

Bulletin

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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OCTOBER 6, 1969

TEN CENTS

**Mark Rudd,
Barry Goldwater
and
Benito Mussolini**

FIGHT FOR WAGE RISE FIGHT FOR 4 DAY WEEK

nixon's plan for decades of war



"Our economy could go into a serious tailspin and we could experience the largest rate of unemployment in the history of our country" -I.W. ABEL

These were the words of I.W. Abel, President of the United Steelworkers Union, as he addressed the convention of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department. Abel got a standing ovation when he answered the growing threat of unemployment with the "imperative" demand for a four day week with no loss of pay.

We say that the fight for a thirty hour week and the fight for big wage gains to combat the soaring inflation must be the major points on the labor movement's agenda.

Nixon's recession is just moving into full swing and is heading, as Abel put it, to "economic disaster" - disaster for American workers. The next year will see the employers attempt to use unemployment to break the back of the powerful trade union movement. Millions of workers will walk the streets and wages will be slashed unless there is a fight back.

This fight is going to require more than collective bargaining and strike action. Abel correctly posed it when he said that the fight for the four day week must be taken into Congress -- it must be fought out politically.

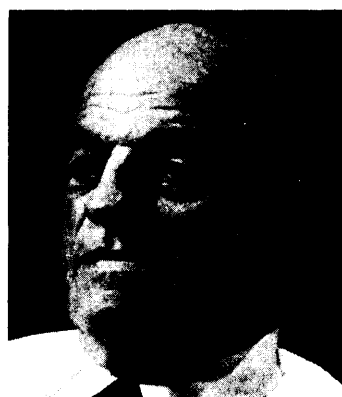
This means a break from all those "friends of labor" in the employers' parties. They have run roughshod over all of labor's demands despite the pleadings of the labor bureaucrats.

It is time that the labor movement mobilized independently to form a powerful political arm of the trade unions - a labor party. This is the ONLY way to put a stop to the attacks by the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 2)

Major Fight Looms

**At
NMU
Confab**



STRIKE WAVE HITS EUROPE AS TROTSKYISTS LAUNCH DAILY

social democrats gain in west german election



WILLY BRANDT
LEADER OF GERMAN
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The result of the West German parliamentary elections are not at all what they might appear to be on the surface. The commentators in the bourgeois press stress the continuity, the continued high vote for the Christian Democrats, and the failure of the neo-Nazi National Democrats (NPD) to secure the 5% of the vote required to achieve representation in the Bundestag. But the results do not at all signify continued stability. The developing class struggle is clearly reflected in the vote, if only in a muted form.

The Social Democrats (SPD) continued to narrow the gap between themselves and the Christian Democrats. Brandt and the Social Democrats now hope to become the senior partners in a coalition with the minor Free Democrats, who gained nearly 6 per cent of the vote. This means that the Christian Democrats will be forced into opposition for the first time in twenty years.

The SPD vote represents the most solid working class vote for the Social Democrats in the postwar period. In this respect it is a very important reflection, even if only a distorted

one, of the militancy of the working class, expressed in the wildcat strikes of the recent weeks which resulted in wage increases for millions of workers.

A large majority of the working class voted for the Social Democrats because they saw no other alternative. In three years of coalition rule as the junior partners of the Christian Democrats, the SPD bureaucrats showed exactly where they stood, continuing in a long line of traitors going all the way back to 1914. But now the Social Democrats are expected to lead the government, not just take partial responsibility when they please. And precisely now the world capitalist crisis is deepening so rapidly that the SPD will be exposed before the working class more rapidly even than its cousins in the Wilson government in Britain.

A section of the bourgeoisie was undoubtedly hoping for an SPD victory. Brandt, Schiller and the rest have of course demonstrated their "responsibility" as part of the Grand Coalition. And a section of the ruling class looks to the Social Democrats to take on the difficult job of disciplining the working class and dealing with its tremendous militancy in the wages fight. In this respect Brandt will now be given a job similar to that taken by Wilson in 1964. But the deepening of the crisis over the past 5 years makes all the difference. The SPD has its work cut out for it, beginning with the revaluation of the mark, which Washington, London and Paris are now all pushing for.

The decisive question in West Germany is the sharpening class struggle, the offensive of the workers

which is without parallel since the rise of Hitler, the rapidly developing confrontation between the classes. The election results cannot of course be interpreted as a victory for the working class, but as the selection of a leadership by the bourgeoisie. The fight of the working class must be taken up independently through the trade unions and the building of the Trotskyist movement.

Golda Talks Of "Peace" — Gets Jets

BY NEIL MARTIN

Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel has just met with President Nixon and from all accounts of their meeting, everything seems to be going well for Zionist-Imperialist plans to roll back the Arab Revolution and maintain imperialist control of the Middle East.

On her arrival in Washington for the talk, Mrs. Meir was greeted with a 19 gun salute and full military honors. This reception, coming less than two weeks after Israel's provocative raid across the Gulf of Suez, was the Nixon Administration's thank you for a job well done for imperialism in the Middle East.

The Prime Minister came away from the meeting satisfied that the United States would supply Israel with economic aid and Phantom jet fighters on a continuing basis as they are needed. In addition, Nixon appears willing to accept Israel's permanent claim to lands occupied in the 1967 war, in particular Golan Heights, the West Bank, and the coastal strip of the Sinai, from Elath to Sharm el Sheikh.

Fresh from arms negotiations with Nixon, Mrs. Meir arrived in New York City. There she was greeted by Lindsay who talked of "an inseparable bond of spirit between the city and Israel." Played up as a friendly "Milwaukee school teacher", Mrs. Meir said: "We want peace for us, peace for our neighbors, cooperation for our neighbors, peace for the entire world."

The kind of peace Mrs. Meir is talking about is the peace that comes from a shotgun or from the fighter planes solely for which Mrs. Meir traveled to the U.S., the kind of peace that comes from mass murder and subjugation by imperialism.

The "bond" Lindsay speaks of is the bond of imperialist oppression. The bond for the workers in the U.S. is with the workers and peasants of the Arab countries which are fighting to drive back imperialism.

ABEL

(CONTINUED FROM COVER)

bosses and their Congress.

The only way to assure that Abel's fine speech and promise do not remain just speeches and promises is for the ranks of the unions to take up this fight. The labor leaders have always been long on words and short on action. The rank and file must organize and must make sure the leaders keep their promises. If they don't they must be replaced with leaders from the ranks who will fight for the interests of the workers.

**FIGHT BACK--
FOR FAT WAGE INCREASES!
FOR A FOUR DAY WEEK WITH
FULL PAY!
FOR A LABOR PARTY!**

17 PAGES

As we announced in the last Bulletin, the weekly Bulletin will still be 12 pages and will continue to present features which make a contribution to Marxist theory. In addition to the series on German fascism, and on the Spanish Civil War by Robert Black, and a series on the Progressive Labor Party by Lucy St. John we will also feature a series of three articles on the rise of Mussolini and Italian fascism in the '20s by John Spencer.

All Bulletin readers can help make these plans a success. Please make checks and money orders payable to Bulletin of International Socialism.

WEEKLY BULLETIN FUND DRIVE GOING STRONG

BY DAN FRIED

The Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive is gathering steam! As we go into the second and final month of the drive, \$2,434.88 has been received toward the goal of \$7,000 by Nov. 1st. This is an increase of \$1,482.50 over the total reported in the last issue of the Bulletin. The response of our new supporters and friends in particular has been so enthusiastic --we now have a total of almost \$7,300 pledged--that we are confident that with the help of our readers we can reach at least \$7,500.

We are most gratified by new pledges from supporters in Philadelphia, Michigan, State College, Pa., Montreal, Chicago and Connecticut. The comrades in Michigan have already sent in \$195 of their \$215 pledge, and we can assure you that they are far, far from being affluent. But they, like all our friends and supporters who are getting behind the Weekly Bulletin, believe in the absolute necessity and enormous po-

tential for building a revolutionary socialist leadership in the working class.

In anticipation of the Weekly Bulletin, subscriptions are rolling in thick and fast. One of our friends who has sold more subs than anyone else--mostly to Spanish-American workers in New York--writes:

"Inflation, deflation, etc. should be explained to workers in the language workers understand. The bourgeois mass media talks about these questions as if there were no conflict of interest between bosses and workers. They talk about the needs of the 'nation'--flag waving explanations. Of course the 'needs' they refer to are their own needs. The workers seek to know their own interests through their struggles. The Weekly Bulletin could deepen its ability to show how the bosses always attempt to pull the wool over the workers eyes,

"After the weekly--plan for more--ever deeper into the working class."

HELP US LAUNCH THE WEEKLY BULLETIN!

Please send a contribution now so we can reach our goal of \$7,000 by November 1st and launch the Bulletin as a 12 page weekly on November 3rd.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WEEKLY NOW AND SAVE!

We will honor all year subscriptions received before November 3rd at the \$2.00 rate. Subscribe now and be sure to get Robert Black's series "Fascism and the German Working Class 1930-1933", his new series "30 Years After--The Lessons of the Spanish Civil War", and a new series by Lucy St. John on the Progressive Labor Party.

---Enclosed is ---contribution to the Weekly Bulletin Fund Drive
---Enclosed is \$2.00 for a years subscription to the Bulletin
---Enclosed is 50c for a 10 issue introductory subscription to the Bulletin

WEEKLY BULLETIN DRIVE ROOM 8, 243 EAST 10 STREET NEW YORK 10003.

NIXON PLANS DECADE OF WAR

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

President Nixon's plan of "phased withdrawals" of American troops from Vietnam has become completely exposed for what it really is--a proposal to continue the Vietnam war for the next decade. No wonder controversy over Vietnam has broken out in a new intensified way across the land.

The working people in the United States are completely fed up with this war. They are not interested in a phased reduction of American deaths to 150-200 a week for the next ten years just to protect the Thieu clique from the wrath of the Vietnamese people. Workers want America out of Vietnam and out Now!

The heart of the Nixon withdrawal proposals is an attempt to place an increasing responsibility for the war on the South Vietnamese Government and Army. The idea is that the United States will be willing to pay almost any bill so long as the South Vietnamese function as our hired help to defend our interests in the South.

ROTTEN

But it is precisely this heart which is rotten through and through. Thieu, in stating that Saigon can't fight alone by the end of 1970, is only stating what is blatantly obvious. "The replacement of troops is not a one-year problem", he states, "it is a problem that will take years and years." So we can see Nixon's whole program is based on a perspective, not of immediate withdrawal and peace, but decades of continued war.

And for what are United States working people being asked to give up their lives? A government in the South so rotten that it could not stand on its own a day without American military might. Vice President Ky has threatened a coup d'etat if President Thieu agrees to enter a coalition government with the NLF. Such is the military clique's fear of the people!

Maynard Parker of Newsweek reports: "Relations between the allied armies are already so strained, in fact, that the U.S. command has drawn up contingency plans for fighting the SOUTH Vietnamese, if necessary, during a final American withdrawal." Soon American soldiers may be asked to die in fighting the very government tens of thousands of American soldiers have already given their lives for.

OUT-

The United States must get out of Vietnam and get out now! We give full support to the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants under the leadership of the National Liberation Front in their struggle against both the Saigon puppet troops and American imperialist troops!

In the meantime, in neighboring Laos, the United States is fast at work in the Americanization of that conflict. Premier Souvanna Phouma who is in a bloc with the right wing Royalist forces, has been unable to maintain himself in his struggle with the popular Pathet Lao army without increasing reliance on American support. How can we for one second believe in the myth of the Vietnamization of the Vietnam War while across the border we find the Americanization of the Laotian conflict?

Right now the United States has more than 1,000 U.S. citizens directly involved in this conflict on Laotian soil. Some \$250 million a year is being pumped in. The CIA alone has a contingent of over 300 and, as the

recent Green Beret Case reveals, these are men trained in assassination and other such "democratic" techniques.

Air bases at Udon and Nakhon, Thailand are given over primarily to B-52 raids on Laotian territory. In fact much of the bombing previously of North Vietnam has simply been shifted to supposedly neutral Laos. And Thailand, under American instructions, has some 5,000 men in Laos pretending to be Laotian soldiers.

