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REPRESSION SWEEPS FRANCE

TANKS IN PARIS—FASCISTS RETURN DEGAULLE DISBANDS TROTSKYISTS

June 17--Gaullist repression is sweeping through France. Tanks, the army and police are everywhere. The Sorbonne has been occupied by the police. The police have attacked strikers throughout the country.

Seven radical student organizations and four political parties have been disbanded by DeGaulle. These include the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, and the Federation Etudiantes Revolutionaire (FER), student arm of the OCI. The Communist Party did not even protest this grossly undemocratic act.

While revolutionaries face jail sentences if they carry out political activity, fascists are coming back from exile and are being let out of jail. The latest is General Salan, leader of an attempted military coup in 1961.

Clearly the elections are a fraud and parliamentary democracy barely disguises the brute force of the Gaullist bonapartist regime. This regime rests with one foot on the Communist Party, which refuses to lead the struggle to overthrow it, and one foot on the fascist forces who hope to replace DeGaulle and crush the Communist Party as well as the whole working class.

But the workers are undefeated. They have learned much of Gaullism and the Communist Party. The revolutionary movement is stronger in France than ever before. As a postal worker put it: "Look at it this way. What happened in May was a rehearsal."



AS DEGAULLE CALLS ELECTIONS ARMY ROLLS THROUGH COUNTRY

POOR CAMPAIGN IN GRAVE DANGER

POOR MARCH IN DANGER

by Dan Fried

With less than ten days remaining to build the scheduled June 19 'Solidarity Day' demonstration of supporters of the Poor Peoples Campaign is in shambles and the encampment of the poor at Resurrection City in an apparent state of disarray. The resignation of right wing pacifist Bayard Rustin as organizer and director of the June 19 march and his replacement by Sterling Tucker of the Urban League (Tucker is described as a 'moderate militant') is only the latest episode in an accumulation of incidents marking the growing crisis of the Poor Peoples march.

While Rustin, who has close ties with the labor bureaucracy, the liberal establishment and elements of the Johnson Administration resigned following a barrage of criticism by the more radical and militant element of the campaign, the appointment of Tucker is in no way a break with Rustin's policy of maintaining an alliance of the poor with the middle class liberals and liberal sections of big business and the Johnson Administration.

Whereas the militants had criticized Rustin's slate of demands for cutting any reference to the Vietnam war Tucker's new 'call' demands the 'lessening of war and world violence', which every phony Democrat and Republican politician endorses. There is not one substantive change in Tucker's demands as compared with Rustin's representing a more militant program for the poor.

The Abernathy leadership, which appointed Tucker, is determined to maintain some sort of alliance with the respectable elements who more than anything else fear a confrontation with the Administration and the two major parties. Abernathy and his associates in the leadership of the campaign have reiterated their intention to police the march against any radical manifestations. They state '...there will be no acts of civil disobedience whatsoever or independent protest activities outside the line of

march planned by the Poor Peoples campaign.' They plan to make certain that no respectable liberals suffer any undue embarrassment. They seem to want a march that LBJ himself will be able to applaud.

retreat

As with the appointment of Tucker, the Abernathy leadership has beaten a steady retreat ever since the Poor Peoples campaign showed significant signs of militancy and mass support. After predicting the participation of up to one million people in the solidarity march originally scheduled for Memorial Day, the leadership apparently panicked in the face of the success of its own creation and called off the March, later re-scheduling it for June 19, a working day on which many working people could not participate. The postponement was ostensibly for 'more time to prepare' but the leadership made it clear that it feared it could not control the large crowd of trade unionists, employed and unemployed workers, as well as the middle class supporters who were to arrive on Memorial Day. The serious plans of a number of unions including Hospital Workers Local 1199, District 65, SSEU and NMU among others in New York to bring down sizable delegations of workers were dissipated, never to be revived with the same momentum in preparation for the June 19 March.

Another retreat from the struggle of the poor by the leadership came when Abernathy and Co. turned against the most militant and enthusiastic members of Resurrection City itself -- the 200 youths from the black ghetto of Chicago and Detroit who were expelled from the encampment (see BULLETIN, June 10). These youth represented the frustration and disillusionment of many residents of Resurrection City who could see that the Administration and Congress were doing everything they could to raise taxes and cut the budget except for war in the face of the poor people and working class in the

U.S. while giving the leaders of the Poor Peoples Campaign a paternalistic pat on the head. In return, the leadership was going out of its head to avoid any but the most controlled and respectable protests and demonstrations. No wonder these youth were angry and frustrated and demanded action! No wonder the encampments' original population of 3,000 people, inspired with the hope of putting some real heat on Johnson and Congress, has shrunk to 500! Is it any surprise that the leadership announced that the weekend of June 8th following the Rustin Resignation should be spent 'policing the city' and that a new force of 150 rangers, 'the best men, the most mature men', will replace the existing cadre of young Negro marshalls who were said to 'have been as much trouble as outsiders'.

vigils

Predictably, following the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, the leaders of the Poor Peoples March, rather than pointing out that Kennedy represented the liberal demagoguery of a big business politician with a long history of struggle against the poor and working people in the U.S. and internationally, instead lauded him as 'one of the greatest men of our time'. (see Workers League statement on Kennedy assassination in this issue of the Bulletin.) True to form, Hosea Williams, a lieutenant of Abernathy, said they would switch from 'noisy demonstrations to prayer vigils' and announced that the Campaign would concentrate on ending 'the hatred and violence that is destroying our nation'.

frightened

The militant appeal, the hope which had begun to attract mass support for the Poor Peoples March not only from the unorganized 'poor' but also from the ranks of the poor in the trade union movement, has been called into doubt by the leadership of the Poor Peoples Campaign. The very idea and organization of a Poor Peoples Campaign poses the need for real polit-



RUSTIN AND ABERNATHY DISCUSS PLANS BEFORE RUPTURE

ical representation of the poor people -- trade unionists, unorganized, unemployed -- and the replacement in Congress and the White House of the Republican and Democratic friends of the rich. There is not one single representative of the poor, of the masses of American workers, sitting in Congress or the Senate today. The Poor Peoples Campaign began to expose the Democratic and Republican Parties and to pose the need for an alternative, a labor party, and this frightened its leaders.

