

REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS -- THE 1930'S AND THE 1960'S

HOOPER
APR 3 1967
INSTITUTION

by Melody Farrow

in universities all over the country 1966 has heralded a new wave of student uprisings. Student unrest is an important indication of the deepening economic crisis at home and abroad.

The decline of the post war boom of the 50's reveals the decay of the capitalist system and its desperate attempts to maintain its profits at the expense of the working class by taking away the gains they have made in more prosperous times.

By the same token the industrial rebirth of Western Europe has forced the US to seek markets in Asia by fighting a costly war that is gradually

draining the economy and destroying its standard of living.

1930's

The needs of a highly automated society for skilled labor are creating an intensification and speeded up in higher education with its accompanying exclusive admission policies, dehumanization, bureaucracy and crowded classrooms. Students have yet to fully realize the implications of their revolt and its relation to the entire structure of society. In their battles with the administration students must be prepared to confront the capi-

talist class as a whole which the latter represents.

In this context the student ferment of the 1930's has important lessons for the student today. The youth of the 1930's is not a new unique generation. Only by understanding the continuity of his struggle can he avoid making the mistakes of the past.

The economic crisis of the 30's produced the strong revolutionary movements in Germany, France and Spain and the depression in the US which hit particularly hard at the middle classes. The complacency of the 1920's and the students' illusions of economic security went up in smoke.

(Continued on page 3)

A Forgotten Strike
page 2

Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Spanish Workers Strike
page 4

Vol. 3, No. 10- 52

Jan. 16, 1967

Ten Cents

truth and vietnam

Reveal United States Lies About Bombing Civilians

by the editors

A little bit of the bloody reality of the Vietnam war has been revealed to the American people through the dispatches of Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times. These dispatches confirm without a doubt not only that civilians and civilian homes, hospitals, churches and consumer goods factories have been destroyed extensively but also that the United States Government has been LYING THROUGH ITS TEETH about this and every other aspect of the war.

The New York Times editorially characterized the government's information policies as "secretive, evasive, misleading or untruthful". In this same editorial of January 2nd, it goes on to attempt to soften the impact of the Salisbury dispatches. The Times urges us to believe, - yes, we said believe - this secretive, evasive, misleading and untruthful government of ours when it states that it is only aiming at military targets and that the civilian casualties are mere accidents. It seems that the textile plant in Namdinh was bombed "accidentally" 19 times!

expensive

The truth is that the U.S. now considers virtually every road in North Vietnam a military target. Every defence-

less hamlet which sets up anti-aircraft facilities after being bombed also becomes a military target. It is clear from the information in the Salisbury accounts alone that military targets are simply being used as an excuse for a policy of death and destruction aimed precisely against the civilian population of North and South Vietnam. This is the real content of the openly stated U.S. policy of making the war "expensive" for North Vietnam.

The U.S. Government lies not because of any great worry over "public opinion". It lies precisely because it is seeking to carry through two contradictory policies at once. It seeks to defend its imperialist domination of Southeast Asia through an aggressive war in Vietnam while at the same time seeking to penetrate East Europe and the USSR through expanding trade. Thus it seeks to limit Soviet involvement in the war and this requires that its own involvement "look" limited.

times

The New York Times has its own reasons for permitting a bit of the truth to leak out through the Salisbury articles. The Times represents those capitalists most concerned with international trade and investment in foreign coun-

tries -- in particular in Europe east and west. This section of the capitalists put greater emphasis on penetration of the Soviet countries economically than they do on the military effort in Southeast Asia. They stand with Johnson in defense of American imperialism but have a somewhat different policy for defending imperialism.

enemy

The position of American workers on the Vietnam war must be clear and uncompromising. This war is not being fought in our interests. It is rather being fought by our enemies, the very same bosses who fight us every day in the

