

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

VOL. 5, NO. 15-104

MARCH 24, 1969

TEN CENTS

new nationalism-part three

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REFORM
OR
REVOLUTION

WORKERS AND STUDENTS FACE VICIOUS ATTACKS

ROCKEFELLER LEADS THE WAY FOR NIXON

LABOR

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EACH DAY ON STRIKE

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UNLIMITED FINES
ON UNIONS

UNIVERSITIES

NO FRESHMAN
CLASSES

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NO MORE
SEEK PROGRAMS

HIGH SCHOOLS

BIGGER CLASSES
•
CUT SCHOOL SUPPLIES--
REPAIRS -- TRANSPORTATION

•
17,000 LESS TEACHERS

BY FRED MUELLER

The new version of the Taylor Law, New York State's anti-strike law for public employees, is a vicious attack against every worker. It is a declaration of war against two million trade unionists in New York State and their families. It points the way toward similar attacks planned nationally. This law can and must be smashed by the united action of the working class.

A tremendous confrontation between the unions and the government is now almost inevitable. The fight shaping up will make recent struggles,

including the sanitation and teachers strikes, look mild in comparison.

This is a political fight. Public employee unions face a head-on clash with the state simply in order to maintain the most elementary rights of their members. There is no time to lose in the fight back against this ultra-reactionary legislation. Two million AFL-CIO members must answer this attack against several hundred thousand state and city employees. The entire trade union movement in New York must defy this law with a one-day

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

BY TOM GORDON

Governor Rockefeller's budget cuts for New York State schools signal the start of a nationwide attack on the democratic and economic rights of students. John Doar, president of the New York City Board of Education, said that the planned \$155 million education cutback would force increased class sizes, a cut in 20 per cent in new school supplies, a 25 per cent reduction in summer day camps, the end of all community education and recreation programs except summer and adult education programs. The budget cuts will also require

a cutback in College Double Discovery, Upward Bound, and SEEK, all college-preparatory programs for slum children. In addition, seventeen thousand teachers may have to be dropped from the present staff.

Frederick Hayes, Budget Director of New York City, said that for the City University "The minimum level of cuts would be equivalent to requiring that the City University stop all new enrollments for the next college year, as well as eliminating evening, summer and graduate programs. The maximum

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INTERNATIONAL

FRENCH WORKING CLASS AND THE MINI-MAY
BRITISH FORD STRIKERS CHALLENGE WILSON
SOVIET UNION CONSPIRES AGAINST CHINA
BEHIND NIXON'S MISSILE MADNESS

PASS NEW TAYLOR SLAVE LAW

Labor Must Call One Day General Strike



TOGETHERNESS...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

general strike. This action must include every unionist. An injury to one is an injury to all!

WAR

The new law provides for the loss of two days pay for each day on strike for public employees, plus the loss of tenure and a one year probation period. Fines against striking unions, previously limited to \$100,000 per day on strike, are now unlimited. Millions of workers can only ask: If this is not a declaration of war, what is?

On one day New York's billionaire Governor Rockefeller announces that the 100,000 state civil service workers will be limited to a 4% pay increase, in the face of 5-6% rise in the cost of living alone. The next day boss Rockefeller shows he means business by signing the new slave labor provisions into law!

BOGUS

Meanwhile the Democrats raise their bogus pro-labor banner in opposition to the Republican moves. They cor-

rectly denounce the law as union-busting, but while trying to pass themselves off as friends of labor they wait in the wings with proposed legislation which is at least as dangerous, and perhaps more so. The debate in Albany is over how best to hamstring and weaken the unions.

The Democrats propose nothing less than a state version of the notorious Taft-Hartley Law with compulsory arbitration to boot. They want a cooling-off period to be followed by arbitration. The workers are to be completely disarmed, all the weapons are to be at the disposal of the employer. The Republicans prefer a meat cleaver, the Democrats suggest a tidier way of achieving the same goal! Democratic leader Zaretzki said it quite clearly. He called the Republican-backed measure "overkill." This is nothing but a debate among killers.

The tens of millions of American workers and trade unionists not immediately affected by this attack will very soon live to regret any illusion that their own interests are not at stake right now. Just a few weeks ago the AFL-CIO announced that it would raise the money from within the union movement to pay the \$220,000 fine imposed on New York City's teachers under the last version of the Taylor Law. The new Taylor Law is the answer of the bosses and their government to this move taken in response to an earlier attack. In other words, the answer is escalation, and this is only the beginning.

Nor can we doubt for one minute that President Nixon himself is watching these developments closely and with great interest. Nixon has his own plans, and they fit in with what is going on in New York right now. The plans include the creation of a "labor court" for the handling of big strikes.

NIXON

Nixon has ordered his Secretary of Labor to investigate the possibility of the federal government dealing with strikes of city and state employees. The full weight of the state apparatus, of the federal government, is to be brought to bear against state and city workers as it presently is against federal employees, who face felony charges for advocating strike action. These are just some of the moves under serious consideration.

Thus the new Taylor Law has to be seen as part of an overall attack on the entire working class, as a probe and a precedent in the development of anti-strike weapons against all workers. The employers are forced to move in this direction, in the direction of smashing the unions, of tying them ever more closely into the state apparatus.

The constantly deepening capitalist world crisis requires that the bosses attack the working class in every country. This is the meaning of the recurring tremors in the world monetary system, of the wage freezing and legislative attacks against the unions in Britain, of the ever-deepening political as

well as economic crisis in France as De Gaulle presses the attack and prepares for all out war against the French workers.

Militant workers must see within this world framework the kind of serious campaign required. The New York State AFL-CIO leadership revealed its bankruptcy once again in the one-day campaign of newspaper advertisements it waged against the Taylor Law revisions. This is how Corbett, Van Arsdale, Shanker, Gotbaum and the rest protect their own members! Shanker and Gotbaum went so far as to urge changes in the law in the direction of compulsory arbitration. These traitors are always ready to ally themselves with a section of the employers and stab their own members in the back.

BULLETIN

In contrast to this misleadership, the BULLETIN has constantly warned all workers of the kind of fight we face as the crisis deepens. Now we are seeing that these warnings were not idle chatter. Only the Workers League and the Bulletin explained what was in store and put forward the kind of policies within the unions which could beat back the attacks.

On January 27th and again in our February 10th issue we showed what Rockefeller had in store and related his legislative plans to his attacks on the mental hospital workers, the state's financial crisis and the entire economic crisis. At the same time we pointed out that a political fight back was required. We said, "Answer Rocky with a

Labor Party!", and proposed a program including the fight against inflation, against racism, for nationalization of basic industry, a planned economy, jobs for all and decent housing and education for the entire working class, black and white.

LABOR

Every day we are seeing more and more the critical importance of building a fighting labor party based upon these socialist policies and fighting for a workers' government. While we fight for such a party, we cannot and need not wait until it is created before actively fighting the attacks we face now.

The two million trade unionists in New York State can strike a tremendous blow against the union-busting plans of all the bosses - and towards a labor party - with a one day general strike throughout the state. Now is the time to fight for this mass action, for this demonstration of unity and strength. At the time of the sanitation strike a year ago, a general strike was threatened in answer to New York Mayor Lindsay's threat to bring out the National Guard to break the union. Just two months ago Central Labor Council President Van Arsdale threatened Rockefeller with the specter of a labor party. Now is the time to do more than talk.

DOWN WITH ROCKEFELLER! DOWN WITH THE TAYLOR LAW!

BUILD A ONE DAY GENERAL STRIKE! BUILD A LABOR PARTY!

ROCKEFELLER AIMS ECONOMIC BLOWS AT ALL STUDENTS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

level would be equivalent to closing four senior and four community colleges." Letters of admission to next year's freshman class are already being delayed.

These attacks on students come at the very time when the New York State lawmakers have passed a stiff Taylor Law which will fine striking government employees two days for every day on strike. The employee would also be put on a year's probation and lose job tenure. His union would suffer unlimited fines and loss of its dues check-off, in which the employer collects a union's dues for it.

President Nixon is studying ways to strengthen the Taft-Hartley Law, which now

can only force strikers back to work for eighty days. Nixon wants an arsenal of weapons to use against strikers and other citizens. One of the laws he is planning would allow jailing of people who are suspected of planning strikes, violent demonstrations, or riots. This means student demonstrators, teachers, and others could be jailed before they struck or demonstrated.

Rockefeller and Nixon are trying to make the people pay for their crises, and are passing laws to prevent us from doing anything about it.

PHONEY

How completely futile and dangerous was last fall's phoney battle over Community Control! This struggle chang-

ed in no way the decaying school system. In fact it helped divide black from white and community from teacher precisely at a time when the government was planning new economic attacks on all students, the teachers, the community and all workers.

There is no road forward through black nationalism! The Black Panthers, SDS, the New York City Afro-American Students Association, the New York City High School Student Union all stand exposed as completely bankrupt. The fate of black and white students are completely intertwined as is the fate of the teachers.

LEADERSHIP

Students face a political attack and there must be a united political fight back. We must build a leadership in the high schools, in the universities, in the UFT, which will fight to bring about a citywide strike in all high schools and universities and a mammoth demonstration against the city and state. This struggle can and must be linked with the attacks on public employees. Such a struggle will carry us forward towards

the creation of a real political alternative to those who attack us, the construction of a labor party.

STRIKE

This is the program which the Workers League will fight for in the high schools, colleges and trade unions of this country.

Strike against budget cuts in schools, hospitals, welfare, and all other public services!

Strike against the Taylor Law and all other laws aimed against students, teachers, and other workers!

For the united action of students, teachers and the trade unions!



STUDENTS MASS IN ALBANY AGAINST BUDGET CUTS

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BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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

IUE Electrical Workers Strike General Electric Over Company Spying

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

The business of spying is not limited to the field of international relations. While the U.S. government sends its Pueblos and U-2's around the globe, America's leading corporations are busily engaged in their own spying operations to secretly keep tabs on employees who may not be producing fast enough to keep the profits rolling in.

The latest "Pueblo incident" to hit industry came recently at the huge Schenectady, New York General Electric plant, where IUE local 301 called a strike of its 12,000 members to protest G.E.'s use of closed circuit television in one section of the plant. The IUE contends that portable cameras and video recorders are being used to spy on the workers.

WALKOUT

The call for the strike by the local's executive board follows an earlier unofficial walkout of 600 workers over the spying operation. Clearly the ranks of the union are up in arms over the mounting pressure of the speedup of which industrial spying is a part. A company spokesman admitted that similar videotape systems are used at other plants but as yet the union's international leadership shows no sign either of supporting the local strike or extending it to other G.E. plants--a move which would insure the success of the Schenectady strike.

The Schenectady strike is

also a sign that the IUE ranks are getting into a fighting mood to take on General Electric and Westinghouse when the current contracts expire next October and November.

The ten AFL-CIO unions which will engage in "coordinated-bargaining" with the companies have already begun meeting to map contract goals. One of the key demands being planned is for a union shop provision to replace the present "agency shop" agreement which establish a dues check-off but allows employees the choice of not joining the union. General Electric, long known in the labor movement as one of the most conscious and dedicated foes of unionism is prepared to hang tough against this demand in order to keep open the door to recruit scabs in the event of a real showdown with the union.