In the desperate attempts of the Abernathy leadership, strongly seconded by Rustin, to pursue an alliance with the 'liberals' of the Democratic and Republican parties and to fight the alternative of a labor party, this leadership has done its damndest to emasculate the Poor Peoples Campaign. They are really enemies of the Poor Peoples Campaign. There are reports of strong pressure from the Johnson Administration to have Resurrection City dismantled by June 23 and no one will be surprised, after the June 19 demonstration, if Abernathy announces its aban-

donment in an attempt to put the final nails in the coffin of the Poor Peoples March.

danger

The Poor Peoples Campaign is in grave danger. But despite the leadership, there is still an opportunity to rally forces to Washington to protest the Democratic-Republican conspiracy against the poor on June 19. These politicians have stalled long enough. Despite the campaign leadership, the Workers League reiterates its call for the trade unions to send large contingents on June 19 and to demand from Congress a real war on poverty -- NOW. Millions of new jobs! Massive public housing! Billions towards job training! Billions more for schools! Outlaw discrimination in all forms! The Workers League says, let's breathe new life into the Poor Peoples Campaign on June 19 by going to Washington and raising the call for a Labor party now! A labor party will represent all workers and unemployed. Turn the protest into a political fight against the Democratic and Republican millionaires and strike-breakers!



LEST WE FORGET: BOBBY WITH JOE McCARTHY IN 1954

Senator Robert Kennedy has been killed by an assassin's bullet. Assassination and terrorism do not advance but rather retard the strug-

gle of the working people against their oppressors. It substitutes the individual act for the struggle of the masses. Rather than exposing the

No Tears For Bobby

real nature of America's rulers before the eyes of the working people it leads to sections of the working people actually mourning the death of their oppressors. Marxists have always been the enemies of such methods but we are not the friends of the victims of the assassin's bullets.

We do not mourn the death of Robert Kennedy just as we did not mourn the death of his brother President Kennedy. These are men who have perpetrated violence against the working masses all over the world in defense of the privileges of America's rulers. Robert Kennedy, along with his brother, planned and carried out a criminal imperialist attack on Cuba. They are responsible for the deaths of many Cuban workers and

peasants. The Kennedys planned the imperialist intervention in the Dominican Republic and are responsible for the death of many Dominicans fighting for their freedom. The Kennedys were the architects of America's war against the people of Vietnam and are responsible for the deaths of tens of thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children. Just before his death Kennedy reasserted his support to the armed aggression of the Israelis against the Arab people--a policy which seems to have been the motivating factor of his assassin.

We mourn the hundreds of

thousands who have died fighting Kennedy's policies. We do not mourn him. Our condolences go not to the Kennedy family but to the family of Sirhan Sirhan who faces the gas chamber. The Sirhans were forced to flee their native land when it was conquered by the Israelis supported by American imperialism. Sirhan Sirhan as a young boy saw Israeli soldiers butcher his own people. Sirhan Sirhan is a misguided revolutionary. His method retards rather than advance the cause of human freedom to which he was committed. But he is a revolutionary. We mourn his loss to the movement.

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FRANCE FRANCE FRANCE FRANCE

THE DANGERS - OUR TASKS

"As soon as the struggle of two social strata-- the have and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited-- reaches its highest tension, the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy police, soldiery. The government becomes 'independent, of society. Let us once more recall: if two forks are stuck symmetrically into a cork, the latter can stand even on the head of a pin. That is precisely the schema of bonapartism. To be sure, such a government does not cease being the clerk of the property-owners. Yet the clerk sits on the neck of the

boss, rubs his neck raw and does not hesitate at time to dig his boots into his face." So wrote Leon Trotsky in 1932 describing the Papen government which paved the way for Hitler.

This is precisely the situation which has characterized France for the past decade. Ever since the end of the Algerian war French capitalism has been in crisis and the two great classes--big capital and labor--have been at the explosion point with a fascist movement primarily in the form of the former French colons lurking at the sidelines waiting

for its opportunity.

naked

DeGaulle a long time ago took all basic powers away from parliament. Even if the Communists were to win every seat in parliament all DeGaulle has to do is dissolve parliament and run France by decree and the army. More and more the state stands naked over France as a body of armed men.

Liberal and reformist politics are through in France. Just as under the Weimar Republic, reformism is impotent before the crisis of French Capitalism and its impotence leads to the frustration of the mass of the middle classes which turn either to fascism or the working class for a solution.

But fascism and Bonapartism are not synonymous. The Bonapartist seeks to hold power by balancing one class against the other, building the state as a body of armed men above both classes though fundamentally serving one class--the owners of industry. The Fascist seeks to mobilize the frustration and frenzy of the middle classes into a movement capable of crushing the working class entirely and after coming to power crushing the middle class as well in the interests of the iron dictatorship of capital.

fascism

While DeGaulle, the Bonapartist, does not wish the fascists to come to power he cre-

ates the conditions for the growth of fascism. Bidault, on returning to France makes their aims clear when he supports DeGaulle grudgingly against the working class but proclaims his own independent course for the future.

France has become the key to the entire international situation. Already French developments have had a profound impact in Italy, in Germany, in England. The course of the struggles in the Soviet Bloc countries has been influenced as Yugoslavian students enter the struggle raising a proletarian alternative to both Stalinist bureaucracy and capitalism.

The struggle in France will not be concluded overnight. Whatever the ebb and flow may be the alternative before French workers is either to take up the struggle for power or be crushed by Bonapartism and finally fascism.