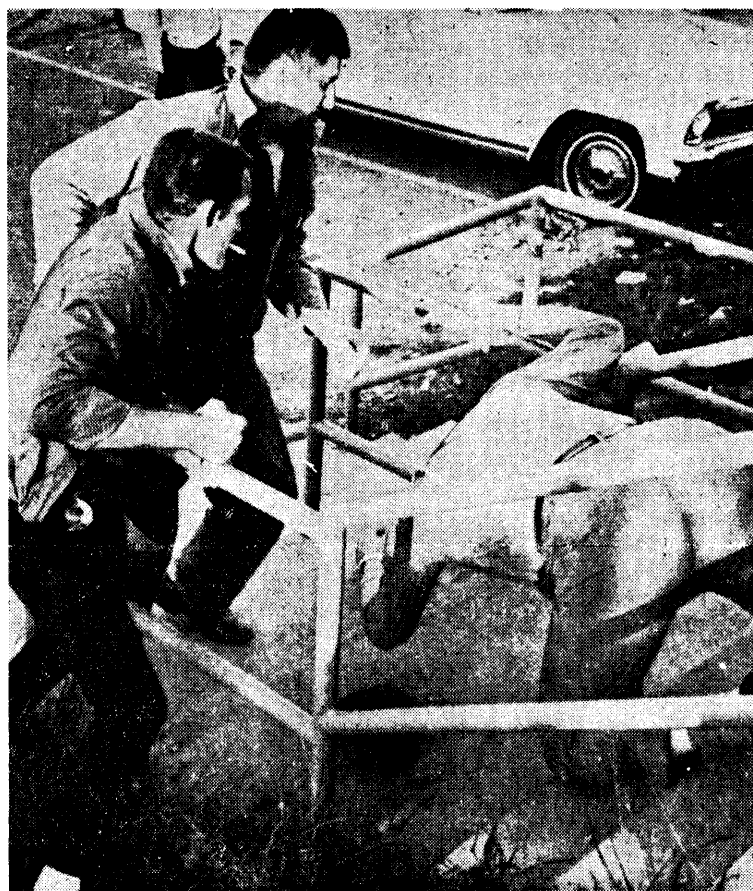
(Continued on page 4)

bosses plan offensive

1967: U.S. Labor Faces Tough Battles

by Tim Wohlforth

This year is going to be a year of intensive struggles for the American working class. Labor had better start getting prepared for battle because the bosses are already prepared and more determined than ever that the worker's living standards should suffer so that the bosses' standards can be maintained. And, mark our words, the Federal Govern-



STRIKING WORKERS ROUGH UP GUARD AT RCA PLANT.

ment is going to be right in there protecting the interests of the bosses.

Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz has let the cat out of the bag. "There is already a stiffening of economic attitudes on the part of employers," he states. "They feel more questions about the future, and probably are more inclined to say no." What Wirtz is saying is that the U.S. capitalists are now feel-

ing the very same pinch of capitalists the world over. The economic factors which have already led to layoffs for workers in England, Germany and Spain, just to mention a few countries recently in the news, is hitting the very citadel of capitalism in the United States. The cause of this pinch is a crisis of the capitalist system as a whole.

The bosses have a program (Continued on page 4)

Mage Postpones SSEU Strike; Places Faith in City

by a welfare worker

NEW YORK--On Dec. 27, SSEU president Judy Mage told some 700 welfare workers that they should work without a contract until Jan. 15, instead of striking on Jan. 3. Mage made the remarkable assertion that negotiations were "purposeful," this despite the fact that no agreement had been reached with the city on any demand (our proposals are 110 pages long). Since the leadership had

never said a single word to the membership as to what constituted purposeful negotiations, the rank and file had no alternative but accept the Mage definition of what is progress. They therefore accepted the recommendation of the Executive Board by a large vote after a reasonably brief floor fight.

vacillation

The meeting was a logical culmination of the union's

vacillation for the last two months. It must be obvious that the union was not preparing its members for the serious events of the future. For example, in the Dec. issue of the SSEU newspaper, THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE WORD ABOUT A POSSIBLE STRIKE.

