taking power after the war, or which prevented the French workers from coming to power in May and June of this year. It was the betrayal on the part of Stalinist leaderships which continued to have allegiance of the vast majority of the working class. What has this to do with "totalitarian image" anyway? These workers look to their party, the Communist Party to overthrow the old order, and the CP betrays them, demoralizes them.

The police state policies of Stalin and the bureaucratic regimes of the CPs are means towards this end of betrayal, they are not things in themselves. Again Hansen abstracts bureaucratism from the class struggle. Again he comes forward as the Middle Class Crusader against Evil, not as the working class leader in the fight to smash capitalism. We oppose Stalinist totalitarianism because it is directed first of all against the working class. We fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat which will destroy the power of the capitalists for once and for all. It is not a matter, as Hansen suggests, of being the best defenders of bourgeois democracy and showing how perhaps we will make it even better. Revolution means the destruction of bourgeois democracy and its replacement by workers' democracy. We do not intend to supplement bourgeois democracy but to destroy it! Workers and bourgeois democracy are entirely different categories.

## CENTRIST

Characteristic of centrist tendencies like the SWP is a muddying up of differences, the obstruction of political and theoretical clarity. The centrists try to have it both ways. For long periods of time they affirm their revolutionary perspective in words only to betray it in deeds. But eventually the desertion of the working class and a revolutionary perspective becomes more clearly expressed in theory as well. This unity of theory and practice on a reformist level is what we are seeing more and more in the case of the SWP. Thus Hansen, in passing, completely negates Trotsky's long fight against Stalinism and then goes on to take what can be only described as Kautsky's position against Lenin's polemic in The State and Revolution.

In addition to continually divorcing workers democracy from its actual class content and the fight for it, Hansen begins from a purely national perspective, a pragmatic perspective. He is disturbed at the poor image which socialism has received. What we need are some new models of socialist democracy which will impress and inspire Hansen, the American Pragmatist. This extreme pragmatism, which sees the fight for socialism as dependent upon some one else's models and not the struggle of the revolutionary party in every country of the world, is what lies behind the SWP's twin adaptation to Castro on the one hand and Dubcek on the other.

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

"The Real Issues in the New York Teachers Strike" is the subject of an article by Les Evans in the current issue of "Intercontinental Press", the international organ of the Socialist Workers Party. Let us take a look at what the "real issues" in this struggle were, according to the SWP.

The pitting of the black community against the teachers union around the slogan of community control and decentralization was seen by Evans and the SWP as giving "concrete meaning to the slogan of black control of the black communities..." This, of course, has been the central slogan of the SWP for some time now. As Evans sees it, this demand was wholly progressive, the UFT's opposition to it wholly reactionary and racist, and the proper position for socialists was to support the community concretely in its efforts to break the UFT strike.

**ATTACK**

The Workers League is singled out for attack because of our principled opposition to the whole community control drive and our strong political battle in defense of the teacher's union in the dispute. Here is what Evans has to say about us.

"Some professed to be able to see only a struggle between a workers organization and the bosses--in this case the local governing board of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Many fell into this trap who were not overtly racist but who had failed to grasp the revolutionary implications of the struggle of Afro-Americans for self determination.

"The Workers League, for example, the minuscule group of American cothinkers of the Socialist Labour League of Britain, went so far as to declare in their paper (The Bulletin, October 14) that decentralization is 'formulated and paid for by the bosses government to destroy the unions...' This crass defense of Shanker's position by would-be revolutionists is the end result of trade-union fetishism and incapacity to grasp the dynamics of the black struggle.

"The real attitude of the government toward black community control of schools is not at all as pictured by the Workers League. A central conclusion of a study of the school crisis carried out by the New York Civil Liberties Union was that 'from the beginning the central Board of Education attempted to scuttle the experiment in Ocean Hill-Brownsville by consistently refusing to define the authority of the Local Governing Board.'

