

PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND UNIONS

Bulletin

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TEN CENTS

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VIETNAM-MEMPHIS

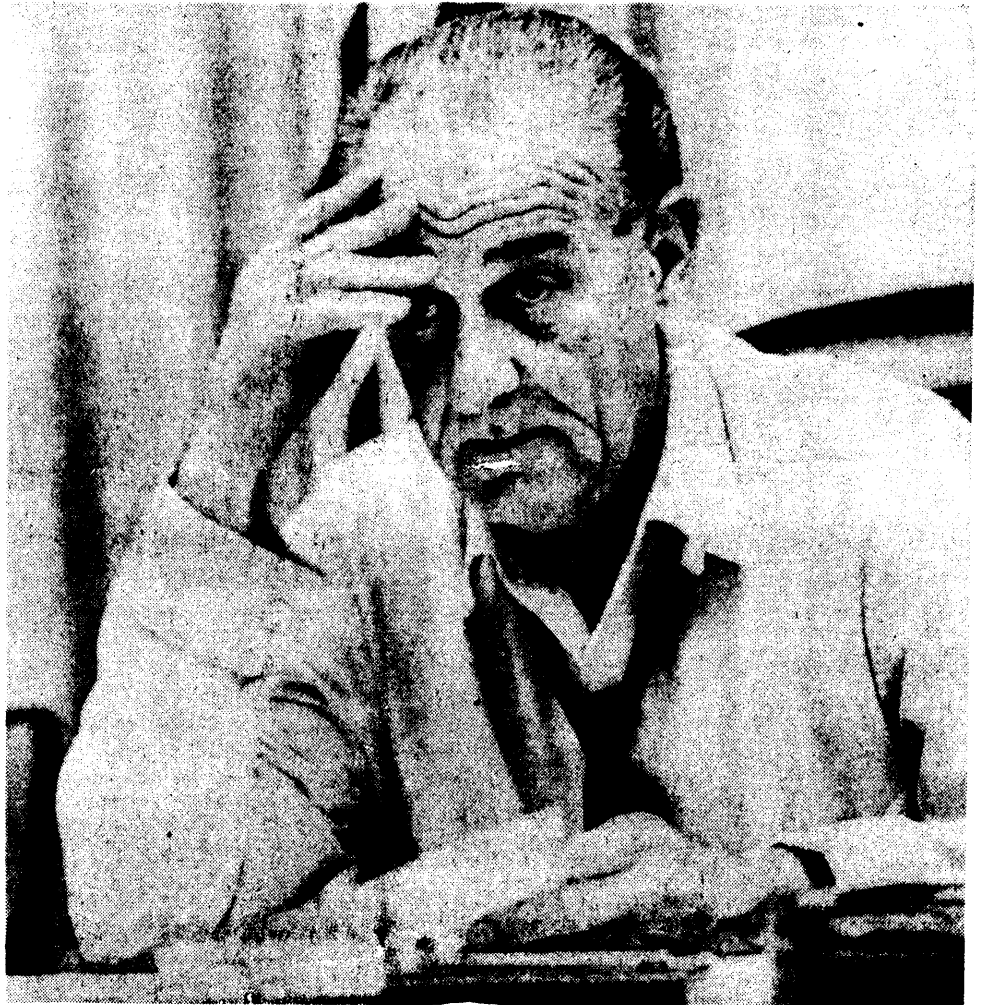
**WESTMORELAND IS
GONE**

**JOHNSON IS GOING
THROW OUT THE
WHOLE GANG**

.....

NO DEALS

**VICTORY TO
THE VIETCONG**



WORLD CHEERS AS JOHNSON GOES, BUT WITH WHAT WILL HE BE REPLACED?

CALL TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

**CLOSE DOWN MEMPHIS
VICTORY TO SANITATION
WORKERS**

SMASH RACISM

CALL ONE DAY GENERAL STRIKE

NON VIOLENCE MEETS VIOLENT DEATH

NON VIOLENCE MEETS VIOLENT DEATH



MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr., apostle of non-violence, has met a violent death with an assassin's bullet. His policies, far from living after him, died a long time ago.

The events in Memphis before and after his death fully confirm this. Unable to contain the militancy of the frustrated Negro masses, violence had broken out. The reaction of the city has been to impose a curfew and bring in the National Guard to terrorize the Negro masses. Immediately following the assassination the Guard was brought in again. The government, unable to protect King's life, shows great ability to protect itself from the anger of the Negro masses. The Guard has also been called out in Nashville and alerted in several other cities. Police throughout the North and the South stand alert armed to the teeth with chemical mace, tanks and assorted 'anti-riot' weapons.

Thus capitalism marks the death of the apostle of non-violence. Politician and politician urges upon the Negro the very policy of non-violence which led to King's death while the violent arm of the state stands poised to strike down the defenseless Negro masses. Johnson postpones his trip to talk with his Vietnamese generals to praise the fallen Negro leader. Do we expect that upon reaching Honolulu Johnson will urge a policy of non-violence on American troops in Vietnam? Assuredly not! For everyone knows violence of the oppressor is 'law and order.' It

is the oppressed who are to practice non-violence--non violence in the face of mace, tanks, troops.

Lindsay

The real relationship between the Negro masses and the capitalist politicians is best illustrated by Mayor Lindsay's quicky trip to Harlem the night of the assassination. This is the way the New York Times reports it: "At 126th Street and Seventh Avenue the crowd, growing more hostile began pushing and shoving. Several Negro officials, including City Human Rights Commissioner William Booth and Deputy Chief Inspector Eldridge Waith, tried to keep the crowd orderly. Several Negroes, shouting angrily, prevented Mr. Lindsay from speaking. Police and citizens tussled on the sidewalk. Then a limosine, belonging to Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, rushed to the scene and Mr. Lindsay was pushed into the car by his bodyguards. The car sped away." So Lindsay unceremoniously left Harlem and with him went any illusions that Lindsay and the rest of the politicians of the two parties can or will do anything for the Negro masses.

More than non-violence died with Martin Luther King. His whole policy for achieving Negro freedom, already in shambles, will be buried along with King. This was so clear the night of the assassination. Johnson, Humphrey, Kennedy, McCarthy--all expressed their concern with his death. But not one of them

committed himself to any real program to tackle the oppression of the Negro masses. Negroes cannot live on sympathy. In fact, sympathy not only does not fill the stomach but upsets it completely. The men in power refuse to use this power to end Negro oppression. How bitter this sympathy tastes. What hypocrisy when they urge restraint not on the police power which holds the Negro down in oppression, but on the oppressed.

Martin Luther King sought to force the men in power to tackle the oppression of the Negro masses by putting pressure on them through non-violent mass protest movements. It did not work. It was but another form of begging for crumbs of the black bourgeoisie like Wilkins and Young. The answer of the capitalists is to arm to the teeth to hold the Negro in the ghettos and keep them oppressed.

ARM

The black powerists now answer that the black man must arm himself against his oppressors. We say yes he must do that. If he doesn't black men will be shot down in the thousands and die as King did. But this is really the beginning and the end of the program of the black powerists. They have nothing to say. They understand nothing comes through begging from the bosses who run this country. But they have no program for replacing these bosses and thus freeing the Negro people.

The bosses can be and

must be replaced. The only force capable of doing this is the American working class--black and white. This requires all workers regardless of color uniting to fight back against the bosses politically through creating their own party--a labor party which can drive the bosses out of the White House as well as Memphis City Hall and free the Negro masses.