AMERICANIZATION

The Americanization of the Laotian war is but part of the general Americanization of the whole of Southeast Asia. Thailand has been transformed into a central American military base and the Thais' own battles with guerilla insurgents are closely supervised by the CIA. This makes it clear that to the extent that the United States lessens its involvement in Vietnam it will only be to be in a more "flexible" position for involvement in the suppression of peoples in other parts of the world.

This is why Senator Goodell's proposal for a complete withdrawal from

Vietnam by the end of 1970 is a fraud. A section of America's rulers want out of Vietnam only to be in a stronger position to defend their imperialist rule over the rest of the world and to attack more viciously workers in the United States and Europe.

We, unlike the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, do not limit our demands to withdrawal from Vietnam--now or later. We insist on exposing the class character of the American government and its policies. The only way to get the United States off the backs of workers in other countries and thus bring peace to the world is to get the American rulers off the backs of the American working class.

LABOR PARTY

This is why the struggle against the war in Vietnam must be linked with the fight of American workers in the factories over inflation, working conditions, the threat of unemployment. This is why both struggles must take the political form of a battle to construct a new party in the United States, a labor party based on the trade unions with a socialist policy of ending America's war on workers of



THIEU, PUPPET PRESIDENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM

other lands as well as the bosses' war on American workers.

We stand on the side of the National Liberation Front and call for its victory in Vietnam. We have our differences with the NLF but at the same time we take our stand with the NLF against the American imperialists. We will not stand aside as does the Progressive Labor Party.

The question is not the Vietnamization of this or the Americanization of that, but rather the workerization of America and the world.

Workers Press, The World's First Trotskyist Daily

BY TIM WOHLFORTH

On September 27th the very first issue of the world's first Trotskyist daily newspaper, the "Workers Press" came off the presses in London to be sold throughout the country. The "Workers' Press" is the continuator of the Newsletter, and like the Newsletter, is the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League, British Section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The Newsletter began in 1957 as a small newsletter-sized weekly devoted primarily to the crisis in Stalinism brought about by the Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev Revelations. It fought in each issue for the whole historical understanding of Trotskyism and at the same time reported on important struggles taking place in the labor movement.

DECISIVE

Perhaps the most decisive period in the history of the Newsletter lay between 1961 and 1964--the year the Socialist Labour League began its campaign for the daily paper. It was in this period that the Trotskyists won a majority of the Young Socialists, the Labour Party's youth organization, and developed this Young



MIKE BANDA, EDITOR OF WORKERS PRESS

Socialist movement in a principled struggle against the rightwing Wilson leadership of the Labour Party.

At the same time the Socialist Labour League led the struggle within the International Committee against the Socialist Workers Party's abandonment of the Transitional Program and every fundamental of Marxism as it chased after Castro. This was a period of the most fundamental internal theoretical struggle not only against the SWP's immediate positions but to probe the very roots of the degeneration of the Fourth International in the postwar period to the question of the Marxist method.

In the course of this the SLL was able to develop a real understanding of the new period of capitalist crisis the working class had entered which opened up once again the possibility of building mass revolutionary parties directly confronting the state power of the capitalists.

In 1964, when the SLL started the Daily campaign, the Young Socialists had been expelled from the Labour Party, the split with the Socialist Workers Party had been completed, and Wilson had taken over the government of Great Britain. The stage was set for a whole new level of struggle. What was now required was to build the Young Socialists with deep roots among the working class youth of England and to take the Young Socialists into the trade unions to build a political alternative to the Wilson government.

This is what really made the daily paper possible with its support throughout the British labour movement and its young cadres of trained working class youth fighting for it every day.

FRUITS

"We publish our daily paper after five years of Labour government", states the Central Committee of the SLL, "five bitter and dangerous years for the working class. The ever-rising cost of living, the threat of wage-cuts and unemployment, the attempt of the Labour Government to pass laws against the trade unions, the rise of Powell in the Tory Party and their threatening return to office,

all against the background of a world economic crisis--these are the fruits.

"But they are not the only fruits. Together with workers in all countries, the working class in Britain is resisting these attacks and retains enormous strength in its trade unions, a strength that stands foursquare in the path of the employers, however much help they get from the Labour Government."

The "Workers' Press" will base itself on this strength and mobilize it consciously reporting on every class struggle action in Britain, carrying the fullest reportage on international and foreign affairs and offering an alternative to the bourgeois press five days a week.

And what about the revisionists, the centrists, the labor bureaucrats? "All the fakers and fine talkers can be warned: they complain now that the Newsletter takes too much time attacking them; from September 27 they will get it every day."

PURPOSE

The Central Committee's instructions to the new editorial staff are: "Make the 'Workers' Press' a paper in which workers will speak up about their problems and grievances, but don't pander to political issues which violate Marxist principles.

"Don't tail-end spontaneous militancy.

"Call a spade a spade by politically expressing our views as clearly, simply and vividly as you can.

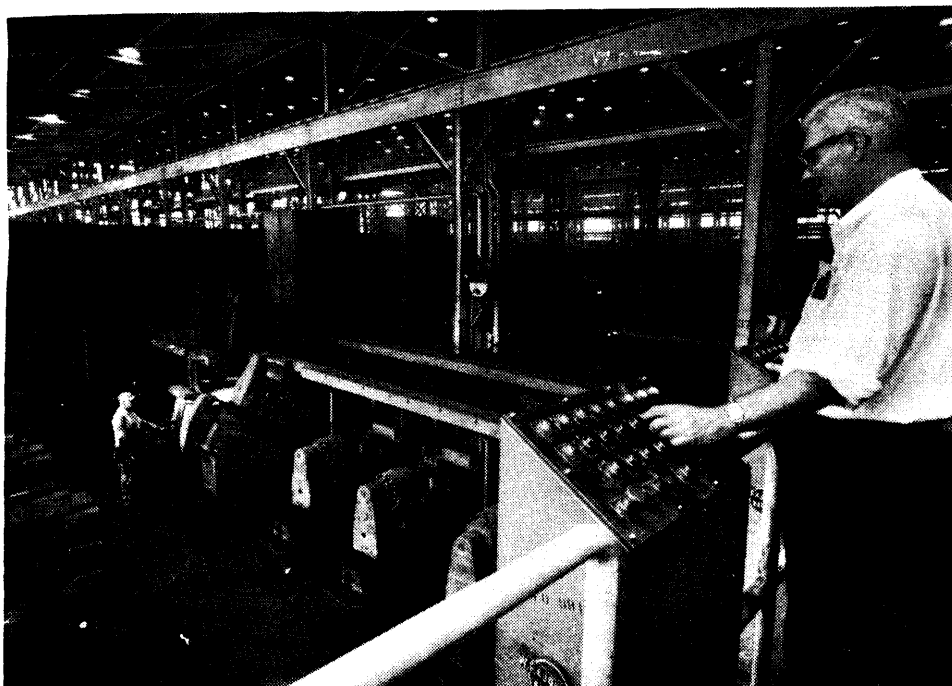
"A workers paper is one which sets out to encourage its readers to study Marxist theory and this at times requires controversy and conflict of opinion.

"For us, this is always the 'news behind the news'. Always tell the truth no matter how unpalatable and bitter it might prove to be for those concerned."

The Workers League intends to celebrate the issuing of the first daily Trotskyist paper in history by stepping up its own campaign to publish the Bulletin as a 12 page weekly paper starting November 3rd.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL MOVES FORWARD!

the big squeeze is on at chrysler



AUTOMATED PRODUCTION AT CHRYSLER PLANTS THREATENS JOBS

BY DAN FRIED

The most recently announced sales figures of the Chrysler Corp., the smallest of the 'Big Three' giants of the U.S. automobile industry, reveals that Chrysler's share of the U.S. market has shrunk to 17%, down 1.5% from 1968. But Chrysler's situation is even worse than these figures indicate. Its short and long term debt is a full 25% of its equity capital; profits in the second quarter of 1969 were down by 51% to a point where the return on capital was 8-1/4% as compared with 16% for General Motors. Of the Company's foreign subsidiaries, Simca in France is stagnating, and Rootes in Britain is last in the British car market and still losing ground.

Chrysler's weakness was most

sharply displayed in July when the company announced a two-year postponement of what they hope will someday (?) be "the most advanced automobile assembly plant in the world"--at New Stanton, Pa. The soaring interest rates combined with Chrysler's slacking sales had meant that they were unable to undertake the type of expansion that would enable them to get back into the running against Ford and GM.

With car sales in the U.S. down sharply for all producers during July and August, with the price rises for the new 1970 models in effect, and with recessionary trends in the economy developing sharply, it looks like car sales will continue to slump. The battle for larger shares of the market both in the U.S. and abroad is

bound to intensify.

The squeeze is on. In this battle the real big boys, particularly General Motors will not only hold its own, but get a larger share of the market. Chrysler will be hurting even more than now. In fact it is entirely possible that Chrysler will go under completely, or figure into a merger with Ford or GM, or perhaps like Studebaker, cease making cars and become part of a conglomerate corporation.

In any event, if Chrysler merges or folds up, the bosses will eliminate thousands--possibly more than 100,000 jobs of Chrysler workers. This is a danger not only to Chrysler workers but to every auto worker.

Right now the battle for markets means that Chrysler together with Ford and GM are using every opportunity to chop away at union strength, to lay off workers and cut overtime at the same time as they speed up production.

SPEED-UP

The auto companies are using the introduction of the new 1970 models as an attempt to speed up production. Ironically, although this is certain to be a pattern for all the Big Three, it is General Motors that is taking the lead in the speed-up attempts--and with a vengeance. GM is on top and it intends to remain on top and fight off the challenge of Ford--over the bodies of the auto workers if necessary. But the workers are not taking kindly to being stepped on and a rash of strikes and strike threats has hit GM.

In Flint, Mich., almost 4,000 men are out in a strike against GM's Fisher Body division which has also closed the companion Chevrolet as-

sembly plant. The issue is over new job assignments on smaller car bodies which have meant layoffs. Also in Flint, workers in GM's Buick division are voting to strike and may walk out on Oct. 1. The UAW local says that the company refuses to bargain on hundreds of grievances--all involving speedup of production on the new 1970 model.

In GM's Fleetwood plant in Detroit, 93.6% of the workers voted for strike action against the speedup after management had increased both body shop lines 4-1/2 jobs per hour and reduced the manpower on the lines at the same time. Employees are reportedly "running to keep up their operations". Over 450 grievances have been filed over speedup on the new model bodies.

Fleetwood UAW Local President Scott Kelly said that despite promises by management, "to our amazement...both body shop lines were increased 4.5% per hour" on the first day of new model production. Surely Brother Kelly, nobody should be amazed that in the pursuit of profits, General Motors breaks its promises to the auto workers.

The only way to tackle speed up at GM is with company-wide action by the UAW in order to bring production standards under the control of workers committees throughout GM. It is time that the UAW propose strike votes against the company as a whole when there are local disputes. That is the only way the bosses will quickly come to terms when a local goes out. Now is the time to settle these speed up grievances--when the companies are anxious to get their 1970 models onto the market. The same thing must be said for Chrysler where some 5,000 workers are on strike at the Belvedere, Ill. assembly plant over unsettled grievances dating back to 1968.

CONTRACT

The acceleration of speed-up, the ever increasing threat of layoffs as car sales lag and recession threatens, the destruction of wage gains by inflation--these are the issues that loom large in the forthcoming negotiations for the 1970 auto contract struggle by the UAW. The slump in car sales and the danger of the loss of jobs because of the weakness of Chrysler means that the fight for job security--for iron clad job guarantees based on a 30 hour week is more urgent than ever before.

There must be a fight for functioning shop committees of workers with the power to negotiate production standards on the floor of every department of every plant. Finally, there is the burning need for a large wage increase to make up for the loss of purchasing power since the last contract and the re-institution of a cost of living escalator with FULL protection.

CLASS

Fundamentals of Marxism

Sunday Nights, 8:00 P.M.

99 Lafayette Ave. Apt. 6d Brooklyn

October 5 -- Dialectical Materialism

October 12 -- Marxist Economics

October 26 -- Stalinism and Bolshevism

October 19 -- The Unions and the Revolutionary Party

November 2 -- Present Day Revisionism

AUSPICES:

BROOKLYN LOCAL WORKERS LEAGUE

SSEU WINS PARTIAL VICTORY ON BACK PAY

BY A 371 MEMBER

An important, but partial, victory has just been won by the membership of SSEU-371 in their fight for retroactive pay.