**RACISM**

Let us look at this statement point by point. In the first place it is kind of Evans to grant that we are not "overtly racist." It would have been difficult for him to state anything else as the BULLETIN crusaded for months against Wallace and Wallacism in the unions while the Militant refrained from comment or buried this issue in its paper. As far as grasping the "revolutionary implications of the struggle of Afro-Americans for self-determination" our position is absolutely crystal clear. We are completely and absolutely opposed to the demand for self-determination of the Negro people under capitalism. We consider this demand as based on the completely false and unscientific conception that the Negroes in some way or other constitute a "nation." It is our position that quite the contrary the revolutionary implications of the Negro struggle are destroyed

# SWP MAKES ATTACK ON WORKERS LEAGUE OVER UFT STRIKE

and transformed into a reactionary attack on the working class precisely through this slogan. We will prove this by drawing the REAL lessons of the teachers strike.

**FORD**

We are attacked for saying that decentralization was "formulated and paid for by the bosses government to destroy the unions." As far as the charge that decentralization was "formulated and paid for by the bosses government" Evans has to admit that in "July 1967 the Ford Foundation provided a small grant" to start the Ocean Hill -Brownsville project. He fails to mention that Ford likewise funded two other experimental districts; that the recently revealed plan to set up 30 such districts leaves it open to the local governing boards to compete with each other for not only federal, state, and city monies but foundation grants as well; that Galamison, Vasquez Doar and soon Haddad of the Board of Education are receiving funds from Ford; that most of the community groups with representatives on these governing boards are funded by the Federal OEO, City administered funds, foundation grants and the like. As far as the question of the "formulation" of the decentralization plan Evans says nothing. But what can he say? The plan is called the "Bundy Plan". It is named after the head of the Ford Foundation which funded the plan, McGeorge Bundy, a man distinguished as one of the planners of the Bay of Pigs invasion.

However, Evans tries to make us believe that even if the bosses' government and the bosses' foundations formulated and funded the plan they were in reality opposed to it. His authority on this matter is the ---New York Civil Liberties Union. And who Mr. Evans funds and controls the NYCLU---the ghetto masses, the workers? Evans quotes this "liberal" organization to the effect that the Board of Education has consistently refused to define the powers of these governing boards. But what does this prove? Did we ever claim that the bourgeois state had any intention of granting REAL power to anybody but itself? Our whole point from the beginning of this decentralization hoax has been just that---that it is a HOAX. The bourgeois state cannot and will not grant real powers to the Negro people. But it can and is granting just enough ILLUSION of power to pit the Negro masses against the workers in the educational system.

Then Evans attempts to cover up the fact that this community control business is in fact aimed at "destroying the unions." But again he is forced to admit that the whole dispute began in 1967 when the "Ocean Hill-Brownsville board hired five principals for its schools who met state qualifications but were not on the civil service seniority list." This means that

the dispute began with the board attacking the hard won security of municipal workers--protection of their jobs through civil service.

But if this is not clear enough look at the current dispute in PS 39 where nine teachers were dismissed and barred from teaching for the sole reason that as members of the union they had refused to teach during the strike and had reported to work on Friday after Thanksgiving as instructed under the strike settlement.

Clearly the intention of these local governing boards is to drive all union teachers out of their districts. What will be left of the teachers union when the entire system is turned over to 30 such governing boards? Evans couldn't care less. He is certainly not guilty of "trade union fetishism." But he, himself, pleads guilty with this article of openly working with the bourgeoisie to destroy the American trade union movement.

**DEFENCE**

Well, we for one offer no apologies for our staunch defense of the American labor movement. The trade unions are all the American workers have to fight back against the increasing attacks of the bosses and the bosses' government. The American workers as yet do not have their own political party. Without the unions they are powerless. Our whole central strategy in the coming period is precisely a struggle for the defense of the great American trade-union movement, against the bosses, their government and their agents -- the trade union bureaucracy. In the course of that struggle we fight for the working class to go over to the offensive--to build their own political party, a labor party and thus pose the struggle of American workers for power.