ONLY

The Workers League is the only organization in the United States which fights to throw the bosses out and to wipe out Negro oppression once and for all. We say: tear down the ghettos, build decent housing for all, millions of new jobs, billions for job training, billions for new schools, wipe out every last bit of segregation and discrimination in America.

The assassin's bullet which brought down King was aimed at the entire Negro people. We must now fight to bring down those who seek to enslave and destroy the Negro masses. The capitalists can no more be counted on to protect the Negro masses than to protect King in the first place. This job now falls to the American working class. We cannot waste a second in taking up the struggle against these filthy fascist scum. They are the true representatives of a system which slaughters Vietnamese men, women, and children day in and day out, which now plans to destroy the American trade union movement as well.

Labor Must Answer Attacks Call General Strike In Memphis!

by Dan Fried

Police terror against so-called Negro rioters erupted last week in Memphis during a mass demonstration in support of the striking Memphis Sanitationmen. The use by police of chemical mace, tear gas, rifles and shotguns and riot sticks was directed against all Negroes in the area of the protest march in downtown Memphis but teenagers bore the brunt of the attack. Negro teenagers were up in arms after Memphis City authorities refused to allow them out of school to participate in the march.

The cops used the excuse of window smashing and alleged looting to give the youth a little taste of the fascist terror that will be used against Negroes in this summer expected 'riots' in cities across the U.S. Among the victims was a teenager who, according to witnesses was entering a basement doorway in search of his brother when he was spotted by cops. The cops told him to 'come on out or we'll shoot' and he emerged with hands behind his head telling the cops, 'I surrender'. He was then killed by the cop's shotgun blast. Police alleged he had been stealing a TV set and had attacked the cop with a butcher knife. But according to the boy's mother, Mrs. Lizzie Payne, 'There wasn't no knife or no television set around when I saw him. The furniture store the police said he was coming out of when shot is at least three blocks away. It was nothing but murder in cold blood.'

Not only was local police terror unleashed, but Memphis Mayor Loeb unyieldingly refused to recognize the Sanitationmen's union, called in for the National Guard 'after two minutes of rioting', the Tennessee Governor obliged

by sending in 4,000 Guardsmen, the state legislature imposed a 7 pm curfew and in Washington, Johnson, in a speech before the AFL-CIO said: 'the resources of your government stand behind local law enforcement agencies to the full extent of our constitutional authority.'

non-violence

The last thing in Dr. King's and the other leaders minds was to be identified with any sort of bottle or brick throwing or self-defense against the cops attacks. It was reported that Dr. King 'was whisked away from the march at the first sign of trouble.' In the face of the gang up of local, state and federal forces against the strikers and militant youth, King replies that he will intensify his efforts to stop any violence by Negroes in future marches in Memphis and Washington where he plans to lead a 'poor peoples march' beginning April 22.

afl-cio

In the face of the most vicious anti-labor campaign being conducted against the sanitationmen, Negro workers and other trade unionists in Memphis, the leaders of the AFL-

CALL TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

general strike

**Millions Of New Jobs
Billions For Job Training
Billions More For Schools
Massive Public Housing
Outlaw Discrimination
Withdraw Troops,
Guard From Ghettos**

CIO can sit and listen to Johnson side with the Memphis cops without a peep of protest. They sit on their fat behinds giving lip service support to the Memphis strikers but do not lift a finger to organize support by the unions of Memphis for the Sanitationmen.

The leaders of AFSCME, parent union of the Sanitationmen and of the AFL-CIO are helpless in the face of an attack by the very forces that may, sooner than they expect, be used to terrorize white as well as black trade unionists in 'liberal' northern

cities such as New York as had been threatened in the recent New York Sanitationmen's strike. They should call for a general strike in Memphis--aimed at closing down all city offices, transportation, trucking and manufacturing--until the Sanitationmen's union is recognized and a substantial wage increase given. Instead they sit back and applaud Johnson as the bosses use racial divisions, police terror, the National Guard and special legislation to beat back and destroy the unions.

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1199— A Program For Victory In July

RANKS MUST UNITE

By a hospital worker
New York--With a contract deadline of July 1st, negotiations between Local 1199 and 16 to 18 voluntary hospitals are beginning in April. This will be the first industry-wide contract in the voluntary hospital field, and it will set the pattern for thousands of workers in addition to those employed at the hospitals which are part of the industry-wide negotiations.

participation

Rank and file participation and unity are needed for the coming negotiations. In response to pressure from the ranks the leadership has agreed to rank and file representation on the bargaining committee. This is a good beginning. There must be a special effort to involve the rank and file as much as possible and to unite the hospital (service and maintenance workers and guild (technical and clerical workers) for the fight. As many rank and filers as possible should be included on the negotiating committees of each hospital. The hospital and guild division delegates and negotiating committees must meet together as much as possible. All of this should be aimed toward achieving the greatest militancy and unity for July, when victory will depend upon it.

To insure success in July, however, more than militancy and solidarity are needed. The

hospital workers have to be prepared for a strike, and that means a political fight. City workers, like the teachers and sanitationmen, have faced direct government strikebusting tactics in the last year. The hospital workers will also face city and state intervention, called upon by the hospital bosses.

The various government mediators and the Mayor and Governor themselves, if necessary, will step in to try to compromise 1199's demands. The press, radio and television will discover that the union is "irresponsible."

Hospital workers must refuse to cave in to the pressure of the bosses and their spokesmen. The demands for a \$100 weekly minimum wage and a pension plan must be met. There must be in addition substantial improvements in fringe benefits and protection against inflation either through a cost-of-living escalator clause or a wage reopener after one year of the contract.

program

In order to achieve these demands, however, the workers must be armed with a program with which to answer the lying campaign to which they will be subjected. In answer to the bosses pleas of poverty, and to the recent slash in Medicare appropriations, the union should demand a program of socialized medicine. Billions are spent every month on the imperial-

ist war in Vietnam but even the tiny fraction of these costs which has been allocated to Medicaid has now been cut drastically.

What is this but a direct attack on the living standards of the workers? The hospital workers especially cannot afford any slash in their living standards and the few important gains they have been able to win thus far. The only way to beat back this attack is first of all to expose it to all workers, and to demand free medical care for all, so that other workers are not forced to pay more for the gains won by hospital workers. 1199 should be campaigning against the Medicaid cuts and for socialized medicine at the same time as it prepares to fight for its demands in July.

But a serious campaign requires more than a few leaflets or editorials in the union magazine. It requires more even than union lobbies of the state legislature, as important as they can be. A fight against the attacks on wages and social reforms requires political action by 1199 and other unions. The present Democratic and Republican officeholders are leading a bipartisan attack. We can't expect these representatives of the bosses to defend us when the crisis forces the bosses to attack us. What is needed is a labor party, and such a party, in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans, must be fought for in 1199 and all other unions.

Militants in 1199 must be very clear on what will be required to win in July. It is not a matter of sitting back and simply letting the union leadership carry the ball. Past experience has shown that this

won't work. The recent formation of a Rank and File Committee in Local 1199, on a program which includes the fight for union democracy, unity of the hospital and guild divisions, a fight for socialized medicine and for a labor party is a big step forward. The Rank and File Committee is supporting Fred Mazelis, a delegate in the Guild who is running for an Area Director in the April union elections.

