

**A LOOK AT GERMAN SDS**

# **Bulletin**

bi-weekly organ of the workers league

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TEN CENTS

# **KENNEDY-NO!**

# **MCCARTHY-NO!**

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***KENNEDY***

***FROM BAY  
OF PIGS TO  
WHITE HOUSE***



**----DISTRICT 65---SSEU ELECTIONS---CINCINNATI--CANADA----**

**PROGRESSIVE LABOR—  
BREAD AND BUTTER NOT ENOUGH**

'65

# direct mail signs new pact

by Irv Hacker

NEW YORK--The rank and filers of the Direct Mail local of District 65 have won significant gains in their recently ratified contract with the Direct Mail Master Contract Assn. The new three year contract provides the following gains:

1. Salary increases of \$7.50, \$4.25, \$5.25.
2. Severance pay fund established. Weekly payments of 50¢, 75¢, \$1.00 per worker, per week.
3. Escalator clause reflecting increases in cost of living from 1 to 3%, to be reviewed annually.
4. \$3.00 per week retroactive pay for six months to reflect losses due to inflation.
5. Improved vacation provisions.
6. Sick leave increase to 4 regular days for the 1st year, 5 days for the 2nd year.
7. Improved wording in several clauses (grievance procedure, mourning pay, jury duty).

Direct Mail workers have won essentially all of their minimum demands. Compared to the previous contract, negotiated in 1966, which settled for \$7.00 over two years, and no cost of living review, this year's package is sensational at first glance. On closer scrutiny, however, it is clear that these gains must be regarded as the beginning of a real fight to bring Di-



**DIRECT MAIL MEMBERS LEARN HOW TO USE A MULTILITH**

rect Mail workers into line with other organized workers throughout the country whose standards are well above these. The contract must not be viewed as a finished product which might need just a little touchup here and there in 1971. It is still not possible to raise a family decently on an average salary in Direct Mail, especially in New York City.

#### REASONS

There are several reasons that this was the year for meaningful contract gains. The union leadership had to come in with something to show for themselves after the 1966 sell-out, especially considering the dissent in 65 and the general air of rank and file militancy in the country this year. Opposition to trade union bureaucrats who don't produce for the workers is growing in all

segments of the organized labor movement, and the Livingston leadership is naturally concerned for its jobs. On the other side of the fence, the mergers and consolidations which are running rampant throughout Direct Mail have succeeded in creating viable shops with money enough to automate and therefore compete seriously with unorganized shops for the big jobs. They are obviously getting these jobs and profiting heavily enough from them to convince them that a settlement would cost less than a strike.

#### CONTRACT

A brief analysis of some of the new contract gains is in order. The severance pay fund, while a step in the right direction, has a long way to go. Since the employers were not willing to start it off with some kind of lump sum payment, it will be quite a

while before there is enough money in it to make it meaningful. The exclusion of workers affected by mergers from the plan is a glaring fault, since this is the major reason for the establishment of such a fund now.

The return of the escalator clause after the 1966 sell-out is a significant gain. However, since the index is reviewed only annually, and not on a retroactive basis, the workers end up shouldering the burden of inflation for a year at a time, and never really make up their losses.

The retroactive \$3.00 for six months in the face of our losses over the past two years is laughable, a token, no doubt, of our employers' esteem and soft hearts.

It is obvious that while the new contract makes real forward strides, basic problems still remain. There is much improvement that is absolutely necessary to make our gains really worthwhile. The major reason that there is this lag is that the biggest problem facing the Direct Mail local—the organization of the unorganized—has been given only the glibest sort of lip service by the union bureaucrats, and without accomplishing this goal we hold ourselves back from being able to win any and all demands we decide to pose. The task of organizing is a huge one, spread out over the nation, and requires a united effort by the trade union movement. All unions must struggle for clauses in their contracts that prohibit their bosses from

dealing with any non-union suppliers or servicers such as the Schenley Dist. workers have in the New York area. Unions must fight for legislation that would outlaw runaway shops, and legislation that would provide equal pay for equal work regardless of race, sex or geography. Since the 65 leadership won't work seriously for these goals and organize the unions for this work, we need a new leadership which will.

#### LEADERSHIP

This new leadership must also fight to make the bosses open the books for our inspection at contract time. This contract poses sharply the question of what the employers can afford to pay us. Gone are the days when we take their word for it that they are barely making it. We want to see what they are making off our backs, and share fully in it! The next contract must have a provision for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. It's time we shared in the gains in productivity from automation and speed up.

It took the rising militancy of the rank and file to force the union leadership to stir itself enough to bring home this contract. They have proved themselves unwilling or unable to attempt meaningful organizing, let alone requesting the aid of other New York City labor unions. 30 for 40, and opening the books would be viewed as impractical by them. We in Direct Mail need a new leadership, not these hacks, to lead us forward.

by a SSEU member

NEW YORK--The upcoming election for SSEU (welfare workers) officers indicates the complete bankruptcy of the present union leadership and most of the oppositional forces within the union at a time when the very existence of the union is at stake and when city labor generally is in crisis.

Favored to win is the leadership slate headed by Morgenstern which is a continuation of the present Mage leadership of the union. This bureaucrat was educated by Judy Mage and since Mrs. Mage led the union to defeat on no less than two occasions through her inability to understand the nature of the attacks by Lindsay on all city workers, we can expect that Morgenstern, who has campaigned on virtually no program, will prove equally ineffective.

The election has been greeted with a tremendous amount of apathy in the union ranks reflecting the continued demoralization of the union following the decisive defeat of the union after last summer's strike.

#### ISSUE

The major issue confronting the rank and file is how the union can overcome its present weaknesses and restore itself to a position where it can seriously fight for the in-

terests of its membership. Unless decisive action is taken on this question soon, the union will continue to lose strength and be threatened with dissolution. Lindsay has defeated the SSEU and now SSEU members must find a way to defeat Lindsay for the union is through.

It is this problem which poses before union militants the need to affiliate the union with District Council 37 which represents some 70,000 city employees, including the rest of the welfare department, and is affiliated with the AFL-CIO. American capitalism is in deep crisis--a crisis which is reflected both in the balance of payments crisis and in the Vietnam War where the American imperialists are having the pants beaten off them by the NLF. This crisis hits particularly severely the large American cities with their slum housing, large minority populations and tremendous welfare roles and unemployment problems. Lindsay, like the rest of the politicians who run American cities, is seeking to solve this crisis at the expense of the men and women who work for the city holding down their wages, speeding up their work, and introducing automation. It is precisely this campaign against city labor which has led to the defeat of the isolated SSEU as well as the star-

# SSEU MORE MAGE FROM MORGENSTERN

ting growth of DC 37 as tens of thousands of city employees for the first time see the need for union organization and protection.

Thus a major confrontation is in the making between the city administration and the District Council. Of course Gotbaum, and his bureaucracy which runs the Council are doing everything in their power to prevent this confrontation. But they can only postpone it for a while, a short while. Alone the militancy and experience of the SSEU means nothing but as part of the 70,000 strong District Council it could be a very important factor in the struggles of city labor ahead.

#### POLITICAL

This confrontation must be more than a trade union one. It is a fight against the politicians who run the city in the interests of the bankers and big business instead of the working people who work for the city and in the city.

This struggle will pose to thousands of workers the necessity of electing their own officials responsible to the union movement and not the bosses.

The various oppositional forces within the union stand completely naked and impotent before the needs of the union membership. The Rank and File Committee has been unable to come up with either an oppositional slate or a program to meet the unions needs. Various members of this group are giving covert support to Morgenstern and we expect they will all grudgingly vote for him when push comes to shove. The small Militant Caucus is running a slate headed by Lyndon Henry in opposition to Morgenstern. Through all its militant propaganda comes the one concrete reactionary idea that the union should maintain its independence from the District Council. Thus our "militant" friends stand before the union with the most reactionary program of all. A vote for Lyndon Henry is a vote for the

destruction of the SSEU!