This struggle and this struggle alone has meaning for the mass of workers not in the unions--in particular for the Negro people both in and out of the unions. It is only the trade union movement and its political struggle which can unite the class as a whole into a powerful weapon to destroy capitalism and racism with it. To pose to Negroes that they can achieve "black power" or "black control of the black communities" separately is to foster the division of the working class and to betray the interests of the Negro people. The logic of this position, whatever the motivations of those people who put it forth is to bring the Negro masses closer to their own oppressors---not the whites as a race but the capitalists as a class---and pull them farther away from the working class.

Even some of the black nationalist allies of the SWP show a bit more understanding of this question than the SWP. Phil Hutchings of SNCC writes in the current Guardian (Dec. 14th, 1968) "We think that anybody who talks about black capitalism or black control of black communities in a system of international imperialism is insane." Hutchings' alternative to this is just as insane---to build a black, anti-capitalist party which, guns in hand, will seize power. There is no solution to the Negro question within the context of black power, black control, self-determination and the like. There are only two alternatives within that context, one is a sell-out, the other is suicide---both are utopian. The only alternative is a class fight against class oppression which sees the abolition of racism in America as a class issue and a central part of the class fight.

## ANATOMY OF THE YSA CONFERENCE -- A CASE OF CLASSIC CENTRISM

(Continued from Page Four)

union bureaucracy as the coming attacks of the ruling class and the upsurge of labor's rank and file of necessity throw up a labor party formation of some sort. Once the American working class moves to its own independent party under conditions of the present extreme decay of world capitalism all the questions of revolution will be immediately on the agenda. Thus the absolute need for intermediary centrist radical formations to aid the bureaucracy in keeping the class in check.

**CP**

At that time the SWP and YSA will not be alone; it will be joined by the Communist Party. We have seen only within the last year the ease with which the SWP has worked with the Communist Party in the peace movement giving this discredited party a left cover up to a point where that party no longer needed the SWP and the SWP found itself thrown out of its own creation. So the same old game will be repeated but the

stakes will be higher and the direct interests of the working class immediately at issue. The other groupings don't matter so much - SDS, ISC, PLP, etc. - they will find their way into



DELEGATES AND SPEAKERS AT YSA CONVENTION IN A PANEL DISCUSSION

this openly and covertly in alliance with the SWP or the CP if they survive that long. But the main actors will be the SWP and the CP and the role they play will be a counter-revolutionary role.

They will not be the only forces at work. The Workers League is well aware of the strength

and dangerous nature of its adversaries and we give them no quarter. In fact part of the reason for our new 12 page paper is to step up the fight against the revisionists of all types and on all

levels. At the same time we struggle now, not later, to deepen our roots in the labor movement fighting for a labor party which will be a genuine expression of the class interests of the rank and file and not the tool of the labor bureaucracy with its revisionist allies.

# THE SWP AND DEFENSE POLICY



SACCO AND VANZETTI

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

The world working class movement is under attack everywhere. Precisely because the capitalists see their system and profits in danger they strike back particularly at the more politically conscious vanguard element in the working class hoping to leave the workers leaderless in the fight back against capitalist attacks.

All this requires a very serious approach to the question of defense policy for socialists and working class militants. Effective struggles in defense of working class victims of ruling class 'justice' not only are important for the defense of the socialist movement but can play a very important role in the education of the broader sections of the working class--education as to the nature of the capitalist state and its courts, the power of the working class if it unites in struggle, and the extreme importance of the working class acting as an international class, preparing for the international class struggle for power against world imperialism.

Recently, a member of the Worker's League in Canada, Robert Sherwood, was directly attacked by the Canadian government. An American citizen, he faces criminal prosecution on the trumped-up charge of not listing a minor misdemeanor involving a civil rights demonstration upon immigrating into Canada.