As reported in the last issue of the Bulletin, the SSEU-371 Committee for New Leadership passed unanimously in the September 16 membership meeting, attended by over 700 persons, its motion calling for a one day strike on September 30 with a mass city hall demonstration unless all back pay owing staff was guaranteed for no later than October 31.

With less than a week to go until that deadline the city came up with a guarantee that the bulk (approximately 2/3) of the money would be paid on October 31 with the rest to be paid later (i.e. on an unspecified date).

What this showed was the tremendous power that the mobilization of the rank and file could bring to bear especially just prior to the November 4 mayoralty election. It stands likewise as a complete vindication of the correctness of the lead given by the CNL as against the completely timid approach to this fight taken by the Morgenstern leadership who initially opposed the one day strike.

TASK

Above all this partial victory shows that the union is in a position to press this struggle home and force the remaining 1/3 of the money out of the city as well. This is the task now posed.

The decision of the last delegates assembly meeting to simply postpone the action until Nov. 15 contingent upon a membership referendum requiring 2/3 for passage puts the

question of a continuing struggle on an all or nothing basis and as such is a blind alley.

What is now required is the calling of a special emergency membership meeting to void this completely unrealistic strategy and adopt a new strategy more consistent with the changed situation, i.e. the fact that a partial victory has been won and that it is now the speedy payment of \$340 rather than \$1000 that hangs in the balance.

RALLY

Such would be the calling of a November 15 mass noontime rally at City Hall on the outstanding back-pay issue into which workload and other key issues facing the union would then be brought. Such a mobilization of the ranks, if properly prepared, coming two weeks before the election would have all the political explosiveness of the original strike threat while winning the support and participation of the entire 12,000 strong membership.

Such a demonstration is the very last thing Lindsay or Procacchino want at this stage of the game and therefore the threat of such an action is the best guarantee of an early date for the rest of our money. At the same time to make such a threat stick there is going to have to be within the SSEU a much more aggressive preparation than what we saw over the past few weeks.

A repeat of a situation where President Morgenstern gets ready for a strike by going on a European vacation, where no leaflets are forthcoming from the union office for a week after a strike is voted, where paid organizers are running around the Harlem "reclamation site", ra-

ther than organizing in the centers, would be a disaster.

A victory, however, on the backpay fight would give a tremendous boost to membership confidence in the ability of the union to take up the struggle on the whole spectrum of issues bearing down on the union at this time.

The most pressing question outside of back pay right now is the city's decision to breach its own rotten workload provisions in the union contract. The work that the city was to reorganize out of existence as attrition took its toll of staff is now simply to be placed on the shoulders of the remaining workers building up caseloads to unprecedented levels. In response to this the union has reaffirmed its intention to likewise violate the contract and revert to the caseload limit of 60 in the expired 1967-68 contract as a basis for unilateral enforcement. In some centers caseloads now average over 80 which has resulted in tremendous rank and file pressure for dumping excess cases.

The caseload issue which is inseparably linked to the union's demand for new hiring should figure prominently in any action taken this month on the back pay fight. This will set the stage for what is required almost immediately, that is, a citywide dumping of excess cases down to 60.

If the union can take on the city on the back pay and workload issues it will be in a far stronger position than at any time in the past two years and in a position to push back the city on the latest wave of suspensions and forced overtime. What must be aimed at from here on in the virtual repudiation of every stinking clause in the 1969 contract.

strike wave sweeps across europe

BY FRED MUELLER

The tremendous strike wave sweeping Western Europe marks yet another stage in the development of the capitalist crisis. The last month has seen a wave of wildcat struggles, involving millions of workers, throughout France, Italy and West Germany. Everywhere the capitalists are being reminded of the May-June upheaval in France just 16 months ago, and are being shaken by these new struggles.

In West Germany the unofficial strikes are a new phenomenon for the post war generation. The West German working class is flexing its muscles in a way that has no parallel since the triumph of fascism more than 35 years ago. In early September of this year thousands of coal and steel workers led the way with wildcat strikes. They were followed by shipyard workers.

A quarter of a million coal miners won 14% pay increases, metal workers won increases of 11% and steel workers won 11% as well. The strikes spread like wildfire throughout the country, from the shipyards of Kiel to the steel mills of Bremen and North Rhine-Westphalia, to the coal mines of Dortmund and Saarbrücken. On September 18th thousands of public service employees struck. These included bus and subway workers in West Berlin and public works and sanitation workers in Munich and Nuremberg.

WILDCAT

These wildcat strikes for wage increases before the signed contracts expire are an indication of the tremendous militancy of this working class. 1969 has already seen 350,000 working hours lost in strikes compared to 24,000 in all of 1968. In the background are the parliamentary elections. The jockeying and maneuvering of the capitalist parties and of the right wing bureaucrats of the SPD are just a pale reflection of the sharpening class struggle in West Germany.

In France the railway and metro (subway) workers began the struggle with strikes on September 10th. The big test looms ahead. Negotiations covering about a million workers in state run industries are now beginning. The French working class has seen more than half of the fruits of its militant struggle of last year robbed through inflation, even prior to the inflationary impact of the August devaluation of the franc.

The workers are watching every critical negotiation and preparing for battle. And the Wall Street Journal reports that the capitalists are worried. A Finance Ministry official is quoted as follows: "The economy is too weak to absorb a major strike shock again. We cannot afford what West Germany has given, those 11% to 14% wage increases."

Under these conditions the railway and subway strikes immediately became political issues shaking the confidence of the entire capitalist class and calling forth reassurances and threats from President Pompidou. When Pompidou devalued the franc in combination with austerity measures, a challenge was laid down to the working class. This challenge is being taken up by one section of the working class after another.

When Pompidou said to the workers, "Do not strike, we cannot tolerate strikes", he was announcing that French capitalism cannot any longer tolerate a working class movement organized and determined to defend and extend its past gains.

In Italy the largest private employers are Fiat, centered in Turin,

and Pirelli (tire and cable company) in Milan. The workers are on the move both at Fiat and Pirelli and elsewhere as well. In the past weeks 300,000 metal workers, 200,000 chemical workers and 900,000 construction workers have engaged in wildcat walkouts. Contracts involving 40% of the labor force expire by the end of this year, and the workers who struck at Pirelli have a contract with two years still to run. At Pirelli the major issues are higher bonuses and the right to hold union meetings inside the plant. The workers attach equal importance to these issues as they dig in for the big struggles ahead.

TREMORS

In every country the political tremors caused by the strike wave are being felt. The strikes are unprecedented in scope and intensity not only since the Second World War but since the end of the First World War and the Russian Revolution. Another period of revolutionary struggle is developing very quickly. The rapidity with which the crisis develops, not just in one country but in all the centers of Western European capitalism, is a reflection of the international character of the system and its crisis. Even more than ever before, it must be said that it is impossible for the workers in any one country to fight back and win without an international strategy.

Everywhere the working class is in a determined mood. Everywhere it is seeking to defend every single one of the gains it has won through

the long years of the boom. Now we see the significance of the fact that the present generation of the working class throughout Europe and North America is UNDEFEATED. It cannot be held back, the long boom is turning into its opposite for the capitalists not only in terms of the economic crisis itself, but in terms of the confidence and strength of the working class as well. Every plus for the capitalists is now turning into a minus. They face a DESPERATE situation.

BUREAUCRACY

Throughout Europe the trade union bureaucracy and the Social Democratic and Communist Parties play the same essential role. They seek to discipline the working class, to prevent it from mounting a successful offensive and taking the power. Everywhere they seek to isolate, localize and suffocate the struggles of the workers.

The struggles of the workers are the single most decisive factor in the developing crisis. The economic developments alone will not lead to any automatic collapse of capitalism. The bourgeoisie is maneuvering for the right moment and the right timing in its attacks upon the working class. It seeks to utilize a combination of unemployment and inflation to weaken the trade unions, restore the value of its currency, carry through modernization at the expense of the workers, and cut real wages to increase the rate of profit.

Under these conditions every economic struggle becomes a political struggle and the political battle is the decisive one. Every struggle on the economic plane intensifies the crisis. Without a rapid political development within the working class, disaster threatens the workers and all of humanity as well. The question of socialism or barbarism is once more being posed very concretely before the workers' movement.

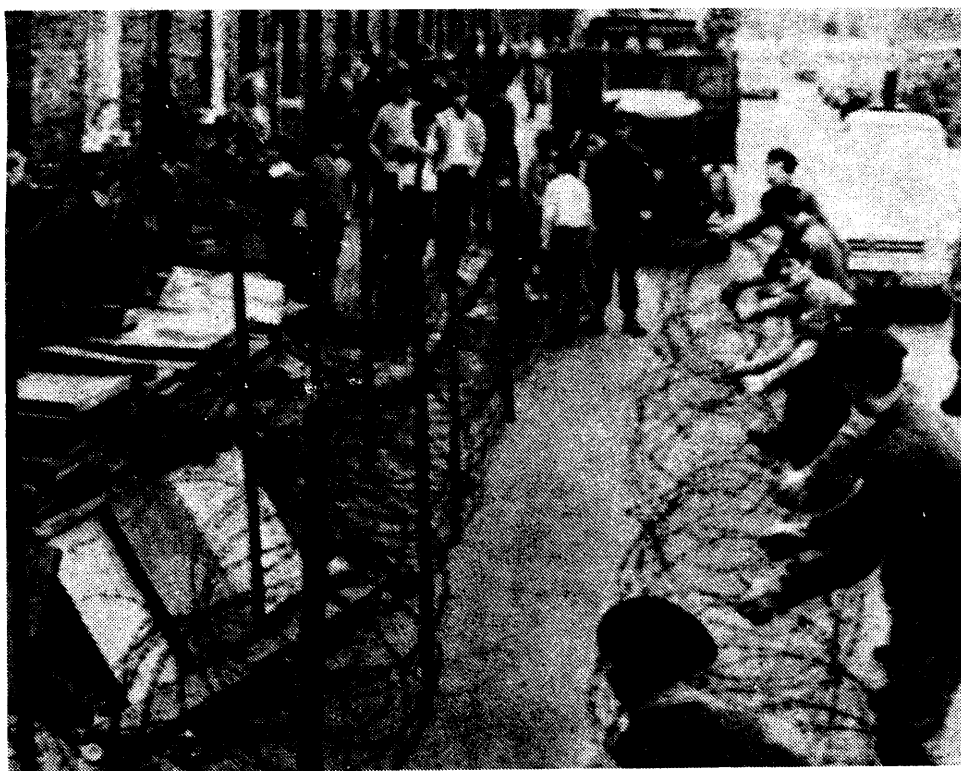
The European strike wave is yet another confirmation of the economic and political perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International, against the reformists and revisionists who babble and continue to babble about the indefinite continuation of the boom.

LEADERSHIP

But the Fourth International is not out to prove a point in theory. Our perspectives must be confirmed not simply in terms of the crisis but in the revolutionary solution to that crisis. Now the program of the Fourth International must be taken with greater determination than ever into the trade unions and the factories, in order to take the working class through the struggles, to expose the old bureaucratic leaderships and build a revolutionary leadership.

The American workers will very soon be traveling the road being traveled by their brothers in Europe. The strike wave in Europe must spur us on in the building of the revolutionary party in the U.S.

FIGHTING SWEEPS ULSTER AS BARRICADES FALL



BRITISH TROOPS OCCUPYING NORTH IRELAND ERECT BARBED WIRE FENCE

BY PAT CONNOLLY

Renewed fighting, accompanied by rock throwing and gas fires, has broken out in North Ireland in the last ten days. The barricades thrown up around the Catholic ghetto in Belfast were torn down by the occupying British army and a "peace line", a mile long barbed wire fence between the Catholic and Protestant areas, was erected and patrolled by British soldiers.

The ghettos have been cordoned off, and under the Special Powers Act passed by the Unionist Government, the army now can begin a concerted drive to round up the militants who have been active in the ghetto.

700 more British troops, the Royal Marine Commandos, have been rushed to Belfast to "maintain order". This brings the troop build-up in North Ireland to 7,500 soldiers who have been trained in "maintaining order"

in the British colonies, in Aden and Africa.