The 1199 bureaucracy has ignored the issues of the crisis of the hospitals and the need for labor to fight back politically. It has sought deals with Rockefeller, Lindsay and other politicians who represent the bosses.

This policy was shown very clearly during the negotiations for a contract at Jewish Chronic Disease Hospital in Brooklyn last winter. The union bureaucrats kept negotiations for the 2 divisions completely separate, and pressured both divisions into accepting smaller settlements than they could have won if they had fought together. When some Guild members spoke to the Hospital Division members and urged that they fight together the union leadership told the hospital workers not to join a lunch hour picket line set up by the Guild when its negotiations broke down. Some Guild members were denounced for supposedly being disruptive and divisive, for the crime of having spoken to their fellow union members in the hospital division. The leadership wanted a peaceful contract settlement and wanted the workers divided. Such a policy only helps the bosses.

On other issues as well the 1199 officials have held

back and even helped to divide the membership. They have opposed any and all steps, even small ones, towards merger of the hospital and guild divisions. They have used the divisions in the union to prevent any serious challenge being raised to them from the ranks.

oppose

The bureaucrats thus oppose unity and attack those who fight for it. Even on the question of the bargaining for the citywide contract, it would be taking place without any rank and file representation if not for the fight waged by the ranks themselves.

The 1199 leadership prides itself on its progressiveness. Any and all criticism is dismissed on the phony grounds that the union leadership is "better than most others". There are even a number of left critics in the union who refuse to make a serious fight on these grounds. The point is, of course, that the members demand and expect a fight for the contract demands and that a political program is needed. All the liberal and left talk is nothing but a cover for the same kind of misleadership dished out by the rest of the trade union bureaucracy.

Militants in 1199 must see the fight as more than just a trade union one that can be won with trade union militancy. Of course militancy, unity and rank and file control are absolutely crucial. But just as crucial is the political fight required. This will be proved this summer when the bosses say they have no money and the government tries to force the workers to accept far less than their minimum demands.

YSA FIGHTS STRIKE AT SF STATE

by Jack Hennessy
SAN FRANCISCO--On January 29, 1968 the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam voted to call for an International Student Strike on April 26, 1968. The Worker's League supports this student strike against the war, and all across the United States its branches help to build the strike.

In San Francisco, however, on the State College campus, the YSA controlled SMC's idea of a strike is no strike at all. Instead the students will be treated to a repeat of the same rubbish that the CP-SWP sponsored 'teach-ins' have handed them over the years.

League members, of course, fought to inject Marxist politics at the SMC meetings, and primarily to building a real strike which would close down the campus. The YSA-SDS gang was, and is, of course, completely opposed to building a real strike, and especially a political one. Their program emphasizes ten days of 'activities'-such as the appearance of Vanessa Redgrave on campus, along with the 'Mime Troup. A spaghetti dinner is also featured.

fighters

After weeks of struggle at

SMC meetings the League started a Strike Committee which fights to build a strike which will shut down the campus, and link students up with the workers around the slogans: RECOGNIZE THE NLF AS THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM! BUILD A MASS WORKING CLASS DRAFT RESISTANCE MOVEMENT! END RACISM-JOBS FOR ALL AT UNION WAGES! KENNEDY NO, NIXON NO-BUILD A LABOR PARTY! NO LAWS AGAINST UNIONS! VICTORY TO ALL STRIKERS!

At a meeting of the League sponsored strike committee two YSA members came to see if they could smash Marxism.

We asked them why they opposed building a real strike on April 26th. Their answer revealed the SWP-YSA's revisionist bankruptcy.

backward

Their pipe smoking fool of a spokesman replied that: 'The Worker's League is unrealistic to pose politics to the students. The students are backward.'

The YSA's view of the students is essentially identical to their view of the working class, i.e., 'The workers

aren't moving yet', etc.--that is, the students are too 'backward' to be confronted by Marxist politics. Therefore the YSA says it is hopeless to try to change the student into a Marxist--to tell him the truth about the class struggle, the working class, what must be done, and so on. The YSA's world is a static changeless one. As for leading the students in struggle against the class enemy--utterly impossible says the revisionists.

Never does the international crisis of capitalism enter into the revisionists minds. To them there is no crisis--because to admit that William McChesney Martin's screams of fear in the NY Times may be true would destroy the YSA's 'nice little tight little' world.

crisis

The possibility of the international gold crisis bringing a halt to international trade and causing the greatest depression in history was mentioned at the meeting.

'Huh?', said one YSAer, 'You're kidding.'

The YSA's lack of interest in economics--that is to say, with the motor forces of capitalism--is logical, because they aren't interested in fighting capitalism any longer.

'Why do you fight us?', the YSA member continued, 'You presented your proposals at the SMC meetings and they were defeated.'

That was true. The rotten sellouts in the YSA-SDS gang would accept any proposals for April 26th so long as the proposal had NOTHING to do with Marxist politics. So long as the proposal made no attempt to link the students up with the working class. So long as the proposal contained no trace of working class politics.

carnival

For instance, at one SMC meeting one YSAer had proposed that the 'strike' take the form of an 'anti-war carnival', which, by the way, is pretty much what the SMC finally adopted. No wonder the mass of students hate the revisionists. No wonder our slogan must be 'BUILD A REAL STRIKE ON APRIL 26th'.

Attacked at the Strike Committee meeting, one YSAer defended his lack of Marxist politics by saying: 'Be realistic. We send Trail Blazing teams to many colleges and open up new branches all the time. We're growing, we're stable, we're financially sound.' That may be true, but you've got capitalist politics. You act

as capitalism's left cover by trying to divert any attempt to inject Marxist politics into the class struggle.

The Worker's League, on the other hand, fights to bring working class politics to the campus, and tell the students what they must do if they are truly serious about ending the war.

build

To end this war, and all wars, students must become revolutionaries and struggle to build a Marxist party which will lead the U.S. working class to victory against capitalism.

That's all. Its very simple really. Not at all as hopeless as the revisionist agents of capital would have you believe.

MARCH ON THE PICKET LINES OF THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR ON APRIL 26th!

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By Tim Wohlforth

The war of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against American imperialism has been basically won. Now the task before us is to see that the fruits of that heroic conflict are not stolen from the workers and peasants and that the U.S. capitalists, routed in Vietnam, are not given time to build the new offensive they are planning against the American workers and the Negro masses.

The effects of the Tet offensive are still being felt. The American army is demoralized. The generals do not know which way to turn and Westmoreland's leaving signifies the complete bankruptcy of the American effort. The NLF is better equipped, better organized, with a higher morale than ever before. There is not a single inch of Vietnamese territory that is safe for American imperialism.

worse

The situation the United States capitalists face is far worse than that faced by French imperialism at the time they settled with the FLN and retired from the country. By this time France had completely sealed off Algerian frontiers from infiltration, controlled the cities completely, and had wiped out the FLN organization within the cities. Despite all this, France was forced to end the war because she could not afford to maintain this military structure any longer or to really rule the country.

Today the United States has in no way in any way lessened infiltration from the North, does not really control the cities and the NLF organization is intact in the cities as well as throughout the countryside. To accomplish what the French had accomplished the United States would need at least another half million men in Vietnam. The difficulty they face, however, is that even the present level of involvement in Vietnam is creating such a strain on the American and world capitalist economy that the U.S. has staggered weekly from one monetary crisis to another.