Faced with this situation the Workers League conducted a struggle to set up a united defense committee in this country to aid in the defense of Sherwood. We issued a call to all working class political organizations in this country, to important trade unions, to Negro organizations, anti-war organizations, civil liberty organizations and to militants within the trade union movement. Our policy was completely non-exclusionary.

## STATEMENT

At this meeting those in attendance agreed unanimously to the following statement upon which to base the committee:

'The indictment of Robert Sherwood, a member of the Toronto Branch of the Workers League, on a charge of violating the Canadian Immigration Act, is a clear case of political persecution. Sherwood has been singled out for prosecution and the stage is being set for his deportation from Canada.

'This case involves far more than draft resistance or the Vietnam War. Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau has publicly expressed his fear of social unrest spilling over from the U.S. into Canada. The Rand Commission Report is a direct attack on Canadian trade unions. In the U.S. the incoming Nixon Administration is preparing to continue attacks on black militants, radicals and the entire working class movement.

'This prosecution is a political attack and it must be answered politically. The plans of the Canadian and U.S. rulers must be exposed and

the broadest support possible won for Sherwood on this basis. The Committee to Defend Robert Sherwood is being formed for this purpose.'

Following the meeting members of the defense committee called the SWP repeatedly along with other organizations and individuals who could not make the first meeting asking for a representative of the SWP to sponsor the committee. After repeated phone calls and trips to the SWP headquarters we were finally given an official reply by the SWP. We were informed by the SWP that since the statement of the committee was not simply a civil liberties statement but saw the attack on Sherwood as a political attack the SWP could not sign it. They would, however, give the case publicity in the Militant.

## DANGEROUS

This position of the SWP is absolutely wrong and extremely dangerous on two counts. In the first place we must see all attacks on working class organizations and Negro organizations as CLASS attacks on the WORKING CLASS. This is not just a matter of 'civil liberties.' We are definitely concerned with questions of democratic rights as these rights are critically important to the working class, its ability to openly organize, to have free discussions to develop its consciousness and to develop strong independent organizations like trade unions and political parties. But we defend such democratic rights from this class basis--not as abstract moral 'civil liberties.' We are happy to have liberals support us on this 'civil liberties' basis but we fight attacks upon working class organizations and working class individuals as class attacks that must be fought back in a class way.

## SECTARIANISM

At the same time as we insist on the class basis of our defense work we will have no truck with sectarianism. 'An injury to one is an injury to all', said the old Wobbly motto, and this is our motto today. Any working class tendency that is under attack--whether Communist, Trotskyist, or what have you we defend despite whatever political differences we may have. And it is on this basis that we organize our own defense work. We issued our call for our defense committee to all political tendencies on a non-exclusionary basis. We willingly accept not only the support but the participation of all political tendencies in this defense work. All we insist upon is that we all stand together on a fundamental class basis--see the attack on any member of the working class movement of any political persuasion in any country on the face of this earth as a blow against all workers everywhere.

The position of the SWP is both opportunist and sectarian. They propose that we 'broaden' our defense policy by making it a non-class liberal defense on the civil liberties issue alone. At the same time since we do not subscribe to their methods of defense and see the attack on Sherwood as a class attack on a working class tendency, they in a sectarian way refuse to sponsor the Sherwood defense committee. They are more than happy to defend Dr. Spock on a pacifist program but they will not defend a Trotskyist militant on a basic class program.

## HEROIC

But it was not always that way with the leaders of the SWP. James P. Cannon, the National Chairman of the SWP, has a record to be proud of in the heroic defense struggles of the American and world working class in the early days of the American Communist Party. At that time Cannon headed the International Labor Defense which pioneered the class defense of the Italian-American anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings and other victims of ruling class justice. Then he spoke a different language, the language of the international working class.

This is what Cannon had to say in 1927 about the differences between a liberal and a class defense of working class militants: 'One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations--organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions. This is what has

prevented the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so far. Its goal is nothing less than their triumphant vindication and liberation.