The leadership has deliberately refused to go to the membership and discuss the issues. Even when challenged from the floor to explain exactly what she was



SSEU MEMBERS PICKET DURING 1965 STRIKE.

negotiating for and to tell the people at the meeting what our minimum demands were Judy Mage avoided the issue.

Even more serious, the Mage leadership has refused to seriously discuss the polit-

ical nature of our struggle against the city. While the great majority of SSEU members realize that the city has not been bargaining in good faith with us, it is not clear (Continued on page 3)



LABOR SCOPE

Bulletin of International Socialism



editor - Tim Wohlforth

art director - Marty Jonas

circulation - Fred Mueller

Published bi-weekly by the Workers League. The Workers League is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Editorial offices: Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St., N.Y. 10003. Midwest Office: Box 14002, University Sta., Minneapolis, Minn. 55414. Western Office: Box 1663, S.F. Calif. 94101.

VOL. 3, NO. 10 (52)

JAN. 16, 1967

printed entirely by union labor

Reuther-Meany Conflict Flares Anew.....

Walter Reuther and his associates in the leadership of the United Automobile Workers of America have brought the conflict within the AFL-CIO bureaucracy one step further toward a fundamental cleavage. Reuther's public criticism of basic AFL-CIO policies and by implication of George Meany will certainly strain relations if not lead to a complete break of the UAW from the AFL-CIO.

A close associate of Reuther, reportedly stated with regard to such a prospect: "Anyone who says it could never happen is deluding himself. This is deadly serious." Regardless of Reuther's motivations or intentions, his statement is a sign of a crisis which is developing in the American labor movement.

In addition to the foreign policy differences together with the usual hot air liberal rhet-

oric of 'liberal images', 'social vision' and 'how best to fight Communism'--the UAW statement charged that the AFL-CIO had fallen short in the following areas: organization of "industrial, construction, office, technical and professional workers"; aid to the organization of migratory and farm workers; wage and collective bargaining policy on economic issues; a program to gain more for "public service employees without striking." In addition the AFL-CIO was charged with weakness in its demands for: better education; welfare for the aged; civil rights; health insurance and public welfare in general.

Reuther did not suddenly discover these differences with the Meany leadership. His decision to bring them up in a public confrontation results from his glimmering of understanding that struggle on these issues is already developing in

the working class and is going to rack the AFL-CIO from stem to stern. As we put it in our last issue, Reuther is himself sitting on top of a powder keg of militancy and dissatisfaction. He is trying to maneuver himself into a position where he and his colleagues will be able to put out the fire once the explosion occurs.

Workers should have no illusions that simply because Reuther has raised a number of important failings of the AFL-CIO that he can or will lead a militant, effective struggle against these failings and for the goals he espouses. Reuther can be expected to channel struggle for these goals into ineffectual and self-defeating channels. Above all, he will resist a real break with the Democratic 'stooge' Party of the bosses. Reuther very recently attacked the demand for a labor party when raised in

his own union.

There is a certain parallel between the crisis of capitalism in the '30s which resulted in the organization of the mass production industries and today's crisis which raises the need for the workers to organize themselves politically just as they did industrially when the CIO was formed out of the split with the old AFL. Just as the industrial workers in the U.S. could not begin to defend themselves without industrial unions, the workers today can make no serious progress in the areas that Reuther raises (as well as many others) without organizing their own labor party.

Even though the UAW statement is designed to give Reuther room to maneuver, his action should be seized on as an initiative for struggle by militant workers. Particularly in the UAW, the organization of a militant caucus must begin. This caucus must not be simply 'anti-Reuther' and generally progressive while playing the same game, but must be a rank and file caucus that takes the progressive points of the Reuther statement seriously (unlike Reuther), seriously enough to 'make its central demand the organization of an independent labor party against the Democrats and Republicans.