#### PROGRAM

The only programmatic alternative in the election is posed by Dennis Cribben senior caseworker from East End Welfare Center who is running for Treasurer. He states:

'We want a contract in '69 that contains:

1. Not one cent less than the \$1350 wage hikes won in '67.
2. \$100/week minimum for all titles in the Department.
3. Ironclad penalty provisions to guarantee the 60 caseload.
4. Absolute union control over introduction of new titles and experimental projects.
5. Substantial gains in the area of time and leave regulations AND MUCH MORE.'

To make such a program realizable he urges immediate merger into local 371 of DC 37 and pledges to take up the fight if elected 'to take to the ranks a program of demonstrations and conventions leading to the running of labor candidates in the next mayoralty and state elections.'

By Fred Mueller

In the last month Robert Kennedy has emerged the quite possible Democratic Party candidate and next President of the U.S. The deepening of the crisis of the capitalist system has literally forced Kennedy to speed up his well-known plans to win the Presidency, and it is important to recognize just what he represents.

The mass media have been working overtime on Kennedy's "image", emphasizing his youthfulness, freshness, willingness to try new ideas in the effort to "unite the nation", and so forth. In the weeks immediately preceding Johnson's withdrawal from the race for the nomination, Kennedy also sought to portray himself especially as a man of peace, as someone ready to give his all to end the war.

**useful**

The usefulness of Kennedy to the capitalists is that he can now mobilize such large sections of the population, among both the working class and middle class voters, behind a program which suits the present needs of imperialism. Behind the carefully fostered public image lies a trustworthy and dedicated representative of the ruling class. A closer look at his record and program will prove this.

**invader**

Bobby Kennedy began his political career as an aide to Senator McCarthy in his

By Marty Jonas

"My record is clear", Senator Eugene McCarthy has insisted repeatedly. But just how clear is the record of this liberal that the ADA's official liberal rating service could only give a mere 62% rights

On civil rights McCarthy has the distinction of casting the "nay" vote that killed the 1965 civil rights bill. In 1961 he voted against withholding federal school aid from segregated schools. Also, according to the Congressional Quarterly (Nov 17 1967), "while voting for passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, McCarthy opposed a controversial amendment which would have banned poll taxes" To bring him up to date, he capitulated completely to racism in Milwaukee, to the extent of splitting his ranks. E.W. Kenworthy writes in the N.Y. Times, March 26th:

"At a staff meeting in Milwaukee last Saturday, Curtis Gans, the staff director, took the position that the Senator should not make a major statement on civil rights until after the Wisconsin primary. A factor in Mr. Gans' position it was said, was the fear of arousing opposition in the heavily Polish and German wards of Milwaukee. There is much anti-Negro feeling in those wards because of the demonstrations for improvement in slum conditions led by the Rev James Groppi."

This is the campaign billed as "A Breathe of Fresh Air." Obviously its the same rotten

# from bay of pigs to white house?



witchhunt against any and all dissent in America. He was the closest confidante of his late brother. He played a very important role in the infamous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 and in the Cuban missiles crisis of October 1962 in which the Kennedy Administration brazenly and successfully threatened nuclear war. Just this Easter, Bobby Kennedy placed a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington in a ceremony honoring the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who perished in the April invasion! Kennedy also played a very big role in the deepening involvement in Vietnam which took place during his brother's administration.

Now this cynical politician comes before the peace movement and the rest of the population to pose as a man of peace. He has already shown that he can and will be a man of war when capitalism's interests are threatened.

Even now Kennedy goes no further than to suggest wider bombing pause maneuvers and other efforts to get negotiations going. He favors, through negotiations and with the aid of the traitorous Sov-

iet bureaucrats, yet another deal to try to deny the right of self determination to the struggling Vietnamese people. Of course he refuses to support in any way mass resistance to the war of the draft. Of course he refuses to recognize the National Liberation Front as the legitimate government of South Vietnam.

**demagogue**

Kennedy comes before the Negro masses with demagogic pleas for an end to the ghettos and to poverty and discrimination. He swiftly moves to identify himself with Dr. King following the latter's assassination, making his private plane available to the widow. But Kennedy's real program for the ghetto doesn't go beyond a proposal for tax incentives to private investors to rebuild the slums. He wants to tie the desperate needs of the black masses to the profitability of investment in the ghetto. Only as far as private enterprise can do the job is Kennedy prepared to go. Even reformists like Michael Harrington have pointed out how bankrupt this program is. Even the Johnson administration exposed it recently as a

scheme which would benefit private capitalists more than the ghetto!

This is Kennedy's real program on the war and civil rights. But even more important than this is Kennedy's unannounced program to save the dollar from complete collapse. This is the most important question which is exactly why Kennedy says little about it for public consumption.

**anti-labor**

It was Bobby Kennedy who led the attack on Hoffa and the Teamsters union, and through them on the entire U.S. labor movement. It was he who spent years of patient work behind Hoffa. It was he, the millionaire capitalist, who crusaded against corruption in the trade unions. This more than anything else shows the class position of Kennedy and it must be remembered and exposed now.

The Hoffa campaign was one of many steps taken to put the unions on the defensive, to tame the bureaucratic leadership of the unions and establish a closer relationship between the govern-

ment and the bureaucrats. It succeeded in doing this. It succeeded in weakening the unions. This was Bobby Kennedy's great accomplishment.

This has a lot to do with the current crisis. The added strain the war puts on the dollar, together with the military and political victories of the Vietnamese workers and peasants are defeating the imperialists in Vietnam. Of course there are divisions within the ruling class. The continuity between the Truman-Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson administrations, however, the common interests of the entire ruling class, far outweighs the differences. Thus Kennedy speaks for a section which is alarmed at the deepening debacle in Vietnam and wants to extricate itself at minimum cost in order better to defend imperialism on other fronts. The deepening economic crisis, expressed most sharply by the balance of payments situation, absolutely requires that the bosses attack the living standards of the working class. They will try to move slowly, especially in this election year, but move they must. And Kennedy is judged by many as the man to do this kind of job, to help impose anti-strike legislation and wage freezes on American workers.

The Workers League and only the Workers League poses a real alternative. We say: Johnson, Kennedy, Humphrey, NO! Build a Labor Party Now!



# the real mccarthy

small of capitalist politics. Since Dr. King's assassination, McCarthy has been forced to say something about civil rights but has ended up with the parade of politicians hiding behind King's corpse and blowing pious rhetoric about "the dream."

**liberties**

On Civil Liberties McCarthy has not performed any better. He started out his career by helping Orville Freeman and Hubert Humphrey purge the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party of Communists in 1948. He voted in Congress for every contempt citation against those who would not inform for HUAC (including Arthur Miller, the playwright). In 1954 he voted for a bill making Communist party membership a felony. In 1959 he voted for the Student Loyalty Oath Bill. He has been a consistent supporter of bills to Catholic schools and an opponent of the Supreme Court ruling banning prayers in the schools. Only recently his national organization witch-hunted two SDS members out of his Wasau, Wisconsin headquarters. (This is certainly at odds with the glowing picture the "Worker" paints of a

vital movement of youth ready to advance to anti-capitalism.

**peace**

In Southeast Asia the kind of peace that McCarthy is for is best expressed in an interview in the Dec. 16, 1967 issue of America, a liberal Catholic magazine. It is revealing enough to quote large chunks of:

"Pres. Johnson has said he would withdraw in six months...I think this would be precipitous. I think I would advise him against moving that fast. I would put the time limit at five years.

"I think you would have to insist on a significant presence of some kind there (Asia) even if we did withdraw from Vietnam, but I do not think that we need an American presence in that particular part of Asia. We are in Thailand. I think we could remain there for some time even though we did withdraw from South Vietnam. We are in Japan. We are in Korea. Our navy is free in the China Sea.

"I did not start to criticize the Vietnam action until the middle of 1966...I did not think they should resume bombing in early 1966, until it was found that the rumors

of possible negotiations had some substance to them. But other than that, I went along with it pretty much. I felt it was a limited commitment and that maybe it would work out. But I spoke in defense of Truman when he was first under fire on the Korean question. I was opposed to the Mansfield resolution about withdrawing troops from Germany.

(Q.:) What, then, basically, is the difference between the President's position and yours?