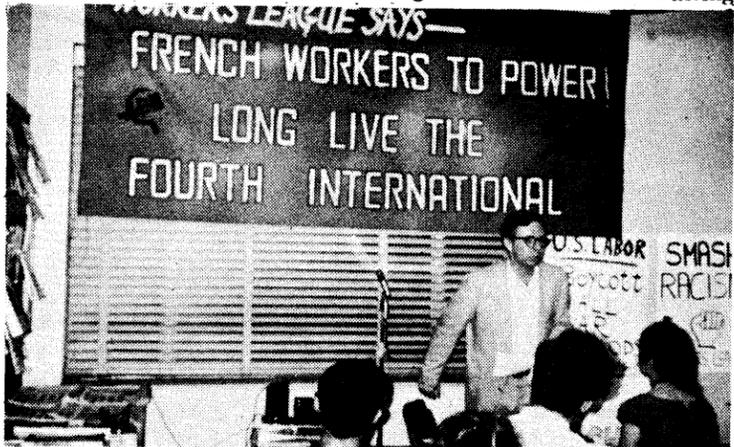
The central task of the French working class is thus the construction of the revolutionary party to take up the struggle for power. This can only be a conscious party. Those mindless individuals who yell "to the streets" and learn nothing from the French events but techniques for building barricades play a reactionary role. Empty minds do not make revolutions; they only assist counterrevolution. We declare ourselves to be the enemies of every anarchist, terrorist, adventurist ten-

dency in the United States and internationally -- from YAWF to Mark Rudd, to Stokely Carmichael. We will have no truck with those who tie the working class to Stalinism and reformism -- from the CP, to PL, to SWP-YSA.

heroic

The OCI and FER have taken up the heroic struggle to build the revolutionary alternative in France. We support them all the way. We declare our intention to help them in every way we can. The best way we can do this is to deepen our struggle to build the Workers League here in America.

Today this means hard work dogged work, difficult work. It is struggling to understand to develop a conscious party to master the Marxist method and wipe out the pragmatic disease which binds American socialists to capitalism. It means fighting day in and day out to build the sales of the Bulletin and to make possible a weekly Trotskyist paper in the United States in 1969. It means deepening the small base we have in the unions in preparation for the great struggles ahead of the American working class. It means fighting for a Marxist leadership among working class youth to bring American youth into the forefront of the battle for a revolutionary party here.



WORKERS LEAGUE RALLY SUPPORTS FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

by Lucy St. John

NEW YORK--On June 1st about 300 people rallied in front of the French Embassy in support of the French workers and students. The demonstration was as important for its show of solidarity with the French struggles as it was for its exposure of those groupings in the radical movement which are totally incapable of drawing the lessons of the French struggles.

The rally was called by the 'Anti-Imperialist Coalition' led by Youth Against War and Fascism and The Committee to Aid the NLF. These organizations have long been known for their adventurism and their hostility to the construction of a revolutionary party in the United States.

Also participating in the demonstration were MPI, Iranian students, the Columbia Strike Committee, YSA, the Workers League and assorted independents.

Only the intervention of the WL was capable of raising the political lessons of the French struggles and was able to pose an alternative. The WL marched under the banner, 'French Workers to Power. Long Live the Fourth International.' We took up the chants, 'No more Stalinist Betrayals, Workers to power,' 'Popular Front No, Workers Power Yes.' The callers of the demonstration unsuccessfully tried to drown out these chants charging that denunciations of Stalinism had no place at the rally and that such chants were 'sectarian.'

spontaneity

The speakers from the Columbia Strike Committee and YAWF clearly revealed their inability to learn from the French struggles. For

them the struggles indicated how the masses could rise spontaneously, how these struggles bore out the correctness of urban Guevarrism as conducted at Columbia. But the most revealing remarks came from YAWF.

The lesson YAWF learned was 'to the streets.'

They then attacked the WL for its attacks on Stalinism with the incredible statement that it was 'audacious' for the WL to lecture the French workers and students on how to run their revolutionary struggle and to warn against the danger of the popular front. They attempted to slander the WL by lumping it with the SWP-YSA and claiming that with the YSA it had been party to the invitation to Lindsay to speak at the last anti-war rally.

speak

At this point the WL demanded to speak and the chant was taken up by a good portion of the demonstrators. Forced to grant the WL the right to speak, the callers of the demonstration attempted to prevent us from speaking by moving the demonstration up to the German Embassy. Here again the WL fought to speak. The leaders of the march attempted to strong arm the members of the WL but were forced by chants of 'Let the Workers League Speak' from the crowd to allow us to speak.

The WL openly attacked the betrayals of the Stalinists, pointed this out as a vindication of Trotsky's long battle against Stalinism, pointed out the need for the building of the revolutionary party if the French workers were to win and ended with 'Long Live the Fourth Inter-

anarchism no answer



ONLY WORKERS LEAGUE EXPOSED STALINISM, CALLED FOR PARTY AT FRENCH DEMONSTRATION

dangers

The dangers presented by the revisionists in the revolutionary struggle were evident in microcosm at this demonstration as they have been in the French struggles. Those groups, such as YAWF which attack the French CP in their papers, defend them in practice by slandering those who conduct an open struggle against Stalinism. At the same time their perspective of 'to the streets', opposing the building of a disciplined revolutionary party of the working class represents the ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie, anarchism and syndicalism, in the working class movement. Such tendencies see the French struggles as spontaneous revolts against capitalism. This form of struggle cannot go beyond protest, as was clearly revealed at Columbia, because it rejects the struggles for power, the

need to smash the capitalist state. Their glorification of street fights, of Guevarrism leaves the working class without power to defend itself against the armed oppression of the state, leaves the working class without an instrument to take power. This perspective is the most dangerous as it opens the way to fascism, by preventing the independent mobilization of the working class against capitalism.

The other revisionist tendencies are incapable of fighting this anarchist tendency as was clearly revealed by the role of the YSA at the demonstration. They refused to take up the chants denouncing Stalinism. They also glorify Guevarrism but are too stodgy to practice what they preach. While denouncing the Popular Front in France the YSA and the SWP have carried out an alliance with the Communist Party in the Peace Movement leading to the presence of

Lindsay at the last rally.

The WL has continually fought these tendencies of adventurism and adaptation to Stalinism. YAWF's slanders cannot hide the fact that the WL has conducted a struggle from the beginning with its original split from the SWP against its revisionist policies including its role in the Peace Movement.

party

Only the WL with its comrades in the OCI and the SLL in France and Britain have been able to draw the lessons of the French struggles, of the necessity to construct an international Marxist party as a vehicle for the taking of state power by the working class. The construction of the revolutionary party must be combined with the exposure of Stalinism and all other political tendencies which seek to divert the working class from the struggle for power.

by Melody Farrow

The revolutionary struggle of the French workers, peasants, and students now stands at the cross roads. Will it be able to go forward to the establishment of a workers and peasants government or will it be crushed by the fascist repression unleashed by DeGaulle? Recent events have shown that there is no middle road. The question of fascist dictatorship or socialism will be decided in France, as in every country, by the revolutionary leadership of the working class. It is leadership, not merely determination that will decide the outcome of the struggle.