..... The "Forgotten" Strike of 12,000 GE Workers

With only occasional publicity reaching the New York press, the 'forgotten' strike of almost 12,000 members of IUE local 301 has kept shut the huge General Electric plant in Schenectady, N.Y. for 80 days at the time of this writing. Despite the settlement reached on a national level in October, the local walked out on Oct. 17. The walkout occurred in relation to G.E.'s continuing efforts to make the plant "competitive" at the expense of the workers.

The union charged "harrassment in new job evaluation procedures", and refused to accept the new wage scales that G.E. was trying to institute in place of the old piece

rates. The present dispute is simply the culmination of over two years of struggle and frequent work stoppages at the plant over the implementation of the 1964 agreement ending the piecework category between the local and G.E. This agreement was stuffed down the throats of the workers who were told that the Company would leave Schenectady if they did not accept it. The International leadership allowed this blackmail to take place without a struggle.

The New York Times, in describing the dispute said that labor and management representatives "are asking, 'what is a day's work?' and

some people here think the question will never be resolved to the complete satisfaction of either side." The dispute is a classical example of struggle in which the company claims it is simply trying to get a 'good day's work for a good day's pay'. This results in what the union calls harassment. In practice this harassment is summed up in the words of one assembly worker who complained that while on the job, "some guy with a walkie-talkie was hovering over me." G.E. said that this "was probably one of our job-evaluation people, dictating into a portable tape recorder."

A vote on the latest company

offer has just been completed, but as we go to press the results are not yet in. The outcome has been considered a "toss-up" by both sides. On the one side the Company has resorted to its usual blackmail -- threats that it will leave the city, thereby affecting the jobs of half the working population of Schenectady. On the other side are the workers whose militancy is not easily dissipated by such threats. The local leadership while not urging acceptance of the offer has neither urged rejection. Local 301's Business Agent John Shambo's statement that he doesn't think we can get more from GE at the present time, "in practice

is a plea for acceptance.

Acceptance of any agreement under threat of loss of job is understandable, but it is criminal that the international leadership and the AFL-CIO council allowed this in 1964 and allows its possibility today. A rank and file movement is needed in the IUE which demands that the International back the Schenectady strikers to the hilt, including sympathy work stoppages if necessary! The leadership must be taken to task for having ended the strike nationally while the local dispute in Schenectady was up in the air! Solidarity of the working class is the answer to G.E.'s blackmail!

International Leaders Force Sellout on Plumbers.....

After a number of rejections of employer offers and a rejection of the terms of the Kheel 'board of inquiry', striking New York plumbers of Local 2, who have been out more than 5 months have been summarily ordered back to work by International

Plumbers President P.T. Schoemann. Schoemann and his fellow pie-card bureaucrats have made it clear that they are not allowing the strikers to vote on acceptance or rejection of the agreement cooked up by the contractors and the International leadership with the obvious connivance of City and Federal officials. Schoemann's despicable action should qualify him, along with LBJ, as one of the year's outstanding strikebreakers.

It is not surprising that the International leadership has taken such a flagrant anti-democratic step since the 'memorandum of understanding' they reached with the contractors is in all essentials the same as the terms of the 'impartial' board of inquiry headed by labor mediator Theodore Kheel, which the plumbers decisively rejected.

It is reported that the demand for a six hour day replacing the current 7 hours, a key demand of the union de-

signed to ease unemployment was given up; that the contractors retain their essential control of hiring with a meaningless token concession toward the establishment of a union-hiring hall, another key Local 2 demand (the 'con-

cession' is the setting up of "an employment office where the employers could hire additional plumbers in the order of their registry.") It is further reported that job stewards would be selected from among the first five men hir-

ed by the contractor on a project, which means that the steward can easily be some one submissive to the contractor rather than a militant.

President Schoemann's excuse is that he does not want to see the 1500 plumbers who have jobs out of town vote down the settlement and prevent those who have no jobs at all from returning to work. This is completely fraudulent since those plumbers working out of town are doing so at great sacrifice and are as anxious as anyone to return to work in New York.

As we go to press the plumbers are back at work and construction moves along again throughout the city. The plumbers gained nothing of substance from their five and a half months of sacrifice.