I think he should have held to the position when he had 200,000 men in there and tried to work out something.

This is McCarthy's "phased withdrawal" which is hardly distinguishable from the policies of Johnson in maintaining imperialism throughout the world. He has voted for every appropriation for the Vietnam war. And on the Middle East he runs true to form, backing Israel all the way.

This is what McCarthy has in store for U.S. imperialism: its continued existence and welfare at the expense of the Middle East and Asian revolutions.

**business**

And what does McCarthy have in store for the American working class? McCarthy's

interests, which have been obscured by his dove-like posture, are closely tied to big business. He has expended great energy in Congress opposing efforts to eliminate the oil-depletion allowances. His actions as a legislator on behalf of this major sector of capitalism combined with his concern at the threat to imperialism abroad make him an enemy of the working class in this period when the losses abroad will have to be taken off the backs of the workers here.

**adlai**

McCarthy is the same kind of liberal as Adlai Stevenson--the intellectual politician. Neither a McCarthy or a Stevenson are capable of anything but empty rhetoric; once in positions of power they are indistinguishable from the practical politician like Johnson, whom they scorn. They act as obedient servants of the necessities of the capitalist system. McCarthy in the White House is the same as Stevenson in the U.N.

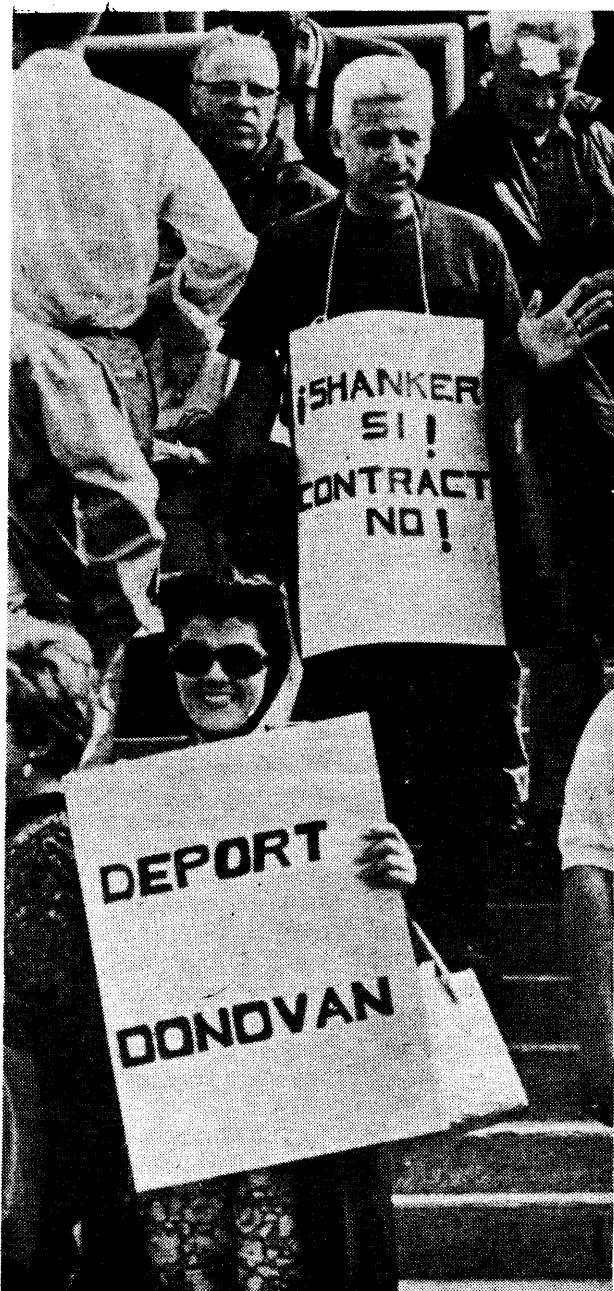
The empty rhetoric of McCarthy is a cover for the lack of program. Liberalism has no program--it has no solutions. Liberalism is dead.

Its program is that of capitalism. Its candidates, aside from personality quirks, are identical in their real political interests to those of all wings of both parties.

The real politics of all of them are revealed in their words and actions towards the workers of the United States and the rest of the world--trying to save their system from the crisis it is plunging into.



# PROGRESSIVE LABOR AND UNIO



PL SAW TEACHERS STRIKE AS VICTORY

by Lucy St. John

Progressive Labor's position on trade union struggles is most clearly revealed in an article on District 65, Direct Mail Division, in the current issue of Challenge. This article correctly attacks the Livingston leadership of the union and the Communist Party supporters who back the leadership because of that union's deep involvement in capitalist politics. This was clearly shown in its heavy support for the Dubin "peace" campaign in Brooklyn.

Its conclusion, however, is utterly reactionary. It seems Livingston should confine himself to "bread and butter issues" Yes, they actually use this phrase. The Challenge writer then goes on to denounce the Workers League referring to "a tiny Trotskyist sect which spreads the irrelevant cry of 'a Labor Party now.'"

Thus rather than attacking the union's involvement in politics on the grounds of the content of these politics it resorts to urging a la Gompers for the leadership to stick to "bread and butter issues." Those who seek to counter bourgeois politics in the unions by fighting for a class political alternative are denounced as "irrelevant."

## dangerous

This syndicalism of PL is most dangerous in this period when each confrontation with the boss raises the question of government intervention in one form or another. This intervention by the state is by its very nature "political." With the end of the boom in the early sixties, the deepening of the economic crisis, the capitalists more and more require the intervention of the state against

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the working class.

This is very clearly seen in almost every major strike. The government intervenes with compulsory arbitration boards, with anti-strike legislation, with threats of the National Guard. The solution to these strikes is put in the hands of the capitalist politicians. Thus, we see political intervention in the railway, copper, teachers, and sanitation strikes. The character of struggles has changed; they objectively involve a struggle against the state and are therefore political.

This understanding is a Marxist understanding, a probing beneath the surface impressions, to the forces beneath. But for PL, Marxism is not a method of understanding material reality in order to intervene, it is just a set of rigid points, dogma, a set of recipes to quote at appropriate times from the red book. Thus PL is left with viewing reality as a series of impressions. It sees only the militancy of the workers. It does not see the cause and cannot lead this militancy against the very system which creates the conditions that forces the working class to fight back.

## teachers

This economism of PL leads it to see actual defeats of the class as victories and thus contain struggles from going over to the offensive politically. PL's analysis, looking at surface events, of the New York City teachers strike clearly reveals this.

PL sees the teachers strike as "the most important victory against the government since the transit workers buried the old Condon-Wadlin law last year." First of all, and it is amazing how PL can be so blind, the Condon-Wadlin law was not actually buried; its ineffectiveness did not mean the end of strike-breaking but rather meant the passage of a more effective means of strike-breaking, the Taylor Law. The teachers, in fact did not defeat the Taylor Law. Shanker was jailed, the union fined \$150,000, and check-off rights were taken away. The Taylor Law is far from beaten. While it did not prevent the teachers from going out, this defiance has not stopped the legislators now from putting even more teeth into this law.

The lesson that PL draws from this whole struggle is, "when the ruling class passes an unjust law to use as a club over the heads of the workers fighting for their demands, the thing to do is to unite and smash that law, not kowtow to it." It is clear PL has learned nothing. The lesson and this was brought home in the sanitation strike when this supposedly smashed law was used again is that the political attack by the state can only be defeated by a political struggle on the part of the working class. This means that the trade unions must break from capitalist politics. Until this is done there will be more laws, more threats of National Guard, and eventually the use of the Guard.

PL's analysis leaves it on the same side with the labor bureaucracy which it so vehemently attacks. PL criticizes the bureaucracy for not being "ready to take the really militant actions in direct strikes." But this is said in the same article in which PL heaps praise on the militant action of the teachers, led by Shanker. Since PL sees the strike as such a victory, its criticism of the bureaucracy is inconsistent.