Despite the far greater power and wealth of United States capitalism as compared to the French, the world crisis of capitalism has built up to the point where the United States finds itself in the same bind as the French but at a time when its military position is far weaker.

crisis

It is this world capitalist crisis which above all else is determining U.S. policy in Vietnam, as well as domestically. The two price system on gold has solved nothing. Even its formulators see it only as a very stop-gap measure. The free market price of gold will now openly fluctuate rising as confidence in the dollar falls. As the open market price of gold rises, this will bring unbearable pressure on the artificial price of gold to international banks threatening to force its price up thus bringing about devaluation of the dollar or leading to such a lack of confidence in the dollar that the whole world monetary system collapses.

The recent decisions of the Stockholm conference also reveal the inability of the capitalists to resolve their crisis. Everyone is aware that the decision to issue paper gold is nothing but an inflationary move to extend more credit to reserve currency nations--the United States in particular--at a time when the ability of the U.S. capitalists to pay off their present creditors is being questioned thus causing the present

DEFEAT UNITED STATES victory to vietnamese wo

monetary crisis. In order to get this credit extension the United States had to agree to take immediate action to do something about its balance of payments deficit as well as to give participants the right to opt out of the whole system should the United States fail to make progress in this matter. France refused to even accept these terms. Thus the whole system is in question right from the beginning.

The whole boom of the 1950's was financed primarily through fictitious capital created by accepting dollars as the same as gold even when dollar holdings abroad far outstripped U.S. gold holdings--now by a ratio of 4 to 1. The existing balance of payments deficit means that this ratio is increasing all the time. Now the basic laws of capital development are catching up to the capitalists threatening world wide depression which would not only wipe out fictitious capital but much real capital and capitalists in the process. As Karl Marx said in 'Capital': 'In the midst of all the accidental and ever fluctuating relations between products, the labour time socially necessary for their production forcibly asserts itself like an overriding law of nature. The law of gravity thus asserts itself when a house falls about our ears.' It is the house of capitalism which now threatens to fall apart around us.

While the Vietnam war is not the cause of this capitalist crisis there is no doubt that it has had a tremendous impact in aggravating it. Every blow of the NLF has been a blow which weakens the very world structure of capitalism. The fantastic expenditures for this war have become an ever increasing burden on the capitalists precisely at a time when their economy cannot afford burdens. In addition, the victories of the NLF give hope to workers in other lands showing that the great imperialist giant can be beaten--not only beaten but routed.

The U.S. capitalists can no longer afford the Vietnam War at a time when all their resources must now be directed to a war against the working class at home. Only by beating back American workers can the capitalists hope to even temporarily find a way out of their crisis. Thus their attempts to negotiate a settlement in Vietnam in order to free themselves for the central fight here at home.

It is absolutely clear that while Vietnam aggravates the capitalist crisis it is not its cause. Thus the ending of the Vietnam war will solve nothing basic for the capitalist class. It will only free them to concentrate on the only solution to the crisis--their attempt to restore the profitability of capitalism by driving down the living conditions of the masses.

johnson

This explains the political crisis which has racked the ruling parties here for the last few months. As recognition of the necessity to settle the Vietnam War grew among the leading capitalists, recognition of the necessity to dump Johnson also grew. The man was too deeply tied to what had been the dominant capitalist policy of seeking a military solution to the war to be useful in the new situation. And so opposition to Johnson grew within the Democratic Party and this opposition got wide publicity and generally favorable coverage in the capitalist press. This is the significance of the McCarthy campaign and the increasingly frank accounts in the papers and on TV as to the beating American troops were receiving in Vietnam. Fulbright and the televised Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings were also part of this campaign to prepare the way for the dumping of Johnson and a turn towards serious negotiations with North Vietnam.

Kennedy, that master politician and opportunist, jumped into the campaign because he was afraid that McCarthy would get up too much momentum and the capitalists would be forced to choose him instead of Kennedy to replace Johnson. Johnson, no mean politician himself; saw the handwriting



VIETNAMESE YOUTH FIGHT FOR TOTAL VICTORY OVER THE FO

The Struggle for Marxism in the United States



The only existing history of American
Trotskyism from its origins to today.

by Tim Wohlforth

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**No Deals! Victory To
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Smash Racism--Close Down
U.S. Labor: Boycott All
Build A Labor Party**

ATES IMPERIALISM NOW

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on the wall and felt he had better bow out of the race than be unceremoniously dumped. Knowing he was being set up to the scapegoat for a policy formulated and supported by all sections of the capitalist class and in which both Kennedy and McCarthy were implicated in at earlier stages, Johnson adroitly stole their thunder and began the negotiations move himself.

It makes little difference whether Johnson is capable of the flexibility to get serious negotiations going or whether his commitment to past policies prevents this. For in the latter case whoever is the next president will simply carry on negotiations freed from responsibility for past Administration policies. One way or another America must settle the Vietnam War before the Vietnam War settles capitalism for good.

bargain

There is however a great question at stake as to how the war is settled. Will it end in a real defeat for U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia paving the way for a socialist Vietnam and spurring on socialist revolution throughout the whole of Southeast Asia or will the capitalists gain at the bargaining table what they are losing on the battlefield? This latter course is exactly what happened so often in the past.

Over a decade ago, the Vietminh had decisively defeated French imperialism and all of Vietnam was almost yanked from the imperialist orbit. Thus much of the gains the Vietnamese workers and peasants had fought for seven years were robbed from them at the bargaining table with the complicity of the USSR and the Chinese bureaucracy. This laid the basis for the present bloody war.

Algeria gives another example of this. There the French settled the war with the Evian Accords which turned the country over to the FLN but protected French imperialist interests in Algeria. The result has been that the masses of the Algerian people still remain in capitalist slavery and Algeria is still a vassal of world imperialism.

Today there is every opportunity to prevent this happening again, The world capitalist system is weak and in crisis. New militancy has sprung up within the working class of every country. The American rulers are in disarray. The American army is on the verge of disintegration, leaderless, directionless. The workers and peasants of both North and South Vietnam are armed and committed to victory. The room for maneuvering of the bureaucratic leaders of North Vietnam, China and the USSR is less. The power of the masses is greater.

But powerful or not, committed to victory or not, the decisive question is leadership. Only a conscious international leadership which fights NOW for all-out victory for the NLF, for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of American troops, for the opening up immediately of a second Vietnam right here in the United States--not through adventurism or petty bourgeois guerrillism but through a struggle for the American working class, a struggle to politically prepare American workers and the Negro masses for the fight back against the capitalist offensive--only such a leadership can see to it that the imperialist butchers and the bureaucrats do not sell out the Vietnamese revolution at the bargaining table

As imperialist peace instead of imperialist war becomes the policy of the American capitalists the peace movement finds itself rallying to the aid of the capitalists. The true character of the peace movement as adjunct of the ruling class becomes revealed for all to see. And the revisionist SWP has been the architect of it all. The peace movement will disintegrate and hundreds and thousands of the SWP's followers and collaborators will find themselves once again inside the capitalist parties. The process has already begun.