Despite the recession in construction the New York Times reports that 1966 was a boom year profitwise. The bosses are making money while the construction workers suffer the most.

Subscribe Now!

_____ enclosed 50¢ for ten issue introductory sub.

_____ enclosed \$2.00 for full year's sub.

Name _____

St. _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Send to: Bulletin of International Socialism, Rm. 8, 243 E. 10 St. NYC 10003. Checks payable to: Bulletin of International Socialism.

A PLUMBER'S WIFE TELLS IT LIKE IT IS

The following letter from a plumber's wife appeared in a recent issue of the New York World-Journal-Tribune:

In his recent article on "Fun City" Allan Kelly says he cannot "bleed easily for these plumbers who already get big pay for a short day's work."

No one is asking him to "bleed" for the plumbers, but let's get a few facts straight. First, the "short day's work" is one hour shorter than a 9 to 5 job. Second, the "big pay" is \$175 per week gross. My husband clears \$145. This I do not call "big" money. A lot of people apparently think that plumbers receive \$7.55 an hour, when as a matter of fact they actually receive only a little over \$5. The balance is put aside for holidays, welfare benefits (hospitalization, etc.) and vacations. A plumber gets no "sick" days, or paid vacation. His vacation pay is based on time worked.

No one is suffering more than the families of the men who are not working, or who are working out of town. I have seen my husband once in the past six weeks. I'll live, but I had to clear up this misinformation.

D. Signorelli

REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS -- THE 1930'S AND THE 1960'S

LESSONS FOR TODAY

(Continued from page 1)

In order to understand the evolution of the student movement one must in turn understand the nature of its leadership, the National Student League, created by the Young Communist League, youth group of the Communist Party. The fluctuations in the policy of the NSL closely followed the political line of the CP. An important but minor role was played by the Students League for Industrial Democracy, student arm of the Young People's Socialist League, youth of the Socialist Party. The vague reformist politics of the SLID enhanced the influence of the YCL which, during its early period gave the illusion of being radically left.

The student movement began in a militant fashion with students seeking to involve themselves in the struggles of the working class. This was the significance of the Kentucky Pilgrimage in which students traveled to this state to meet and talk with striking mine workers.

However the student militants' main activity centered around the war question. The predominant line on the war was a multi-class pacifist one reflected by the Oxford Pledge which originated in the British Universities and soon spread to American campuses. It declared "This House will not fight for King and country in any war." Although the Pledge did not call for a serious understanding of the nature of the war it did provide a rallying point around which all students, socialist and non-socialist, could fight the war.

This pacifist line of the NSL which was to dominate the anti-war movement until 1936 was due to the Russian's bureaucracy's need to be left alone to carry out its Five Year Plans and build its "socialism in one country." During this period there were a series of student anti-war strikes which grew in size from 25,000 in 1934 to 175,000 in 1935.

As the student movement became broader and broader the Stalinists were preparing the defeat of the anti-war movement. With the rise of Hitlerism and its threat to Russia, the CP's all over the world began to support an alliance with the imperialist countries France and England and adopted the line of "collective security." In the United States the CP gravitated more and more towards FDR rather than relying on the working class to overthrow the capitalist governments. On the campus the YCL merged with the SLID to form the American Student Union. This alliance was a result of the rightward movement of the YCL and simultaneously the leftward gravitation of YPSL which was moving away from the reformist policies of the SP.

trotskyists

At its first conference in Columbus, Ohio the YCL, which held the majority, dropped the Oxford Pledge not without opposition from the Trotskyist youth, notably Hal Draper. The student strikes became mouthpieces for this policy and were even declared school holidays by the state governors! In 1938 the ASU dropped its previous anti-ROTC activity.

The American Youth Congress, controlled by the YCL-YPSL caucus followed the same evolution. At its beginning the AYC fought for a program that united working class youth and student demands but as the CP dropped any serious opposition to FDR and his war policies the AYC became a semi-governmental agency without any real independence and without any alternatives of its own. When the Hitler-Soviet pact was signed in 1940 the YCL did a complete about face and overnight attacked FDR and his imperialist war.