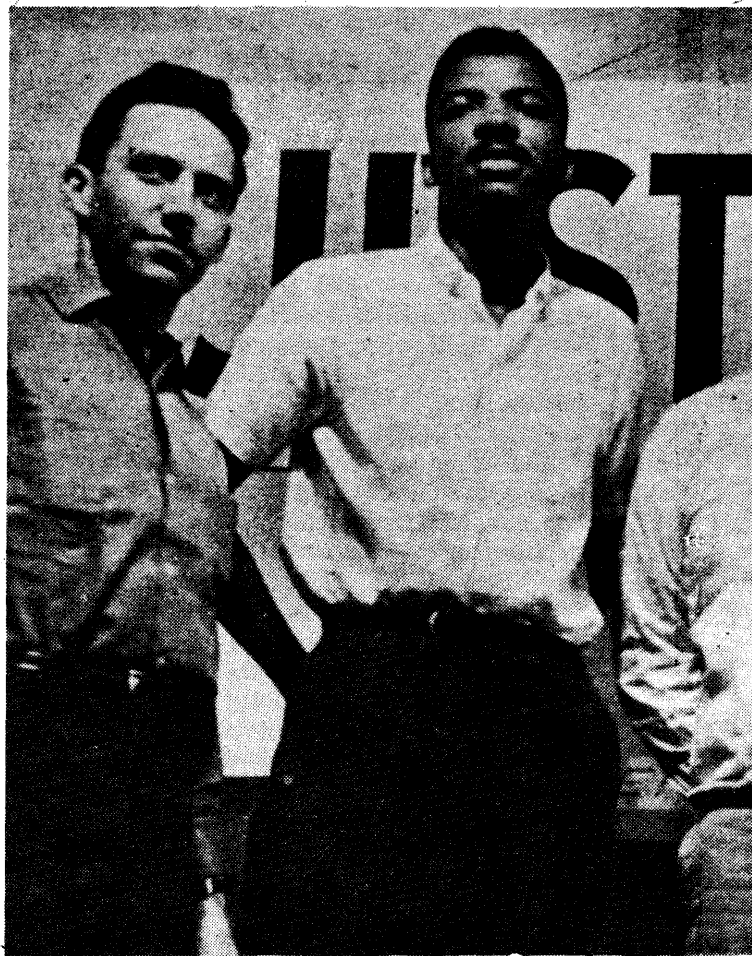
They add that Shanker did not expose the Board of Education, "as a representative of the corporations who control the city." But of what use is this exposure if it is not tied to a political struggle to displace the exposed.

## theory

All of this is a far cry from Marxism. This practice PL has now formulated into a theory, the "Left-Center Coalition." They begin with a correct assessment that U.S. workers "do not understand that the solution to their problems is the overthrow of the ruling class and the establishment of socialism. Therefore, PL concludes to achieve this "long range strategic goal," "there must be immediate tactics leading up to these goals." The main obstacle PL correctly sees as the labor bureaucracy. To remove this obstacle which PL calls the "strategic goal" they propose the concept of the Left-Center coalition." The Left they define as "those revolutionary forces who have the long range goal of smashing the ruling class state and establishing

socialism." The 'Center' is the "mass of workers who oppose the bosses and their labor lieutenants" who are ready to struggle but do not necessarily see beyond the immediate issues.

PL then works out further tactics. They say to organize and unite with the Center, and at the same time to move some forces within the Center leftward, that is towards the understanding of more



FOUR LEADERS OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR (L TO R): FRED JER

long range revolutionary goals." To build these coalitions you have to "start where the workers are at, not where one would want them to be."

The task then of these Left-Center coalitions is to intervene in the "ferment" in the Center struggling around issues that the workers are ready to struggle on. In other words, struggle is to be limited to strictly trade union issues. The task of "revolutionaries" is "to answer ideological confusion that exists around such questions as the war, 'you can't fight the government' racism, unity with other workers, etc." PL attacks the "ultra-lefts" for calling for "power now" or "revolution."

## Lenin

PL with all its book waving and orthodoxy appears to have missed some basic points Lenin raised many years ago. PL is very fond of quoting "What is to be Done" but appears to have missed the whole point. We quote Lenin here not to demonstrate that we are more orthodox than PL but because we believe Lenin's assessment of the class struggle and the task of the revolutionary party are valid today. Lenin states very clearly that "there could not have been Social Democratic consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness." The rank and file through their own decisions, cannot spontaneously, come to the understanding of the need to struggle for power.

Lenin attacks the Economists who resemble PL: "Instead of sounding the call to go forward to the consolidation of the revolutionary organization and the expansion of political activity, the call

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# IONS-FROM LENIN TO GOMPERS

was issued for a retreat to the purely trade union struggles." The "watchword" in the working class movement for the Economists was "struggle for economic conditions." Lenin points out that it is just these phrases which the bourgeoisie uses. Lenin says, "the adherents of the labor movement pure and simple, worshippers of the closest organic contact with the proletarian strug-



FRED JEROME; BILL EPTON; MILT ROSEN; MORT SCHEER

gle...are compelled, in order to defend their positions to resort to the arguments of the bourgeois 'pure trade unionists'."

PL's great rationalization is that the "left" should not alienate the workers and thus they cringe before the spontaneity of the working class movement. "All worship of the spontaneity of the workers, all belittling of the role of the 'conscious element,...means quite independent of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers. Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is - either bourgeois or socialist ideology. Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." Thus, PL in practice, for fear of alienating the workers leaves them tied to capitalist politics, leaves them tied to the very bureaucracy they so fiercely attack.

### party

And what about the revolutionary party? PL sees the tasks of revolutionaries in the unions in relation to these tactics is that in the process of building this Left-Center coalition it will "spread communist ideology, raise questions of the state, of just and unjust laws, of exposure of US imperialism of the relationships between the bosses and the government." By propagandizing PL hopes to win "small numbers of workers in the Center...over to a Left view." PL says that "in the final analysis this presence of revolutionary

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ideology that will not only sustain such coalitions in immediate struggles but enable them to advance up the ladder to more strategic goals." The "contradictions within the system inevitably appear." If revolutionaries organize around contradictions on local issues somehow the labor bureaucrats will be replaced and this will lead to the basis of a "still longer range strategy of more fundamental revolutionary change."

The strategy of building the revolutionary party is subordinated. Revolutionary politics are subordinated to trade union struggles. The only use for revolutionary politics for PL is to answer various questions. The revolutionaries only role as revolutionaries are as teachers. They have no role in the unions apart from the Centers.

What this has led to in practice is that PL fights tooth and nail to keep socialist politics out of the unions. While PL will unite with any forces in the center, adapting to them, at the same time they continually attack the "Left."

For those revolutionaries in PL it creates a schizophrenic functioning, a Dr. Jekel and Mr. Hyde. They are both Left and Center. They are Center at work in the unions struggling only on economic issues. They are Left only at their meetings or when they invite a few in the Center over for dinner. Their strategy for bringing class consciousness to the working class is to pluck off one or two workers and indoctrinate them over the dinner table or at classes. There is no strategy for the bringing of political consciousness to the workers in general. There is no role for socialists as socialists in the class struggles. In other words within the struggles of the class there is no role for revolutionary politics.

### method

At the heart of this is the question of method, the relation of theory and practice. Marxism probes beneath the immediate surface impressions to the underlying forces to anticipate changes they will bring to prepare the party for intervention. This understanding enables the party to intervene directly in the class struggle and raise the consciousness of the working class. This is what Marxists understand as strategy, the development of political consciousness on the part of the working class of the need to break with capitalism and take power.

This PL does not understand as they have no conception of what strategy is. This is a result of their absolute separation of theory and practice. They do not see theory as a developing process, as a guide to preparing the party for intervention and the guide to every step of that intervention and developing through this process. PL rather sees it as a set of debating points of recipes to answer questions raised by individual workers.

This separation leads to pragmatism in practice. Since their theory is not their guide in practice, they are left in practice with basing their tactics on what works, what gets results. Their tactics

are not determined on the basis of the objective needs of the class which flows from the theoretical perspective but rather from considerations of how much support they will gain.