'The other policy is the policy of 'respectability', of the 'soft petal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the 'vulgar and noisy' demonstrations of the militant workers and throws the mud of slander on them. It tries to represent the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti as an 'unfortunate' error which can be rectified by the 'right' people proceeding in the 'right' way. The objective of this policy is a whitewash of the courts of Massachusetts and 'clemency' for Sacco and Vanzetti, in the form of a commutation of life imprisonment for a crime of which the world knows they are innocent.'

SWP.

We ask the SWP today: what is your defence policy? The 'policy of the class struggle' or the 'soft petal' which 'seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle'?

Even though the International Labor Defense was led by the Communist Party there was no sectarianism at all in its policies. Again Cannon speaks on its policy: 'There were the miners of Zeigler, Illinois, whose defense we are still conducting; the cases of the Pittsburgh Communists held under the Anti-Sedition Act of that state; the three Portuguese anarchist workers in Fall River, Massachusetts; the striking taxi drivers of Boston; the IWW deportees in New York; the Passaic textile workers; the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti in which the ILD reached its full stride, Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, IWWs, members of the AFL and workers without affiliation have found the hand of the ILD ready and able to aid them at all times.'

## GLAMOUR

This shows us another aspect of this important early defense work. The ILD did not just concern itself with the more 'glamorous' cases like Sacco and Vanzetti which had become a 'cause celebre' internationally and was mentioned every day in the bourgeois press. It fought just as hard for the ordinary workers, and radical militants who make up the very heart and marrow of the working class movement.

We admit we have had great difficulty not only with the SWP but with other sections of the working class movement in getting active support for Sherwood. After all the Sherwood case is not featured in the bourgeois press. He is not an Eldridge Cleaver nor a Latin American guerilla. His life has not been one of glamor but one of hard, hard every day and sometimes pedestrian work to build a Marxist movement in the United States and Canada. This he has given his life to and for this reason the bourgeois state in Canada in collaboration with the United States wishes to persecute him.

## CHANGE

It is time for a change in the working class movement in this country. Not only are great opportunities for building a mass movement of the working class on the agenda but for that very reason we can expect serious repression. Let us unite in a common international effort of class defense of all members of our class. Do not let the bosses touch the hair on the head of a worker without the united struggle of all working class tendencies and organizations in defense of this worker regardless of that worker's political views or his 'prestige.'



CANNON AFTER HIS 1941 INDICTMENT



## MORGENSTERN PLANS SELLOUT OF WELFARE



MORGENSTERN AT RECENT RALLY

BY MARTY JONAS.

NEW YORK--As the Dec. 31 contract deadline draws near, it becomes obvious that President Morgenstern is preparing a betrayal of the ranks of the Social Service Employees Union.

This betrayal has been prepared by him and the SSEU leadership precisely by not preparing the least bit of strategy to win anything from the city. For Morgenstern and the leadership the game is to work within the confines of

the Office of Collective Bargaining and avoid a fight with the city at all costs.

The costs that he and the leadership pay for labor peace are the sabotaging of real unity of staff through merger of all welfare unions and keeping the ranks in the dark throughout the entire period of bargaining.

### ANTI-MERGER

Time and time again, with the help of the Progressive Labor-supported "Staff for Merger", Morgenstern has thwarted all attempts to get an affiliation of the SSEU with Locals 1549 and 371 of AFS-CME DC37 by contract time.

At every membership and Executive Board meeting where merger was proposed as the central part of a strategy for the contract by the Affiliation Now Caucus, the answer of Morgenstern and his apologists in "Staff for Merger" was: WAIT.

Now, the latest is the proposal of a January 10 referendum, to be decided upon at the Dec. 30 meeting. This proposal by the "Staff for

Merger" group, again blocking merger in the name of merger, was offered to the membership on Dec. 19, in opposition to a motion by the Affiliation Now Caucus that the date of the referendum be decided right then. Dec. 30 was decided upon, leaving the DC 37 leadership to cool even more to the idea of merger and leaving the whole matter til after the contract deadline.