The degeneration of the CP leadership was partly counteracted by the growing strength of the revolutionary Trotskyist youth. The Spartacus League was officially formed in 1934 by the left wing of the CP which was expelled in 1928. It was the SYL which was to join with the left wing of YPSL to create the YPSL-Fourth. From 1937 to 1940



TYPICAL OF THE NEW RESURGENCY ON THE CAMPUS ARE THESE NYU STUDENT PICKETS.

this was the only group on campus that opposed the the YCL with a working class orientation and a continued exposure of the Stalinist betrayal and the imperialist nature of the war.

break

The period of the 1930's called for a militant radical leadership and a complete break with bourgeois politics. This role could not be played by the YCL with its subservience to the Russian bureaucracy and its policy of class collaboration. The broadening of the movement to all classes of society proved to be its essential weakness. The period of the 30's, demanded, as does the present time, a clear cut alternative to capitalist society. Reformism has shown its complete inadequacy to provide real solutions for the youth. Students will be continually frustrated and demoralized in their attempts to win demands within the present structure of society. Leaders whose only interest is in winning limited "concrete" gains not only underestimate student militancy but also the intensity of the struggle that must be waged. Real opposition to the administration will expose their phony liberalism and paternalism and reveal their true fear and distrust of the student body.

socialism

Socialism is not an alien artificial system imposed from the outside but is the very logic of the situation. It offers a solid base on which the struggle can be carried on to a higher level. Without a theoretical understanding of the problem, without serious organization and planning no real



COPS BRUTALIZE YOUTH ON SUNSET STRIP.

progress can be made. Today the student movement relies on protest and activism. This represents the semi-conscious state of their revolt in that the student is not yet aware of the irreconcilable antagonism of the working class with the interests of the bourgeoisie and the necessity that he must side with one or the other. In such a period there is a danger of adapting to the spontaneity and immediacy of the struggle.

However the larger the movement becomes the greater is the need to deepen and develop the programmatic clarity and to define the tasks that lie ahead. True leadership seeks to raise the educational level of the masses rather than bowing down to it. It is false that socialist politics can be achieved by a series of gradual stages. This type of artificial control of a movement is the beginning of its betrayal. A socialist program must be fought for at all stages without theoretical concessions and immediate demands must serve as bridges to this goal.

link up

The most pressing need of the student movement is to break out of its isolation and link its struggles up with those of the working class. Those who call workers apathetic and conservative simply reveal their own inability to reach workers with a meaningful program. Both the student and the worker need each other. The student, as a member of the intelligentsie has an invaluable gift to bring the worker; his knowledge of the history of socialism. He must strive to give the worker consciousness of his position in society and of his historic tasks. On the other hand, the worker due to the role he plays in production is the only class that has the power to overthrow capitalism. Working class youth are especially important in that they are the most exploited section of the population. Unemployment and war is the

grim future of these youth. As the class struggle intensifies they will play an important part in building the socialist future.

revolt

Students cannot stand above the class struggle and attempt to find "new" solutions to age old problems. Although the student comes from a primarily middle class background his struggle can only be effective by uniting with the working class and breaking with bourgeois ideology. There can be no middle or independent road. The student must be prepared to choose between the capitalist system and the hope of a new future under socialism.

REVOLT has been created to unite all the youth under the banner of revolutionary socialism. This organization will serve not only an important educational function but will be the youth's base of struggle and will play an important role in the radicalization of the working class.

MAGE POSTPONES

(Continued from page 1)

to many of them that the city's precarious financial situation makes the intransigency of the city's negotiators inevitable. Thus many of our workers are susceptible to arguments that if we only give the city more time they will miraculously begin to meet our demands.

Lindsay allowed the entire city to be shut down for two weeks rather than meet the demands of the transit workers. He was willing to see people die in city hospitals rather than give in to the demands of nurses. Can anyone seriously believe that his attitude toward welfare workers will be more kindly?