LESSONS

The lessons of Ulster are clear. After a big hue and cry raised in the capitalist press about the British troops bringing "peace" to North Ireland—a hue and cry that was echoed and supported by all the revisionists—the British Labor Government and the right wing Unionist Stormont government have made clear again that the troops are there to maintain the government and the interests of British capital. They are there to deepen the divisions between Catholic and Protestant workers—by barbed wire fences if necessary—and to clean out the militants who are active in the struggle against the government.

Both the Catholic hierarchy and the so-called civil rights leaders kept

busy as the barricades thrown up around the ghetto were dismantled and the barbed wire "peace line" went up. As the occupying army began the task of disarming the workers, these "leaders" were busy assuring the workers that the army would protect them.

The root of the crisis is not in the bitter religious antagonisms which split the working class and are encouraged by the ruling class. The roots of the crisis in North Ireland can be found in the severe crisis that grips British capitalism. The Protestant workers, who are supposed to be the "privileged" layer of the Irish working class, are being thrust against the government by the attacks on all workers in North Ireland: chronic unemployment, with a new threat to jobs as the crisis deepens, poor housing, low wages and fast rising prices.

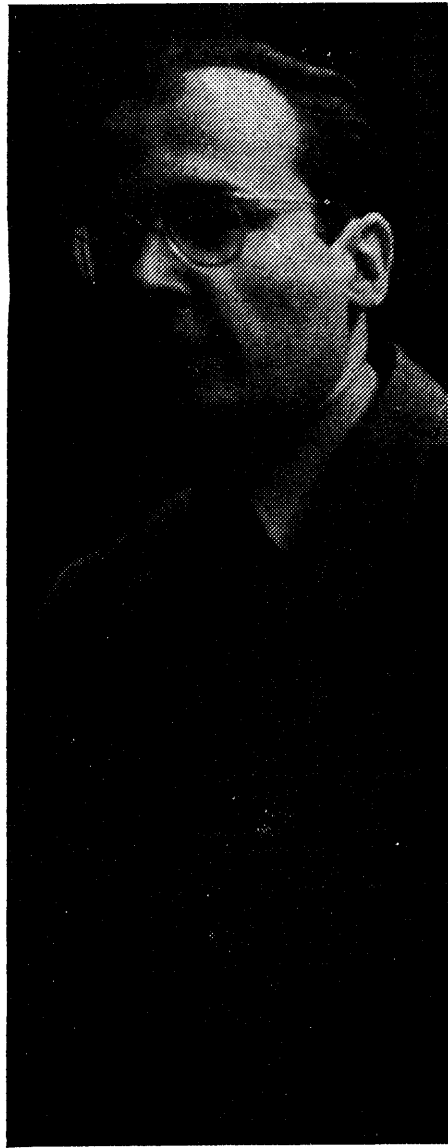
The allies of the Irish workers are NOT the British troops as the civil righters say, but the British and European workers who are striking back against the same attacks on their living standards and the crisis of European capitalism.

UNITED

The only solution for Irish workers is a united struggle of Catholic and Protestant workers to fight against these attacks, to break decisively with both the Unionist and British governments, to form a workers' and farmers' government. They must join with their brothers in England and the continent to bring the whole rotten system down.

**WITHDRAW BRITISH TROOPS!
REPEAL THE SPECIAL POWERS ACT--FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
NATIONALIZE THE BANKS AND BASIC INDUSTRY!
FOR A SOCIALIST IRELAND WITHIN A UNITED SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!**

FRENCH SOCIAL



François De Massot

'LA GREVE GENERALE'
by François De Massot.
Supplement to 'Informations
Ouvrières', No. 437, pp. x, 311,
Price 12 francs.

THE APPEARANCE of a new book-length analysis of the May-June, 1968 struggle in France by a leading French Trotskyist provides an opportunity for a fresh look at events whose lessons urgently need to be understood and assimilated.

François De Massot has brought together a mass of carefully-documented material which in particular casts light on the role of the working class and the strike movement about which the books by bourgeois journalists are able to say little or nothing. Only a militant, a participant, closely in touch with the working-class movement and its day-to-day activities before, during and since the strike could have produced this account.

AS SHOWN in the previous article, the Fifth Republic was from the beginning a regime of crisis. De Gaulle was brought to power in a situation of extreme emergency sparked off by the settlers' revolt in Algeria and the threat of a military takeover of France.

The fact that ten years later the Fifth Republic should itself be confronted by a revolutionary situation could only surprise the adherents of 'neo-capitalism' and those who confidently proclaimed that the working class was no longer a revolutionary class.

It was only the exact timing and form of this explosion which could not be foreseen.

As the May-June events recede into history, the student revolt can be more

clearly seen for what it was. To call it a detonator, or a catalyst, as it quickly became fashionable to do, is not in itself wrong. But a detonator only sets off a much bigger charge than it is capable of by itself. So with the students.

Had the sharpening of the class struggle not prepared the conditions for a confrontation between the bourgeoisie and its state on the one hand and the working class on the other, the government would no doubt have contained the 'student revolt' in France, as it was contained in Germany, Italy, Mexico, Japan and other countries, without precipitating a profound and revolutionary national crisis.

The emphasis in a Marxist analysis must therefore be on the great strike movement, the largest in history, which brought out ten million workers and paralysed the whole of the economy and society.

The great value of this detailed study by François De Massot is that it explains why the working class came into open conflict with the state and the employers and also how and why the strike was contained and brought to an end.

The emphasis in De Massot's book, as its title indicates, is on the struggle in the factories, shops, building sites, mines, offices and other enterprises. The student revolt receives its due, but no more.

General strike

While many previous books on the events confine their accounts to the students, he rightly devotes the major part of his attention to the great general strike for which they inadvertently prepared the way.

The Gaullist regime had from its inception been a regime of crisis. Its main task, after the conclusion of the Algerian war, was to establish the economy on an internationally competitive basis. With the effort required to maintain the franc as a 'strong' currency in the face of growing international monetary crisis, the offensive against the working class assumed a more drastic character.

Steadily, over a number of years, attacks were made on working-class rights and liberties. In this respect the ordinances cutting back on the social security system, announced in August 1967, were crucial.

In some industries and regions concentration brought structural unemployment. French capital required a more mobile and docile labour force, ready to accept speed-up, to change jobs or to be sacked. In fact, as De Massot shows with many examples, the working class fought back against the offensive of big capital supported by the state.

The policy of the Communist Party and the other working-class organizations under bureaucratic leadership was to prevent a general struggle, to split up and separate each section of workers or one town or area from another. There were many hard-fought strikes and a growing combativity

during 1967 and 1968. As De Massot says:

'To the myth of a passive working class suddenly aroused from its torpor by the miraculous explosion of the "student revolt", must be posed the reality of a slow maturing within the masses being pushed into struggle by the offensive of capital and its state, the reality of a whole process of struggles—of which those carried on by the students formed a part.

'To the "explanations" according to which the coming into action of millions of people was due to "active minorities"—or, if one prefers, as a matter of taste, of "an international plot" or "leftist provocations"—must be posed the reality of a difficult advance, through partial struggles, setbacks and retreats, of working-class consciousness expressed and cultivated by the political activity of an organized vanguard, armed with the programme of the socialist revolution, the method of Marxism, and intervening politically at each stage in the struggle.'

As a militant and a participant

De Massot takes us through the events as no journalist or middle-class commentator can. He saw the event not from outside, but from within, as an episode in struggle which was being consciously prepared. In the students' resistance to the Fouchet 'reforms' in the universities—intended to restrict entry and gear the university more closely to the needs of big business—the French Trotskyists played a leading part. In fact this preparation began not in March 1968, but in 1961.

Through the Comité de Liaison des Etudiants Révolutionnaires (CLER), the fore-runner of the Fédération des Etudiants Révolutionnaires (FER), they fought to re-animate and mobilize the main national students' union (UNEF). They put forward a programme of united struggle of students with the youth and working class.

This policy was bitterly opposed by the Communist Party and brought down on their heads the denunciations by the bourgeois press and student elements who were to assume great prominence in the events in Nanterre and other universities from March 1968 onwards.

When the university authorities, backed by the government, launched a policy of repression against Cohn-Bendit and others, the FER students, while making clear their differences with them on political as well as student questions, called for solidarity. They took a prominent part in the meetings and demonstrations which culminated in the first clash with the police in the Sorbonne on May 3.

The government's determination to smash the student movement with heavy police forces meant that there could only be one way in which the students could win—by bringing the whole weight of the working class into the arena. This meant explaining what was at stake politically and how the attack on the students was part of the concerted offensive of big capital and its state on the working class as a whole.

De Massot shows in detail how the FER intervened in the struggle and quotes extensively from the French Trotskyists' leaflets and journals. What happened in the course of the student struggle was that the hold of the labour bureaucracies, and especially the Communist Party, on the working class was loosened. When the workers saw police repression being used against the students, despite what the CP newspaper 'L'Humanité' said, about their being 'sons of bourgeois' led by leftist provocateurs, they began to recognize a common cause.

In De Massot's opinion, then, the great mistake of the government was to over-estimate the bureaucracies' control over the working class.

After the 'night of the barricades'—which was in itself an unnecessary ad-

venture—the CGT (CP-controlled Confederation of Unions) and the CP called for a one-day strike on the following Monday and for a protest demonstration in Paris. This turned out to be the most impressive demonstration of working-class power ever seen in the capital.

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PART THREE

in the Sud-Aviation plant at Bougenais, Nantes.

History of struggle

The workers' struggle here—as, for that matter, in most of the big factories in France—had a history going back over many years. Trotskyists had played a prominent part in organizing the struggles in the factory and in the whole Nantes region from at least as far back as 1953. When they and other militants called for the occupation of the factory on May 14, they were acting in entire consistency with their understanding and experience of the class struggle.

In a true sense they were a vanguard of the working class. They recognized

The signal for the great general strike wave and sit-ins came not from the CP-controlled CGT, or any official leaderships, but from the shop stewards at the Sud-Aviation plant in Nantes, where Trotskyists had for a number of years played a prominent role in organizing the workers.



ETY IN CRISIS

By TOM KEMP

an opportunity and understood the mood of the class. Events were quickly to confirm that their call for a general strike expressed a real desire for combat on the part of the working class.

Within a few days the strike spread to the Renault plants and virtually the whole of the engineering industry, closely followed by the public services. From May 17 the strike was spreading so rapidly that it is impossible to say accurately how many workers were involved at any particular date. From the following Monday, May 20, it spread irresistibly to practically the whole economy.

From May 23 the strike had become the only political reality; the life of the country, of all classes, was suspended on its outcome.

As De Massot emphasizes, the strike was remarkable for its size and for the rapidity with which it spread. Of course, the great majority of the workers, employees and civil servants who took part had never been on strike before and did not even belong to a trade union. Yet it was clearly seen as no ordinary movement; the whole atmosphere, after all, was one of national crisis for which the clashes with the police in Paris and other towns had prepared the way.

From the start the strike assumed the most advanced character. The French proletariat was becoming a class for itself: on one side stood those with nothing to sell but their labour power, on the other those who owned and controlled the means of production and the state. Between these two main classes of capitalist society the petty

Understanding the dangers in such a development the CGT leaders and the other unions set out to keep the strikes under control. De Massot not only shows in detail how this was done, but analyses the methods employed and what factors in the working class the bureaucracies depended upon to accomplish their task.

The union leaders (i) isolated each enterprise from the other, (ii) kept the demands as far as possible to those which concerned each sector of industry, (iii) gave the occupation a purely token character by sending home most of the workers wherever possible. Within the factories and other places of work the officials, permanent or elected, fought to keep control of the strike.

The slogan 'For a National Strike Committee' was upheld by the Trotskyists as the only way to break the Stalinist and reformist leaders' grip and lead the strike in a revolutionary direction. Communist Party policy was to keep control in the hands of the existing leadership.

The revisionist groups, such as the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire, whose main base was in the universities, called for, and in some places set up, 'Action Committees'. Such organizations, however well-intentioned, could not seriously challenge the grip of the union officialdom and offer an alternative leadership based on the mobilization of the strikers themselves and their union into a national force.

De Massot gives numerous examples to show how the FER members, of the Alliance Ouvrière and the OCI* fought consistently for this perspective

only confirmed the impression that the regime was on the point of collapse. This, together with the rejection of the first Grenelle agreement by the Renault workers, showed that everything was still possible.