First there was the McCarthy campaign. Advocating little more than a cessation of bombing of the North and concerted efforts for negotiations, thousands of peace advocates rallied to him. Then along came Kennedy and he soon was saying

the very same things as McCarthy. McCarthy had to declare that there were no differences between himself and Kennedy on the peace issue. So thousands more flocked to Kennedy while others waited for McCarthy to throw his support to Kennedy at the Democratic Convention.

Then along came Johnson. First he removes himself from the race. Suddenly the witch is dead. Our doves were not even given the pleasure of doing him in. But the witch is a clever witch and in his dying breath starts to implement McCarthy's and Kennedy's program. So the witch is not only dead but indistinguishable from our men in shining armor who were to slay him. Kennedy and McCarthy are robbed of both an opponent and a program.

Linda

And what, pray tell, do our peace advocates have to say about all this? They claim the credit. It seems it is they who slew the witch and who are responsible for what is fast becoming the policy of the Administration itself.

Linda Morse, chairman of the SMC created and dominated National Student Mobilization stated that Johnson's decision not to seek re-election was a direct result of pressure of the peace movement, as are the campaigns of Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy...Independent actions like our march on April 27, held separately from the electoral process, are more important than before to push the candidates, all of them, to the left. She joins the ranks of the Kennedy, McCarthy and Fulbright by 'welcoming' the President's partial bombing halt.

This makes very clear what the purpose of the peace marches is in the eyes of its leaders. Rather than seeking to create an alternative to the capitalist politicians our peace leaders seek only to push them to the 'left'. They are utter fools if they really believe they have even accomplished this. For it is not the pushing of Linda Morse and her SWP cohorts which is producing this new negotiations line. It is rather the collision of the heroic war of the Vietnamese workers and peasants with the deepening internal crisis of capitalism which requires this change in the tactics of the imperialists. The peace movement is being utilized by these capitalists as an aid in bringing about a policy change necessary to the very preservation of capitalist rule.

Now the role of the peace movement will be all the more pernicious. Rather than taking up the fight the COMPLETE VICTORY of the Vietnamese workers and peasants and the IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL of American troops they are paving the way for a deal over Vietnam through which the capitalists hope to save at least something from the situation.

kennedy

Out of all this emerges Robert Kennedy as the man best equipped to carry out the tasks of American imperialism in this new period of crisis. All present indications point to Kennedy as the next president of the United States. He has behind him important qualifications for this post. Most important is his anti-labor record. This man has distinguished himself as the crusader to destroy the million membered Teamsters Union through his efforts to jail Hoffa. In the coming period we can expect that Kennedy will be able to carry through an anti-labor campaign in Congress far beyond anything Johnson could have gotten away with. He is a liberal demagogue with a following in the Negro ghetto which he will be able to utilize as a cover for his anti-labor practices. He is a skilled political operator deeply imbued with the machine politics of the large city political apparatuses. He is a man from the East better qualified to deal with the international problems of American capitalism than Johnson. He represents one of America's richest and most powerful families and the capitalists need not fear where his material interests lie.

The task of those who seek to lead American workers is not to push Kennedy to the 'left' but to begin the struggle today to expose Kennedy before the American working class and to prepare for the workers creating their own party as a real alternative to the whole capitalist gang--a labor party based on the unions.

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Printed entirely by union labor.

DEFEAT UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM NO Victory to vietnamese workers and peasants

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VIETNAMESE YOUTH FIGHT FOR TOTAL VICTORY OVER THE FORCES OF UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM!

No Deals! Victory To Vietcong!
Mass Resistance To The Draft!
Smash Racism--Close Down Memphis!
U.S. Labor: Boycott All War Goods!
Build A Labor Party Now!

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**PROGRESSIVE
LABOR**

OPPORTUNISM IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

by Lucy St. John

Today hardly a day goes by that the crisis of the capitalist system is not exposed. This crisis is reflected not only in the growing militancy of the workers, the ferment in the campuses and in the ghettos but also in the ruling class itself. Each event brings into question the very existence of capitalism.

At the same time the ruling class is forced more and more to seek aid from those who talk left, who pose as "revolutionaries" in order to hide its crisis and contain the struggle within the bounds of their system. These organizations then serve a specific purpose. They talk of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and the working class but all this talk serves as a cover for their policies of containing the struggles of workers, students, black militants and keeping them from coming to revolutionary politics by diverting them in this left talk and in separate isolated struggles, syndicalist, student, community struggles keeping these limited to anti-political forms of action refusing to raise the political issues that tie all these struggles together. They vulgarize Marxism by reducing it to the level of impressionism.

Today more than ever it is necessary to examine those "revolutionaries" who pose as leaders of the working class but actually tie the working class to the capitalist system. It is necessary to understand their method. This is the purpose of this series of articles on Progressive Labor.

talk

Progressive Labor from its very origins as a split from the Communist Party has proclaimed itself a Marxist-Leninist Party and sought to intervene in the struggles of the working class. Its literature is filled with talk of revolution and socialism. But we must go beyond this statement of orthodoxy to understand the real nature of PL and see how they relate this in practice. PL's method and role is clearly revealed in practice in its work in the trade union movement.

PL has given uncritical support to the Rank and File Committee now in the SSEU. This caucus originally began in 1966. It was formed by militants who saw that the Mage leadership did not have a program to beat back the increasing attacks by the City, and that an alternative program was necessary. This understanding was combined with at least the expressed agreement by the founding members of the need to go beyond simple trade unionism to fight in the union for a political alternative to the capitalist parties. Early in its development there was agreement on the need to fight Economism by bringing working class politics into the union.

Participating in this caucus were a number of forces, some supported uncritically by PL and some supported by the Workers League. A struggle began almost immediately by those militants supported by the WL to make the caucus a combative organization to fight for leadership against the Mage bureaucracy raising the need for political struggle within this context. Those forces supported by PL waged a fight against such a conception of a caucus, fighting against even the development of a program on the basis that a program was not necessary, it would come in time. Instead these forces wanted a study group discussing radical politics, confining politics to the living room rather than as a necessary part of the struggle in the union.

victory

In the next period the Rank and File Committee fought in the union for a program of victory around the contract negotiations over the objections of those forces who continually fought to limit the caucus to a discussion group.

The SSEU was defeated in January despite the growing opposition to the Mage leadership in part led by the Rank and File Committee. This defeat was a result of the increasing attack on the city unions by the government reflected in the push for stronger anti-strike legislation in the form of revisions of the Taylor Law and OCB. SSEU's defeat raised clearly its isolation from the rest of the labor movement and the stepped-up attacks raised the need for a political struggle against Lindsay's policies.

economism

At a time when the political questions were being raised by the objective conditions, those for-

ces supported by PL fought to keep these issues out of the union. Political propaganda seemed to be all right as long as it remained in the living room and did not lead to a real confrontation against the leadership and the City. These forces began adapting to the most backward elements within the caucus seeking to limit the struggles in the union to "organization", "democracy" and "bread and butter issues." This tailing even got these forces into situations of fighting against a position of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, of saying "political issues could not be raised by college graduates because they are real workers. You cannot raise political issues--they will alienate the workers--you have to reach the workers where they are at--at their present level." When those in the caucus supported by the WL fought to raise in the program of the upcoming election the need for a political struggle by the working class, the need to pose an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, they were expelled through a bureaucratic maneuver. This method of quelling disputes is not new to PL with its origins in Stalinism.