Negotiations with the city have only clarified its hostility toward the SSEU. Every display of weakness only reinforces its determination to deliver a setback to the union. The real task is to clarify and the membership against the city, to make it clear that unless certain demands are met we will strike. There is no

easier way.

strength

Our potential strength is enormous; if only we are not afraid to employ it! But it becomes clearer day by day that the present leadership is afraid to use the power it controls; while at the same time giving the impression

that it is deathly afraid of the city. Through this paralysis the defeat of SSEU is being prepared.

The task of militants during the next couple of weeks is to force the leadership to fight. This can only be done by mobilizing the rank and file and preparing them for the hard fight ahead with the city.

INTERNATIONAL

13,000 Workers Strike in Spain

by Jackson Drew

Recently 13,000 workers in Madrid, Spain held a successful sitdown strike forcing the fascist Franco Government to free six of their fellow workers from prison. The strike, led by illegal underground rank and file workers committees is just one of a whole series of labor struggles which have broken out in Spain.

Spain, a totalitarian country where labor disputes have been outlawed for 30 years, is now being plagued with such struggles. Behind this renewed combativity of the great Spanish working class, which fought so valiantly in the 1936 Civil War, lies the growing crisis of the world capitalist system. This crisis has thrown the once booming Spanish economy into a serious recession. This recession is all the harder for Spanish workers to bear because the living standards of Spanish workers are consid-

erably lower than the European average, not to mention those workers enjoy here.

volkswagen

The crisis which has had this impact on Spain is the very same crisis which has forced the giant Volkswagen firm in Germany to layoff thousands of workers for the first time in its history. The German working class also will be joining in the struggle against the bosses.

In England this crisis has reached its most serious point. The Labor Government of Wilson has completely sold out to the international bankers and is seeking to solve this crisis by turning on the British working class and clamping on a compulsory strike ban and wage freeze.

What happens in England, in Spain, in Germany, in the United States, are not unrelated. The capitalists of each



WORKERS HEAD FOR FRONT DURING CIVIL WAR. TODAY THEY BATTLE AGAIN.

country come to the aid of those of the other countries whenever the working class is the opponent. In fact the economies of all these countries are intertwined and United States capital in particular is the major factor. Economic policies are set by the international bankers who have the power to bring down any of these governments.

socialism

The great need for workers in Spain as well as all countries is the rebuilding of a working class leadership to fight the bosses, to struggle for a socialist solution to the crisis. This crisis is caused by a system in which goods are produced to make a profit

for a few not to fulfill the needs of the many. This is why automation leads to unemployment and misery when it should lead to a higher standard of living and shorter hours for all in all countries. Under socialism production will be planned to fulfill the needs of the people and it will be the people themselves who democratically decide the basic economic questions now reserved for the board rooms of large corporations and banks.

Our enemy is organized internationally and we also must be organized into an international force, an international party. Since its founding in 1938 only the

Fourth International has consistently battled for the interests of the working class. Today this struggle is continued under the banner of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

internationalism

The International Committee, and only the International Committee, understands that the world capitalist system is today in a crisis and that the working class alone must lead the struggle to overcome this crisis through socialist revolution. Every other tendency within the working class movement has closed its eyes to this crisis and turned its back on the working class.

LABOR FACES

(Continued from page 1) for the temporary solution of their problems. They want the workers to pay for it. They seek to achieve this goal by holding down wages while inflation eats away at the living conditions of workers. In addition they want to break the backs of the unions inside the plants so that they can reintroduce sweat shop conditions into American basic industry.

The bosses can count on the Federal Government as an ally. As reported in earlier issues of the Bulletin, Johnson plans anti-strike legislation this year. The New York Times reiterates this in its January 3rd issue: "Most informed sources expect the Johnson Administration to propose anti-strike legislation this year."