A Marxist begins with the understanding of the crisis and how it is reflected in the struggles of the class, begins with an objective analysis of the working class. He understands that the working class cannot achieve consciousness merely through experiences in the factory. Such a conception denies the need for the revolutionary party. A party is not needed just to sprinkle "communist ideology" about.

What PL fails to see is that the role of the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists is not automatically exposed. A party is required to lead campaigns which concentrate the attention of the class on their treachery. PL does not attempt to explain the political tasks required by the working class and does not prepare them for betrayals. Because they have no understanding of strategy they are unable to comprehend the posing of the future in the present, of posing the need to struggle for power in a transitional way.

PL admits that workers will not develop consciousness by merely calling for revolution now. However, they have no alternative but to discuss with the few workers who understand the need for revolution. The masses of workers who have not reached this understanding must learn through

their factory struggle, according to PL.

### power

The struggle for power must be raised today



GOMPERS: MORE FATHER OF PL THAN LENIN

to the working class as a whole. The task of the revolutionary party is to pose demands transitionally in the sense that they cannot be met within capitalism. This program must be raised not apart but in the struggles of the class. Such demands if fought for concretely develop the consciousness of workers so that they can understand that in this epoch the resolution of even minor demands in their favor requires the overthrow of the capitalist system.

This is the meaning of the labor party. The labor party cannot be separated from its program, a socialist program, which raises demands that cannot be met within the framework of capitalism. The consciousness of the need to fight for a political alternative of the working class on this program lays the basis for the formation of a mass revolutionary party and is that leap in consciousness which is required for the overthrow of capitalism.

### prepare

At the same time we understand the importance of the economic struggles. But we are not prostrate before these struggles. Rather we seek to lead these struggles in every way at the same time pointing out that the struggles of the workers will lead to a confrontation with the bureaucracy and with the government. This confrontation must be prepared for consciously. The confrontation with the labor bureaucracy raises political questions. It is the bureaucracy which ties the workers to the capitalist system.

The politics of PL which in simple terms can be boiled down to syndicalism combined with hollow revolutionary propaganda keeps the struggles in the framework of capitalist politics leading the way for the absorption of the unions into the state. Only by conducting a struggle for the independence of the unions from the state can this be prevented. This involves a political struggle against the state. By refusing to conduct this struggle, by containing the struggles of the workers on the present level, around bread and butter issues, PL collaborates in the destruction of the trade unions, collaborates with the bureaucracy in tying the workers to capitalism.

(The next article on Progressive Labor will deal with the roots of PL's trade union policies in its basic method.)

### BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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# LABOR AND UNIONS - FROM LENIN

clearly seen in almost every government intervenes with nation boards, with anti-strike threats of the National Guard. These strikes is put in the hands of politicians. Thus, we see political the railway, copper, teachers, etc. The character of struggles objectively involve a struggle and are therefore political. This is a Marxist understanding, the surface impressions, to the But for PL, Marxism is not a finding material reality in order but a set of rigid points, dogma, quote at appropriate times from PL is left with viewing reality impressions. It sees only the workers. It does not see the lead this militancy against the creates the conditions that class to fight back.

## Teachers

of PL leads it to see actual as victories and thus contain over to the offensive politics, looking at surface events, City teachers strike clearly

teachers strike as "the most against the government since the tried the old Condon-Wadlin of all, and it is amazing how the Condon-Wadlin law was its ineffectiveness did not mean breaking but rather meant the effective means of strike-Law. The teachers, in fact Taylor Law. Shanker was fined \$150,000, and check-off way. The Taylor Law is far it did not prevent the teachers is defiance has not stopped from putting even more teeth

PL draws from this whole the ruling class passes an a club over the heads of the their demands, the thing to smash that law, not kowtow to learned nothing. The lesson right home in the sanitation supposedly smashed law was a political attack by the state by a political struggle on the class. This means that the break from capitalist politics. There will be more laws, more guard, and eventually the use

leaves it on the same side cracy which it so vehemently zes the bureaucracy for not the really militant actions But this is said in the same heaps praise on the militant rs, led by Shanker. Since as such a victory, its critiy is inconsistent.

Shanker did not expose the Board representative of the cor-the city." But of what use it is not tied to a political e exposed.

## Theory

ar cry from Marxism. This formulated into a theory, lition." They begin with that U.S. workers "do not solution to their problems the ruling class and the lism. Therefore, PL con-long range strategic goal," ediate tactics leading up to main obstacle PL correctly eaucracy. To remove this calls the "strategic goal" ncept of the Left-Center they define as "those revo-have the long range goal class state and establishing

socialism." The 'Center' is the "mass of workers who oppose the bosses and their labor lieutenants" who are ready to struggle but do not necessarily see beyond the immediate issues.

PL then works out further tactics. They say to organize and unite with the Center, and at the same time to move some forces within the Center leftward, that is towards the understanding of more



FOUR LEADERS OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR (L TO R): FRED JEROME; BILL EPTON; MILT ROSEN; MORT SCHEER

long range revolutionary goals." To build these coalitions you have to "start where the workers are at, not where one would want them to be."

The task then of these Left-Center coalitions is to intervene in the "ferment" in the Center struggling around issues that the workers are ready to struggle on. In other words, struggle is to be limited to strictly trade union issues. The task of "revolutionaries" is "to answer ideological confusion that exists around such questions as the war, 'you can't fight the government' racism, unity with other workers, etc." PL attacks the "ultra-lefts" for calling for "power now" or "revolution."

## Lenin

PL with all its book waving and orthodoxy appears to have missed some basic points Lenin raised many years ago. PL is very fond of quoting "What is to be Done" but appears to have missed the whole point. We quote Lenin here not to demonstrate that we are more orthodox than PL but because we believe Lenin's assessment of the class struggle and the task of the revolutionary party are valid today. Lenin states very clearly that "there could not have been Social Democratic consciousness among the workers. It would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness." The rank and file through their own decisions, cannot spontaneously, come to the understanding of the need to struggle for power.

Lenin attacks the Economists who resemble PL: "Instead of sounding the call to go forward to the consolidation of the revolutionary organization and the expansion of political activity, the call

was issued for a retreat to the purely trade union struggles." The "watchword" in the working class movement for the Economists was "struggle for economic conditions." Lenin points out that it is just these phrases which the bourgeoisie uses. Lenin says, "the adherents of the labor movement pure and simple, worshippers of the closest 'organic contact with the proletarian strug-

ideology that will not only s in immediate struggles but er up the ladder to more str "contradictions" within th appear." If revolutionaries traditions on local issues so eaucrats will be replaced ar basis of a "still longer ran fundamental revolutionary cha

The strategy of building party is subordinated. Re are subordinated to trade u only use for revolutionary answer various questions. only role as revolutionar They have no role in the u Centers.

What this has led to i fights tooth and nail to ke out of the unions. While P forces in the center, adapting time they continually attack th

For those revolutionari a schizophrenic functioning, Hyde. They are both Left a Center at work in the unions economic issues. They are meetings or when they invite over for dinner. Their strate consciousness to the workin off one or two workers and in the dinner table or at classes. for the bringing of political workers in general. There is as socialists in the class s words within the struggles o no role for revolutionary polit

## method

At the heart of this is the relation of theory and p probes beneath the immediate to the underlying forces to they will bring to prepare the p This understanding enables th directly in the class struggle sciousness of the working c Marxists understand as strateg political consciousness on the class of the need to break v take power.

This PL does not underst conception of what strategy is of their absolute separation of They do not see theory as a dev a guide to preparing the par and the guide to every step and developing through this p sees it as a set of debating answer questions raised by i

This separation leads to prag Since their theory is not their they are left in practice with on what works, what gets resu

are not determined on the bas needs of the class which flo retical perspective but rather f of how much support they will g

A Marxist begins with the u crisis and how it is reflecte of the class, begins with an of the working class. He un working class cannot achieve con through experiences in the fact ception denies the need for the r A party is not needed just to sp ideology" about.

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gle'...are compelled, in order to defend their positions to resort to the arguments of the bourgeois 'pure trade unionists'."