GOAL

Another stated goal of the union in addition to a healthy wage boost, is the demand to win back the "full" escalator clause which the leadership allowed to be replaced by a cost of living escalator with a specific ceiling.

It is becoming more and more clear that no progress at all will be made in the coming fight against GE and other electrical firms unless the first steps towards united action between IUE and the independent UE are stepped up to close labor's ranks for a common fight against the bosses.

new britain workers fight plant shutdown



UE WORKERS DEMONSTRATE IN FRONT OF NYC GE HEADQUARTERS OVER RUNAWAY SHOP

BY MANUEL OZORIO

Three years ago electrical workers, members of local 207 U.E. in New Britain, Conn., were informed by "their" Senator and Congressman that G.E. was trying to acquire the Universal Products plant in their town. Promises like you never heard before were made to these workers by Ribicoff and Masco. The only string attached was that these workers would have to drum up support so that G.E. would be able to take over the plant without having an anti-trust suit served on it by the Department of Justice.

After all was said and done in Washington, G.E. got the

plant in New Britain (G.E. promised to continue to use the Universal trade mark) and everyone lived happily ever after. NO!

CLOSING

Three years later workers in that plant are faced with the prospect of not having a job come May 1969.

What was a work force of 2,000 men and women has been reduced to 450 workers. Machinists, press operators, assembly line workers, and metal polishers with at least twenty-three years of service at the Universal plant will within two months from now join the unemployment

line. What have the last three years been like at Universal Products is best described by a machinist picketing in front of G.E. offices in NYC. He said, "The last three years we have seen on the assembly line tremendous speed-up so that parts that were originally assembled at a rate of a thousand per second are now being assembled five and six thousand per second. Electric percolators which were originally polished in New Britain are being shipped elsewhere to non-union shops especially down South. G.E. is also opening plants in England and Denmark which will be used to produce the goods we produced, but for cheaper wages."

Many of the workers I spoke to saw the need for unity of the unions in their industry UE, IUE, IBEW, so that the problem of run away plants could be dealt with effectively.

Still many saw the necessity for a political struggle by the unions to take up the fight against companies like G.E. who will stop at nothing to save their profits.

STENCH

The G.E. takeover in New Britain has had a stench of bosses' politics from those early days when it was put over on the workers as a means of more jobs and greater prosperity for the town in which they live.

Electrical workers at G.E. and through the industry must take up a determined struggle to make their union leadership fight the bosses every inch of the way, no concessions on working conditions, a cost of living escalator clause, merger of the UE, IUE, IBEW, so that industry wide strike action capable of bringing the electrical corporations to their knees will be possible.

The workers at Universal Products have seen that no amount of calling to reason or fairness from the union will affect the decisions of these companies to save their profits.

CURRAN MACHINE SWEEPS NMU ELECTION MORRISSEY CARRIES CRITICAL NYC PORT

BY DAN FRIED

Joseph Curran, along with his slate of 4 candidates for other union offices has been re-elected President of the National Maritime Union. Curran successfully staved off the challenge of the dissident "Committee for NMU Democracy" headed by James Morrissey.

Curran won handily despite the rumblings of rank and file revolt that have gained momentum in the union and despite a serious effort to dump him by the Morrissey slate. Morrissey himself ran for Secretary Treasurer against Curran's man Shannon Wall and was able to get 7,317 to Wall's 13,507 while the total vote of Curran's three opponents for President was only 5,000.

There is no doubt that as Morrissey charges, Curran used his control of the union's machinery and a vast amount of money to insure his return to office. The single most important vote getting gimmick that Curran employed was the garnering of the votes of over 3,000 shoreside Panamanian nationals who, despite Morrissey's appeal to the

courts, were allowed to vote. So, the same courts that granted the appeal of Morrissey to hold this election, also helped insure Curran's re-election. Morrissey's paper "The Call" charged that "Panama workers are 'assisted' inside the voting booth by Curran's paid stooges. Pilot Election Supplements (which list both Curran AND opposition candidates--Ed.) were nowhere to be seen. The Call's literature vanished mysteriously. Workers are herded to the rigged 'election' by busses and provided only with Curran's propaganda..."

STRONG

Morrissey claimed after the election that Wall beat him by 3,499 to 64 in Panama while in New York, he came in ahead of Wall by 3,499 to 2,950. The strong showing of the opposition in the key port of New York indicates that while the Curran machine won, the bureaucrats still face a rising tide of discontent and rank and file dissidence.

The job of dumping Curran and building a new fighting leadership in the NMU

BREAKING THE CHAINS



CARTOON FROM MORRISSEY OPPOSITION PAPER

can only be accomplished by reaching out to the mass of the union's ranks, half of whom did not even vote in the election. Victory over Curran that depends on legal action by the government and further court appeals as Morrissey has proposed will not only be hollow victories but strengthen the Government's anti-union drive as well.

The fight against Curran therefore is a long battle to develop a program and leadership capable of enlisting the

support of all the members regardless of seniority, skill, race or nationality--a program and leadership to fight the shipowners and government on every question from wages to job security to ships food to supporting the Democratic Party. The forthcoming contract negotiations will be a focal point for the further development along these lines of an opposition to the Curran machine as part of a new leadership for the entire labor movement.

SOVIET UNION CONSPIRES AGAINST CHINA

POLITICAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

The recent large scale encounters on the Soviet-Chinese border - they can no longer be called "skirmishes" - represent a grave danger to the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese Revolution, after 20 years, faces its most serious threat as the Soviet Union moves closer to the imperialists and openly collaborates with the imperialists at the expense of the Chinese workers state.

The Workers League takes its stand on the principled basis of the defense of the workers states against world imperialism. Under conditions where the bureaucratic rulers of Russian workers state moves towards collaboration with the imperialists against China we stand unqualifiedly for the defense of the Chinese Revolution.

SETTING

The current border dispute must be seen in its full international setting. First comes Soviet efforts to compromise the Vietnamese Revolution and bring about the Paris peace talks. Then comes Soviet military intervention against Czechoslovakia. In the interim the Soviet Union expands its diplomatic activities with Fascist Spain. Now it is reported to have sent a secret emissary to visit Chiang Kai Chek, the American puppet ruler of For-

Meaning of Border Clash

mosa who was thrown out of China by the massive revolutionary action of the Chinese people.

More recently comes Soviet action to calm the Berlin crisis - obviously necessary to free the Soviet Union for concentration against China. Brezhnev, even with liberal bourgeois senators warning that Nixon's missile plans might disrupt the prospect of US-USSR disarmament talks, reassures the US that such talks will not be hampered by Nixon's mad plans.

At his last press conference, President Nixon went out of his way in answer to almost every question raised by reporters to stress the need for collaboration internationally between the USSR and the United States. The trip to Europe was part of the preparations for this collaboration.

FRANCE

Now the most militant defender of Soviet actions against China is the French Communist Party - a party which has shown its loyalty to capitalism by its actions last May and June in holding back the revolution and this March to limiting the gene-



CHINESE BORDER GUARDS WAVE RIFLES AT RUSSIANS PRIOR TO CLASHES

ral strike to a single day gesture. The American Communist Party, which displayed such loyalty to the Kremlin over Czechoslovakia, reprints the French CP statement and writes in its own how the present border between China and Russia was the result of "peace talks," that is talks between the old imperialist Czar and a weakened and dismembered China under the Manchu Emperors.

Stalinism is today in mortal crisis. It has no future. The Soviet bureaucrats are forced to draw closer and closer to the world imperialists and actually seek to aid these imperialists to save their crisis-ridden system from the wrath of the workers. Above all these Stalinists fear the Chinese Revolution, not because of Mao, his avowal

of Stalinism and his bureaucracy, but despite all this.

The central fact about China is that it exists - the Chinese Revolution has not been defeated. Therefore capitalism is not safe anywhere in the world, particularly in the colonial countries where the Chinese Revolution points the road to the future. Without the Chinese Revolution the struggle of first the Vietminh and now the NLF would have been inconceivable.

DEFEND

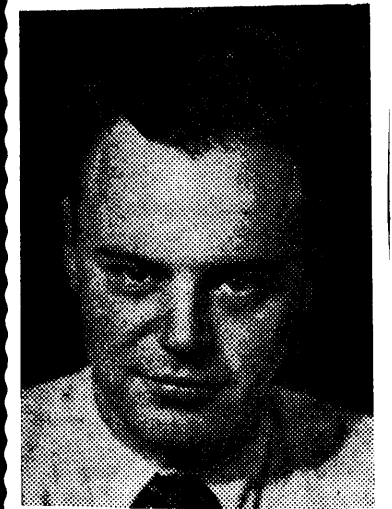
As long as the Chinese Revolution survives the Stalinist bureaucracy is not safe either, not even in China. And so the imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucrats conspire against the "yellow menace" - yes, we hear they are actually talking that way in the diplomatic corridors. So, too,

the world Trotskyist Movement will not lower for one second its guard in defense of the Chinese Revolution.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

DOWN WITH STALINISM!
DEFEND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!

CAL HIRES EX-GPU AGENT ZBOROWSKI



LEON SEDOV

Mark Zborowski, a former agent of Stalin's secret police who has been implicated in the murder of a number of revolutionaries, is presently a visiting lecturer in sociology at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, according to the Independent Socialist Club.

Zborowski infiltrated the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s and has been tied to the murder of Leon Sedov. Trotsky's son, Erwin Wolff, Trotsky's secretary, and Rudolf Klement, first secretary of the Fourth International. He may have even been the organizer of the assassination of Trotsky himself. Due to testimony of Jack Soble, a Russian agent who was his superior, he was sentenced to 3 years and 11 months prison for perjury but due to the statute of limitations has never convicted for any of his other activities.

Particularly because his past activity was directed solely against revolutionaries the American government has not put up any bars to his entrance to the country and a state supported university feels free to hire him. This gives us an example of what is known in universities as a "community of scholars." We suggest that revolutionary students at Berkeley treat this "scholar" for the reactionary scum he is. Perhaps the students could teach him some "sociology".

Behind Nixon's Anti-Ballistic Missile Madness

President Nixon's decision to transform a missile system purportedly designed to protect people into a missile system to protect missiles is being hailed as another "peaceful" step by his Administration.

fore the program is completed. Surely there is more money in making missiles than in slum clearance and similar programs for the cities, and in addition while the latter kind of program destroys old capital from which

tion to U.S. aggression.

Now the missiles are to protect other missiles. Here the idea seems to be even if the American population is blown up by foreign missiles our missiles will be safe. These can then be sent off to blow up the rest of the world. The next step, we expect, will be the development of anti-anti-ballistic missiles. These would ride along with the original missiles and knock out the anti-ballistic missiles. Of course then we would need to develop anti-anti-anti-ballistic missiles which would knock out the anti-anti-ballistic missiles allowing our anti-ballistic missiles to knock out the ballistic missiles. Got it straight?

But this missile madness is an extremely serious affair, we are afraid. Nixon's real reason for refusing to dispense with the Sentinel system altogether, in addition to his concessions to the missile manufacturers and their friends in the Pentagon, is a desire to enter into arms control talks with the USSR with the strongest possible hand. In return for his dismantling the Sentinel system--which is an absurdity anyway--or even pacing its development slower, he will want some serious political concessions from the Kremlin to help the U.S. keep the lid on revolutionary developments.