For this it is essential that the role of the French Communist Party be understood and exposed, for this party stands, as it has for 30 years as a huge weight on the French workers, holding them back from struggle. The combativity of the workers and peasants constantly comes up against the CP's refusal to fight for power, because it has long since accommodated itself to capitalism and "peaceful roads of struggle". This conflict is at the heart of the struggle in France.

communists

In the last issue of the Bulletin, we showed how the Communist Party and the CGT (General Confederation of Labor) sought to separate the students and workers and how they only supported the students when forced to by the pressure of the rank and file in the unions. Shortly after the general strike began in the aviation factories at Nantes, it spread like wildfire all over the country, gaining the support of the peasants and the agricultural workers. Every single industry was shut down, every factory occupied and the red flag of socialist revolution flew from the roofs. The workers were confident of their power and ready for a show-down with the government.

This power is what frightened the Stalinist CGT. The record of this party is a series of zigzags and zags as it attempts to appease both the workers and DeGaulle at the same time. Their immediate aim is

to get the workers back to work as quickly as possible, while at the same time making deals with the bourgeoisie behind the workers' backs. But such treachery is tricky and the CP has more than once had to cover over its tracks.

In the early stage of the struggle they assured everyone that this was not a political strike and that the unions had no business mixing with politics anyway. Further, while supporting the students in theory, they insisted on keeping the students and workers struggles separate. When a delegation of Sorbonne students marched to the Renault plant outside Paris to discuss with the workers they were met by CP members who told them that the unions could take care of their own problems and needed no help from outside.

The first step of the Stalinists was to negotiate a few crumbs with DeGaulle and present this to the workers as a "victory." The generous offer of the government was only a 10% increase in the minimum wage and a bunch of promises that there would be "discussion" on the rest. Nothing was said about a 40 hour week without loss in pay, about restoring Social Security payments, about workers participation in management, about growing unemployment or the vicious harassment of union delegates and union activities in the shops. This bare-faced sell-out was immediately rejected by the workers and the leaders booted. It was only at this point that the CP and the CGT were forced to admit the political nature of the strike and tried to act like they had held this position all along.

De Gaulle's so-called referendum was never held because it was clear that the vote would have been an overwhelming No! This trick which DeGaulle relies on in periods of crisis has only worked in the past because the workers were not sure of themselves or what the alternative was. However, this time the workers do have an alternative. It was expressed in the banner on the Renault auto plant that said "Workers Power." As one Italian worker put it "I think that it (the CGT) is wrong not to join with the students. When we ask our union to go all the way, why doesn't it want to?"

The CP gave their answer to this question by going along with the farcical elections planned for the 23rd of June. After dissolving the National Assembly, DeGaulle made a hasty visit to Germany

FRANCE

THE STRUGGLE



STUDENTS, SOME WITH GARBAGE CAN LIDS, CLASH

to insure the support of the army. The General was and is preparing for civil war. Troops and tanks have been moved up to Paris.

The elections are an ultimatum to the French workers. DeGaulle is saying: "Either you submit to the elections of a National Assembly (which I have the right to dissolve if the results do not

special summer class

WHITHER FRANCE?

and THE ONLY ROAD FOR GERMANY

by Leon Trotsky

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WORKERS LEAGUE

by Fred Mueller

The French general strike of May-June 1968 is the greatest struggle of the European working class since the war. It is the beginning, not only of the French socialist revolution, but of the socialist revolution throughout Europe. In order for this revolutionary struggle to end in victory and the establishment of socialism, however, the lessons of previous struggles and defeats will have to be thoroughly understood.

Most crucial of the previous struggles in the long revolutionary history of the French working class is the 1936 strike movement, which took place exactly 32 years ago. At that time the leadership of the workers, the Communist Party, Socialist Party and the trade unions, betrayed the working class through the policy of the Popular Front. Now the French CP prepares to fight DeGaulle with its bankrupt modern version of the Popular Front, its electoral alliances with the SP and the Federation of the Democratic Left. Against the danger of a harsher Bonapartist dictatorship and of Fascism, the CP comes forward with the same program it advanced 32 years ago and has advanced almost uninterruptedly since then.

crisis

The Popular Front arose in the 1930s against a background of continual economic crisis and the rise of Fascism in Europe. World War I and its aftermath had seen the collapse of bourgeois democracy almost everywhere. Everywhere the capitalist class was unable to avoid political crisis and violent class conflict, unable to rule as it had in the past. The worldwide depression made the class struggle more acute than ever. Only in Russia had the workers taken power. In Germany and Austria proletarian revolutions were defeated. In their response to the crisis, the old working class leaderships, first the 2nd International and later the 3rd as well, demonstrated their complete bankruptcy. Fascist trends began to achieve mass support.

The Fascists found their base primarily among the middle classes, diverting their despair and hatred from the capitalists to the workers, and thus in essence placing the middle class at the

service of the big capitalists. Fascism came to power first in Italy and then in Germany. It set out to destroy all independent trade union and political organizations of the working class. It set out to temporarily solve the crisis of capitalism by smashing the working class. This was the product of the decay of capitalism, this was what capitalism had to offer.

France was no exception to the sharpening class struggle and its political expression. The polarization and the choice between fascism and workers rule began to be posed in France as well as the rest of Europe, although the mass base of Fascism remained relatively weak in France.

bonapartism

On February 6, 1934, thousands of Fascist and Royalist demonstrators in the streets of Paris succeeded in bringing down one bourgeois cabinet and replacing it with another which leaned more to the right and encouraged Fascist trends. This regime headed by Doumergue, represented the first step on the road from parliamentarism to Bonapartism, the road which had been taken in Germany and went there from Bonapartism to Fascism. Doumergue, of course, represented only the first step, an authoritarian regime which held itself above parliament and conciliated the Fascist trends. Though the Doumergue regime soon gave way to a more orthodox parliamentary one, these events demonstrated the alternatives which France, along with the rest of Europe, faced in the 1930s.