PL's great rationalization is that the "left" should not alienate the workers and thus they cringe before the spontaneity of the working class movement. "All worship of the spontaneity of the workers, all belittling of the role of the 'conscious element,...means quite independent of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers. Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology formulated by the working masses themselves in the process of their movement, the only choice is - either bourgeois or socialist ideology. Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." Thus, PL in practice, for fear of alienating the workers leaves them tied to capitalist politics, leaves them tied to the very bureaucracy they so fiercely attack.

## party

And what about the revolutionary party? PL sees the tasks of revolutionaries in the unions in relation to these tactics is that in the process of building this Left-Center coalition it will "spread communist ideology, raise questions of the state, of just and unjust laws, of exposure of US imperialism of the relationships between the bosses and the government." By propagandizing PL hopes to win "small numbers of workers in the Center....over to a Left view." PL says that "in the final analysis this presence of revolutionary

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

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The National Executive Committee of the Workers League recently met to assess the political situation in the United States and internationally and to deepen the work of the organization to meet this new situation. Members from New York, Cincinnati, Toronto, Twin Cities, San Francisco as well as a representative from the International Committee of the Fourth International were present.

Because of the speed with which the international crisis of capitalism and the political responsibilities this imposes upon the revolutionary movement in the United States, the NEC decided on a campaign to launch the Bulletin as a weekly paper during 1969. This will require a doubling of the circulation of the paper, increased finances and a general expansion and political development of the whole organization.

### crisis

The International Committee representative gave a report on the deepening international crisis. He stressed that the dual price of gold and the Stockholm meeting which proposed a new 'paper gold' in no way lessen this crisis. The current political upheavals within the ruling class parties in the United States were signs of the political preparations of the capitalists for new attacks on the American working class as well as the working class internationally. The crisis compels the capitalists to upset the political equilibrium in order to restore the economic equilibrium. The boom period of the 1950s the capitalists did

quite the opposite. They sought to maintain political equilibrium--class collaboration and compromise with the trade union bureaucracy --at the expense of economic disequilibrium. The effects of this economic disequilibrium were postponed for a

merican working class.

### bureaucracy

Tim Wohlforth, National Secretary of the Workers League, gave a report on National Perspectives within this context. He stressed the central role played by the Am-

the union leadership as the workers feel the impact of the capitalist crisis in the form of inflation and deteriorating working conditions. On the other hand the crisis is compelling the capitalists to take an ever harder line against the working class leaving the

Negro masses to join with the working class as a whole to create a political alternative to the capitalists, the black powerists propose that the Negroes separate themselves from the whites and administer their own oppression.

### pragmatism

There was considerable discussion during the meetings of the theoretical challenge facing the Workers League. The theoretical backwardness of the workers movement in the form of the pragmatic method was seen as the central impediment to the development of the revolutionary party in the United States. It is this pragmatism which led to the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party and which is at the heart of the revisionism of the Communist Party and the Progressive Labor Party. A central task of the Workers League in the coming period will be a study of pragmatism, its philosophical roots as well as its contemporary manifestation in the practice of the revisionists. The publication of the 'History of Marxism in the United States' will be an aid in this and other publication projects are under consideration.

The Workers League has made considerable progress in the last few months in trade union work, youth work, and general recruitment. Every effort must now be given to the strengthening of the party theoretically, the building of the party in every area, and the expansion of the Bulletin as the central weapon of the Workers League in all areas of work.

# WORKERS LEAGUE PLANS WEEKLY PAPER IN 1969

while through the creation of fictitious capital and inflation. But today the disequilibrium of the world capitalist economy threatens the capitalists with world-wide depression. Today the law of value is asserting itself with a vengeance and government policy is being determined by its needs regardless of the political consequences.

England shows this in its sharpest form where the policies Wilson has carried out against British workers at the insistence of the international bankers has transformed the British Labor Party from a stinking corpse into an empty skeleton. The workers have deserted this party in droves and now are beginning to take up the political struggle against it. What is true of England will be the future of the United States. Kennedy, the man responsible for the anti-labor campaign against Hoffa and the Teamsters seems to be being groomed by the capitalists to replace Johnson and to lead the offensive against the Am-

eric trade union bureaucracy in impeding the political development of the American working class. The bureaucracy's role is to compromise and sell out the struggle of American workers thus postponing a central conflict between the trade union movement and the ruling capitalist parties. As long as the capitalist government can hold down the working class by having the labor bureaucrats compromise the demands of the workers then the government can avoid a direct campaign to break the unions through anti-strike legislation as well as the kind of armed force it has used against the Negroes. The capitalists know full well that a head-on conflict with the unions would open the door to a real break between the unions and the capitalist parties raising the danger of unions creating their own party --a labor party.

But time is running out on the union bureaucrats. On the one hand the rank and file is in general revolt against

bureaucrats less and less room to maneuver.

It is extremely important in this situation for the Workers League both to fight in the unions for a political alternative--a labor party--and at the same time lead the struggles of the ranks against the union bureaucracy understanding that any serious fight against the bosses will expose the hand of the ruling capitalist parties and create a situation in which the labor party demand can develop real roots in the unions.

Wohlforth also discussed the Negro struggle in the United States. The inability of the capitalists to take the first steps towards implementing the modest proposals of the Riot Commission Report illustrates the complete bankruptcy of capitalism. There is no hope for the Negro masses within the capitalist system. Black Powerism is extremely dangerous for rather than exposing the inability of the capitalists to liberate the Negro people, and thus open up the road for the

## REVIEW

# what went wrong with swp?

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES. by Tim Wohlforth, Bulletin Publications, 1968, 76 pages.

Currently there is a definite upsurge of interest in and study of American radical and labor history on American campuses. Universities are busy scurrying around collecting socialist and labor archives, many Ph.D. theses on different aspects of radical history are in the works, and several books have been published. These include David Herreshoff's 'American Disciples of Marx', 'As We Saw the Thirties' edited by Rita James Simon, and James Weinstein's 'The Decline of Socialism in America.'

The 1950's also saw a small wave of studies of American socialism by Bell, Shannon, Draper and others. But the concern of that wave was quite different from the current batch. Then the academicians sought to discover why socialism was irrelevant in America, the role of the Soviet Union in American radical politics, and other such projects of interest to the large foundations which funded the research.

Today's writers by and large begin from the opposite point of view--the relevancy of socialism to contemporary America and the world, and the significance therefore of

study of the past development of the socialist movement in the United States to the developing of an effective socialist movement today. The writers come out of the contemporary student struggles, SDS in particular.

This new interest in radical history can be of great use to arming a new generation of American socialists. For no effective movement can be built today unless it is capable of absorbing the lessons of the past struggles for socialism in the United States and throughout the world. It is precisely through this historical process that the working class develops the theoretical understanding necessary for its coming to power.

### weakness

The central weakness of all this new generation of radical historians lies precisely in their new leftism. They stand outside of the struggle to build a revolutionary party in the United States and this distorts their understanding of the past struggles to build such a party. This leads to a low theoretical level and a general incomprehension of past struggles to build a party, leaving them with little or nothing to say about the current struggle to build the party.

One work which contrasts sharply with this whole new

left school, is 'The Struggle for Marxism in the United States' by Tim Wohlforth. Wohlforth, currently National Secretary of the Workers League, has been a participant in the struggle to build a revolutionary party all his political life. It was precisely this struggle which compelled him to make a study of the history of Marxism in the United States.

### causes

The central question Wohlforth deals with is the causes for the degeneration of the Socialist Workers Party. This party, a continuator of the early Communist Party with a long history of revolutionary struggle, has succumbed completely to revisionism in the last decade so that the political positions it now holds are positions it fought against for three decades. Only through an understanding of how and why this degeneration took place will we be able to build a revolutionary party.

His search for the roots of this revisionism leads him back to the early days of American socialism, to a study of the role of populism in the United States, the importance of foreign born workers, and the reasons why the American working class never developed its own mass party as did workers in every other

large industrial nation.

From there he traces the early attempts of the American Communist Party to build a Marxist movement. Then he studies American Trotskyism from its birth all the way to today offering the only existing history of this party which covers its whole development.