Events over the next few days were decisive. Throughout Europe, and not only in France, the bourgeoisie trembled at the outcome. The world's governments, most of all that of the USA, expressed their solidarity with de Gaulle. Journalists discovered, to the amazement of many, that the French Communist Party was a great and solid force for the preservation of the bourgeois social order.

Each day's delay in carrying forward the working-class offensive gave the government time in which to rally its forces and prepare the counter-offensive. It was, in fact, not until May 30 that it felt strong enough.

At any time in the previous days the vast majority of the strikers would have responded to a call to action by their leaders. Throughout that period the struggle to confront those leaders with their responsibilities and to build a national strike leadership was carried on tirelessly.

It seemed for a few days that whatever happened some kind of new government was bound to be formed. In those closing days of May the strike

that the elections were lost in advance. By the counting of heads in an electoral system which overweighted the rural areas against the towns, and particularly against the industrial constituencies, leaving youth without votes and disfranchised immigrant workers as well as many others not living in their home areas, the working-class parties were bound to come out as a minority.

Moreover, many strikers, part of a class-conscious force when on strike, voted for a local big-wig or for the bourgeois party which they had supported in the past when confronted with a ballot paper.

In the event, then, resort to elections meant the breaking of the strike's class front and the consolidation of Bonapartism.

It was precisely this outcome which de Gaulle desired, and the Communist Party, addicted to 'the parliamentary road to socialism', accepted with its eyes open. It enabled it to carry out a retreat in good order from the battle lines into which it had been forced, against its will, by the revolutionary upsurge of the working class.

The only remaining task, which proved hard but well within the competence of the bureaucracy, was to bring the strike to an end on the basis of definite demands—and to go through the familiar election routine.

De Massot sums up the situation after the strike and elections:

'The general strike was betrayed, it was not beaten. . . . There existed on the morrow of the strike an unstable and temporary equilibrium, an equilibrium which arose not from a new relationship of forces after the resolution of a crisis, but, on the contrary, from the extreme tension of class forces which had not resulted in either side being able to carry off the victory. The general strike did enable the working class to secure its fundamental de-

Fresh light on the May-June 1968 events

bourgeoisie and peasantry—in France a particularly large section of the population—waited and wavered: some joining with the workers, others with the 'forces of order'.

The whole question in those early days, as the working class gave this impressive demonstration of its power, was whether the strike could be organized and led in such a way as to open the road to the taking of power.

This was not a task which could be left to the trade unions. The first requirement was the establishment of strike committees in each enterprise, the linking of such committees into local committees and the establishment on this basis of a national strike leadership.

throughout the strike and the collision with the bureaucracies which ensued.

In the struggle for leadership the Stalinists and reformists retained control. They prevented the appearance of organs of dual power and co-ordination of the strike on a national scale. They did not venture to encroach on the sphere of the state, but permitted the continued supply of water, gas and electricity.

They also allowed the daily and weekly press organs of the bourgeoisie to appear. They carried on negotiations with the employers and the government designed to find a compromise which could bring the strike to an end on a basis which could be made 'acceptable' to the workers.

Programme needed

The strike furnishes numerous examples of the way in which the rank and file tried to break out of this strait-jacket. The most significant of all was the rejection by the Renault workers of the first agreement (reached in the 'Grenelle' talks) announced by CGT secretary Séguy after the second weekend of the strike. Nevertheless, hesitant and panic-stricken as many of the politicians were, the state apparatus remained in being.

Only a new form of power emanating from the working class on strike could have constituted an effective alternative. This required a political programme and a political struggle to mobilize the class.

The main responsibility for not carrying out this task falls on the Communist Party. Its role at every stage was decisive: it consciously pursued a policy of keeping the strike to 'professional' or economic demands and thus disarmed the working class.

There was a period of ten days or so when the state power seemed bound to fall, when it was kept in being, it might be said, only by the continued willingness of the leaders of the working-class organizations to recognize its existence. De Gaulle's speech on May 24 had

continued to spread to small enterprises not affected previously. The fact that the question of power was posed became increasingly obvious. But as it was also clear that the working-class organizations had no intention of demanding a political solution, the will of the working class was weakened and conditions prepared for the resumption of command by de Gaulle and the Bonapartist state.

The counter-attack came with de Gaulle's May 30 speech and the big Gaullist demonstrations in Paris and other towns organized by the government for that evening. Even so, the outcome was not decided by what was still only a declaration of intent without the means to impose it on ten million strikers except the threat of civil war; a doubtful gamble on the existence of the bourgeois state and social order in the circumstances.

It was the alacrity with which the Communist Party and the rest of the 'loyal' opposition took up de Gaulle's offer of elections which indicated how the tide was running. Now more than ever, therefore, it was necessary to break up the strike, just as Thorez had done in 1936.

The unwillingness of the CP to call de Gaulle's bluff was thus of vital importance. They maintained that to make such a challenge would be to fall into a trap set for them by de Gaulle, in order that he should have an excuse to suppress them. But at this stage de Gaulle did not have the means to carry out such an operation, even if he had so wished.

The fact is, of course, that only with the help of the leaders of the CGT and other unions could the strike be brought to a conclusion and the factories and other enterprises be returned to their 'rightful' owners.

At the same time, through the offer of elections, de Gaulle provided the Communist Party with a line of retreat which it was only too ready to make use of. Indeed, it had raised the slogan of elections from the beginning. It was clear from the workers' point of view

mands, the bourgeoisie was not able to crush the general strike.'

The direct result from this unstable equilibrium was the eventual fall of de Gaulle in April 1969 and the continuing confrontation between the classes today, despite the pause which accompanied and followed the election of his successor.

The general strike was a clear expression of class against class, a preface to the next round which begins with all the experience acquired in 1968. How posterity sees the French 1968 will depend very much upon what happens in the next round and that, in turn, upon how far the vanguard will be able to prepare to win the leadership of the working class from the Stalinists and reformists.

The 1968 events arose out of the pressure on French society of the international crisis of capitalism—as a result they had profound international significance.

The blow to the franc, the undermining of confidence on the part of the European as well as the French bourgeoisie as a result of the general strike, further intensified the instability of the world monetary system.

In a very concrete form, therefore, the perspectives of the Fourth International were confirmed. The question of how to act and prepare in the light of this new experience remains posed. Unless the working class, at least substantial sections of it, can be broken from the leaders who held it in check when victory was in its grasp—that is to say, principally, the Stalinist cadres who control the French Communist Party and the CGT—the lessons of 1968 will remain entirely abstract.

De Massot's book is an excellent job. It must be widely circulated and studied in France and the lessons he draws must be discussed by the international movement. The next task is to find the tactical course which will enable Trotskyism really to penetrate the workers' movement, train fresh cadres and prepare the alternative leadership for the next stage.



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FRENCH SOCIETY IN C

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The signal for the great general strike, which was to close down the whole of French industry within a week and throw the bourgeoisie and the government into confusion and panic, did not come from the CGT, from the Communist Party or any of the 'official' leaderships of the working class.

It came, in fact, from militant workers, the equivalent of shop stewards.

an opportunity and understood the mood of the class. Events were quickly to confirm that their call for a general strike expressed a real desire for combat on the part of the working class.

Within a few days the strike spread to the Renault plants and virtually the whole of the engineering industry, closely followed by the public services. From May 17 the strike was spreading so rapidly that it is impossible to say accurately how many workers were involved at any particular date. From the following Monday, May 20, it spread irresistibly to practically the whole economy.

From May 23 the strike had become the only political reality; the life of the country, of all classes, was suspended on its outcome.

As De Massot emphasizes, the strike was remarkable for its size and for the rapidity with which it spread. Of course, the great majority of the workers, employees and civil servants who took part had never been on strike before and did not even belong to a trade union. Yet it was clearly seen as no ordinary movement; the whole atmosphere, after all, was one of national crisis for which the clashes with the police in Paris and other towns had prepared the way.

From the start the strike assumed the most advanced character. The French proletariat was becoming a class for itself: on one side stood those with nothing to sell but their labour power, on the other those who owned and controlled the means of production and the state. Between these two main classes of capitalist society the petty

Understanding the a development the the other unions s strikes under contr only shows in detail but analyses the and what factors in the bureaucracies accomplish their ta

The union leade enterprise from the demands as far as po concerned each sec gave the occupati character by sending workers wherever i factories and other officials, permanent to keep control of

The slogan 'For Committee' was upl ists as the only way ist and reformist le the strike in a rev Communist Party control in the ha leadership.

The revisionist Jeunesse Communist whose main base ties, called for, and up, 'Action Comm izations, however could not seriously of the union offici alternative leaders mobilization of the and their union in

De Massot gives to show how the F Alliance Ouvrière a consistently for

PART THREE Fresh light on the

in the Sud-Aviation plant at Bougenais, Nantes.

History of struggle

The workers' struggle here—as, for that matter, in most of the big factories in France—had a history going back over many years. Trotskyists had played a prominent part in organizing the struggles in the factory and in the whole Nantes region from at least as far back as 1953. When they and other militants called for the occupation of the factory on May 14, they were acting in entire consistency with their understanding and experience of the class struggle.

In a true sense they were a vanguard of the working class. They recognized

bourgeoisie and peasantry—in France a particularly large section of the population—waited and wavered: some joining with the workers, others with the 'forces of order'.

The whole question in those early days, as the working class gave this impressive demonstration of its power, was whether the strike could be organized and led in such a way as to open the road to the taking of power.

This was not a task which could be left to the trade unions. The first requirement was the establishment of strike committees in each enterprise, the linking of such committees into local committees and the establishment on this basis of a national strike leadership.



throughout the str with the bureaucr

In the struggle Stalinists and refor trol. They prevent organs of dual pow of the strike on a did not venture sphere of the stat continued supply electricity.

They also allo weekly press organ to appear. They ca with the employers, designed to find could bring the st basis which could to the workers.

Programme

The strike furn amples of the way and file tried to strait-jacket. The all was the reject workers of the fir in the 'Grenelle' t CGT secretary Ség weekend of the hesitant and panic the politicians were remained in being.

Only a new form from the working have constituted tive. This require gramme and a p mobilize the class.

The main respon ing out this task f ist Party. Its role decisive: it con policy of keeping fessional' or econ thus disarmed the

There was a per when the state pov fall, when it was k be said, only by t nness of the leade organizations to re

De Gaulle's spe * French Trotsky International Com International.

major fight looms at nmu confab

RANK AND FILE CHALLENGE BUREAUCRACY



NMU PENSIONERS PROTEST AGAINST A CURRAN RACKET. MORRISSEY (ABOVE), LEADER OF DISSIDENT COMMITTEE FOR NMU DEMOCRACY

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK--The convention of the National Maritime Union beginning October 6th in New York is sharpening the battle for control of the NMU. Behind this battle lies a massive decline in the working conditions and number of jobs available to seamen. The only answer to this crisis is a mobilization of the ranks of the NMU to defend the Committee for NMU Democracy at the convention and also to start a battle to reopen the NMU contract and struggle for a better deal for merchant seamen.

The Curran machine is cracking down on the ranks. It is reported that goons have beaten members of the Committee for NMU Democracy and threatened others with murder. The Curran bureaucracy refuses to pay many seamen the pensions and back pay due them. The New York Times reports that Curran is ready to discuss with the owners ways to reduce manning scales on the ships and throw more men out of work.

The latest contract is a sellout from start to finish as most seamen know by now. It provides a wage increase that does not even keep up with inflation, does nothing about runaway-flag ships, and even guarantees the owners that labor costs will not rise above their present level. What this means is clear from the pressures that the Curran machine is building up against paying penalty rates for overtime work performed in port.

CONVENTION

The October NMU convention is Curran's latest round against the rank and file. The September issue of the NMU magazine, the "Pilot" makes Curran's plans clear, once you read between the fancy phrases and coverups. The "Port Reports" and "Voice of the Membership", supposedly an open forum for NMU members, but really open only to Curran's agents and stooges, reads as if they were written from a prepared script. Every one of these articles rants against the Committee for NMU Democracy, which is becoming a real threat to the bureaucrats.

"Passing the Word" states: "The right of the Union and the companies jointly to take steps to protect against the shipping of dangerous or subversive characters, narcotics violators, psychotics, etc., has been seriously restricted by the NLRB. Crews need such protection, of course, and we take steps to see that this responsibility now is recognized by ship owners and the Coast Guard and properly carried out".