The Popular Front was the response of the working class leadership to the Fascist danger. In order to fight the Fascists, the argument went, it was necessary to unite with the middle classes. In order to unite with the middle classes it was necessary to unite with the Radical Party. And in order to unite with the Radical Party it was necessary not to do anything which might frighten the Radical Party!

The Communist Party became the major campaigner for the Popular Front in 1935 and 1936. The Comintern had turned the so-called Third Period line inside out after the victory of the Nazis in Germany. Whereas before Social Democracy was considered a wing of Fascism, now, not only unity in action but a coalition govern-

ment was proposed, and not only between the CP and the SP, but with the bourgeois Radical Party as well. In a period of retreat the Stalinists had placed revolution on the agenda everywhere and at all times, and now in a period when the struggle for power had to be prepared, revolution was nowhere on the agenda. Significantly, there was one tendency which the Stalinists labelled as agents of Fascism during both the Third Period and Popular Front. This was Trotskyism, which constantly exposed the bankruptcy and the counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism.

trotsky

Trotsky subjected the policy of the Stalinists to merciless criticism. He made a Marxist analysis of Fascism. Since it arose in response to the decay of capitalism, a slightly modified or refurbished capitalist regime could not fight it. The Stalinists and their allies counterposed to Fascism not the socialist revolution which alone could defeat the Fascists, but the very same bankrupt bourgeois democracy which gave rise to Fascism in the first place.

Of course it was necessary for the workers to ally themselves with the petty bourgeoisie. But the petty bourgeoisie was attracted to Fascism in the first place because it was searching for an alternative to the ruination it faced under capitalism. The workers had to fight aggressively for the support of the middle class, by advancing a program of struggle and showing that they were prepared to take the power. It was not a matter of worrying about frightening the middle class. It was precisely the audacity and demagoguery of the Fascists which attracted these layers of the population. The workers' organizations had to expose this demagoguery, and show how the Fascists were servants of the bourgeoisie and could offer the middle class absolutely nothing. The working class needed a revolutionary alliance with the poor peasants and sections of the urban middle class, not an alliance with its "parliamentary shadow", as Trotsky referred to the Radical Party.

radicals

The CP and the SP equated the middle class with the Radical Party, even as middle class voters in

LESSONS OF THE FRENCH

ANCE



IDS, CLASH WITH POLICE IN PARIS USING TEAR GAS

suit me) or I will move in to crush you. And in the meantime, get back to work."

deceive

To talk about elections in such a situation is only to deceive the workers as to the kind of struggle

RENCH POPULAR FRONT

desperation were deserting the Radical Party in the hundreds of thousands. The Stalinists and Social Democrats accepted the bourgeois definition of fascism, and simply sought to combat it within the framework of capitalism. This was no accident or mere theoretical mistake. It was a result of thier allegiance to alien class forces, to agents of capitalism in the workers movement. This was and is the role played by the labor bureaucracy and the Soviet bureaucracy, and therefore by the SP and CP leaderships. For very objective reasons these privileged strata want reform of capitalism, peaceful coexistence with capitalism, not its overthrow.

Trotsky exposed the Stalinists' phony arguments against organized self-defense and the slogan of a workers' militia. He called for the formation of elected Committees of Action, to unify the working class and enable it to control the party and trade union apparatuses which were strangling the revolutionary aspirations of the masses.

One of the Stalinists' favorite arguments was that the hesitancy of the masses to engage in partial economic struggles proved that the situation was not revolutionary. This is an argument that we hear very often today, of course, from Stalinists and revisionists alike. Trotsky showed how in reality the workers knew better than the leadership what the struggles were all about. At a time of deep social crisis the workers understood that partial economic strikes were useless, that a broader perspective, that of a general strike preparatory to the taking of power, was required. Writing in 1935, Trotsky insisted that the working class was ready to struggle and that it had never failed to respond to calls from above when this perspective of fundamental struggle against the bosses was presented.

strike

This analysis was fully confirmed by the spontaneous strike struggles of May-June 1936. The workers completely exposed the Stalinist betrayers who argued that the situation was not revolutionary, just as they exposed the same people in 1968. In 1936 less than 2 million workers were organized and out on strike. So great was the impetus to struggle that within a short time the unions had

that must be fought. Should there be any doubt as to DeGaulle's intentions, just recently he readmitted from exile all the old fascists like Salan and Bidault who had led the fight against the Algerian revolution. These men were the power behind the OAS, the terrorist organization. These are the sort of men who DeGaulle has to call in to support him. The right wing would not only like to smash the working class once and for all but they have shown that they will only support DeGaulle in so far as he leads this kind of offensive. In any case they are ready to step in if they don't feel DeGaulle can carry out this task. The elections are nothing but a screen behind which the fascists are consolidating their power.

The CP has welcomed the elections as an opportunity to destroy the general strike, piecemeal, factory by factory. The CP has called for a Popular Front in which it would collaborate with "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie to form a "true democracy" and build "economic and social progress." Thus, the illusion is created that what is needed is only a few reforms, a little expropriation of the bourgeoisie, a little nationalization.

On the contrary the success of French capitalism depends on its ability to drive back the standard of living of the workers. Any real concessions to the working class will destroy the modest profitability of French capitalism and its precarious position in the world market. French workers should not be fooled by talk about wage increases not being "burned on the fire of inflation." A few days ago, the price of bread rose from 11¢ to 16¢ and this is just the beginning.

Therefore, it is not a question of parliamentary democracy versus DeGaulle's one man rule. The real struggle is between fascism and socialism, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the extension of the revolution to the rest of Europe.

sharper

Already the leading sections of the working class at the Renault and Citroen plants and in the metal industries have refused to end the strike and have denounced the elections as treason. In this period the workers are learning quickly and have watched the daily twists and turns of

enrolled a total of 5 million members.