From this study Wohlforth concludes that it was precisely the failure of the early Communists and the American Trotskyists to develop an understanding of Marxist method which led to the degeneration of these organizations. Without independent theoretical development these parties succumbed to the dominant American pragmatism, no longer capable of leading anyone anyplace but rather being buffeted around by the ebb and flow of surface development.

### trotsky

In the course of the pamph-

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## A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES OF SDS

# German Student Radicals Need Link With Workers

by V. Barat

As we go to press Germany is once again in the midst of large scale students demonstrations following the brutal assassination attempt of student leader Rudi Dutschke by an admitted admirer of Hitler. This article gives an account of recent student struggles led by SDS together with a critique of the serious programmatic weaknesses of this organization. It could not be more timely nor more important to the critical task of constructing revolutionary parties not only in Germany but throughout Europe. The student convulsions in Germany are but a foretaste of the great class battles to come in that country. Once again Germany comes to the center of the European stage posing both the great danger of a fascist revival and the great hope of the triumph of Europe's most advanced working class under revolutionary leadership.

In the fall of 1966 the SPD gave up the fiction of its being a genuine alternative to the bourgeois government of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The SPD brazenly betrayed Germany's working class by joining with capitalist ministers to form the 'Grand Coalition'. It came as a shock to the workers, but the students were the first to react.

As though to underscore their disgust with the social-democratic renegades, the youth pushed into leadership of SDS those who espoused the use of the most extreme tactics. This signalled their opposition to the government coalition at home and their hatred of American imperialism's actions in Vietnam.

### dutschke

In 1960 a young man came to West Berlin as a refugee from East Germany. He had been a member of a Protestant youth congregation in the German Democratic Republic (DDR) and while there had refused to volunteer for the People's Army. The result was that he was refused an education by the East Germans. Up to the time of the 'Grand Coalition' he had played no visible public role in SDS. His name was Rudi Dutschke.

He and his friends now took over leadership of the West Berlin SDS. Operating from the premise that only provocations can attract attention they inaugurated a series of head-line producing shock actions. These ranged from hurling non-lethal yogurt-filled bombs and pushing ministers off pulpits on Sunday mornings while screaming their slogans at terrified middle-class parishioners to printing and issuing macabre leaflets with conspicuous SDS insignia on them. Such antics were particularly favored by a way-out anarchist group called Communards, who specialized in concocting the weirdest pranks. They were responsible for repelling such a large number of people, including actual and likely supporters, that the leadership of SDS reluctantly excluded them from membership - though not without strong objections from some within the organization.

Despite the futile and petty-bourgeois nature of so many of their deeds, the SDS continued to grow rapidly. In part such growth was due to the brutal action of the police, who, whatever their intentions, often gave a political character to what might otherwise have been quite innocuous exhibitions. At one 'fish-in-the-water' demonstration in December 17, 1966, the police became so confused that they beat up and arrested ninety persons, most of them innocent pedestrians.

### turn

The rising incidence of police brutality culminated with the beating of scores of victims and the cold-blooded slaying of the student Benno Ohnesorg at a demonstration before the Berlin Opera House on June 2, 1967. The flaming torch of student revolt spread now to every part of West Germany. A week later as Dutschke mounted the podium to speak before an SDS Congress in Lower Saxony, he was greeted with prolonged, ear-deafening applause. Everywhere in the country SDS slates were sweeping elections over all other groups. Even within the less radical organizations, including even church-affiliated societies, where any kind of elections were held, those with



WEST BERLIN POLICE USE WATER CANNON AGAINST STUDENTS PROTESTING DUTSCHKE SHOOTING

a reputation for being 'leftists' won out over more conservative opponents. Radicalization was spreading over the nation. Pupils in grade and high schools not only took to the streets in protest actions but they began joining independent socialist clubs for school age children in such numbers that in October, 1967, the Association of Directors of German High Schools decried the 'anti-democratic' influence on the youngsters.

### danger

That the SDS has been able to capture the imagination, even the loyalties of large masses of students is a most hopeful augury for the future. But it would be unpardonably light-minded not to see the limitations and perils to mere action, no matter how dramatic and heroic.

A national SDS leader, Jorg Schlotterer admits that a growing number of workers, in anger and frustration at the betrayal of their own trade union and SPD leadership, are coming over to the SDS. But, he adds, these same workers reject the methods that are purely provocative, sensational, and lacking in class content.

The Berlin events of this past February further points up the two aspects of this problem. On the weekend of February 17, 1968, the SDP mayor of West Berlin, Klaus Schutz, denied the right of the Berlin SDS to hold an anti-American, pro-Viet Cong demonstration in the city. But the SDS refused to bow to the mayor and scheduled it anyway. The courts, sensing the determination of the students and conscious of the blood that was bound to flow in such a confrontation, overruled the mayor and granted SDS a permit to hold a parade along a strictly prescribed route. The demonstration of 15,000 persons, mostly students, while noisy and full of enthusiasm, was self-disciplined and completely orderly.

Three days later the Social-Democratic Mayor Schutz supported a counter demonstration in the city in an attempt to curry favor with the Texas imperialist in the White House. Not trusting the attendance to chance, he and his cohorts tried every promotion gimmick imaginable to bring in people. Every city employee had the day off with pay from noon on. Sanitation workers got overtime pay for attending. Authorities checked off their employees as they left work to insure their attendance at the parade. The bosses and the trade union bureaucracy in a heart-warming display of class harmony summoned the workers in the plants to down their tools so as to attend the 'freedom' demonstration. Even special busses were chartered all over town to pick up the workers before the factory gates.

Despite these and many other kinds of pressure and threats only 80,000 were turned out, that is less than five per cent of the Berliners! To the world the figure of 150,000 was broadcast. Later the head of the Berlin police department admitted that the actual figure had been doubled by his men.

The mayor started his speech by saying that this was not the Walter Ulbricht Stadium. The

square around which they were assembled, he said, was named after John F. Kennedy. Such remarks were a continuance of the anti-communist, lynch spirit that had been whipped up for days. In front of the city hall a girl was beaten up and knocked to the street by the mob. A local pastor, a supporter of this demonstration, tried to come to her aid. He was sworn at, called a communist swine, and, as he stated in his letter to the mayor, he was himself beaten up by a mob of twenty rowdies. At least a hundred people, mostly youth, received physical beatings at this 'freedom' rally in support of America for nothing more than wearing frameless glasses, having a beard, or sporting jeans.

Shouts of 'beat him dead', 'lynch him', 'hang him', were heard amidst the pealing of the 'freedom bells'. One young public official with the misfortune of resembling Dutschke a bit too closely, was slugged on Kennedy Square. When he finally took refuge in a police wagon, the mob tried to overturn and destroy it.

Ironically some of the trade union bureaucrats led columns in which actual fascists marched, some of them carrying banners demanding concentration camps for students or proclaiming: 'Such things (meaning student demonstrations) would not have occurred under Adolf'.

### lessons

This reactionary counterattack against the SDS, though aimed at them in the first instance, was really directed against the German labor movement, no matter how the SPD seeks to cover its treasonable role in this affair. Nothing can or should be expected from the official leaders of the SPD. The weakness of SDS is basically that of revisionism. It has adopted much too uncritically the positions of those who like Herbert Marcuse, Sartre, Debray, and others assign a revolutionary role only to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples to the so-called 'third world'. Much too often guerilla tactics, appropriate for jungle warfare, are attempted in the metropolitan cities of Germany. The weapons to defend itself can not come from the arsenal of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and neo-anarchists but can only come from the working class movement which a Marcuse has pronounced dead.

Campaigns of the SDS centered around slogans such as the expropriation of the Springer press are futile and dangerously illusory. The working class is not bound to capitalism by television and newspapers but by the bureaucratic apparatus of their own unions. Unless SDS bases itself and organizes upon a scientific program of class struggle and helps to construct a revolutionary proletarian party to fight for socialism, its present following will decline and demoralization is bound to follow.

The next article on Germany will examine the trade union movement of that country.