What the crews need is protection against Curran's thugs, which they can provide themselves by organizing caucuses and defense guards against Curran's bully boys. The kind of protection Curran is talking about is that provided by gangsters against shopkeepers - keep your mouth shut, give up your money (in dues increases), and maybe you won't get beat up.

The clincher in Curran's propaganda war against the Committee for NMU Democracy led by James Morrissey is the statement, "We have found that it is possible for some members, simply by changing from one rating to another on the registration rolls, to stay on the beach indefinitely and still keep in good standing. Obviously this is not what the rules on good standing were supposed to provide. This is a loophole that should be corrected."

Curran wants to be able to throw out legally any militant struggling to stay in the NMU despite being refused jobs by the bureaucrats. Closing this "loophole" will put many militants on the beach permanently, since they now can switch from one rating to another when Curran's agents won't let them ship out.

The membership of the NMU has not taken the attacks by Curran and the bosses lying down, but has built up the Committee for NMU Democracy to the point where it is a major threat to the bureaucracy, winning 20% of the votes in the last election. The vote in New York, traditionally the most progressive NMU port, was actually against Curran. Running on platforms promising to return democracy to the NMU, members of this Committee have won over the majority of votes on several ships and are sending a handful of delegates to the convention to be held in New York on October 6th.

AMENDMENTS

The Committee for NMU Democracy plans to fight for several amendments to the NMU constitution at this convention. If passed, these amendments will allow the democratic election and recall of all NMU patrolmen and officials, open up the NMU books to the ranks, limit salaries of officials, and allow discussion and voting on all major Union matters.

These amendments deserve the full support of every man in the NMU. The votes, the petitions, the militancy of the ranks have built up the Committee for NMU Democracy to its present strength.

The best way to insure that the strength of the ranks carries over into the convention is to demonstrate

in support of the Morrissey amendments in front of the convention. Curran can't break the united strength of the ranks organized around a correct program. At the same time, no one but the ranks themselves can do the work of defending the Morrissey Committee, by organizing meetings, by writing and calling the Committee for NMU Democracy to carry the fight forward, or by forming ad hoc committees themselves. A solid body of a hundred or more NMU members is needed in front of the Commodore Hotel on October 6th.

CONTRACT

But the answer to the problems is not a struggle for trade union democracy alone, but is a political fight starting at the convention. The ranks must call on James Morrissey to introduce into the convention not only amendments for NMU democracy, but also a resolution calling for a reopening of the latest contract around three issues designed to make seamen's jobs more secure and better paying.

First, the demand must be raised in the convention for a four-watch system on all ships with no cut in pay. Morrissey already favors two full crews for the big new bulk and container carriers. Cutting the work week on ALL ships will give all men in the NMU protection by sharing out the work among the men available.

Second, the ranks in the convention

should fight for the immediate payment of all back pay and pensions now withheld by the Curran machine.

Third, Morrissey should not only fight against higher salaries for the goons but for higher wages for the men. Wage equality with the Seafarer's Union of the Pacific, along with an escalator clause to hike wages as fast as prices go up!

DEMONSTRATION

If Curran has his way at the October 6th convention the ranks will find it more difficult to hold their own against unemployment, worsening work conditions, and attacks and threats by goon squads, much less carry on the struggle for real job and wage protection. The ranks must mobilize at once to throw up the biggest possible demonstration in front of that convention. An active and aware rank and file is the best support for a Morrissey victory in the convention and is the only hope for a better contract.

Defend Morrissey In His Fight Against Curran!

Demonstrate At The Commodore Hotel, New York, October 6!

Start The Campaign To Reopen The Contract!

For Democracy In The NMU!

For The Four-Watch System With No Cut In Pay On All Ships!

For Wage Parity With The S.U.P. And For An Escalator Clause!

NYC Dockers Need Caucus To Fight Back Portwide

BY TOM GORDON

NEW YORK--Dockers throughout the Port of New York face the same problems: no container money, a sell-out union leadership, no equal rights for '68 and '69 men, not enough work, and forced overtime when there is work.

As one docker from local 1235 in Port Newark said, "A few years ago jobs were scarce in New Jersey and we wanted portwide seniority and Brooklyn wouldn't give up local seniority. Now jobs are scarce in Brooklyn and they want portwide security. Some men in New Jersey don't want it, since now New York and Brooklyn men get hired before '68 men here. In ten years there'll be less jobs here and there. I think portwide unity would be a good idea." A caucus of dockworkers from every local in the Port is the way to get that unity.

In September a group of dockworkers planned a wildcat strike to get the rest of the container money out of the Gleason bureaucracy. Nothing happened. Brooklyn dockers were given vague promises by Gleason and Scotto. New Jersey men were told nothing. No container money has been paid out since the threatened wildcat. Gleason, Tony Scotto of local 1814, and the rest of the ILA piecards understand action only.

ORGANIZATION

Yet without an organization of rank and filers to plan actions around container money, job cuts, and other issues, the chances of success are small. Teddy Gleason and his gang will try to spread lies and rumors, setting one local off against another. They will try to set older men against '68 and '69 men in a fight for the shrinking total of jobs and wages available in longshore.

A rank and file committee must fight around issues that unite and

not divide the ranks in order to be a strong force. A struggle to get the container money paid out and to have it paid out WEEKLY after this, is a key battle now. Another key is the struggle to end forced overtime and to reduce the work week with no cut in pay. Portwide seniority or seniority in one dock is not the issue. The bosses will try to use any change in seniority to force men off the piers.

The ranks can combat this by struggling for shorter work weeks, with no cut in pay, for all men, including the '68 and '69 men. Getting equal rights and wage guarantees paid out weekly to all men of every local will be a big improvement over the quarterly payout now in force and will unify the ranks against the bosses and bureaucrats.

Workers in the ILA do have the strength to fight back, if they are united and if they have a firm program. The Committee for NMU Democracy in the National Maritime Union, operating in the face of murder threats, fistfights, and a slander campaign, was able to win one fourth of the votes in the last NMU election and already has a majority of the men behind it on several ships. It is a major threat to the Curran dictatorship in that union. A strong rank and file committee can be a serious threat to the Gleason machine in the ILA in the near future. What is required now is for the ranks to organize it.

The ranks of the ILA must step forward and form a caucus to carry on the struggle for container money, improved work conditions, and rank and file control of the ILA. All those interested in the fight should phone or write the Workers League at 243 East 10th Street, New York 10003, phone 212-254-7120. Your names will be protected.

s.f. teachers hold strike vote in fight for wages

BY JEFF SEBASTIAN

SAN FRANCISCO-- AFT members are preparing to back up their demands with a strike vote on October 8th. There remains a tremendous danger that the real content of their struggle will be obscured by middle class panic.

As we pointed out in a recent article, teachers had allowed the question of their control over a reactionary black studies program to dominate when the real question was one of a political fight for wages, smaller class sizes, decent working conditions and real opportunities for the students. This had to be seen as a capitulation to the middle class program of the black nationalists.

The reaction of the teachers to a recent race riot at Balboa High School confirms this completely. In a matter of weeks they jump out of Eldridge Cleaver's frying pan into the fire of the capitalist state and the police department. Denouncing "problem children", teachers have demanded greater autonomy for discipline and expulsions and increased security help to police the schools.

FRENZIED

The AFT starts with an acceptance of racial conflict and turmoil in the

CALIFORNIA
GOV. REAGAN
PLANS 20% SLASH IN
STATE COLLEGE BUDGET



schools as an inevitable and unchangeable fact. Every incident sets off a frenzied reaction and a scramble for a few panaceas to resolve the immediate problem. It is the most dangerous illusion to believe that the very capitalist state which is responsible for the intolerable conditions that drive students to riot and teachers to strike can play anything but a reactionary role in maintaining order and discipline in the schools.

Any reliance on the government can only drive a wedge between teachers and students while at the same time giving the state ammunition and time to prepare a real drive against the teachers' union.

If teachers allow such issues to be pushed to the forefront of their

struggle they are cutting their own throats. The only answer lies in the determined preparation for an all out strike against the Board of Education that can enlist the support of the students and the rest of the labor movement.

This means breaking through the city's attempt to hold down wages by winning gains of at least 7%. It means a fight to bring all teachers up to union scale. It means a battle to see to it that all funds cut from the education budget are restored. It means winning the support of students in the fight for smaller class sizes, adequate facilities and real opportunities for youth through scholarships and jobs.

Reagan Budget Slashes Education

SAN FRANCISCO-- It is now abundantly clear that all the building seizures and black studies struggles and all the radical rhetoric of PL and SDS have left students totally unprepared to deal with the attacks now being prepared for them.

Governor Reagan's 1970 budget is an indication of what is to come. Reagan is determined to slash expenditures for the state college system by 20%, a cut of over \$23 million.

What this means concretely is the elimination of over 20,000 enrollments, hiking enrollment fees and a major increase in charges for "material and services". It can also mean reduction in operations and curtailment of library acquisitions.

Over 40,000 qualified students may be rejected next year. This is nothing more than a cynical and conscious attempt to throw thousands of youth into the surplus labor pool. Just as in industry the capitalists are fully determined to re-organize and rationalize their education factories for THEIR needs in a period of major recession.

What is required now is a serious political struggle of the students together with the trade union movement to beat back the budget cuts and other attacks on the working class. In the course of such a struggle we must raise the fight for a labor party based on the trade unions as the only political alternative to Reaganism.

say and Davis of the fight by thousands of angry hospital workers in this city.

GUARD

The hospital crisis has not been stopped and the workers will be asked time and again to pay for it. The ranks must be on guard every moment and must prepare to fight on a program of full job security.

We say yes, the budget cuts must be restored but this requires an independent political fight by the labor movement in this state. This means a break from all those supposed "friends of labor" - Lindsay, Rockefeller and the whole lot up there in Albany.

1199 LEADERS STALL AS HOSPITALS PLAN LAY OFFS



1199 PRESIDENT DAVIS, SHOWN HERE WITH LINDSAY, HAS NO PLANS TO FIGHT HOSPITAL CLOSINGS.

to preserve his image as a "friend of labor" and does the union leadership a favor by preventing any serious campaign by the rank and file against these layoffs.

HASTY

This hasty agreement cannot solve a thing. It only delays a little longer the full impact of the hospital crisis which still remains at all the hospitals. Some money has been scraped together to save face for Lindsay. Davis is stalling and trying to gain time but he is standing in quicksand-- a decisive fight is necessary now!

What was all Davis' talk about "closing down the hospitals" and demonstrating at Rockefeller's mansion if "one single worker" was laid off? Well Mr. Davis, it was two days until 150 workers were to be fired at Bronx Lebanon and the rank and file didn't see any preparations for large scale action, much less action at Gouverneur. Such talk was apparently to placate the ranks while the union tops engaged in secret discussions with Lindsay representatives.

STALLING

The lesson to be learned is that the union leadership is stalling because it has no program to fight Lindsay and Rockefeller with. They do not know what to say when the bosses refuse to appropriate the hospitals any more money except plead a little harder. The only action they have undertaken is to pass around a petition to Rockefeller to call a special session of the Legislature to restore the cuts.

The deal worked out between Lindsay and the Davis leadership for Bronx Lebanon and Gouverneur is only the lull before the storm. Lindsay of course is mainly interested in preserving his image until the election is over. At the same time the fact that this money was "found" is also an indication of the fear of both Lind-

At Gouverneur, 96 workers were slated for lay off if not the entire hospital. The Bronx Lebanon closing was widely publicized, although union members heard nothing from the union itself.

Just recently \$480,000 has been "found" to keep the Bronx clinic open and funds have also been scraped together for Gouverneur by none other than Mayor Lindsay. This is obviously what President Davis of 1199 was hoping for. Lindsay is trying

BY AN 1199 MEMBER

NEW YORK-- It becomes clearer everyday that the leaders of Local 1199 of the hospital workers union intend to paralyze any real action against the job freeze and threatened lay offs - Bronx Lebanon and Gouverneur being in immediate danger.

It had been announced that the clinic services at Bronx Lebanon would have to shut down on Oct. 1st, throwing 150 workers out of jobs.