The 1968 strike, like the 1936 struggles, was spontaneous, but far greater in size and more difficult to control. In 1936, partly because the strike was spontaneous and a revolutionary leadership did not exist, the Stalinists maneuvered very cleverly and took control. The employers were so frightened by the upsurge that they readily granted many of the strike demands.

The CP was thus able at this time to contain the struggles, to get the workers back to work and at the same time to greatly extend its power and influence in the working class. Many younger workers just coming into struggle looked unquestioningly to the CP at this time. There were some elements in the CP and in the class as a whole which opposed the class collaborationist policies, but they were never strong enough to seriously influence the situation. Many CP militants were expelled during this period. The Trotskyist movement deepened its connections with the working class, but not quickly enough to intervene decisively.

dissipated

Meanwhile the capitalists regrouped and reorganized. The Popular Front government which had taken office in June 1936 set about its proclaimed task of reforming capitalism. Since such a perspective was completely utopian given the crisis of the system, the Popular Front ended up administering capitalism and attacking the working class. Many of the concessions won by the workers were limited or taken away, or dissipated through inflation. The franc was devalued in September of 1936. The deepening crisis combined with the refusal of the working class leadership to fight led to apathy and demoralization among the workers, and a turn to the right among the middle class. Within a short time the Popular Front government fell and was replaced by a series of center and right bourgeois regimes.

disaster

The experiment was a total disaster for the French working class. The Popular Front was able neither to improve the living conditions of

their leadership. The struggle is hardly diminishing but getting sharper. Last week the Renault workers battled with the police who sought to evict the workers from the plants. On June 10, a student was killed after police pushed him in the Seine during a demonstration at the auto plant at Flins. This has led to renewed street battles in the Latin Quarter in Paris.

urgent

The urgent task of this period is the construction of sections of the Fourth International, the party founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, to continue the struggle of Lenin's Bolshevik party that led the successful Russian Revolution of 1917. This party was founded because of the betrayals of the Third International and the necessity to build a new leadership that could destroy Stalinism.

This party is represented in France by the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and by the Federation of Revolutionary Students (FER). They have played a key role right from the start. On the one hand they have been fighting within the student movement for a Marxist perspective for unity with the working class in struggle. At the same time they have fought to lead the workers playing a leading role in the first of the sit-down strikes, in Nantes.

The task of the French Marxists is to build an alternative leadership, to fight for the allegiance of the working class by exposing the CP. The general strike must continue and be deepened by factory liason committees. The phony elections should be boycotted. The workers must demands of the CP that it break completely from the bourgeois politicians, that it take the power and form a workers government. By taking the workers through this experience and exposing the Stalinist betrayers at every step the French Trotskyists will win the workers to the revolutionary party and lead them to power.

HELP THE FRENCH TROTSKYISTS!

money is desperately needed for injured militants and to further struggle against gaullist repressions send contributions to:

BULLETIN rm. 7 243 e. 10 st. nyc 10003

the working class nor to defeat Fascism. This chapter in French history was closed by the outright capitulation of a section of the French bourgeoisie to Hitler and the coming to power of the Vichy collaborationist regime in 1940.

Of course the CP leadership never learned the lessons of these events. For nearly 40 years it has been the willing tool of the Soviet bureaucracy. This bureaucracy lives in mortal fear of revolution and its French counterpart strives not to lead the working class to power, but to contain the struggles of the workers while pressuring the capitalists to adopt a foreign policy favorable to the narrow interests of the Soviet bureaucrats.

But 1968 is not 1936 all over again. The working class is stronger and better organized. It is younger and more militant. It is undefeated in struggle and doesn't carry the burden of defeats carried by the European workers 30 years ago.

dictatorship

The crisis is such that even limited concessions are almost impossible. The capitalists are planning to take back these concessions almost at the moment they are granting them. The working class faces, not a Popular Front government, but a Bonapartist dictatorship which is baring its teeth once again after some years of relative political equilibrium. The choice faced by the working class is not between a popular front regime and a workers state, but between workers' power and reactionary Bonapartism or Fascism. In order to defeat the enemy, however, the working class will have to push aside its decrepit leadership which is already calling for yet another resurrection of the notorious Popular Front. The most urgent task facing the French working class today is the construction of a revolutionary party capable of taking the spontaneous and heroic struggles of the class and leading them to final victory. The revolutionary party in France today is being built by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and by the youth and student organizations, Revoltes and the Federation des Etudiants Revolutionnaires (FER).

FRANCE

THE STRUGGLE



STUDENTS, SOME WITH GARBAGE CAN LIDS, CLASH WITH POLICE IN PARIS USING TEAR GAS

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to insure the support of the army. The General
was and is preparing for civil war. Troops and
tanks have been moved up to Paris.

The elections are an ultimatum to the French
workers. DeGaulle is saying: "Either you submit
to the elections of a National Assembly (which I
have the right to dissolve if the results do not

suit me) or I will move in to crush you. And in
the meantime, get back to work."

deceive

To talk about elections in such a situation is on-
ly to deceive the workers as to the kind of struggle

sharper

Already the leading sections of the
class at the Renault and Citroen plants
metal industries have refused to end
and have denounced the elections a
In this period the workers are learn
and have watched the daily twists an

IONS OF THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT

Fascism came to
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ment was proposed, and not only between the CP
and the SP, but with the bourgeois Radical Party
as well. In a period of retreat the Stalinists
had placed revolution on the agenda everywhere
and at all times, and now in a period when the
struggle for power had to be prepared, revolution
was nowhere on the agenda. Significantly, there
was one tendency which the Stalinists labelled as
agents of Fascism during both the Third Period
and Popular Front. This was Trotskyism, which
constantly exposed the bankruptcy and the counter-
revolutionary character of Stalinism.

trotsky

Trotsky subjected the policy of the Stalinists
to merciless criticism. He made a Marxist ana-
lysis of Fascism. Since it arose in response to
the decay of capitalism, a slightly modified or
refurbished capitalist regime could not fight it.
The Stalinists and their allies counterposed to
Fascism not the socialist revolution which alone
could defeat the Fascists, but the very same
bankrupt bourgeois democracy which gave rise to
Fascism in the first place.