At the same time Nixon will do his best to hold open a collaborative hand to the USSR precisely in order to lull the USSR further and further away from China, to encourage the kind of border incidents which have recently arisen.

Thus the importance of relating the missile mess to the renewed military struggle of the NLF in Vietnam, the militant resistance to the Israelis on the part of the Arab masses, and the recent border clashes between China and the USSR. What Nixon wants is USSR collaboration against the Vietnamese and Arab masses and increasing conflict within the camp of the workers states.

PEACE

Nixon will offer in return some mild armament reduction which will relieve some of the economic pressures upon the Soviet economy while at the same time helping Nixon in coping with his "heated up" inflationary economy in the U.S. Such reductions have nothing in common with peace. Let us remember that World War II was prepared through a process of "arms control" agreements. The road to peace in the world is through the removal of the war makers- through the socialist revolution. Both the capitalists and the Soviet bureaucracy will fight this development all the way.

NEW ISSUE!

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

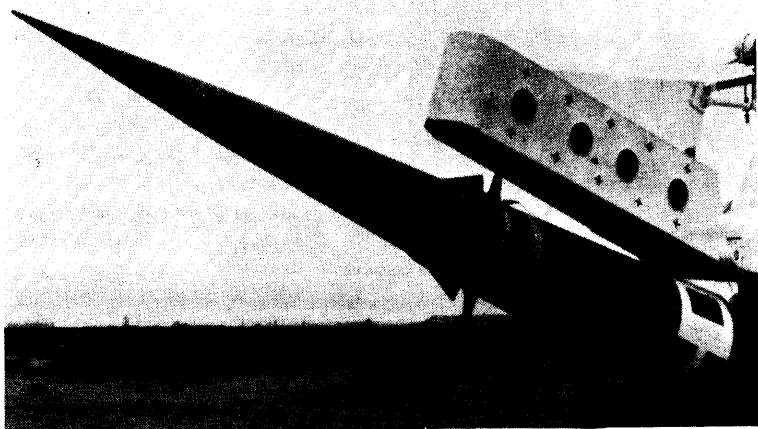
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND REVISIONISM

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

INSURRECTION OR DEMOCRATISM

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THEY CALL THIS ONE A "MISSILE KILLER"

As things have worked out, assuming Nixon gets his revised plan through Congress, the only people to benefit will be the large defense contract profiteers who, while getting 2 billion or so less, still will come into several billions be-

immense profits are still being made, the former program is all gravy.

AGGRESSIVE

Of course the anti-ballistic missile system from the beginning was never designed as a "defensive" gesture to protect the American people. The idea was to devise an effective shield around major U.S. cities to protect them from missiles from the Soviet countries and thus to free the U.S. imperialists or a more aggressive role against the Soviet countries. The problem, however, was that this wild dream of the Pentagon planners was just that - a wild dream. The military were unable to convince a sane person in Congress that it would work-- that it would actually lessen or eliminate the danger of Soviet retaliation.

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THE NEW NATIONALISM AND

by Tim Wohlforth

PART THREE

Black nationalism not only divides the working class but at the same time limits the working class to a reform struggle tying it to the bosses. It has been through adaptation to these nationalist trends internationally that the revisionists like the SWP and PL find a road to collaboration with their own bourgeoisie and to reformism. It is this aspect of the relation of black nationalism and revisionism which we will discuss in this part of the series.

We will begin with Joseph Hansen's article "The Healyites Begin to Unravel Their 'Trotskyism'" which appeared in the February 24th, 1969 issue of Intercontinental Press, international organ of the Socialist Workers Party and its allies. The article was written in answer to an article by Lucy St. John, "The Negro, Nation and Marxist Theory" which appeared in the Dec. 16, 1968 Bulletin. St. John's article dealt extensively with Lenin's struggle against the theory of "cultural-national autonomy", explaining how black nationalism is essentially such a "cultural-nationalist" trend. Hansen chooses to ignore this aspect of the article, concentrating on the short section which criticizes Trotsky's position on the Negro question formulated during a discussion with SWP members in 1939.

CULTURALISM

It is significant that no one in the SWP in the whole past period has referred to Lenin's struggle against the Jewish Bund and Otto Bauer for distorting the national question through support to "autonomy" of national groupings, including such demands as control of the school system and cultural activities. It is as if this whole struggle had never taken place, as if Lenin's position was simply that nationalism is abstractly and under all conditions "progressive."

In the course of this struggle Lenin made his position absolutely clear, so clear that the only way the SWP and Hansen can deal with it is to ignore it completely. "All advocacy of the segregation of the workers of one nation from those of another, all attacks upon Marxist 'assimilation' or attempts where the proletariat is concerned to contrapose one national culture is bourgeois nationalism, against which it is essential to wage a ruthless struggle....Marxists emphatically condemn so-called cultural-national autonomy, i.e. the idea that educational affairs should be taken out of the hands of the state and transferred to the respective nationalities." This was Lenin's position. It stands in absolute opposition to the position and policies of the Socialist Workers Party.

Hansen chooses to skip over this section of St. John's article in order to concentrate on the criticisms of Trotsky. The questions posed by the Trotsky discussions in 1939 (See: 'Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination,' Merit Publishers, 1967) are whether Trotsky's position is consistent with the position evolved by Lenin and Trotsky in the past on this question, how it fits in with other work by Trotsky in the same period, particularly the Transitional Program and the labor party question, and to what extent it reflects a concrete analysis of the American Negro within the context of the development of American and world capitalism.

CONTENT

But first this discussion must be placed within its historical context of the living process going on in that period between Trotsky and the SWP. The discussion occurred in the midst of an extremely critical period in the history of Trotsky's struggle for the Fourth International. With his arrival in Mexico in 1937 Trotsky was able to develop a very close political relationship with the SWP and this relationship was central to all the preparatory work for the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938 and Trotsky's work up to his death

This third and concluding section of our series on black nationalism discusses the relationship between adaptation to black nationalism and reformism. It shows that a principled struggle against this petty bourgeois trend is a precondition to maintaining a revolutionary perspective.



LEON TROTSKY AT WORK IN COYOACAN, MEXICO

to prepare the Fourth International to carry on without him.

This work took the form of increased correspondence with the SWP leaders and many members, a series of discussions with delegations of SWP leaders, and his political intervention in the fundamental dispute which broke out within the SWP in 1940 between the Burnham-Abern-Shachtman group and the Cannon majority. Of the discussions held in Mexico, three have since been published: the labor party discussion (Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party, Bulletin Publications, 1968), the Negro discussion, and the discussion on Stalinism (included in "The Struggle for Marxism in the United States" by Tim Wohlforth, Bulletin Publications, 1968, or "Stalinism and Trotskyism in the USA", New Park, 1967). It is therefore necessary to understand the Negro discussion within the context of these other discussions, the Transitional Program and the Shachtman-Cannon fight (See: "In Defense of Marxism, New park).

TROTSKY & SELF-DETERMINATION

St. John in her article seeks to do this stating that "Trotsky at the time was concerned primarily with turning the SWP around and forcing it to take up the struggle for the Negro people which they had literally ignored." That is she points out that the discussion was part of a whole process in which Trotsky sought to force the SWP to grapple with its theoretical weaknesses.

SHACHTMAN

Hansen is extremely sensitive to this point. He rushes in to assure his SWP readers that while Trotsky was making criticisms of the SWP these criticisms were really aimed at the "petty bourgeois youth who had recently been won away from the Social Democracy" and who formed the social base of the Shachtman tendency. He then seeks to identify this opposition with the Workers League since both the Shachtman group and the Workers League seek to "correct" Trotsky.

The reader is thus to conclude that while there were some problems within the SWP in the 1930s these problems centered solely on this petty bourgeois opposition and that once the present leadership of the SWP took care of this opposition all was sweetness, light, health. In other words, Hansen brings up this point precisely to reassure the SWP youth that the present leadership of the SWP was never criticized by Trotsky but in actuality is the chosen heirs of Trotsky and further that anyone who criticizes this leadership must of necessity be just like Shachtman and Burnham.

However, a look at the actual Negro discussion reveals that Trotsky was critical not just of the petty bourgeois section of the party but the trade union section as well, the section of the party upon which Cannon, Dobbs and Hansen based themselves. "The characteristic thing about the American work-

THE NEGRO QUESTION

ers' parties, trade union organizations, and so on, was their aristocratic character," Trotsky states. "It is the basis for opportunism. The skilled workers who feel set in the capitalist society help the bourgeois class to hold the Negroes and the unskilled workers down to a very low scale. Our party is not safe from degeneration if it remains a place for intellectuals, semi-intellectuals, skilled workers and Jewish workers who build a very close milieu which is almost isolated from the genuine masses. Under these conditions our party cannot develop--it will degenerate." And again: "The old organizations, beginning with the AFL, are the organizations of the workers' aristocracy. Our party is part of the same milieu, not of the basic exploited masses of whom the Negroes are the most exploited."

So it is clear Trotsky had in mind not only that section of the SWP which was to form the Shachtman petty bourgeois opposition in a year, but also the worker section of the party as well. But if this is not sufficiently clear all we have to do is turn to the 1940 discussion which took place after the Shachtman split where Trotsky returns to the same point. Hansen himself was a participant in that discussion. In fact it was Hansen who asked Trotsky the following question:

ADAPTATION

"Yesterday Comrade Trotsky made some remarks about our adaptation to the so-called progressives in the trade unions, he mentioned the line of the Northwest Organizer and also our attitude in connection with the elections and the Stalinists. I wish to point out that this is not something completely new on Comrade Trotsky's part. More than two years ago during the discussion over the Transitional Program he discussed exactly these same points and had exactly the same position, with due regard for the difference in time and that then it was not the elections but the farmer-labor party that was to the fore. Comrade Trotsky has also written some letters regarding the Stalinists and the need for a more positive line toward them. In the past faction fight too, Comrade Trotsky mentioned in his polemic 'From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangreen' the following point, which he underlined: 'More than once the party will have to remind its own trade unionists that a PEDAGOGICAL ADAPTATION TO THE MORE BACKWARD LAYERS OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST NOT BECOME TRANSFORMED INTO A POLITICAL ADAPTATION TO THE CONSERVATIVE BUREAUCRACY OF THE TRADE UNIONS'. I am wondering if Comrade Trotsky considers that our party is displaying a conservative tendency in the sense that we are adapting ourselves politically to the trade unions bureaucracy." Trotsky answers: "To a certain degree I believe so."

Why is it that Hansen makes a special point of distorting this whole aspect of the relation between Trotsky and the SWP in this period and in fact gratuitously attacks our own history of this period as "gamey"? (The Struggle For Marxism in the United States" by Tim Wohlforth) It can only be that a growing number of SWP members are beginning to ask questions about the history of the SWP and that such questions would endanger the present leadership of the party which surrounds itself with a cult of historical orthodoxy. Such an investigation would reveal that while Trotsky was seeking through the Negro discussions and other forms of intervention to prevent the opportunist degeneration of the SWP as a whole including that section upon which the present leadership rested, the current SWP leadership is turning to this discussion to excuse precisely the end product of this degeneration-- the current opportunist policies of the SWP.