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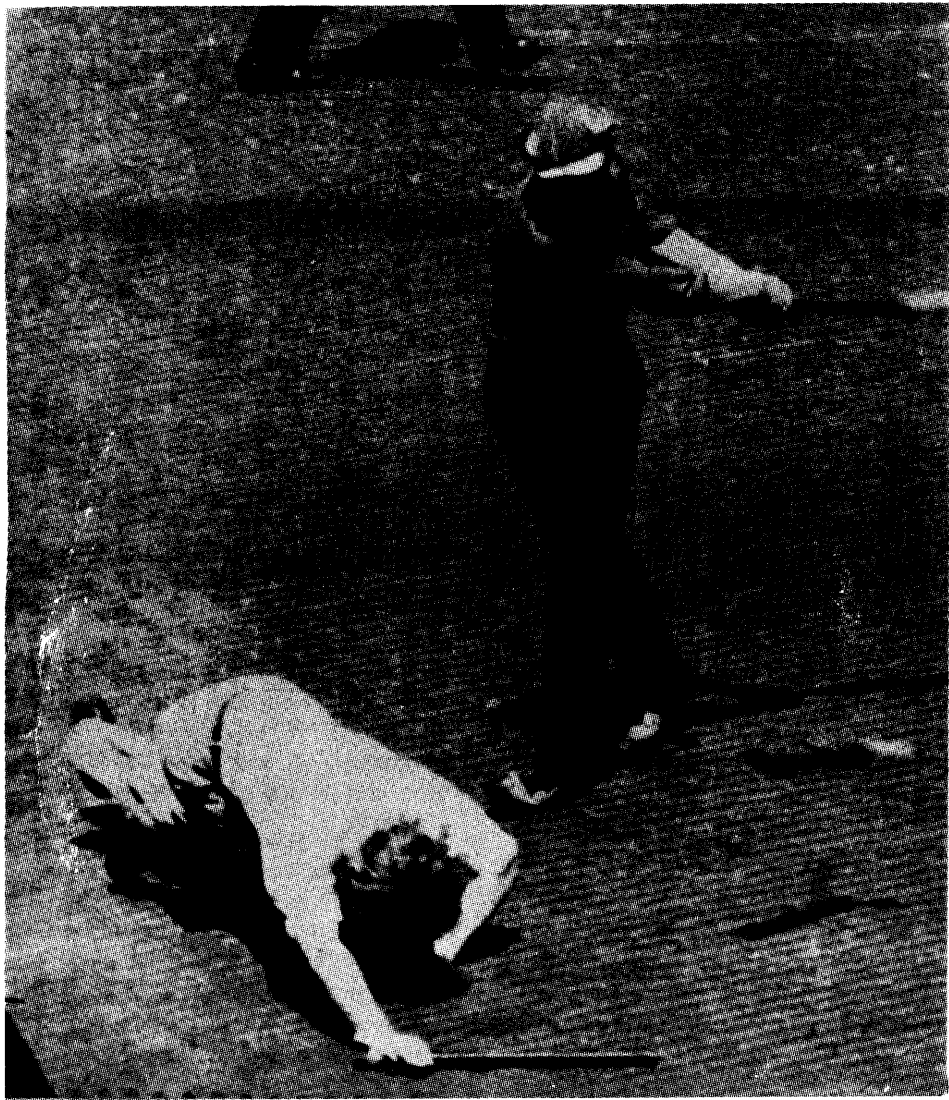
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HENRY SCHULTZ—PIONEER TROTSKYIST



"BATTLE OF DEPUTIES RUN",
FROM TROTSKYIST LED
MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS STRIKE, 1934.

BY TWO MINNESOTA COMRADES

Henry Schultz, pioneer American Trotskyist and founding member of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers League, died at the age of 67 in Madison, Wisconsin, on Wednesday, September 24, of complications following surgery.

A memorial meeting was held for him by his family and intimate friends. The tribute was paid by a long-time Minnesota comrade from the old S.W.P., and co-founder with him of the Workers League.

Henry, a skilled electrician by trade, came to the embattled truck drivers of Minneapolis in the early thirties to offer his services. He was won to socialism in the course of that struggle, and called Carl Skoglund, the man who brought Trotskyism to Minnesota, his revolutionary teacher. From that moment up to his last few months, his life was devoted to the struggle to build a party capable of leading a socialist revolution in America.

GUIDE

He filled the key role of dispatcher in the big '34 truck drivers strike, and helped guide the strike to victory. Like much of the work Henry was to do in the future, the essential nature of his role was known to only a few outside of the leadership of the S.W.P. As mentioned above, he was a founding member of the party and a member of its national committee, a position he held continuously until the early sixties.

For years Henry served as organizer for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in the days when the major task of the American labor movement was to organize the unorganized. And wherever he went, Henry also organized for Trotskyism. For him there was no dichotomy—it was one struggle. He was instrumental in helping to found several SWP branches, especially in important auto, rubber and railroad centers.

Founding member SWP and Workers League

ginning of the war drive and the increasing pressure on union officials to sell bonds and become part of the war machine, Henry left his union job and went to work as a railroad brakeman.

During the next period of his life Henry was able, for the first time, to take part in the day-to-day work of building the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches. It was during this period that his local comrades began to really know and appreciate him. He would spend hours patiently explaining the history of Marxism, the need for socialism, and how to struggle for it, to young workers and students who responded warmly to him and his teaching.

The Schultz home was a center of party life, scene of classes, parties, meetings, a place for coffee and comradeship after a petition drive, a stopping place for traveling party members.

He worked closely with the party fractions during many union struggles. Out of a close collaboration between the party packing house fraction and this experienced Marxist developed the intervention that prevented the Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) from being completely smashed in the defeated 10 week strike of 1948. The union nationally was saved by the vigorous struggle conducted in South St. Paul.

VICTIMIZED

During the late forties he was victimized by the railroad bosses for his party activities, and for several years was unemployed. Hence he was free during the 1948 election campaign to travel and to get the party on the ballot in several Western and Midwestern states.

Throughout these years there was never any doubt about where Henry stood on the political struggles within the S.W.P. Like the whole Minnesota leadership, he was a solid member of the proletarian (Cannon) section of the party.

With Pablo's proclamation of the centuries of deformed workers' states and the theoretical confusion of the ensuing discussion, Henry, with others, became critical of the lack of theoretical clarity on the part of the national leadership. This criticism grew with the continuing failure

of the party to adopt a clear position on the Chinese question.

PROLETARIAN

But he was still very much a part of the old proletarian wing of the party with its weaknesses as well as its strengths. He never felt that leadership and political struggle was something that he, himself, should assume, rather than something which came from New York. So when the Cochran fight broke out, he, like Dobbs, pulled back from a real struggle with the Cochran wing. After all, he reasoned, they were workers. While he finally joined in the struggle, the real political lessons of the fight were never really assimilated.

Soon after the Cochran fight, Henry found himself embroiled in an internal organizational battle within the Twin Cities branch of the party. Similar struggles were going on in a number of branches and reflected the political confusion and decay of the SWP in that period. These were really indications of the political collapse of Cannonism, of the attempt to maintain a proletarian orientation separate from struggling for the theoretical development of the party. This collapse of Cannonism was the precursor to the complete degeneration of the SWP and its rejoining with the Pabloites internationally.

IC

Henry, alone of the whole old leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, was to resist this final degeneration and make his way to the Workers League and the International Committee. He attended the founding convention of the Workers League and became a member of its National Committee. In 1968 he visited England to work with the comrades of the Socialist Labour League, attending their summer camp and having many talks with young workers on the history of the American working class.

But in the last years of his life Henry was politically inactive, due both to his deteriorating health and to his difficulty in confronting the history of the Socialist Workers Party and breaking from Cannonism. To the end Henry was little concerned with the political struggles the Workers League and the Socialist Labour League were engaged in. He did not see their immediacy to the class struggle. He recognized the International Committee as the continuator of the revolutionary party he had devoted his life to building, but he did not really understand the theoretical struggles which made it possible for the International Committee to survive the degeneration which consumed his whole generation of completely dedicated revolutionary working class fighters.

PROUD

The Workers League will always be proud that in its first difficult days Comrade Henry Schultz gave us an important assist in getting going. We will always value the rich lessons of the American class struggle we have learned through our collaboration with this comrade. At the same time we will build the Workers League on the strengths of Comrade Schultz and through a struggle against his weaknesses, weaknesses which led to the destruction of the Socialist Workers Party.

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mark rudd, goldwater & mussolini

BY THE EDITOR

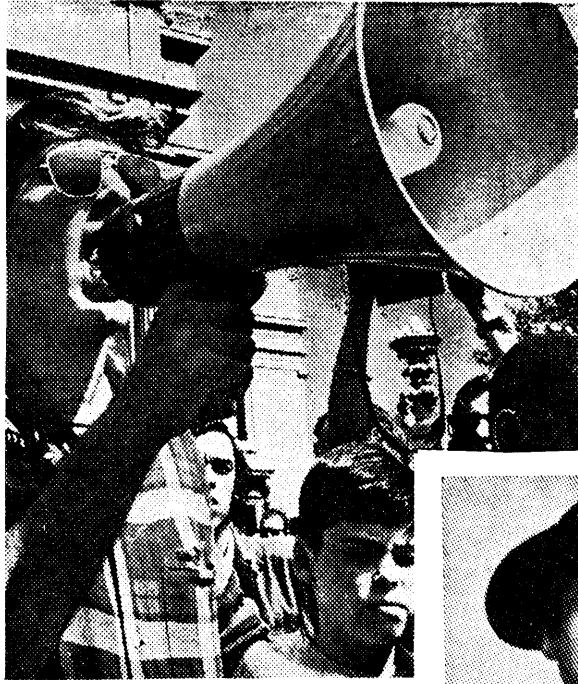
The RYM I SDS faction led by Mark Rudd is, contrary to the writers in the Militant, no laughing matter. This group has unleashed frenzied attacks as much against the working class and working class tendencies as against the 'pigs'. Holding that "the time is right for violent revolution" but that the working class as a class is reactionary, the Rudd group sees itself as the self-appointed anarchistic instruments of violence.

And Rudd is not very discriminating as to where the violence is directed. He plans violent attacks not only on police, but even "the working men who are drafted and fighting in Viet Nam." Thus he blames the Viet Nam war on the workers who are forced into the war. As far as Progressive Labor and other opponent factions in SDS: "We sometimes beat them up and they beat us up. What we usually do is beat them up when we find them..."

HIPPIE

So recently Rudd's private hippie army pounced on three Progressive Labor members at Columbia and beat them up; the Motor City gang has been taking over high school classes in Detroit and threatening any students who do not wish to listen to them with Karate chops; similar actions are taking place across the nation. This is all to culminate in the October 8-11 actions in Chicago, where Rudd plans provocations with the police and will no doubt take time out from this to beat up any socialists he can get his hands on.

The Rudd faction of SDS must be seen as the logical development of middle class radicalism as long as this radicalism is kept separate from the working class movement. Thus it crystalizes all the confusion and frenzy of the American middle class reacting to a crisis they do not understand, a crisis which is ripping apart America on CLASS lines, making the in between position of the middle class



RUDD (ABOVE), HESS (ABOVE RIGHT), MUSSOLINI (BELOW)

untenable. With Rudd, this frenzy takes on a particularly hostile attitude towards the working class.

FASCIST

It is precisely for these reasons that this group, despite its origins in an ostensibly socialist movement, begins to take on the characteristics of a fascist movement. Fascism is the logical expression of the frenzy of the middle class, utilized by big business to break the backs of the working class. Fascism has always had its "radical" wing, a wing recruited precisely from petty bourgeois declassed elements around the socialist movement.

We can see this particularly sharply in the case of the founder of fascism, Benito Mussolini. Mussolini started out in the left wing of the Socialist Party, leading the anarchists in their attacks on the right wing. Here is how John Spencer describes Musso-

lini in that period:

"Born of an artisan family, Mussolini grew up a rebel against society. Though he worked as a labourer for a short time, he lived the life of a bohemian wanderer, absorbing anarchist and syndicalist ideas. One Russian socialist who met him during this period said: 'He was no Marxist, but a sentimental poetaster who has read Nietzsche'."

"He favoured 'the iron necessity of violence', the compelling need to use force 'surgically', attacked the church and the freemasons, nationalism and landlordism. But he became more and more dominated by the idea of a revolutionary elite, with himself as leader, acting in the name of the people, as against the Marxist insistence on political leadership to mobilize and lead the mass movement of the working class to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (Spencer's timely articles, "The Rise

of Italian Fascism" will appear in the weekly Bulletin. Be sure to subscribe Now!)