Of course it was necessary for the workers
to ally themselves with the petty bourgeoisie. But
the petty bourgeoisie was attracted to Fascism in
the first place because it was searching for an
alternative to the ruination it faced under capi-
talism. The workers had to fight aggressively for
the support of the middle class, by advancing a
program of struggle and showing that they were
prepared to take the power. It was not a matter
of worrying about frightening the middle class. It
was precisely the audacity and demagogy of the
Fascists which attracted these layers of the pop-
ulation. The workers' organizations had to expose
this demagogy, and show how the Fascists were
servants of the bourgeoisie and could offer the
middle class absolutely nothing. The working class
needed a revolutionary alliance with the poor
peasants and sections of the urban middle class,
not an alliance with its 'parliamentary shadow', as
Trotsky referred to the Radical Party.

radicals

The CP and the SP equated the middle class with
the Radical Party, even as middle class voters in

desperation were deserting the Radical Party in
the hundreds of thousands. The Stalinists and
Social Democrats accepted the bourgeois definition
of fascism, and simply sought to combat it within
the framework of capitalism. This was no accident
or mere theoretical mistake. It was a result of
thier allegiance to alien class forces, to agents
of capitalism in the workers movement. This
was and is the role played by the labor bureaucracy
and the Soviet bureaucracy, and therefore by the
SP and CP leaderships. For very objective reasons
these privileged strata want reform of capitalism,
peaceful coexistence with capitalism, not its over-
throw.

Trotsky exposed the Stalinists' phony arguments
against organized self-defense and the slogan of
a workers' militia. He called for the formation
of elected Committees of Action, to unify the
working class and enable it to control the party and
trade union apparatuses which were strangling the
revolutionary aspirations of the masses.

One of the Stalinists' favorite arguments was
that the hesitancy of the masses to engage in
partial economic struggles proved that the situa-
tion was not revolutionary. This is an argu-
ment that we hear very often today, of course,
from Stalinists and revisionists alike. Trotsky
showed how in reality the workers knew better
than the leadership what the struggles were all
about. At a time of deep social crisis the workers
understood that partial economic strikes were use-
less, that a broader perspective, that of a general
strike preparatory to the taking of power, was
required. Writing in 1935, Trotsky insisted that
the working class was ready to struggle and that
it had never failed to respond to calls from above
when this perspective of fundamental struggle
against the bosses was presented.

strike

This analysis was fully confirmed by the spon-
taneous strike struggles of May-June 1936. The
workers completely exposed the Stalinist betrayers
who argued that the situation was not revolutionary,
just as they exposed the same people in 1968. In
1936 less than 2 million workers were organized
and out on strike. So great was the impetus to
struggle that within a short time the unions had

enrolled a total of 5 million members.

The 1968 strike, like the 1936 strike, was
spontaneous, but far greater in size
difficult to control. In 1936, partly be-
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for the French working class. The Popular Front
was unable neither to improve the living con-

The following is an account of the true role of the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) and its student arm Federation Etudiante Revolutionnaire (FER) in the recent French events. It was given by a representative of the French section of the International Committee of the Fourth International at a rally held in London:

The OCI's student body, FER, and its predecessor CLER, had been in the front rank of the fight against the educational policies of the Fouchet plan.

On the night of the barricades FER had just concluded a mass meeting after which 1,300 students marched from the Mutualite to where Cohn-Bendit and the anarchists were assembled.

They pleaded against an adventure with the police and called instead for '500,000 workers to the Latin Quarter on Monday'.

In the early hours of that Saturday morning it was al-

ready clear that the unions could no longer resist the feeling amongst the workers which was entirely in line with FER's demand.

The massive sit-in movement that followed was likewise not spontaneous.

The factory where it began had a concentration of OCI militants.

that followed.

They were also unable to prevent the mass participation of the Trotskyists as a contingent with its own banners and slogans, slogans which were taken up by thousands of workers.

During the May 13th march the demand for our literature could not be satisfied.

national Committee of the Fourth International:

The International Committee of the Fourth International and its French section is the only movement that has prepared theoretically and organizationally for this crisis and the struggles now unfolding in Western Europe, the USA and Eastern Europe.

the anarchists group 'Solidarity' and the revisionists around the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign aimed against the leaders of FER and 'Revoltes', who correctly refused to abandon their objective of forcing the Confederation Generale de Travail; (CGT) and French Ouvriere (FO) unions to support the students to build the worker and student alliance, rather than be diverted into a senseless battle incurring needless casualties on the barricades on May 10.

Congress contemptuously rejects the allegations of cowardice levelled against our comrades as baseless and the work of provocateurs.

The general strike called by the CGT on May 13, as a result of the intervention of our comrades, and the numerous casualties suffered by them in the course of the struggle to liberate the Sorbonne is adequate proof of the correctness of their policies and their courage.

the truth about trotskyism in france

It was FER students who agitated at Renault and other factories for the extension of this movement.

The OCI had striven to develop the workers' movement along the lines of overthrowing the regime.

Stalinist union officials were unable to resist the popular demands for a mass demonstration against the regime

Young workers were asking to join the student movement FER because it was a revolutionary movement.

The following are excerpts from a resolution passed unanimously at the recent Tenth National Congress of the Socialist Labour League, British Section of the Inter-

Congress applauds the leadership provided by the OCI and the Federation des Etudiants Revolutionnaire and commends the exemplary initiative and discipline of our French comrades in the face of police brutality and anarchist and revisionist provocations.

Congress denounces the malicious and lying attacks of



ITALY HEADS FOR CRISIS LIKE FRANCE

ROME STUDENTS BATTLE POLICE; WORKERS WILL ENTER STRUGGLE SOON

dent movement, in the words of right wing PCI figure Amendola, of 'extremist infantilism,' and 'revolutionary dilettantism,' seeks to keep the movement from making the link with the Italian working class that was achieved in France.

by Dennis O'Casey

The political crisis which has opened up in Italy, reflected both in the withdrawal of the United Socialist Party from its coalition with the Christian Democrats and the resurgence of student and worker rebellion, can very rapidly follow the course marked out in France.