The lack of communication with the ranks by the leadership is criminal in this critical period. Here it is, several days before deadline and we have gotten an average of one leaflet every two weeks. SSEU members are continually asking the nagging questions: "How is the bargaining going? Will there be a strike?" The leadership has no answers--except to report that the bargaining has been going bad, and that joint bargaining with DC 37 would be nice. No strategy. No answers to the coming anti-union reorganization of the department which is leg-

itized by the very OCB which Morgenstern refuses to fight.

Morgenstern is doing everything he can to leave his hands free to bring back to his membership a modest money package--minus guarantees of workload, working conditions and job security. He will explain that he had no choice. Most of the contract was unbargainable according to the city's OCB, and since we didn't have affiliation we couldn't really fight the city. This is the outcome that Morgenstern, his vice-presidents, and his allies in "Staff for Merger" have been preparing for us. This is the meaning of their throwing the issue of merger back and forth like a volley ball, from membership to executive board and back to membership, only to sabotage it anew at each meeting.

But this could backfire right in Morgenstern's face. The frustration of the membership is very great. The addition of a lousy contract to the mixture of worsening working conditions and the threat to job security by reorganization will not sit well with the ranks. There will be a great sentiment for going it alone, for pulling a strike only of caseworkers.

We warn the membership of the SSEU A strike of caseworkers will be quickly be smashed by the city. They will then have an excuse for the "attrition" part of their reorganization scheme. They will make ample use of the opportunity for booting out all striking caseworkers.

We also warn the membership of the SSEU against the appeals of such groups as the Militant Caucus to go it alone. This group will undoubtedly be joined by other groups which feed on the frustrations and adventurism of the ranks but are unable to offer any program to win. We can have no doubt that Staff for Merger will be right in there calling for an SSEU strike and "unity from the bottom" with DC 37.

We say with the Affiliation Now Caucus that such a strike would be a disaster. If Morgenstern comes back from bargaining with what we say he will, we must organize to defeat Morgenstern and his rotten crew and vote merger immediately. If DC 37 has already backed away from merger by then, we will have to take a contract and live with it, wh fighting through the ranks of DC 37 for merger and then an all-out fight with the City.

# TC HOSPITAL UNION REDBAITS

### SPECIAL TO THE BULLETIN

Some fifty members of the Minneapolis Section of the Hospital Employees Union, Local 113 (total Membership is 3,000), who attended their union meeting on Wednesday night, December 18, were witnesses to a lengthy, hysterical attack against the Workers League. The vicious outburst was launched not by a hospital worker whose take-home pay is \$60 or \$70 a week, but by one of business agent Norman Carle's well paid, hand-picked bureaucrats. He was infuriated by an article on local 113 that appeared in the Bulletin of December 16, which he had just purchased from a Bulletin salesman outside the hall.

The article dealt with 113's strengths and weaknesses.

### PROGRAM

For coping with these issues, the article offered an 8-point program of minimum demands that should and can be won from the employers, provided the leadership takes these demands seriously and is prepared to lead 113 in an all-out fight for them. Here are the eight points:

1. \$100 a week minimum as won by hospital workers in New York City.
2. A cost of living escalator clause.
3. Equal pay for equal work. No more division of men and women members.
4. Cost of living bonus and all new benefits to apply to pensioned members. An end to the division between active and retired workers!
5. Inspection and supervision of work conditions by union shop committees. Enforce

the contract!

6. A decent hospital and medical plan. Those who care for the sick must get adequate care when they are sick!

7. Increased fringe benefits of all kinds: vacations, holidays, etc. Benefits must equal those enjoyed by unions with the best contracts in the area.