But this is exactly where Mark Rudd and his "Weathermen" are at now. They are middle class hippie rebels who view themselves as a revolutionary elite which will use violence to get changes, violence AGAINST the working class if necessary. They have no roots in the working class, no commitment to Marxist theory, nothing to bind their middle class frenzy. Ideologically they start from the reactionary thesis of classless "race" and "nationalist" struggles -- a thesis they share in one way or another with all other political tendencies on the left except the Workers League.

Now along comes Karl Hess, speech writer for Barry Goldwater in 1964, to underline the connection of the so-called "New Left" with reactionary and fascist politics. Hess has now emerged as a "New Lifter" who officiates at Black Panther affairs in the Washington area and gives lectures on "the ways in which Left and Right political positions have merged in the New Left."

How does Hess describe his present views? He considers himself an ANARCHIST. It is this anarchism which links the Hess who wrote "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice", Goldwater's cover for accepting Birchite and fascist support, with the Panthers and SDS. After all, he notes, "All power to the people was originally Barry Goldwater's slogan."

ALLIANCE

What links Benito Mussolini, Barry Goldwater, and Mark Rudd is that each reflected in his own day and in his own way, the reaction of the "little man", the "people", the "middle class", to a world controlled by big trusts, huge corporations, and who at the same time see the working class as just as much a menace if not more so. Those who in any way separate themselves from the working class politically--even in seeing, as does Progressive Labor, their relationship as some sort of "alliance"--contribute to this middle class frenzy, a frenzy which can be mobilized by big business agents against the working class.

The Black Panthers, who talk of the "people" not of workers, who base themselves consciously on the middle class and the lumpen proletariat, who also carry on hooligan tactics against socialists, the Panthers are nothing more than a black reflection of Rudd. Tendencies like RYM II who support the Panthers uncritically and share with Rudd a conception of the struggle as a classless national one, represent nothing more than a reform version of Rudd. The difference is tactical, not of a class character.

Progressive Labor contributes in its own way by seeking to maintain the student struggle as a separate one and covering this with working class demogogy. The Socialist Workers Party contributes by encouraging the very reactionary black nationalist theories which led to Ruddism. The Communist Party, of course, stands ready to pick up the chips, trying to combine all this middle class politics into a reformist "progressive" movement.

At the same time Rudd stands out as the most extreme example of the "left" frenzy of the middle class directed against the working class. We stand ready at any moment to unite in joint defense efforts with other socialist organizations and groups against this reactionary proto-fascist group of declassed hooligans

Inflation Roars Ahead--Unemployment Threatens

BY DENNIS O'CASEY

The .04% August jump in the consumer price index, although slightly below the figure for the previous month, provided little consolation for those who are looking for some sign of a slowing of the inflationary spiral. The recent period has in fact seen both wholesale and retail prices surging ahead at the fastest rate since the Korean war.

General Motors has announced a "basic car" price increase of \$125 with Ford and Chrysler following suit with increases of \$119 and \$107 respectively. Copper is up 24% this year. Steel is up in 1969 at an annual rate of 7.1% equal to the percentage increase during the previous 8 year period. Gasoline is up at an annual rate of 9.4%. Leading this month's consumer price rise was food (centering on a sharp 17% hike in the cost of eggs), cigarettes, foot wear, property taxes, gas and electric rates, home repairs, auto insurance and movie admissions.

So far this year prices have risen 4.2%, making 1969 the most inflationary year since 1948 and holding open the possibility that the Consumer Price Index will go over 7% by the end of the year.

LESS

What has this meant for American workers? In plain dollars and cents the average American worker stood still from July to August, with wage increases being exactly offset

by inflation. The shocking thing, however, is that by August of 1969 the American worker was taking home less real wages than in August of 1968.

Beneath this still surging inflation there are long range recessionary forces hard at work. The monetary and fiscal restraint introduced early in the year by the Nixon administration is beginning to grab on the level of industrial production, new orders for durable goods, retail sales and employment. There is a slowing down in all of these indices best summarized in the fact that the real growth in Gross National Product for 1969 is now projected by leading economists at a pitiful 1.3%, the smallest real growth since the recession of 1958.

One should not be misled by the contradictory movement of prices and real growth. At a certain point a slackening of price increases is inevitable. The only problem is that by that time Nixon's recessionary measures may well have gained the kind of momentum that will throw the economy into an uncontrollable slump much more serious than anything since World War II with many millions unemployed.

UNEMPLOYMENT

What all this means for the working class is that it is to be made to pay on both accounts: . . . It pays today . . . too late . . .

TRUDEAU ATTACKS PUBLIC EMPLOYEES



NDP CAMPAIGN RALLY

BY JUDITH LEE

TORONTO--Stanley Little, President of CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees) recently has called for all out support to the New Democratic Party.

CUPE which represents 130,000 workers including municipal, school board, hospital and university employees, has become one of the prime targets of the governments attacks. Not only is it illegal for public employees to strike, but the Ontario government by law recognizes only its hand-picked union, the Civil Service Association of Ontario. There are also federal provisions governing civil servants, namely the Public Service Staff Relations Act, which prohibits certification of any bargain-

ing units that requires as a condition of membership the payment of money to a political party. The sole objective of the law is to keep the unions from supporting the NDP actively.

Armed with this legislation, Prime Minister Trudeau now plans on cutting costs by eliminating 10% of all civil service jobs. Clearly these attacks on the public employees is a warning of what is in store for all Canadian workers.

BATTLE

All these measures and the rising militancy of the ranks have put the bureaucrats like Little against the wall. There is no more room to maneuver! The ranks of labor are more and more realizing the need

for a political battle. This is represented by the NDP's biggest victory in the Manitoba election.

While workers are turning to the NDP, the NDP maintains the contradictions of its origins. The NDP was originally formed by the labor leaders and liberals as a pressure tool against the other bosses' parties. While it has received the support of trade unionists, it has not posed as an alternative to the working class and has confined itself to middle class reformist politics.

This policy is becoming less and less viable as the capitalists are forced more and more to take on the trade unions and to push back the workers' living standards.

We agree with Little when he states that rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies does not work because none of these capitalist politicians are the friends of labor, regardless of what they promise.

CUPE

The NDP must now pose itself as a real alternative to the workers. The ranks of labor must take up this fight. If Little means what he says about full support in every way to the NDP, then CUPE must take this fight into the Canadian Labor Congress.

Central to this fight must be a program for the workers and small farmers of Canada--not a reformist program but a socialist program. Labor must raise demands for the repeal of all anti-strike legislation, repeal of the cuts in social services and jobs, an end to hand-picked unions, and for a workers' government.

NDP GETS NEW SURGE OF SUPPORT FROM WORKERS

BY OUR CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT

TORONTO--The New Democratic Party scored another victory by winning its 23rd seat in the Provincial constituency. The victory in the Middlesex South district shows more than ever that the working class is turning their backs on the liberals and are flocking to the polls and voting for Labor.

Even as more and more workers and small farmers view the NDP as their party, the NDP still refuses to break away from the liberals and adopt a program that will fight for the working class.

Medicare was the issue in which the NDP ran on and won. Medicare is being introduced in Canada as part of the Tories attacks against the working class. It is as much a blow as are the deflationary measures, such as Trudeau's plan to cut 10% of civil servant jobs, and as much as the anti-union legislation.

Under this medicare scheme the working and middle classes are not protected anymore than under the other two plans. The only difference is that the premiums for health protection have gone up and as much as \$15.00 a month for a family. This must be seen in the same way as a raise in taxes. The only ones who will benefit from it are the huge insurance companies who administer it and the profit-minded doctors who have no charge ceiling.

The only answer is socialized medicine. The NDP must break from capitalist politics and start fighting for the welfare of the workers and small farmers. Only by fighting on a socialist program can the Tories in Middlesex South and the rest of Canada be defeated now and in the 1971 General Elections.

postal workers face new squeeze

BY CARLOS MANUEL OZORIO

The reorganization of the U. S. Post Office must be seen in the light of the government budget cuts at the national, state and local levels.

The Post Office has the largest number of non-military employees, some 750,000 workers who in 1968 moved 82 billion pieces of mail.

The future of the Post Office is a rather grim one, plagued with complete breakdown in service, warehouses full of undelivered mail, ever rising postage costs, and a force of none too merry postal workers, who under conditions of extreme pressure are expected to somehow "work miracles" and move the vast and ever increasing flow of mail.

Postal workers are barred from striking by federal laws which carry heavy fines and jail sentences. For too long they have had to put up with some of the worst conditions facing American workers - 80% of the workers who join the Post Office will leave with the same job title with which they entered. 85% of all postal workers are in the five lowest paid titles in the postal service. They are also some of the lowest paid federal employees.

Their fight for wages and benefits takes place through lobbying the Congress. It is no wonder that at a time when the cost of living is soaring sky high, postal workers are presented a money package of 4-1/2% by the Federal government.

Both the President of the National Association of Letter Carriers and the President of the United Federation of Postal Clerks see nothing wrong with the acceptance of the no strike arrangement as long as they are allowed

to "petition" the Congress. They are therefore responsible for the disgraceful contract proposals which presently face postal workers.

Postal workers are not about to sit back and allow the 4-1/2% to be shoved down their throats, not even by the intimidation and threats of the postal inspectors who are out looking for evidence in order to bring charges against the New York City Postmen who called in sick in protest of the rotten 4-1/2% government offer.

The harassment and threats leveled at these courageous workers lays bare the intentions and plans of the government against all postal workers.

REORGANIZATION

Reorganization is a cover name for automation, a process which has thrown thousands of workers out of jobs. In the Post Office it will not be any different.

The United States Postal Service (U.S.P.S.) will be a corporation wholly owned by the Federal government to be run as a private enterprise by a 9 man board of directors whose goal will be to run the Post Office as a self-supporting business in five years time.

Presently the most costly and time consuming part of mailing a letter is the sorting process at the post office. It is estimated that five cents of every six cents to mail a letter is spent in sorting the letter for its destination. The clerks who sort the mail are among the best paid and most highly trained of the postal workers. It is their jobs which are in danger.

To replace the mail sorters the postal research section is already testing optical scanners that are able

to read approximately 95% of all typed and printed business envelopes. One that will read handwriting is being perfected for use in the late 1970s. Conveyor belts which are presently used to transport letters within the post office building will be replaced by streams of pressured air which transport the letters at incredible speeds.

HUMAN

The automated Post Office will work in such a way that once a letter enters the Post Office building it will not be touched by human hands until it reaches its destination and is handed by the postman to the addressee.

At present 80% of the postal budget goes toward the salary of postal workers. It is this part of the budget which we can be most certainly sure will be up for a trimming, and the clerks who sort the mail the most vulnerable, for they are the ones who will have to compete with machinery that can do the most incredible things, one of them being a clerk's job.

In order to carry through the "reorganization", and keep the workers in line the new Post Office Corporation will provide for the settlement of all disputes through compulsory arbitration. There will still be no right to strike.

BUREAUCRATS

Not one peep has been heard from the bureaucrats of the postal workers union. These so-called labor leaders prefer to worry about such things as "What will service be like for the general public under U.S.P.S.?", rather than concerning themselves with waging a struggle against the lies

thrown up by Nixon, his administration and the Republicans and Democrats in the Congress, all of whom are responsible for the wages of Postal workers.

As most postal workers know, lobbying the Congress of Democrats and Republicans is a complete fraud which the labor leaders use to coddle up to the bosses and government. Yes, the conditions in the Post Office are a political question. But for the postal workers, like the government workers in New York who face "reorganization" schemes and the no-strike Taylor Law, the only political party that can fight rotten wages and conditions is an independent labor party based on the rank and file.

PROGRAM

Postal workers have begun the fight on the rotten conditions which the government is preparing to make worse. The workers must step up the struggle around a firm program.

Full political rights for all government employees.

The right to strike and to collective bargaining.

One industrial union in the Post Office--unity with the AFL-CIO.

A real fight to end favoritism, no appointments--Put all hiring and upgrading on a civil service basis under the control of democratically elected union committees.

An immediate 16.5% wage hike to make up for past losses and a full cost of living escalator clause to protect against inflation.

No layoffs--workers to receive the benefits of automation and "reorganization" in the form of a shorter work week and increased vacation.