## CANADA

# TRUDEAU-A CANADIAN EDITION OF KENNEDY

by Robert Hartley

TORONTO-- Pierre Elliot Trudeau is the new Liberal Prime Minister of Canada. His election at the Liberal Party leadership convention following the "resignation" of Pearson marks the inauguration of a major attack on the standard of living of the working class, and an austerity program which will greatly affect welfare recipients, students and farmers. In a more candid moment prior to his victory, Trudeau stated, "no more of this social welfare." If this may seem like an isolated comment, let's study the depth of the crisis facing the economy.



PREMIER TRUDEAU

Relative to the United States Canadian productivity has been dropping for the past several years. Even the devaluation of the Canadian dollar in 1962, and the negotiation of the Canada-US auto pact didn't provide a solid block to the slide in Canadian industrial productivity. The run on the Canadian dollar several months ago came because of a wide spread feeling that the economy was over extended, in terms of government spending, private and public borrowing, and speculation in future profits, the prime example being land.

In the last month industr-

ial output (seasonally adjusted) declined 1.1%, rail loadings 10%, and the cash on hand situation in the banking system declined noticeably, as speculators bought into U.S. interests as the government cut off private gold sales.

### speculation

In the past year the adjusted industrial output of Canada has decreased. 20 miles outside of cities like Toronto, speculation has driven the price of land up to \$5000 an acre. Toward the center of the cities land prices have risen just as fast. There are literally bil-

ions of dollars tied up in land speculation, not to say anything of the stock markets. Land in and of itself has no value, only the future profits of the economy provide a basis for rising land costs. Now those profits are threatened, the crash is coming and coming hard.

In the person of Trudeau, that charismatic, conveniently French speaking, millionaire playboy, Canadian capitalism has thrown its lot. The word of the day will be unity of the capitalist class, from Quebec, to Ontario, to British Columbia. All this, as the bosses promote division of the workers between French and English speaking, and as Hellyer and other prominent capitalist politicians propose, breaking Canadian unions from their ties with American labor. Trudeau is to Canada as Kennedy is to the U.S. His coming to power, as Kennedy's probable coming to power is meant to be an experience the working class will not soon forget. The workers will face strict wage restraints, anti-union laws and increasing use of court injunctions. As the bosses discuss a return to the "two party" system the continued existence of the NDP is drawn

## Pacifist Pleading Before Parliament

by Ellen Maronge

OTTAWA--There was an anti-war demonstration April 6 here outside the Liberal leadership convention. Several hundred marched about in an effort to "confront the new Prime Minister of Canada on the Vietnam war." The Workers League (Canada) intervened at the demonstration distributing two leaflets, "No More Pacifist Protest", and "Make NDP Fight", as well as selling the Bulletin, and opposing the misleadership of the marches' Pabloite organizers. The main points of the leaflets were: 1. that the Vietnam war is a part of the general crisis of capitalism, other examples being the dollar crisis and the decaying standard of living of the working class; 2. that the NDP as the political tool of the trade unions and rest of the working class must prepare

into question.

### leadership

The crisis facing the working class is that of leadership. If the NDP is going to continue to pose itself as a party of labor, it will have to fight as a party of labor and present a socialist alternative to the crisis of capitalism, in the form of a fight to nationalize all industry un-

to fight back as the bosses and their government attempt to insure their profits through attacking the working class by use of anti-union legislation and court injunctions.

An example of the total bankruptcy of the anti-war movement was the "confrontation" with the cops outside the doors of the convention hall when several demonstrators allowed themselves to be arrested as a "protest". In no way does being arrested or marching around in a circle do a thing on behalf of the fight of the Vietnamese People for freedom from imperialism, much less advance the fight of Canadian workers for their rights and a decent standard of living. The stand of the Workers League is absolutely clear, we say: "Victory for the NLF", and "Struggle to make the NDP fight for labor."

der workers control which claim to be unable to provide decent wages and working conditions, and the establishment of a stiff capital gains tax to finance bringing inexpensive housing and free medical care to the working population. There is no other solution to the crisis. Join the Workers League in the fight to make the NDP fight for labor.

## CINCINNATI

## a program to fight back for labor

by Mike Ross

CINCINNATI--For the first time in a number of years, the Cincinnati labor movement is on the defensive. The areas employers are mounting an offensive against the unions to take back all that the workers have gained in the last 30 years.

The bosses plans use two basic methods. The first is to refuse to concede any gains to a small union, force it to strike, and then try to isolate such a union from the rest of the labor movement. On these strikes, a news blackout is usually imposed. Then they try to get the strikers to agree to put their case before a supposedly impartial federal mediator or arbitrator, who always winds up helping to whittle down the workers demands. In this category fall the strikes of United Rubber workers #151 and IUE Local 795.

### vilify

The second method is used against relatively large local unions. After the strike has started, the daily press runs long articles against the strikers, vilifying them for harming the "public" interest. Just who is the "public?" Actually, it is every worker not on strike. The bosses and their newspapers

try to make it look as if the workers on strike are trying to hurt the workers who are still working. This method has been used against Division 627 of the Amalgamated Transit Workers, IUE Local 757 (Formica), Teachers Local 1520, and may soon be used against the Firefighters Union in Covington, Kentucky.

The bosses have another thing going for them: the existence of a large number of open shops in Cincinnati. Proctor and Gamble, with 24,000 workers, is still non-union as is the Cincinnati Milling Machine Co., which is even bigger. So are such supermarket chains as Thriftway and department stores including Shillito's, Sears and most of the downtown department stores.

The area labor movement has also been unable to unionize such chain restaurants as Frisch's, Sixty Second, MacDonald's and McIntosh's. The area's bosses have a huge reservoir of strength in these open shops. This they exploit to its fullest extent against the organized workers.

### defensive

Politically, the Cincinnati labor movement is also on

the defensive. It still clings to the worn-out idea of the 19th Century of 'help your

friends and stomp your enemies.' Although the idea sounds good on paper, the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Central Labor Council proves how worn out it is by being incapable of defeating the labor movement's enemies and by being unable to determine real friends. A glance at the Council's weekly, the Chronicle, shows this. Politically, all we get are articles telling us about the 'great pro-labor' Democratic Party and the 'evil and reactionary' Republican Party.

A look into recent area history shows just what rot such articles are made of. The Democratic Party controlled the office of Governor of Ohio and both houses of the Ohio Legislature from 1959 to 1961. And during these years, what did this 'great pro-labor' party do for the workers? Outlaw strikebreaking? Ban court injunctions against strikes? Legalize the closed shop for the state? Legalize the organization of municipal workers, agricultural workers, foremen and maids? Order the teaching of Black history and labor history in the schools? Like

hell they did! Not one of those things has been put into effect by either Democratic or Republican administrations. And local government's around the state, both Democrat and Republican have shown their willingness to break strikes.

### offensive

What measures must the Cincinnati Labor movement take to break out of the bind it is in? Most urgent is the need to break the offensive of the bosses; the labor movement must go on the offensive itself.

Considering the immediate situation, the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, in cooperation with such independent unions and the Teamster's must create a Solidarity Fund, by which each local union will assess each member one dollar every three months for this fund. This fund, which could in this manner have \$500,000 or more within one year, would be used to assist striking unions with low strike funds such as IUE Local 795. Some of this fund could also be used to organize the open shops in the Cincinnati area.

Next, some changes are going to have to be made in the Chronicle. All local unions must subscribe to it for their members. This will

give it a mass circulation of over 100,000, as compared to some 25,000 now. From there, the Chronicle can be built into a daily newspaper, capable of breaching through the web of lies poured on the labor movement by the bosses' daily press, TV and radio.

### policies

But it can't be the same old Chronicle in style and editorial opinion which will do this. Completely new policies are in order. In the place of 'long live trade union militancy' and 'see what a wonderful contract we got' type of articles, reports of the day-to-day struggles in each factory, shop, and store are needed.

In place of 'support friends of labor' editorials, meetings and conferences, the Cincinnati labor movement must take the road to independent political action, culminating in the formation of a Labor Party, which can get rid of company unions in political life (the Democrats and Republicans).

But to do this, the rank and file must regain control of their unions. The word has got to be passed that either the present labor leadership fights for its members, or out it goes.