At the time of this expulsion we stated that the Rank and File Committee would seek more and more to limit the struggles against the Mage leadership and would collaborate with the bureaucracy in keeping the workers powerless, keeping the struggles at the present level. We stated that the bankruptcy of their program would be revealed in time.

revealed

Their role was clearly revealed during the SSEU strike last summer. The SSEU was forced out after six months of negotiations with the City with nothing gained. Prior to this struggle those forces in the SSEU supported by the WL had begun a fight in the union in the light of the defeat of the SSEU and the exposure of its powerlessness in isolation from the rest of the labor movement to affiliate the SSEU with District Council 37 seeing that only within this context could the SSEU conduct a struggle against the City.

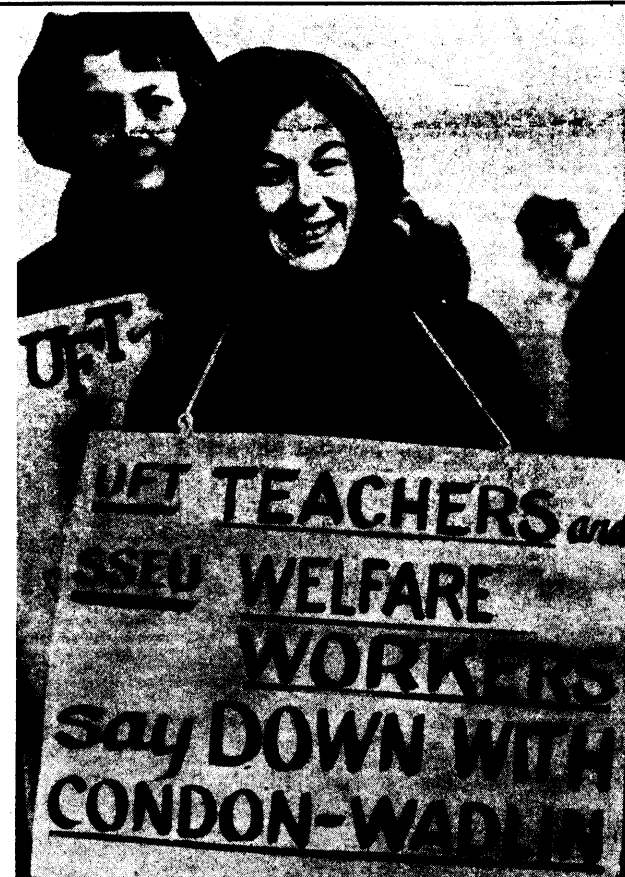
The SSEU's isolation was revealed clearly in the strike. A solid picket line for seven weeks could not win the workers anything. On the initiative of the forces supported by the WL a demand was raised that the SSEU campaign in the ranks of the city labor movement for support. This fight was taken up by the leadership and handed over to a leading member of the Rank and File Committee who kept this fight within the limits of the bureaucracy refusing to launch an all out campaign among the ranks of city labor.

After five weeks at a point when the defeat of the SSEU was clear and that the program of the Mage leadership could not win the strike, members of the Rank and File Committee turned from working for the Mage bureaucracy to panic. Gasping they assured the workers that "we can win." But the Rank and File Committee had no program for victory different from what the Mage leadership had used for the last five weeks with no victory in sight and the destruction of the union being posed each day. The Rank and File Committee's solution was just more of Mage's policies. "Our job is to hold out and escalate. We must continue to prepare ourselves financially and in every way for staying out as long as it is necessary. We must attempt to further cripple the operation of the Department by being harder on the scabs and by beginning to develop greater support among clerks and supervisors. Victory can be ours. We must fight for it."

This was the Rank and File Committee's solution. Just a little more militancy. No program for victory other than loss of more money and possibly terrorism against the scabs. The lesson to be learned from this strike was clearly not that more militancy was needed but rather that the SSEU is powerless outside the rest of the labor movement and that city unions will suffer defeat after defeat until they begin a campaign against the political attack on city workers by the government.

tail

But the Rank and File Committee did not learn its lessons, just as PL which supports their line can neither learn nor pose an alternative for the working class except to tail behind the workers and call for more militancy. Today the Rank and File Committee is almost indistinguishable from the Mage leadership. Approaching a new election in the SSEU at a time when many forces, even sections of the bureaucracy have taken up the fight for affiliation of the SSEU with DC 37, the Rank and File Committee again conducted one of its annual purges, expelling over 10 members of varying



PLP HAS NO ANSWERS FOR WELFARE WORKERS

political views from its ranks. They expelled all those who posed an alternative program limited as these programs were to the current leadership including many of those who seek to affiliate the SSEU with DC 37.

The bankruptcy of this caucus is clear. Today they are unable to mount a campaign against the Mage leadership despite their "broad base". They have no alternative program. They now find themselves forced to support affiliation, having decided to support it after seeing growing support in the ranks. This committee finds itself at the very tail of every struggle.

The policies of the Rank and File Committee represent PL's policies in practice. The orthodoxy in their press becomes blatant opportunism in practice, adapting to the most backward elements, unable to pose any alternative program to the bureaucracy, taking up a struggle only after seeing that the ranks are moving in that direction. PL's politics in the unions represent very clearly economism and tailism which they so avidly attack, posing as followers of Lenin. PL finds itself caught between sectarianism and opportunism. On the one hand seeking to keep working class politics pure in a discussion club and on the other hand limiting the struggles in the working class to simple trade union issues to "where the workers are at," refusing to give any leadership.

PL seeks to reduce the struggles of the class to narrow trade unionism, to project only that "which is possible for the workers to wage under the present conditions" and that "which they are actually waging at the present time." They relegate revolutionary politics to the armchair and subordinate them to strictly trade union issues, subordinating the struggle for an alternative to the capitalist parties to a struggle within the capitalist system, to strengthening what actually exists within the working class. This is why they refuse to fight for leadership and seek only to tail behind the workers. They find themselves cringing before the spontaneity of the workers, prostrate before their militancy. Their revolutionary politics essentially becomes irrelevant and they find that their only task inside the actual struggles of the class is to join the reformist struggle and fight for the best picket lines. Such organizations which pose as leaders of the working class who contain the struggle within the bounds of syndicalism leave the workers in the hands of the bureaucracy and the capitalist parties.

betrayal

PL's support of the policies of the Rank and File Committee are only one example of their betrayal of Marxism. Today they have even gone so far as to develop a "theory" to justify these policies--the "theory" of the "left-center coalition," much as Stalin developed his theory of "socialism in one country" to justify his betrayal of the Russian revolution. But PL has its origins in just this tradition. In the next issue we will take up in greater detail the extension of these policies in the trade union movement and examine the method which is at the basis of them.

**QUESTIONS FACING PROGRESSIVE LABOR
ON THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF REVISIONISM**

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20¢

German Socialist Students

THE EVOLUTION OF SDS FROM BERNSTEIN TO MARCUSE



SDS WAS MAJOR ORGANIZER OF THIS MASSIVE ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION HELD IN WEST BERLIN

by V. Barat

Student struggles in West Germany have assumed not only a broader mass but a more intense and bitter character since June 2, 1967. In the main these struggles have been waged under the leadership of SDS (The League of German Socialist Students). This is the largest and by far the most effective radical youth organization in the Federal German Republic as well as in isolated West Berlin. To better grasp its present strengths and weaknesses requires at least a brief examination of its historical origins.