8. An annual contract. No more three year freezes!

### TIRADE

In his long tirade against the Workers League did the petty-bureaucrat, Neal, deal with any of the above items? Did he disprove any of them? NO! The truth is he did not inform the members about a single one of these facts or about the 8-point program. What did he do then? He red-baited with passion and hatred, as though he represented those who own the hospitals, not those who toil in them. "Here, look at the front page of this paper" he shouted, "See what it says, it says Marxist-- you all know what that means. It means communism!"

The only part he read from the article was two or three sentences criticising Carle's failure to offer the kind of leadership required in this difficult period. Neal panicked at the thought that there might be people who do not regard Carle as a beloved, infallible leader. This servile parasite was out to prove his loyalty-- not to the union ranks-- but to his master, Carle, who is now in sunny California recuperating from a recent illness. When he once more resumed his wild charges against the

Bulletin, a courageous union sister in the front of the hall said she had read the article and couldn't see what was wrong with its contents. This simple, honest remark almost caused him to have apoplexy. He was so infuriated, he could hardly continue.

At that point Carle's second personal hireling, Matt, who likewise never experienced the working end of a hospital, arose. After mumbling some excuse for losing an election involving 600 previously unorganized nursing home employees to the retail clerks, he too turned on the sister who had spoken her mind. He screamed about the Bulletin's open defense of Marxism, and "they defend it right on the front page he said. "These people are trying to create doubt and want to take over the union and get its money." He too was trying to so poison the atmosphere that no one would dare speak about the real issues raised in the article.

### DEMOCRACY

Then the President of 113 and the recording secretary, swept up by the witch-hunting, shamefully succumbed to this political attack on the Workers League. At the same time it was a serious blow to the union's own democracy. Several times during the meeting when that brave union sister had her hand up wanting to speak, the chairman simply refused to recognize her.

Can there be any place in the union movement for such horrible violation of working class democracy as was displayed in 113 on the evening of Dec. 18? By what right

can two officials in the pay of the union create such a climate of terror that everyone is bullied into silence? There is no room anywhere in a trade union gathering for the kind of Wallaceite-hate rally that was initiated at that meeting! No one but the employers can benefit from it.

### MARXISM

The Workers League in its publication the Bulletin has drawn up a working class program which seriously seeks to confront the critical needs of today's hospital employees. Our only interest is to advance the genuine cause of working people. We are proud of our socialist heritage and naturally defend Marxism on the first page of our paper, as we defend it on every page. We are thoroughly convinced that only true Marxists understand the profound problems of the American workers and thus are the only ones capable of offering a correct program and a correct leadership to realize that program. We are no longer living in an age when simple trade union militancy was enough to win better wages and conditions.

Our criticisms of Carle is not a personal one at all. We criticize him because he simply does not have any idea of how to fight the bosses in a world in which economic pressure is completely insufficient. The struggle for improvement in the contract is becoming increasingly a political one, based on the need for workers to have their own labor party. What, for example is the point of a bitter struggle for higher pay only to have it wiped out two

or three months later by runaway inflation? And what but a fundamental political change can abolish this legalized theft of our wages, which inflation really is? But in the meantime is there anything subversive about demanding an escalator clause in the next contract to defend the \$100 weekly minimum wage when it is achieved? We believe that the wage workers, who are everywhere so hard hit by inflation, can understand and approve of our program, even though the high-paid bureaucrats can't.

If 113 is to win a substantial improvement in the new contract, it must unconditionally safeguard its internal democracy. Therefore, we appeal to all hospital workers to do the following:

\* Study our 8-point program of demands.

\* Discuss this with your fellow workers.

\* Compel the present officials of 113 to fight for these demands or make them explain why they won't. And ask them to state clearly what they propose in their place. So far they haven't said one word about their program for the new contract.

\* Preserve union democracy by defending the rights of all workers and of all working class political views to express their opinions freely to one another whether on the job or in union meetings without fear of intimidation or harassment. The union is not the private property of a small clique of bureaucrats. It belongs equally to ALL its members.