TROTSKY

What precisely was the position which Trotsky held in the 1939 discussion--"Black Control of Black Communities", uncritical support to petty

bourgeois black nationalist trends? Not at all. What he proposed was that the SWP make clear that the Negroes have the right to self-determination. He did not hold that the Negroes were a nation but he held open the possibility that they may become a nation, particularly under conditions of fascism in America. And if they were to become a nation the revolutionary party must uphold their right to "black control of black communities" or "cultural national autonomy"? No, not at all, we must uphold only their right to "set up a state."

On this Trotsky stood on the same grounds as Lenin. To him the right to self determination had only one concrete meaning--the right to secede and establish a "black state which could enter into a federation." While there is much confusion and contradictory statements in this discussion there is nothing in them to justify the present SWP policy of adaptation to black nationalist cultural demands.

DIFFERENCE

Our central difference with Trotsky is that the question of whether or not the Negro can become a nation which could then secede to form a state can only be determined through a serious concrete analysis of the actual development of the Negro people within American capitalism. This rather than being "vulgar empiricism" (oh how Hansen loves to accuse his opponents of the very method he lives by) is the Marxist method. Marxism is most fundamentally an historical method which seeks to place questions within a concrete context of historical development. It has nothing in common

with a metaphysical method of abstract notions which are imposed here and there and everywhere arbitrarily without consideration of time, place, concrete development. It is precisely the worshipers of the "concrete" like Hansen who transform their theories into empty formulae to justify their crass capitulation to immediate opportunities.

BLACK BELT

What little such concrete analysis that took place during this discussion was incorrect and deeply influenced by the Communist Party Black Belt notions. For instance the one participant who goes into this question, a certain "Carlos", states: "It seems to me that the so-called 'black belt' is a super-exploited section of the American economy. It has all the characteristics of a subjugated section of an empire." He then notes the tendency of migration out of the black belt but asserts that this tendency "can no longer operate."

As we have discussed in an earlier article the so-called black belt has continued to disappear under the impact of the agricultural revolution removing with it whatever objective basis ever existed for nationhood for Negroes. Today this is reflected even in the ideology of the black nationalists who do not raise this demand of statehood. Thus we are faced with a contradictory situation under which precisely at a time when the objective basis for nationalism is completely eroded we witness a fantastic growth of subjective nationalist sentiment.

This is not the first time such a development has occurred. So it was with the Jew who responded to the decay caused by the capitalist revolution of any objective basis for his separateness with a growth of Zionism. Marxists saw this development as a sign of the growing internal contradictions of capitalism and the solution to the Jewish question not in Zionism and separatism but through the socialist revolution. And this is precisely the way we approach the Negro question.

It is our position that Trotsky was wrong in proposing the possibility of the Negro becoming a nation. This error was rooted in the lack of a concrete analysis of the position of the Negro in the development of American capitalism. The further development of the Negro since 1939 rather than confirming his prediction has done quite the opposite so that the growth of black nationalist ideology today has less objective roots in the real position of the Negro than it would have in the 1930s. Finally, if the Negro had become or could become a nation it would in no way mean the kind of adaptation to black nationalism the SWP presently peddles.

This is the full extent of our lack of "orthodoxy." We never claimed to be "orthodox" Trotskyists anyway for orthodoxy in all forms is antitheoretical to the Marxist method which is based on the development of theory, not on mere repetition of past positions. All we claim to be is Trotskyist and that the SWP is not.

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM UNDER ATTACK

Hansen proceeds in his own way to seek to place Trotsky's Negro discussion within the context of the discussions and political positions evolved in the same period--in particular the Transitional Program and the labor party demand. What he actually does is to describe the method he uses on the Negro question and for that matter all questions, and then attributes this method to Trotsky, finding it expressed in the Transitional Program and in the labor party demand.

BRIDGES

"What is this method, the method that has made the Transitional Program of such extraordinary importance in the world Trotskyist movement? It is to continually try to find BRIDGES between the program of revolutionary socialism and whatever the current level of political understanding of the oppressed and exploited masses may be." And further on, he explains this "method" of his in more detail: "Trotsky's approach on the tactical level is precisely to determine the current subjective and psychological level of the masses and try to meet that level by raising slogans that OBJECTIVELY (because they correspond to the objective needs of the masses) lead them toward socialism, the only system that can actually satisfy their needs. The party avoids opportunism by advancing slogans that correspond with its program -- they can be realized only under socialism. It avoids sectarianism by breaking them into transitional steps that gear into the current subjective and psychological level of the masses."

While this may superficially sound like a description of the method of the Transitional Program it is in actuality quite the opposite. As

Hansen sees it one starts with the "current subjective and psychological level of the masses", then you search your collection of programmatic demands, properly broken up into "transitional steps", for particular demands which "gear into" this present level of consciousness of the class.

OBJECTIVE

If one were to read even the TITLE of the Transitional Program "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International", one would immediately see that Trotsky proceeded in an exactly opposite way. Trotsky thus begins OBJECTIVELY with an assessment of the stage through which capitalism is proceeding, then works out a program of demands to overcome "the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard." Hansen begins SUBJECTIVELY with the current surface mood and movement in the class and seeks to work out various programmatic "steps" which adapt to this current mood and movement. With Trotsky program always flows from an objective analysis of capitalism and consideration of subjective moods, important though it is subordinate to this.

LABOR PARTY

This point can be further clarified if we also look at what Hansen says about the labor party demand. "There was considerable empirical justification for that slogan", Hansen tells us, "owing to the widespread sentiment in those years among the militants in the American labor movement who favored breaking with the Democratic machine and organizing its own party." This consistently flows from Hansen's method of seeing "where the action is" and then "gearing in" some "steps"

It so happens that Trotsky proceeded in quite an opposite way on this very question. During his discussions of the labor party with Shachtman, Cannon and Dunne complete confusion broke out as to exactly what were the subjective sentiments of the masses. Was there a sizable labor party sentiment or not? Trotsky intervened at this point: "I cannot judge whether sentiment for a labor party exists or not because I have no personal observations or impressions, but I do not find it decisive as to what degree the leaders of trade unions or the rank and file are ready or inclined to build a political party. It is very difficult to establish objective information. We have no machine to take a referendum. We can measure the mood only by action if the slogan is put on the agenda. But what we can say is that the objective situation is absolutely decisive.... The problem is not the mood of the masses but the objective situation, and our job is to confront the backward material of the masses with the tasks which are determined by objective facts and not by psychology... We claim to have Marxism or Scientific Socialism. What does 'Scientific Socialism' signify in reality? It signifies that the party which represents this social science, departs, as

every science not from subjective wishes, tendencies or moods but from objective facts, from the material situation of the different classes and their relationships." So much for Hansen's attempt to transform Trotsky into, if not a God, then perhaps the world finest empiricist!

BLACK PARTY

Hansen then proceeds to give us a concrete example of this method of his in practice: "Indeed, Trotsky's proposal for a labor party based on the unions in the United States, which is endorsed by Healy's followers, is symmetrical with the idea put forward by the Socialist Workers Party for an independent black political party, which they condemn. The grounds for both political proposals are similar. They would provide a vehicle to detach the workers in one case and the Afro-Americans in the other from subservience to the capitalist parties and to promote their mobilization for struggle in their own interests." Hansen then goes on to explain how such a black political party would "shatter" the existing two party system much, we expect, the way the formation of a Paisley party and a civil rights party in Ulster has shattered the two party system and one party rule there.

If a slogan is to be justified by widespread sentiment for it, then, of course, present SWP policy would make sense--today push an independent black party and perhaps tomorrow a labor party. But if political demands flow from objective class consideration and not subjective mood one proceeds in a quite different manner. If there is in reality a crisis in world capitalism which is compelling the capitalists to carry on a deepened class struggle against the American workers as well as workers all over the world, then the objective conditions are being established for the development of a revolutionary struggle of the American workers for power. However, the American working class, even more than workers in other countries, is extremely "immature" in its consciousness and organization. Above all it maintains an open political bloc with the capitalists in the form of the Democratic Party. What is required above all is to drive a wedge between the ruling class and the working class politically. That wedge is the labor party demand and it is only the revolutionary party which will do the driving.

WEDGE

Thus the objective situation requires a struggle today for the labor party demand even though this demand has not arisen spontaneously among wide sections of the class. But how about the demand for the "independent black political party"? What kind of wedge will this drive through class relations in the United States? It will drive precisely a RACE wedge as such a party will organize all blacks regardless of class against all whites regardless of class. It will thus tie the black workers to the black party bourgeoisie and through this strata to capitalism itself. Thus the objec-



JOSEPH HANSEN TAKES ON TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

tive impact of the creation of such party will not be symmetrical but oppositional to the creation of a class party of all workers.

This means that even though there is more sentiment today for an independent black party than for an independent class party, we must struggle against the formation of the former and for the formation of the latter. To accept the current level of consciousness of the class as a "given" and then work out some way to relate to it is crass empiricism and opportunism of the worst sort. Revolutionists have got to be able to fight bourgeois methods of thought within the

SWP ON REFORM OR REVOLUTION

More clarity can be achieved on this point if we now turn to George Breitman's article "Is It Wrong For Revolutionaries To Fight For Reforms?" which appeared in the February 28, 1969 Militant. The most remarkable thing about this article is that Breitman manages to fill two pages of the Militant discussing the relation of reform and revolution without once discussing the Transitional Program. While Hansen takes the Transitional Program and transforms it into a reformist program Breitman, more honestly, dispenses with it altogether.

"The essence of Marxist strategy, or any revolutionary strategy in our time," Breitman informs us, "is to combine the struggle for reforms with the struggle for revolution." This is to be done by fighting for reforms "in a revolutionary way--by militant mass action rather than polite testimony, and as part of a strategy consciously aimed at mobilizing the masses to change the system." This militant reformism is all revolutionaries can do today because: "The United States is not now in a revolutionary situation." True, there is a lot of "social unrest" but this social unrest, it seems, has no objective cause.

INTERNATIONAL

Trotsky proceeded on this question very differently and thus came up with quite the opposite position than Breitman's militant reformism. He began, as we have noted, with an assessment of capitalism as a WORLD HISTORICAL SYSTEM not, as does Breitman, with a superficial assessment of the situation in the United States. The situation in the United States and the strategy to be followed here, flowed, for Trotsky, out of this world perspective.

Trotsky saw this world system in its "Death Agony" and on the basis of this assessment he developed a REVOLUTIONARY, not militant reformist, program for the WORLD working class, not just the workers in a single country. The relevance of this program, which Hansen sees as having "extraordinary importance", stands or falls on this objective assessment of world capitalism. If capitalism is capable of continuing to seriously develop then demands such as the 30 hour week or for wages to rise as prices rise, etc., can definitely be "co-opted" and other demands for workers defense guards, soviets, etc., are unnecessary.

This is where Mandel's theory of "neo-capitalism" fits in. This Belgian theoretician for the SWP claims that capitalism has superceded the period of imperialist decay upon which the whole Transitional Program rests. We, however, do not subscribe to this notion. We hold that world capitalism was only able to postpone its crisis during the boom period of the 1950s and has now entered a period of stagnation and crisis in which the capitalists must seek to upset the political equilibrium between classes established in the 50s in order to reestablish economic equilibrium. It is this fundamental fact which lies behind the revolutionary explosion last May-June in France.