The first break for the socialists came at the University of Gottingen in the British zone. Here in July, 1946, students won a measure of freedom and the right to organize. Two months later, on September 2, representatives of socialist youth from all three zones in West Germany gathered at the first constituent delegated conference of the SDS in Hamburg. The organization of this conference had been facilitated by the German Socialist Party (SPD), which had a pro-Western orientation and wanted a youth movement under its thumb.

There is little evidence that any discussion occurred here about the nature of the Soviet occupied zone or of the role of Stalinism in frustrating the German socialist revolution. What was discussed was whether Marxist or religious ideas should be the core of its program. There was also debate on "revolutionary" versus "revisionist" tactics. Many opposed the adoption of an ideological position at this time. What was agreed to was a belief in social justice, allowing the free unfolding of one's personality; a democratic reconstruction and the building of a socialist state sometime in the future; the unity of the nation and friendship among peoples through an eventual international socialist society.

An issue arose within the parent SPD as to whether formal organizational ties should exist between it and the youthful

SDS. A majority in the senior party became convinced that it was to the SPD's own interest at this time to allow the SDS to maintain a semblance of autonomy. In truth, the junior organization was financed by the older party and it was therefore felt that SDS independence was quite relative.

factional quarrels

From its virtual beginning SDS was reft by inner differences. Up to 1949 the principal argument was over the attitude of its members toward the KPD (German Communist Party) and its Stalinist variant in the East zone, the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany). In some areas the pressures exerted by bureaucrats from the SPD against the SDS's tolerance of pro-KPD members or independent left-wingers caused a crisis that resulted in serious losses to the youth movement. In Hannover the powerful SDS simply fell apart due to interference from without. Besides dissension forced on them by the senior party, the SDS was subject to constant harassment by the occupation authorities, by Adenauer's Federal government, by conservative college officials. There were, nonetheless, thirty seven groups, mostly from the universities, belonging to the SDS national organization by 1949. The main activities were university centered: the processing of personal grievances of students; obtaining of more adequate scholarship funds or higher financial aid for students; publicity against suspected pro-Nazi professors; the effort to improve and democratize admission policies at the universities.

By 1950 SDS was swept up by the general European student enthusiasm for peace and unity on the continent. SDS also concerned itself with the Federal Republic's constitution and the problem of a divided Germany. Its approach to these and other matters was liberal and reformist, not from the standpoint that these were class questions and thus could not be solved within the

existing social framework of capitalist Germany.

However, as the German bourgeoisie began to utilize the cold war as a pretext for developing their own armed forces, the SDS was faced with adopting a position toward it. At first they tried to evade the issue. In 1955 a delegated conference in Gottingen agreed that members of SDS could serve in the German army if they could reconcile such activity with their own conscience. Others tried to avoid coming to grips with the basic problem by arguing that it was absurd to even speak in favor of rearming Germany with conventional weapons in the nuclear age.

By 1958 pressure built up in the ranks of both the SDS and SPD to oppose weapons for the Bundeswehr (the West German Army). SDS campaigned against re-armament primarily as a moral issue and attracted to its ranks a host of theologians and ex-theologians. In the elections of 1958 the adult party took its pacifist plank into Westphalia and was defeated. An immediate about-face occurred in the SPD and they dropped their opposition to rearmament thereafter. What ensued was a permanent rift between the majority of SDS and the SPD.

Three groups eventually emerged in SDS as a result of the pro-military policy of the older party: a left-wing, including both pro-and anti-stalinists; moderates who supported the general line of the SPD but wanted organizational independence from it; a right-wing faction that wanted to link up organizationally with the SPD. In 1960 the latter group succeeded in having the adults sponsor a new youth organization to rival SDS, the Social-Democratic University League (SHB). Before the end of the year, SPD had cut off all its financial support to SDS.

new theory

Totally cut off from the SPD, the SDS members took a new look at their program. They began to read Marx and Lenin, but diluted the theories of scientific socialism by uncritically mixing them with nostrums taken from such radical-liberal and semi-anarchist sources as Adorno, Marcuse, Debray, and others of like persuasion. They devised a rather involved but basically superficial explanation for the world of today. In substance what SDS came up with is that the population of each country has been diabolically integrated into society by clever propaganda of the newsmedia. The primary task of the "critical" student minority is to expose the manipulation of mass media so that its falseness becomes transparent to all. In areas like West Berlin with the press in the hands of the ultra-reactionary Springer family, great efforts have been expended to expose their influence, even to the point of calling large rallies in front of the Springer press buildings, thumbing their noses at them, even breaking some windows.

Hand in hand with the theory of manipulation, the SDS from 1965 on adopted tactics and methods taken from the American Civil Rights movement, the Berkeley demonstrations, and actions often associated with Students for a Democratic Society in the U.S. (to be continued)

CINCINNATI RETAIL CLERKS UNION FACES NEW BATTLES

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI--Retail Clerks Local 1099 in Cincinnati is facing a mounting offensive on the part of the bosses in the food industry, where almost all contracts expire this year. The bosses' plan is very simple: force a rotten contract on the workers at the Kroger Company, which is the patternmaker for the area's retail food industry. Using this as a pattern, they will try to get other contracts to follow suit at such other stores as Albers, A & P, and Liberals.

manipulating

By manipulating its funds

among its subsidiaries, Kroger's can and does make the claim that it is not making enough to enable it to pay decent wages and maintain decent working conditions.

The local union as of now has some 5100 members. Several problems have arisen by the existence of large unorganized stores in the area such as Shilliot's, Thriftway and Sears. These stores have, by their wage policies, helped hold down wages in the union stores. An organizing campaign with the intention of successfully organizing these non-union stores has not been attempted in some years. In

addition, the local union has allowed all sorts of undesirable provisions to slip into the contracts over the years: no-strike clauses, compulsory arbitration, the loss of overtime after 6P.M., and different wage scales for part-time and full-time workers.

changes

Haven't the workers attempted to get some changes? You better believe they have. But the local's leadership has largely been able to head this off by saying in effect to the worker's demands: 'Is that all you want? Why, we'll get you three times as much!'

Public Meeting

WHICH WAY FOR RETAIL CLERKS LOCAL 1099?

**Sunday April 21 8:00 pm Shuster's Inn
2122 Langdon Farm Road Cincinnati, Ohio**

RETAIL CLERKS RANK AND FILE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

They often wind up not even getting what was asked for in the first place.

Which way now for the Retail Clerks? It is not good enough any longer just to show up at one union meeting a year or at one contract meeting every three years. The workers are going to have to organize to get the necessary

changes including: direct election of stewards (they are now appointed), a functioning union branch in each store (there is now none), an escalator clause in each contract (none now) and successful organization of the unorganized. This is the direction that the Retail Clerks Rank and File Organizing Committee is headed.

crisis in soviet bloc exposes stalinists



AT MASARYK'S GRAVE--WILL CAPITALISM STAY BURIED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA ?

by Fred Mueller

The U.S. Communist Party finally broke its silence on the East European crisis in the March 26 issue of *The Worker*. The *Worker's* Prague correspondent informs us that the events in Czechoslovakia do not mean 'that the 20 years of working toward socialism went for naught.'