Now to get back to worried Willard. It seems that there is a danger that somebody may drop a monkey wrench into this well worked out plan of the bosses and Johnson to solve their problems at our expense. Worried Willard does not seem worried about

the role of the labor leaders this year. He is concerned with those who have a more immediate familiarity with monkey wrenches -- the rank and file workers. It seems that he has expressed "deep concern" over the tendency of union members to reject labor agreements proposed by their leaders. This, he notes, is "very, very dangerous for collective bargaining."

caucuses

The year 1967 is the year militant rank and file workers must not only be ready to reject any settlements their leaders offer which do not counter the deterioration of living conditions of the workers and the speedup in the shops; they must also start taking the first steps towards building an alternative leadership in the unions. If your present leaders do not defend your interests then we must organize into caucuses to bring up a new leadership which will really fight for the workers and not help the bosses dump their burdens on our backs.

Part of a program for such caucuses must be the struggle for a full escalator so that wages deep up with rising costs; a shorter work week to combat growing unemployment (look at auto); union control over working conditions; real union democracy; a constant battle against Federal domination over the trade union movement. We feel such militants must also come to a realization that both the Democratic and Republican parties are the parties of the bosses, are political company unions. Militants must struggle for a new party, a labor party based on the unions.

The greatest fear of the bosses and their friends is precisely the fact that the rank and file worker still has some say in his union. As A. H. Raskin has put it: "Today's fuse blower is excess power in the hands of the rank-and-file, rather than the leaders." It seems some 800 cases that went before federal mediators in 1966 involved contracts upset by the ranks.

The paradox of it all is that these very same forces were the most fervent supporters of the rights of the union ranks in the 1950s during the McKeldin and related investigations of corruption of union officials. This was a period when the ranks were quiet. Today when the ranks exert their power they oppose union democracy. Clearly all the hoopla about "corruption" was mere cover for attempts to weaken organized labor.

The lesson in this for militants today is that workers rely on themselves not on the federal government when it comes to its own housecleaning. In 1967 there will be a lot of housecleaning to do if we are to be in shape to beat the bosses.

U.S. LIES



NORTH VIETNAMESE WORKERS WAIT FOR IMPERIALISTS.

(Continued from page 1) factories, who live off the sweat of our brows. If these bosses and their government win in Vietnam our enemy will be strengthened. If they lose our enemy will be weakened. We favor their defeat here at home and abroad in Vietnam.

On the other hand the Vietnamese people are fighting a historic struggle for their own national self-determination, for what the American Revolution was fought for. Further, the workers and peasants in South Vietnam clearly want the whole exploitative system which robs them of the

fruits of their labor overthrow. It is these workers and peasants in Vietnam who are our allies. We and they are one.

WE CHEER FOR EVERY ANTI-AIRCRAFT SHELL WHICH IS HURLED AT OUR COMMON ENEMY WHO BOMBS OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN VIETNAM. WE MOURN THE DEATH OF EVERY VIETNAMESE WORKER AND PEASANT WHO IS FORCED TO GIVE HIS LIFE FIGHTING U.S. IMPERIALISM. THIS IS THE ONLY POSITION FOR WORKERS TO TAKE.

Fourth International

A JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM
PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
CONTAINING

AN EVALUATION OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

by G. Pilling

NIGERIA TODAY

by J. Kiomenesekenegha

book reviews

ROSA LUXEMBURG by J. P. Nettl

reviewed by C. Slaughter

MONOPOLY CAPITAL by Baran and Sweezy

reviewed by G. P.

60 cents

Send to: BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS, Rm. 8,
243 E. 10 St., NYC 10003. Checks: "Bulletin".

JUST OUT-NEW CATALOG

Complete listing of all British New Park and Ceylonese Young Socialist Publications--many unavailable from any other source. Also our own publications and periodicals.

NEW EDITION:

Black Nationalism and Marxist Theory

20 cents

Send to: BULLETIN PUBLICATIONS, Rm. 8,
243 E. 10th St., NYC 10003. Checks
to: "Bulletin of International Socialism."