REVOLUTIONARY

American development cannot be abstracted out of this international revolutionary situation. The "social unrest", which Breitman notes, is but a mild reflection of the convulsions to develop in this country as the great imperialist powers of Europe and America struggle with each other and their own working class to resolve their economic crisis. While it is true that the revolutionary situation is more advanced in Europe it is equally true that because of the present interdependence of American and European capital, revolutionary developments in Europe are and will continue to forcefully upset the political equilibrium in the

working class--racism, black nationalism, anti-communism, religion, reformism, syndicalism, etc.--precisely in order to bridge the gap between the objective conditions the class faces which requires a socialist solution and the low level of consciousness of this task within the working class.

STEPS

This cannot be done through a series of separated "steps" as Hansen proposes in true evolutionary Menshevik fashion. It requires instead the linking together of a system of transitional demands which rather than capitulating to today's

conditions and tasks must be seen as stemming "from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion; the conquest of power."

Hansen breaks the links and thus transforms transitional demands into a reformist adaptation to bourgeois consciousness within the working class. Thus we see how the SWP's support of black nationalism is intimately linked to an opportunist espousal of reformism, to a commitment to the bourgeoisie and not socialist revolution.



IN BIRMINGHAM NEGROES UNDER KING'S LEADERSHIP FOUGHT FOR REFORMS IN MILITANT WAY

United States. So the Transitional Program is not only relevant but has burning importance to the struggles of American workers now.

To assert that we are in a revolutionary period internationally and that because of this the Transitional Program has the greatest relevance to the struggles of American workers does not mean that a revolution is about to occur momentarily in the United States. As Trotsky wrote in the "Third International After Lenin": "The revolutionary character of the epoch does not lie in that it permits of the accomplishment of the revolution, that is, the seizure of power at every given moment. Its revolutionary character consists in profound and sharp fluctuations..." which "raise the question of power."

Under these objective circumstances what then is the relation of "minimum" or reform demands to the revolutionary program? Does it mean we discard these demands? This is what the Transitional Program has to say on this question:

"The Fourth International does not discard the program of the old 'minimum' demands to the degree to which these have preserved at least part of their vital forcefulness. Indefatigably, it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers. But it carries on this day-to-day fight within the framework of the correct actual, that is, revolutionary perspective. Insofar as the old, partial, 'minimal' demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism--and this occurs at each step--the Fourth International advances a system of transitional demands, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime. The old 'minimal program' is superceded by the transitional program, the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution."

This makes clear what this whole point about the "co-optability" of particular demands is all about. Breitman, proceeding from his superficial statement that "the United States is not now in a revolutionary situation", concludes that almost any demand today is co-optable but we should fight for these demands anyway, militantly, "in a revolutionary way."

But if one proceeds from a real understanding of the capitalist crisis then a whole series of demands, which may appear on the surface to be minimal and co-optable, are in actuality transitional--that is, to implement them requires an overthrow of capitalist society. Throughout the 1950s the trade union movement struggled essentially to achieve three bread-and-butter goals--pay increases for the membership to keep up with rising prices and productivity, decent working conditions, and job security. We now have entered into a period where the struggle around these three questions poses the destruction of capitalism itself and thus what are required are transitional

slogans related to each need of class, linked with the political struggle for power. Thus, while in the 1950s some sort of escalator clause was granted in basic industry and wages tended to rise, today in the last settlements in auto and steel escalator clauses were dropped and wages fell below the rising cost of living not to mention productivity increases. The battle for anything beyond this threatens the profitability of these firms and thus threatens capitalism itself. This is why the trade union bureaucrats sold out in these contracts.

The same holds for working conditions which have been eroded fantastically with the speed-up in basic industry. As far as job security goes whole industries like mining, longshore, railroads are being largely liquidated while huge cuts are taking place and more are in store in auto and steel. While this process has been going on for some time, now it takes place within a context of plans to slow industrial growth to tackle inflation which will lead to BOTH structural and conjunctural unemployment. So the demand for job security takes on a non-co-optable transitional character.

POWER

This is what makes the demands of the Transitional Program for a "Sliding Scale of Wages" (escalator clause), "30 for 40" and "Workers Control of Production" so pertinent and revolutionary in this period. This is why these demands MUST be linked with the political struggle for power--that is, we must fight not only for these demands but for a consciousness in the working class that these demands can only be realized if the workers come to power. This is why the Workers League fights in industry for these transitional demands linked at all times to the struggle for an American labor party.

A central demand of such a labor party will be nationalization of industry under workers control. This demand will make clear that only by workers as a class politically struggling to take over industry themselves can their working and living conditions be protected. Other demands from the Transitional Program, such as defense guards to protect workers from attacks by the state and fascist thugs and finally workers councils, can and must be raised in a living way as the struggle intensifies.

We see concretely how the Transitional Program "supercedes" the old minimum program and combines the struggle for the defense of the working class with the offensive struggle for power. This is why the approach of the Transitional Program has nothing in common with Breitman's social democratic preaching of "revolution" later and reforms militantly fought for now.

We do not, however exclude a concession here and there even on these demands. If the capitalists feel their very rule is threatened then they may be willing to give today something to temporarily reestablish political equilibrium only in order to



LABOR PARTY DEMAND OFFERS WAY FORWARD THROUGH UNITY OF BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS

be able to take it back on the morrow. This is the great lesson of the French events. This is why a revolutionary leadership which fights at all times for political power is so essential.

CO-OPTABLE

There are of course some demands which are completely co-optable by capitalism despite its crisis. Whether fought for militantly or politely such demands do not move the working class towards the struggle for power but rather tie the workers ever closer to their oppressors. These demands essentially come under the heading of "structural reforms." They propose changes in the way capitalism and its administration is structured without raising any demands which interfere with the capitalists' battle to reestablish economic equilibrium at the expense of the working class. Such a demand is the SWP's pet slogan: "Black Control of the Black Community". Nothing is posed in the way of demands for the destruction of slum housing in the ghettos, or rotten schooling, or jobs for black workers. The slogan only proposes that the blacks separate themselves from the whites and administer their own oppression.

Such a "reform" changes nothing essential to capitalist survival and in fact contributes to that survival by isolating the black workers from the rest of the working class and bringing them closer to the bourgeoisie. Such a demand is in the natural program of an "independent black party" and such a party is the appropriate political form for advancing such a program. The Transitional Program is likewise the natural and necessary program for the labor party and the labor party is the appropriate political form for advancing this program under present conditions.

The demand "Black Control of Black Communities" and all similar demands are reforms which are not only anti-theoretical to the Transitional Program but for that very reason keep the working class on a reform, that is bourgeois, level. There are, however, legitimate democratic demands of the Negro people that can and must be lined with the Transitional Program of the working class. These are demands to wipe out every and all forms of discrimination on all levels of American society and to actively combat racism. Such democratic demands, as we have noted earlier, can not be achieved under conditions of capitalist decay. Thus only through the struggle for socialism can they be realized.

There are, of course, many demands--democratic ones, minor trade union issues--which Marxists actively support. But what differentiates the Marxists from the reformists is not simply the "militancy" with which we fight for this or that partial demand but rather that such demands are integrated into a revolutionary strategy, the center of which is the political struggle for transitional demands.

HISTORY

George Breitman's open espousal of reformism has a history to it for Breitman has played a very important role in the political degeneration of the SWP. This history will help us see how closely linked the position of the SWP on the black question is to the general evolution of not only the SWP but its international co-thinkers towards open reformism.

Breitman is the author of the 1957 SWP resolution on the Negro question "The Class Struggle Road to Negro Equality". How the SWP evolved from this resolution to the YSA resolution passed this fall, "On the Revolutionary Struggle of Black America for Self-Determination", is an example of their method in action. The 1957 resolution was written in the wake of the Montgomery bus boycott

when the Negro struggle centered on a civil rights battle in the South.

Just as the SWP today adapts to the black nationalists so then they adapted to Martin Luther King's movement. The Montgomery bus boycott was described as "skillfully mobilized by able leaders with clear aims...." and with a "broadly representative leading cadre". Even King's Southern Leadership Conference was hailed because it purportedly "opens new possibilities for the development of mass struggle methods on a broader basis". While the resolution held open the "theoretical" possibility of a nationalist future development of the Negro struggle under which conditions the SWP would put forward the slogan of self-determination it emphasized that "even under these circumstances socialists would continue to advocate integration rather than separation as the best solution to the race questions for Negro and white workers alike."

KING

It was precisely in this period that Breitman originally formulated this position of fighting for reforms in a "militant way". But the lesson of the entire King and SNCC stage of the Negro struggle was that despite the greatest militancy this movement was unable to change in any real way either the class oppression of the Negro workers nor the racism they face. The lesson was precisely the failure of militancy alone as long as such militancy is entrapped in a reformist program rather than revolutionary strategy based on the Transitional Program.

Flowing from this reformist perspective Breitman's next contribution to the development of the SWP's political program was the advocacy of sending Federal troops to the South to enforce school desegregation. It was only shortly after the SWP adopted this position that Federal troops were used - in Detroit to shoot down black rebels in the uprising there. This is truly an example of a "co-optable demand"!

LOGIC

But this position, which the SWP has quietly shelved for the moment, shows the actual logic of reformism--to turn the masses towards reliance on the very capitalist state which oppresses them. Rather than rising transitional demands, such as defense guards for the Negro people, the SWP urged the Negro people to look to the capitalist state for "protection."

That the SWP in 1957 advocated integration and in 1968 advocates separatism while inconsistent on the surface of it, has a class logic to it. In both cases the SWP was proceeding pragmatically--that is it was assessing the "current subjective and psychological level of the masses", and choosing some "transitional steps" that "gear" into this level. Or in simpler terms it was finding out where the action is and digging up a demand or two which allowed it to adapt to that action.

At no point was the SWP capable of putting forward the LEADERSHIP of the revolutionary party based on a revolutionary strategy and an integrated transitional program. Thus at heart both its adaptation to the integration movement and to the black nationalist movement represented a desertion of the struggle for the revolutionary party.

INTERNATIONAL

Just as the only way a revolutionary perspective for the United States can be developed is through an understanding of international perspectives so too the desertion of the struggle for the revolutionary party by the SWP has its

roots in its desertion of an international perspective and its international break with the Trotskyist movement.

Here, too, Breitman played a special role. In 1952-53 the SWP was embroiled in an internal factional battle with a tendency led by Bert Cochran. This tendency received support internationally from Michel Pablo, at that time head of the Fourth International. In reaction to this Cannon carried through an empirical split internationally with Pablo, forming the International Committee of the Fourth International together with what are now the British and French co-thinkers of the Workers League. At this time Cannon issued an "Open Letter" which stated: "To sum up: The lines of cleavage between Pablo's revisionism and orthodox Trotskyism are so deep that no compromise is possible either politically or organizationally."