It is simply 'a new stage of development.' There is no mention of the tremendous conflict within the regime, of the removal of Novotny and a whole group of diehard Stalinists, and of the famous Sejna case (one of Novotny's military backers who has sought asylum in the U.S.). The 'liberal' Dubcek leadership is praised, but the *Worker* tries to give the impression that all this represents a smooth, harmonious change in personnel, a 'democratization process.' 'The Czechs and Slovaks have, in one meeting after another, repudiated the path taken by the present Warsaw demonstrations and by the 1956 Hungarian events' says the *Worker*.

What is this path? What are the demands of the Polish students and how have their demands been met? What about the jailing of Polish writers and students for the 'crime' of writing or voicing criticism of the regime? What about the vicious anti-Semitic campaign which has been launched in an effort to find a popular scapegoat for the wide unrest? The *Worker* says nothing about any of this. We are told that the Warsaw demonstrations have been repudiated but we aren't even told what they are. In reality, of course, the same kind of opposition to Stalinism is developing in all these countries, but the various bureaucratic regimes are dealing with the opposition in different ways. This is all that the *Worker's* distorted report reflects.

expose

The *Worker*, like its Stalinist brethren internationally, is unable to print truthful reports because the East European events expose the continuing crimes of the

bureaucracy to which it is connected. When it finally summons up the courage for a report, it raises many questions and it answers none. Does the U.S. CP approve of the appeal to anti-Semitic prejudices by the Polish regime? Does it approve the jail sentences, the breaking up of peaceful student demonstrations, the dismissal of professors with tenure?

leadership

The events continue to expose Stalinism and also show the need for a revolutionary leadership. Novotny has been removed from even the ceremonial position of President as the dismissal of the old-line Stalinists continues in Czechoslovakia. The 'liberals' are just as dangerous as the old liners. The Dubcek leadership utilizes anti-bureaucratic moods of the students and intellectuals to move towards further accommodation with imperialism in foreign policy and the domestic economy. Of course the events are by no means a 'smooth process' as the *Worker* tries to portray them. Now Prague has been forced to publicly criticize the East Germans for 'interfering' in Czech internal affairs.

In Poland the anti-Semitic campaign continues in spite of an attempt by party secretary Gomulka to moderate it. The bureaucracy is obviously split in its attempts to deal with the students and the growing internal crisis. The attempt to use anti-Semitism is opening up the regime to pressure from the right as well as the left.

Throughout East Europe the events confirm the Trotskyist analysis of the crisis of Stalinism. The bureaucracy is not building socialism but neither is it a new ruling class, with any period of stability ahead for its rule.

It is in permanent crisis, and the workers will have to remove it in their struggle for socialism.

Now the students and intellectuals are reflecting the spreading unease in the en-

tire population. In Poland several factories have declared their support of the student struggles. The most inspiring expression of solidarity occurred when the Warsaw policy broke up the sit-in of 5000 students at the Polytechnic School on March 23. Before the students were removed from the school 10,000 other demonstrators, including many workers, cheered them on. When the students shouted, 'We are staying,' the crowd answered 'General strike' and 'Workers with us.' The 15,000 students and workers together sang 'the International.'

link up

Tremendous confusion continues, and shows the need for a Marxist leadership. Not only must the students and intellectuals connect their struggles to the workers, but they must link up to the international working class struggle for socialism. The lack of a clear revolutionary internationalism is the greatest weakness of the present struggles. Within the opposition petty bourgeois nationalism weakens the fight. The dissidents in Poland and Czechoslovakia must fight against both wings of the bureaucracy. In neither Poland nor Czechoslovakia is the nationalist policy of all sections of the bureaucracy exposed. The new Czech leadership follows a right wing foreign policy more and more like the Rumanian and Yugoslav CPs. The economic crisis in all these countries continues and deepens as the bureaucracy veers from its old policy of ignoring the international division of labor to the current one of completely subordinating the economy to this division of labor.

restoration

Right wing restorationist forces among the peasantry, the church and sections of the bureaucracy itself are coming out into the open. Restoration of capitalism is becoming a serious danger in the East European countries in which the capitalists were expropriated as part of bureaucratic

Hungarian Socialists Hold Conference

On March 16 and 17, the Hungarian Revolutionary Socialist League (section of the International Committee of the Fourth International) held its 3rd conference.

Its work and discussions took place at a particular time in the class struggle.

The disarray of international capital, linked with the collapse of the dollar, along with the mass demonstrations of students, the youth of Poland and Czechoslovakia have laid bare the depth of the joint world crisis of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The inevitable sharpening of the class struggle which results from this heralds enormous struggles of the international proletariat.

Conference stressed that the development of the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy reflects the deepening of imperialism's crisis.

It stated that on this base, a general move towards the political revolution of the working class and the youth is beginning in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Whilst guarding against a mechanical, one-sided and narrow view of this movement, conference decided to base all its activity on this general appreciation.

The central task of the League was thus recognized in its full importance: namely, how to intervene in the upswing of the class struggle in the USSR and Eastern Europe with a view to building the Fourth International and its parties, and how to bind this struggle to that of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Fourth International, in the capitalist countries.

Assuming its responsibilities to the international working class, the League conference centered all its work on the elaboration of decisions with a view to realizing this principal task.

fraternal salute

The first discussion was on the Fraternal Salute from the League to the Polish and Czech youth along with planning out activity for its use.

In the course of an important discussion, the conference stressed that the League's work in intervention must be centered on its monthly bulletin, the development of which is the key to its ability to

intervene.

It seriously examined the League's tasks for the assimilation and development of Marxism as a condition for a means of developing its bulletin.

It discussed means of improving considerably the distribution of the bulletin in order to best assure it of its role as an organizer.

The conference resolution to prepare in every aspect for a printed monthly bulletin - a complex task - sums up well the League's determination to concretely intervene in the class struggle in Eastern Europe, particularly in Hungary.

The responsibility falling on the League to link the struggle of the working class in the USSR and the Eastern European countries to that of the proletariat in the capitalist countries guided all the work of the conference.

Conference set out ways of strengthening its struggle for the re-construction of the Fourth International. It decided, inter alia, to fully participate in the Youth Commission of the International Committee and to strengthen its contribution to 'International Correspondence' in Russian and to its distribution.

internationalism

The presence of the comrades delegated from the Socialist Labor League and the Organisation Communiste Internationale, both of the International Committee, deepened the internationalism of the conference.

Their active participation in the discussion brought valuable assistance to the League showing what living internationalism is.

Summing up the conference and its decisions, it is important to stress the efforts to re-inforce the organization of the League, the condition for the realization of all its tasks, particularly in the present stages of the sharpening of the class struggle.

The Secretariat elected by the conference has the duty to accomplish this so that the League might fulfil its responsibility to the international working class in the next period; of great clashes in the world-class struggle.

overturns carried out in the defensive interests of Soviet regime. The bureaucracy is responsible for the restorationist danger at the same time as it tries to use it to clamp down on criticism from the left. The dissidents can only fight against the bureaucracy and the openly restorationist forces with a Marxist program and leadership. Only with a revolutionary perspective can the blind alley of national 'models' of socialism and the one-sided economic policies of the bureaucracy be exposed.

The singing of the Internationale and devotion to socialist democracy is not enough by itself. The Fourth International can and must be built to lead the struggles in the Soviet orbit.

DEFEND THE POLISH, CZECH AND SOVIET STRUGGLES AGAINST STALINISM! FOR A PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST POLICY AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY AND BUILD PARTIES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL TO OVERTHROW IMPERIALISM AND STALINISM!