Some in the SWP did not see it quite that way. At the very same time as Cannon was issuing this letter, Breitman was in correspondence with Ernest Germain - Mandel of the Pablo group. "My dear Ernest" wrote Breitman despite the "cleavage." Cannon called him to order and the tone of the letters stiffened. But Breitman, as well as George Novack who was equally upset with the break, just pulled in their horns and waited for a more propitious moment. They did not have to wait long. In 1961 it was Cannon who was writing "My dear Ernest" letters and by 1964 it was the tendency which became the Workers League which was expelled for fighting for the position that Pabloism was revisionism.

PARTY

At the very heart of the break with Pablo was the development of a revisionist tendency internationally which no longer saw any place for the struggle for the party around the Transitional Program. Hypnotized by what they called the "new world reality" they proposed that the Fourth International liquidate itself into the Stalinist movement which would be "compelled" by this reality to play a "revolutionary role". And later the very same method was used in relation to Castro, Ben Bella and now the black nationalists.

Beginning in 1961 the Socialist Labour League, the OCI in France and our tendency counterposed to this revisionism a whole analysis of the developing international crisis of capitalism which made the fight for the independent revolutionary party in every country on the basis of the Transitional Program the very center of all our work. The May-June events in 1968 did not catch our movement by surprise. We foresaw them as early as 1961.

That we should end a discussion of the Negro question and nationalism with a discussion of international perspectives, of reform or revolution, of the split with the revisionists, is correct and natural.

MAN

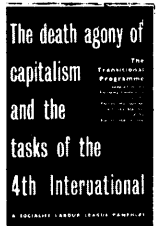
It is through tendencies like black nationalism that the revisionists find their way to reformism, to an alliance with their own ruling class. It is through the international class struggle that the Negro people under the leadership of the revolutionary party will find their way to a socialist society which abolishes the exploitation of man by man and throws the barbaric doctrine of racism into the dustbin of history along with everything else which perpetuates man's inhumanity to man.

MUST READING!

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Leon Trotsky on Labor Party 20¢

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BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003

LESSONS OF LOCAL 113 SELLOUT

Twin Cities Hospital Contract

BY A HOSPITAL WORKER

MINNEAPOLIS-- Hospital workers (Local 113) were shamefully sold down the river February 27 by their leadership's utter capitulation to the hospital employers. At a special meeting called on a short two day notice, at a time when negotiations were presumably just beginning, the bureaucrats pushed over on the ranks a new contract without allowing even the possibility of discussion before the vote.

On all fronts the new contract- we must face the reality of it- was a sorry sellout. In the face of deepening inflation, speedup, time and motion studies, and the possibility of layoffs, especially at Asbury Hospital, the new contract gives the workers 12¢ the first year and a whole dime the second. And absolutely no cost of living escalator was obtained to defend even this.

Everything happened so swiftly at the special meeting there was no time to consider any alternative. Business agent Geske waxes enthusiastically about the terms of the offer and then President LaBerge declared he would entertain motions for approval. They came quick. Then without even calling for discussion he demanded a standing vote. Up popped the officers and the negotiating committee, and the ranks, unprepared for such a snow job, slowly rose.

FEAR

The bureaucrats declared approval unanimous, but that simply is not so. It is much more accurate to say that what was unanimous was the common fear on the part of the bureaucrats and the employers that this time around there might develop a struggle in the union for the kind of contract demands that would face up to the great needs of hospital workers. That is why everything was so rushed.

The background to this sellout reveals fully the nature of 113's present leadership and why it rushed to ratification of the new terms.

Only two months before the contract expiration date the leaders of 113 had still not mentioned a word about the new contract negotiations or demands, to say nothing about seeking to mobilize the ranks for a fight.

The standard of living of hospital workers was rapidly deteriorating. Sec. - Treas. Norman Carle's inept leadership for almost 30 years had allowed the hospital employers to keep 113 among the lowest paid section of the Twin City organized labor movement.

INTERVENE

The Workers League intervened by putting forward an 8 point program in the Dec. 16 issue of the Bulletin. Key demands were \$100 a week minimum as won by New York hospital local 1199, and a cost of living escalator clause.

The bureaucrats reacted

quickly when they saw the article. Rather than admitting however that they had absolutely no program for 113 to cope with the needs of its members, and rather than discussing the content of our demands, they launched a vicious red-baiting attack on the Workers League and the Bulletin.

But the next issue of the Bulletin, through brisk sales at the union hall, countered their attack, showing how such anti-democratic hysterics in the union meetings aided only the employers. We demanded they either come up with a program of their own or explain to their members just what was wrong with ours. At the meeting that night they preferred silence on the matter.

But at the next 113 meeting they simply astounded the ranks with an unprecedented militancy. Geske read off a list of 19 demands of the negotiating committee some of which were taken verbatim from the Bulletin article he had previously denounced.

PANIC

The chief of these demands was a 20% wage hike and a cost of living escalator clause. The situation had clearly changed now and Twin City hospital workers had something concrete to struggle for.

One can well imagine then their panic when they saw the new issue of the Bulletin being sold outside headlining the new situation with: "Local 113 Demands 20% Increase". Not only was the Workers League supporting their demands but was seeking to publicize them to the hospital workers. At the same time we warned that despite the weakness of their program, the main point was whether or not the leadership would fight for the demands they had made.

They were bound and determined not to fight for their own program, and we were bound and determined to mobilize the ranks behind support for their demands and at the same time expose them for the company stooges they are.

Together with the employers they decided to nip in the bud any possibility of an alternative leadership in the union. So the bureaucracy called the special meeting on Feb. 27 while still very few hospital workers knew anything of the demand for the 20% increase, the escalator clause, or any of the other 15 demands. Then what ever they presented for approval could be counterposed only to what the workers have now, instead of to what the leadership had demanded. They succeeded in pushing over the

contract offer, not because the workers were happy about its terms but because they saw no alternative.

The Workers League intervened at the meeting with a sharp leaflet warning the ranks not to back down and publicizing the key union demands. It was this leaflet which caused the bureaucrats to rush for a vote without the chance for discussion and then later falsify the minutes to show that discussion had taken place.

LESSONS

The lessons of this sellout are clear. Every fight in the union for better wages and conditions is at the same time a fight against the bureaucracy. There is nothing they fear more than the power of their own ranks when mobilized in a fight against the employers.

Also was revealed the rottenness of that empirical method which sees the workers as apathetic. The hundreds of workers who attended the meeting warmly received our leaflet and the level of militancy was high. One member of the Socialist Workers Party who voted for the contract summed up this empirical method by justifying voting for the sellout with: "The mood seems to be for approval". How artificial a remark. How

revealing of the method of the SWP and how such impressionism acts as a cover for the bureaucracy!

We ask: If the "mood" of the workers was for approval, that is was defeatist, then why did the bureaucrats first savagely denounce the Workers League program and then turn around and copy it? Then why did they rush to grab the first assemblage of crumbs for the hospital employers and push this over without discussion on the ranks?

We say that the "mood" of the workers is a function of the objective situation and not our impressions. As the crisis in capitalism deepens every last impression today about the workers "mood" will be shattered. What will the SWP do then but go along with whatever the "mood" seems to be.

PROGRAM

It is precisely because the program of the Workers League to make the bureaucrats fight for real gains was a thousand times closer to the objective needs of 113 and hence the moods, present and future, of the workers, than mere impressions, that the bureaucrats acted so treacherously. Hospital workers will understand this far better than those who apologize for the bureaucracy by blaming the ranks.

layoffs hit ford workers chrysler and gm are next

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Ford Motor Company stopped operations four weeks ago at its inner city hiring halls, opened in Detroit in 1967, and designed to reach jobless ghetto residents

At the same time, as part of its efforts to cut back on auto production, Ford has started huge layoffs in the auto plants. Over 835 workers were laid off in Detroit recently, and it is believed that many of the 835 were the newly hired workers from the ghetto without seniority.

At the Metuchen, N.J. Ford Plant, Doug Brown, President of Local 980 of the UAW, estimates that 750 workers have been laid off, and of these about 500 are from Northern New Jersey depressed areas.

At the Dearborn, Michigan Rouge complex, at least 165 assembly workers have been laid off. More workers who had less than 90 days on the job and therefore are not subject for recall to work were laid off, but there are no figures available on how many have lost their jobs.

CUT-BACK

Triggering all of these layoffs is Ford's effort to cut back on production due to extremely high auto inventories. Sales dealers have a record number of unsold cars on their hands, as the sales level of last year has dropped considerably, and Ford is cutting

back on planned production for the second quarter of this year.

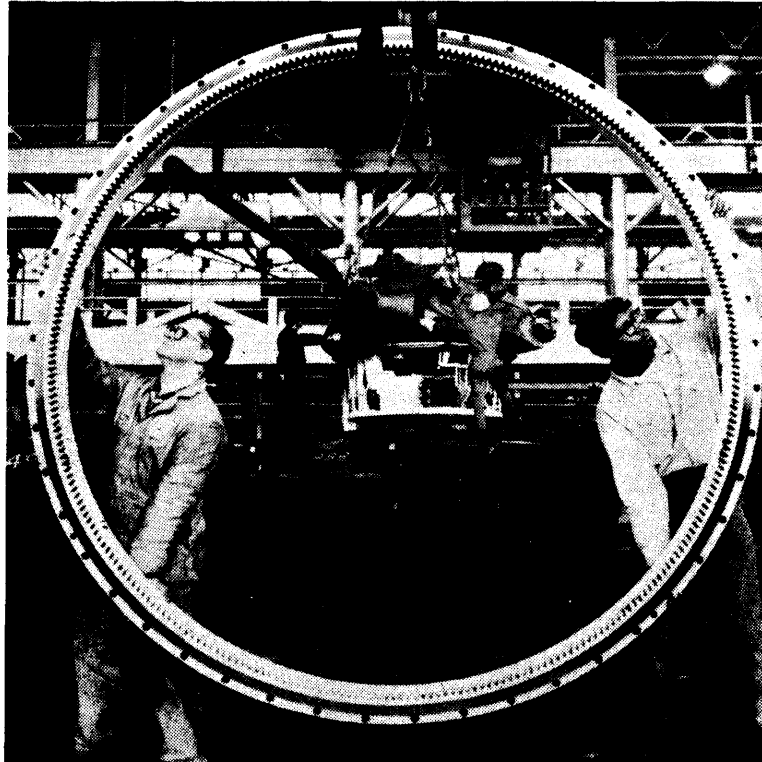
In addition to the layoffs, Ford has started a short work week at many plants. The Wixom, Michigan plant was on the 4 day week all last month and will continue to be closed 2 days a week all this month. At San Jose, Cal., and in Wayne, Michigan, the Ford Plants will be closed every Monday this month in an attempt to cut production. At Metuchen and Mawah, New Jersey, the plants will close for extra days throughout this month.

There were 1,500 workers on layoff in January of this year, and although official figures are not available, the number has gone up in the February and early March period with the new layoffs.

IMPACT

What is hitting Ford now is already beginning to hit Chrysler and soon will hit GM. General Motors has so far avoided the full impact of the sagging car market by gaining at the expense of Ford and Chrysler. American Motors holds on to its little slice of the market only because of the car sales boom of the past two years, itself a result of the inflationary economy.

Now Nixon plans recessionary moves. The first to feel the impact of these moves will be the already over-extended car market. This will



AUTO WORKERS, BLACK AND WHITE, FACE MASSIVE LAY-OFFS

force American Motors to the wall and possibly Chrysler, while layoffs will be extended to workers with higher and higher seniority.

DECAY

At the same time the decay in working conditions in the assembly plants has created an explosive situation which so far has been siphoned off into race conflicts through black caucuses like Drum and Wallaceite movements. But faced with deteriorating working conditions, with inflation eating up the miniscule wage

gains of last years contracts, and with layoffs to boot, the conditions are being created for the organization of a widespread militant caucus movement encompassing black and white workers.

Such a movement must fight for a program of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, not only to protect existing jobs but to provide new job opportunities for the unemployed; union control over working conditions, and a full escalator clause to compensate workers for the inroads of inflation.



THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES OF MAY-JUNE 1968 ARE STILL UNRESOLVED IN FRANCE

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The crisis ridden system of world imperialism survives today not out of any inherent strength of its own but primarily because of the tremendous buttress provided it by the counter-revolutionary role of international Stalinism. This is the central lesson of the "rendez-vous of March" culminating in the one day French general strike

of March 11th, just as it was the central lesson of the May-June events nine months earlier.

There is absolutely no question but that if the show-down with DeGaulle last week had not been confined to a one day token action but rather fought through until labor's demands were met, there would have ensued a total collapse in the world monetary system and a revolutionary sit-

FRENCH

uation in France on an even higher scale than in May-June.

This, of course, was no secret either to the international bourgeoisie nor to the French Stalinists and trade union bureaucrats.

PROMISE

The French working class for its part had been preparing for the Rendez-vous of March for many months, the date at which the DeGaulle government had promised as part of last June's settlement that wages would be renegotiated to reflect hikes in the cost of living and productivity over the ensuing period.

With inflation already running above 5% the bureaucracy has been under heavy pressure to secure 12% hikes, the minimum required to consolidate and extend the gains of May-June.

DeGaulle, the near devaluation of the franc last November fresh in his mind, and facing a situation where even the biggest French bourgeoisie and bankers were flooding the airports with francs sewn inside their overcoats, correctly estimated that French capitalism would not weather another round of wage concessions. Nor, on the eve of the strike with gold topping \$48 on the Paris exchange and the British pound sagging badly, could there be any question that a devaluation would be limited to the franc.

Accordingly DeGaulle broke off negotiations with French labor arbitrarily setting a 4% ceiling on increases and pinned all his hope on the ability and willingness of the French Stalinists and Stalinist dominated Confederation of General Travail (CGT) to contain the reaction of the French working

FORD STRIKERS CHALLENGE

BY LUCY ST. JOHN

46,000 British workers have shut down Ford Motor Co. in Britain in defiance of the employers, the government, and the labor bureaucracy. The strike entering its fourth week represents a major showdown between British capital and the working class.

Ford is determined to defeat the workers for good even at the cost of some \$50 million reported after two weeks of the strike. The workers refuse to buckle under to an attack which would mean a turn back of working conditions to the 19th century.

Ford is attempting to shove down the throats of the workers an agreement--rather a "slave charter"--which would mean the workers giving up their right to control or even fight for their wages and working conditions, leaving them at the complete mercy of the bosses. This slave charter the bosses are asking for is a precursor for the government's White Paper on disciplining the unions which it hopes to put into law, thereby tying the unions to the state and making them subservient to the interests of the monopolies.

Last August the Ford workers made a demand for substantial wage increases. Ford refused to negotiate until a token work stoppage was called in October. A committee was then set up including six unions and six management representatives. Negotiations were carried on for a number of months in secret. Finally the points of the agreement were revealed in January.

It was no wonder that both the bosses and the union bureaucrats wanted to keep their dealings quiet! What the agreement proposed was that the company give a small wage concession and in return the workers give up everything.

DEAL

Ford offered wage increases and a guaranteed 2-3 day lay off pay if the workers first agreed to increases in productivity including flexibility and mobility of labor in all plants. As one worker put it: "We can't go much faster than we are at the moment. I suppose they'd really like to be able to whip us from one job to another all over the plant."

The second provision deals with "unconstitutional actions" including unofficial stoppages (95% of all strikes in England are unofficial) and overtime bans or failure to keep up with certain standards of work or speed-up. Participation in such unconstitutional actions would disqualify workers from receiving lay-off pay or the improved pension, holiday and sick benefits for six months. Not only does this mean that workers give up all rights to struggle on their working



SLL AND YOUNG SOCIALISTS LEAD 3,000 STRONG MARCH AGAINST ANTI-UNION LAWS OF WILSON GOVERNMENT

conditions but a worker would be participating in an unconstitutional action if he were unable to keep up with increases of the speed of the line.

BUREAUCRAT

The reaction of the labor bureaucracy was summed up in the words of the head of the union negotiating team, Mark Young, who called the offer "bold and interesting" and the general secretary of the AEF, Mr. Conway, who called it a "wonderful agreement." The remarks of the head of the management team, Mr. Leslie Blakeman, were more to the point. He sees it as a "pacemaker" for the entire industry and said it would go "a long ways towards" stopping unofficial strikes.

While the labor bureaucrats found the agreement "interesting" and "wonderful", the reaction of the ranks was quite different. As one worker put it: "They seem to want to go back to the 19th century." Two days after the agreement was made known to 1,000 workers in one division called for a 24 hour token strike demanding that Ford immediately raise its wage offer to 10% and condemned the penalty clause as "a surrender of workshop democracy." On Feb. 3rd the Ford convenors decided to recommend a complete stoppage of work beginning Feb. 24th.

Meanwhile on Feb. 11th in the negotiating room removed from the rank and file, Ford raised its pay offer and the union leaders voted to accept the agreement. On Monday Feb. 25 the unofficial stoppage began. Only after seeing that regardless of what the bureaucrats decided on, the ranks were not going to swallow this agreement, did the heads of two of the unions involved make the stoppage official.

INJUNCTION

Ford then followed this by seeking an injunction against the striking unions claiming that the agree-

ment reached on Feb. 11 was in effect and would have to be followed. While the company was unable to get an injunction calling off the strike it was granted an order restraining the unions from spreading the strike or seeking the support of other unions.

The strike is now in its fourth week and the workers are holding out strong.

What is clear is that this strike involves more than Ford, but workers in all industries in England. It is a strike against the policies of the government. Ford in its proposals clearly had the government's policies in mind when it proposed to restrict strike action and win wholesale consent for sweeping productivity concessions. One Ford worker pointed out: "This is obviously a fight against the government. What they are trying to put over on us is a starter for the White Paper we must now widen this out."

WHITE PAPER

The purpose of the White Paper is to strengthen the government's hand in dealing with actions by the working class which are becoming increasingly expensive for the British bourgeoisie at a time when they can hardly afford the cost in order to remain competitive. The White Paper is a complement to the Prices and Incomes Act which freezes wages and provides for increases in productivity. The British working class has fought at each point against the productivity schemes such as Measured Day Work and Job Evaluation which the bosses, with the help of the labor government, have attempted to institute.

The strength with which the workers have resisted these attacks lies in the trade unions and in particular in the shop stewards movement, which traditionally has had control over negotiations on wages and working conditions in the shops. The White Paper is designed to destroy this control

WORKERS AND THE MINI MAY

class to token protest.

NOTHING

The 24 hour "day of warning" resolved nothing. The strike was held to one day's duration only due to the meticulous attention given by the Stalinist leadership to isolating and outmaneuvering all those militants that sought to take the struggle over to an all out confrontation.

When workers, over 200,000 strong, marched through Paris to the Place de la Bastille, under banners demanding wage hikes, the forty hour week, escalator clauses, lower taxes and retirement at 60, they were immediately ordered to disperse while chartered buses were conveniently made available to take thousands of workers back to the suburbs.

Throughout the march, where students tried to join in under banners of "Down with DeGaulle" and "Down with Capitalism", they met massive cordons of parade marshalls, who under Stalinist direction, linked arm in arm to prevent the students from participating. This of course was completely consistent with months of slanders directed at French students in the pages of L'Humanite.

French Stalinism and the international bankers were able to temporarily avoid what they feared most--a return to May-June, and their euphoria is even now finding its reflection in the momentary sharp drop of the world price of gold. The question, however, of whether the 4% increases are to be accepted as well as a whole series of wage negotiations in the private sector is yet to be

resolved.

ATTACK

DeGaulle for one is not leaving this question to chance. However much he relied on French Stalinism yesterday, he knows that tomorrow the French working class can and will break through the dikes of its counter-revolutionary leadership directly posing the question of socialist revolution. This is why when the electrical power went back on the evening of March 11th he lashed out at the working class as well as its Stalinist leaders on national t.v. more viciously than even last June. The strike, said DeGaulle, was a "plot to lock our people into totalitarian prison... led by the same assailants, backed by the same accomplices, and threatening again money, economy, and republic."

He used this same anti-red hysteria, appealing to the fears of the petty bourgeoisie and demoralization in the working class spawned by the betrayals of its Stalinist leadership, to sweep the June plebiscite on a reform program which will liquidate the senate, strengthen the dictatorship, and draw the trade unions and student organizations more firmly into the state apparatus.

LIMITS

Much as DeGaulle moves to consolidate his bonapartist dictatorship in France, this very regime is rapidly reaching its limits in terms of mediating class antagonisms in France. Within the DeGaulle regime itself there have developed sharper antagonisms between those who still foster illusions about some token return to parliamentarism and take a cautious attitude towards the

working class and those who prefer to rely directly on the power of the "Gardes Mobiles", the CRS, the army and the fascist thugs to smash all working class opposition.

As French capitalism battens down the hatches in a life and death battle to make its deteriorating economy competitive not only in Europe but in the trade war that Nixon is opening up against Europe, it is precisely this reactionary tendency which the bankers and employers will push to the fore.

ALTERNATIVE

The alternative to fascism in France lies entirely with the fate of the Fourth International and its French supporters in the Comites d'Alliance Ouvriere (CAO) recently reconstituted after DeGaulle's bans last summer. The CAO, whose worker militants played a leading role in the occupation of Sud Aviation in May-June which sparked the general strike, is now playing a leading role in the fight for a united front against DeGaulle's attacks.

The tactic of the united front poses before all working class tendencies the demand that the general strike of March 11th be followed by a real general strike on the order of May-June unless all demands are met combined with the demand that all working class tendencies prepare for the setting up of a workers government in France on the basis of a socialist program. Such a tactic must necessarily advance the strategic aim of French Trotskyism in exposing the Stalinists and their hangers on, thereby drawing masses of French workers and students into the revolutionary party for the overthrow of French capitalism.

WILSON ANTI LABOR PLANS



WORKERS ON PICKET DUTY IN FRONT OF THE BODY DIVISION OF THE FORD PLANT AT DAGENHAM, ENGLAND

and with it the independence of the trade unions putting all negotiations in the hands of labor officials and penalizing the unions and workers for any actions taken.

Also proposed is the Commission on Industrial Relations which has already been set up. It is a tri-partite committee including the labor bureaucracy, management, and the government. One of the stated purposes of this commission is to "bring shop stewards within a proper framework." Under the guise of giving the workers a voice the government is seeking to integrate the unions directly into the state through this commission and through the participation of the trade union bureaucracy. The ruling class seeks to liquidate the trade unions and substitute the trade union bureaucracy to control the workers in the interests of big business.

TREACHEROUS

The treacherous role of the labor bureaucracy in the Ford struggle is a replica of their reaction to the proposed anti-union legislation. Its policy has been to lick the boots of the bosses, seeking in secret to work out the deals which could spell the very death of the trade union movement. Not only were these bureaucrats able to accommodate themselves to the "slave charter" but even after the ranks have made it clear that they want a wage increase without strings, without productivity deals and penal clauses, the bureaucrats are seeking to make the agreement more palatable by suggesting concessions on productivity in ex-

change for Ford's dropping the penal clause.

Likewise the trade union bureaucracy has refused to take up a political struggle against the government's White Paper. Instead leaders from both the right and the "left" have enthusiastically joined the government's Commission on Industrial Relations, the body which will have the job of shackling the unions. Woodcock, Secretary of the Trades Union Congress has joined as well as William Paynter, head of the Miners Union and a member of the communist Party for 40 years. Sitting side by side with these trade union "leaders" will be Mr. Leslie Blakeman, head of labor relations for Ford.

STATE

The Ford struggle makes clear that every demand raised by the workers in this period brings it into direct confrontation with the state. It is not just Ford the workers are fighting but the policies of the Labor government. The Labor government through its attacks on the unions is in turn preparing the way for the Tories.

This poses even more sharply the need for the working class to mobilize its strength in a political struggle to bring down capitalism. The trade union bureaucracy bases itself on reformism--on the acceptance of and subservience to capitalism.

Today in Britain the Socialist Labor League, the Young Socialists and the All Trades Union Alliance are fighting to build an alternative leadership in the trade unions, a leadership which will unite the working class in a fight against capitalism

and for a socialist alternative, a fight for the independence of the trade unions and for the removal of all those leaders who seek accommodation with the ruling class.

The Newsletter has carried out a continual campaign to educate and prepare the working class for the struggles of today, points out that only the building of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions can lead to victory.

FOUNDATION

It is this preparation which has laid the foundations for the mobilization of the working class against the attacks of the government. On Feb. 23rd two days prior to the Ford stoppage, the All Trades Union Alliance together with the National Apprentices' and Young Workers Committee held a demonstration bringing out 3,000 trade unionists, young workers and students from all over Britain against the legal attacks on the unions. At the meeting following the march, the government's White Paper was condemned as "a step towards opening the door to the return of a Tory government and the setting up of a dictatorship in Britain." The demonstration called for the uniting of all workers to fight the anti-union laws and prepare for action on a large scale.

Today the Ford workers are in the forefront of the fight in the shops against the repressive policies. The next step as set forth in the ATUA is to take this strength of the workers on the industrial level and use it to wage a political struggle to defeat Wilson and his Tory backers.

The decisive element in this struggle is the determination of the British workers to resist the attacks of the capitalists. This resistance is expressed in struggles throughout Europe and is the source of the coming revolutionary struggles.

PAMPHLETS ON BRITAIN

THE ALTERNATIVE TO WILSON BY G. HEALY	.10
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CONOCO STRIKERS FIGHT SCABS

MINNESOTA OIL REFINERY CLASH

BY MIKE ROSS

WRENSHALL, MINN.—In spite of open attacks by professional goons, the close to three month old strike of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 6-659 at the refinery here of Continental Oil Co. (Conoco) fights on.

Conoco has been using the most blatant strikebreaking

tactics. These include: the importing of out-of-state strikebreakers; and the hiring (at \$325-350 a week each) of nearly 50 so-called 'security guards' from the Florida based Wackenhut Security Agency to escort scab trucks in and out of the refinery, and also to harass and attack pickets. Three strikers have been injured by these

attacks so far.

MACE

Most recently, on February 18th, Local 6-659's Secretary-Treasurer, Walter Cameron, was forced off the road by a Wackenhut guard and a scab oil truck. An unsuccessful attempt was made to spray mace on Cameron.

Into this situation steps a former mace victim. Minn-

esota AFL-CIO President David Roe. Last year, Roe was maced three times along with other trade unionists who were picketing the Aemco-Midtex plant in Madelia to support the strike of IUE Local 1043. Aemco-Midtex had moved its operations during the strike to rural Madelia, population 2,000.

What did Roe do? He sent two telegrams to Governor LeVander calling for an 'investigation'. The telegrams were ignored. Roe then had the pickets withdrawn.

Roe's actions on the Wrenshall strike show that he has learned nothing from his last year's experience. Again he called (on February 20th) for the same Governor to make an 'investigation'.

We're not going to win any strikes this way. We must first take up the question of protection of the Wrenshall pickets. These physical attacks are becoming more and more common. The labor movement can answer this only by the formation of armed workers defense committees, drawn from the ranks of the trade unions and other workers organizations.

Time is running out on the class-collaborationist practices of the trade union bureaucracy. The scabs and goons at Wrenshall, at Madelia and elsewhere must be seen for what they are: the nuclei of future fascist gangs. The time to smash them is now, for if these vermin are permitted to gather their strength, all of Roe's calls for 'investigations' will not stop them from attacking union meetings and trying to crush the labor movement.

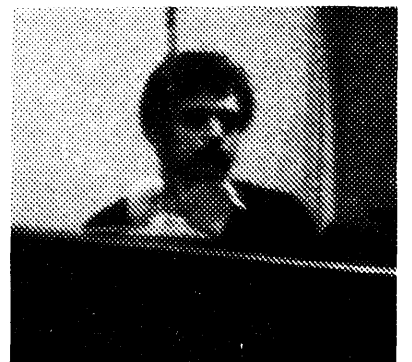
The labor movement cannot afford to play games with the national, state and local governments which are preparing to ruthlessly shackle and then destroy it in the interests of the employers. We must start by organizing massive labor demonstrations against the scabs in Wrenshall in all major Minnesota cities, including Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Cloquet, Rochester, Mankato and Albert Lea.

TARIQ ALI SWEARS FAITH ON HOLY KORAN

Tariq Ali, well-known British student activist and leader of the SWP's English allies, The International Marxist Group, has made clear where he is at while speaking at a student rally in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. He claimed that imperialists were casting doubts on his faith as a Muslim and to clear up any misconceptions on this point he publically swore his allegiance to Mohammedanism on a copy of the 'Holy Koran'!

By so doing he is trodding a wellworn path. D.N. Aidit and the rest of the Indonesian Communist Party leadership spent much time prostrating themselves at the feet of Muslim holy men--only to be massacred by Islamic fanatics. The Kremlin oriented Stalinists are dashing around these days dialoguing with the Pope and other branches of Christianity. The former collaborators of the SWP in Ceylon cemented their entry into a bourgeois government by way of paying their respects to a Buddhist temple.

Our sister publication in England, the Newsletter, editorially comments: "As yet we are unable to confirm the rumor that Joseph Hansen is thinking of joining the Church of Mormon, Salt Lake City, Utah. But we do understand there are still one or two vacancies at the School of Transcendental Meditation...." Who, we must ask will be the next convert?



TARIQ ALI

UMW SELLS OUT ANTHRACITE COAL MINERS

The leadership of the United Mine Workers has done it again. First came their despicable attempt to break the West Virginia coal miners strike for a strong black lung disease compensation law. Not to be outdone in their service to the millionaire soft coal operators, they then proceeded, under the leadership of President W.A. (Tony) Boyle, to sign a sell-out three year contract with the anthracite (hard coal) bosses of eastern Pennsylvania. What the wage pact of \$ 1.40 per day increase over three years means for these miners is a real slash in buying power since with the present rate of inflation, the miners will

actually begin to fall behind in the second year of the contract! Already, the wage increases of the last contract period have been wiped out by the ravages of inflation.

BETRAYAL

This latest contract is only the most recent episode in a long history of betrayal by the UMW bureaucracy which has left the hard coal miners with a base pay of \$23 per day, \$10 a day less than their brothers doing similar work mining soft coal. Along with the steady erosion of buying power, the miners face a continual threat to their job security from the introduction

of Automation and other labor saving processes.

NATIONALIZATION

When the coal operators use the loss of hard coal markets as an excuse for these backward working conditions, the UMW leaders go along without a fight. We propose instead, a fight against unemployment through a shorter work week and a cost of living escalator clause. If the bosses plead 'poverty' then the union should fight for the nationalization of these mines. It's time to put the working conditions of the miners ahead of the profits of the owners!

HOLD FUND DRIVE FOR DAILY

The Newsletter

TWICE-WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

FORERUNNER OF THE DAILY

The Socialist Labour League is moving into the last critical stage of its campaign to launch its newspaper, the Newsletter, as a daily by this Fall. It was only a year ago that the Newsletter went over to twice-weekly publication as a step towards the daily.

The paper is a reflection of the growing influence of the SLL, British Section of the Fourth International, the Young Socialists, its youth section, and the All Trade Unions Alliance, its industrial arm. It is also necessary to deepen this influence and prepare the basis for a mass revolutionary party in England capable of resolving the crisis through bringing the working class to power.

PROPAGANDA

The world Trotskyist movement has for decades been forced to live the existence of small propaganda circles. Even in Trotsky's day the movement only here or there, and then only partially, was able to break out of a propaganda existence. With the deepening international crisis of capitalism and the renewed class struggle in the metropolitan countries, it has become both possible and absolutely necessary to break out

of such propaganda circles, to deepen the cleavage between the working class vanguard and all forms of middle class 'radicalism', and transform the Trotskyist movement into a living central part of the working class.

The launching of the Daily Newsletter is just such a step, a step which will be followed by Trotskyists in other countries in the coming period. It is a step therefore of international importance which requires the full support of workers in all countries. It means that Marxist theories and the Marxist program is to become the theory and program of masses of the working class in action.

Precisely because Europe is in decline in relation to the United States we can expect revolutionary upheavals in Europe before they occur here. But precisely because capitalism as a world system has reached its limit of expansion the United States is dependent upon this declining Europe for markets, for investment. The decline of Europe will bring America down with it. The offensive struggle of the European working class will bring the American workers up with it. Thus the absolutely cen-

tral importance of the American working class movement participating in the struggles now breaking out in Europe while at the same time deepening its work there.

DRIVE

It is for these reasons that the Workers League is launching a special \$1,000 fund drive over the period from April 1st to June 1st to aid in the launching of the Daily News-

SWP WORKER MILITANT BEATRICE HANSEN DIES

We have just learned of the death of Beatrice Hansen, 43, a veteran member of the Socialist Workers Party. Bea Hansen entered the movement as a working class fighter and spent a number of years as an assembly-line worker in auto plants in Michigan. She is representative of a whole generation of the SWP which contributed so much to building that party within the working class.

Bea Hansen was no simple trade union syndicalist. Whenever the party called upon her to contribute in any way to the party's construction she immediately responded. Those of us who were once

members of the SWP remember her well working to maintain the camp the SWP once ran, working on all kinds of chores in the national office of the SWP, and willingly going wherever she was felt she was needed.

The struggle that comrades like Bea Hansen and others waged in the 1930s and 1940s in the trade unions must be part of the heritage of revolutionaries today who understand that the very center of the work of the revolutionary party must be the conscious struggle to develop Marxist cadres in the unions as part of the renewed international struggle of the working class.