It is true that Italian capitalism is still enjoying the boom conditions which have been replaced by economic downturns in the rest of Europe.

boom

The late arrival and prolongation of boom conditions in Italy stem in part from the fact that the Italian industrial plant was built up almost entirely from scratch in the post war period with the help of Marshall Plan aid. Consequently Italian factories are modern and equipped with up to date machinery, highly competitive as against the outmoded steel plants or coal mines of Britain or Germany.

This competitive edge has allowed Italy especially since the introduction of the Common Market to grab up more and more of the European market. Thus, Italian exports have jumped 60% in 3 years; industrial production climbed 9% in 1967; Fiat is now the biggest vehicle producer in Europe. Important as well has been Italy's drive to penetrate the Peoples Democracies, the USSR, and China. Fiat is scheduled to complete a 600,000 car per year plant on the Volga in Russia by '69; Pirelli rubber is building plants in Russia and Czechoslovakia; and an oil refinery was recently sold to China.

key

The real key, however, to the relative prosperity of Italian capitalism lies in its ability to prevent the Italian working class from enjoying proportionately in this boom. Italian workers, for whatever gains enjoyed in recent years, are still the lowest paid in Europe outside of Spain. This is why Italy has come to be known as the 'Japan of Europe'. In some sections of the south, average incomes are as low as \$400 a year. In the 1963-1965 period when an upward movement in wages threatened inflation and balance of payment deficits, the Moro government carried out

an emergency program of national austerity depressing wages well below productivity increases. Today the powerful Communist Party dominated Italian Trade Union federation (CGIL) fully cooperates with the parties of the Center-Left coalition in holding wages at this level.

election

It was precisely the inability of the Center-Left government to carry out any substantial reforms that led to sizable losses by the Socialists to the PCI and PSIUP in the May 68 election. For fear that even larger masses of the working class would abandon it the United Socialist Party decided to withdraw from the Center-Left government, forcing thereby the resignation of the Moro and his cabinet which no longer enjoys a majority.

The increase in the Communist-Proletariat share of the vote from 25.5 to 30% must be seen as a reflection of the radicalization of the working class, the PSIUP especially reflecting a radicalization among the youth.

At the same time it is clear that of all the Stalinist parties in Europe today the PCI is the most servile to the wishes of its own bourgeoisie. Like its sister party in France the PCI is a mass party whose betrayals are directly responsible for the rise of fascism in the '30s and the restoration of the bourgeoisie after World War II. Today while accounting for nearly 1/3 of the Italian parliament and actually in control with the support of the Socialists of many large towns, including Bologna, hundreds of minor communes, provinces and institutions such as schools, hospitals and welfare centers, and the CGIL, the PCI continues to limit itself to the role of loyal opposition, fighting for certain limited reforms within the context of bourgeois democracy.

stalinism

This is why when in recent days students and workers in Rome, Milan, Turin, and Pesaro have come into the streets in support of French students and workers as well as their own demands they have been met not only with police violence but scathing denunciations from the PCI leadership. As in France Stalinism is accusing the stu-

crisis

The boom conditions in the Italian economy cannot in any way long resist the general tendency towards acute fiscal crisis already engulfing the rest of Europe and the United States. It will soon be not merely a question of the Italian working class fighting for its proportional share of the temporary prosperity but of its facing the same attacks on its conditions as we see in Britain, France, and Germany. In the face of the development of mass working class struggle the Italian bourgeoisie will be pushed just as its French counterpart closer and closer to Fascist dictatorship. The 15% electoral gain made this year by the Christian Democrats at the expense of rightist parties only reflects the temporary confidence given that party by the landowners and monopolists because of its recent ability to hold the working class in check - an ability which events of recent days already call into doubt. The question in Italy as in France is no longer how many reforms can be obtained under bourgeois democracy. The choice rather is Fascism or Socialism.

The French events clearly expose the unwillingness of Stalinism to lead the working class to power even as the objective conditions cry out for it. Thus, as in France, the task before revolutionary socialists is to bring to the Italian youth the call for an alternative to Stalinism through the construction of a section of the Fourth International. Only in this way can the youth go beyond a merely catalytic role in setting off spontaneous struggle amongst the working class and actually bring into the working class a program for the seizure of power, expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a workers state in Italy.

traitors

At the same time the building of the alternative Trotskyist party requires that the CP bureaucrats be exposed as the traitors they are.

This can only be done if the demand is raised now that the PCI use the present crisis brought on by the breakdown of the Center Left government to break with all capitalist parties and prepare to establish a Communist government along with the CGIL pledged to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and a socialist Italy.

by Karen Funkiel

Behind the political mud slinging involved in the ousting of the YSA from the Student Mobilization Committee lie some very clear political lessons. The SMC has been led by a "troika" of Communist Party youth (Dubois Clubs), Socialist Workers Party youth (YSA), and some independents, variously referring to themselves as "radical pacifists." Its main thrust has been to organize demonstrations of masses of middle class students in order to put pressure on the government to stop or slow down the Vietnam war.

Working on the misconception that protest pressure is what influences the bourgeois politicians, rather than the overall crisis of capitalism, the strength of the Vietcong, and the struggle of American workers, the SMC was never able to carry on activity between demonstrations. The basic lack of political understanding led to the incapability of the leadership to take on responsibility as leaders, and form some perspective for activity and education aside from mobilizations.

roots

Because the SMC doggedly was a single issue organization it was not able to show those who rallied around it the real roots of the war. It was afraid to say to these students that the only way to end such wars now and in the future is to completely smash the capitalist system. Since the SMC was so afraid of alienating these students, it adapted to their low level of political consciousness. As Linda Morse, National Coordinator, states, they made a movement which was "comfortable" for all activists. They were proud of all their "anti-establishment" students--the vast majority of whom at the last April 27th demonstration wore buttons supporting McCarthy and Kennedy.

Phyllis Kalb, of the Communist Party, states quite plainly that one of the weaknesses of the SMC was that "its organization never really adequately represented its real base." Naturally, if this is a perspective of the SMC, it has of necessity to adapt to the lowest political common denominator. These in the leadership who call themselves socialists and

but how could it have expected otherwise? It has simply outlined its usefulness in an organization which can be so tremendously undercut by negotiations in Paris and "dove" candidates at home.

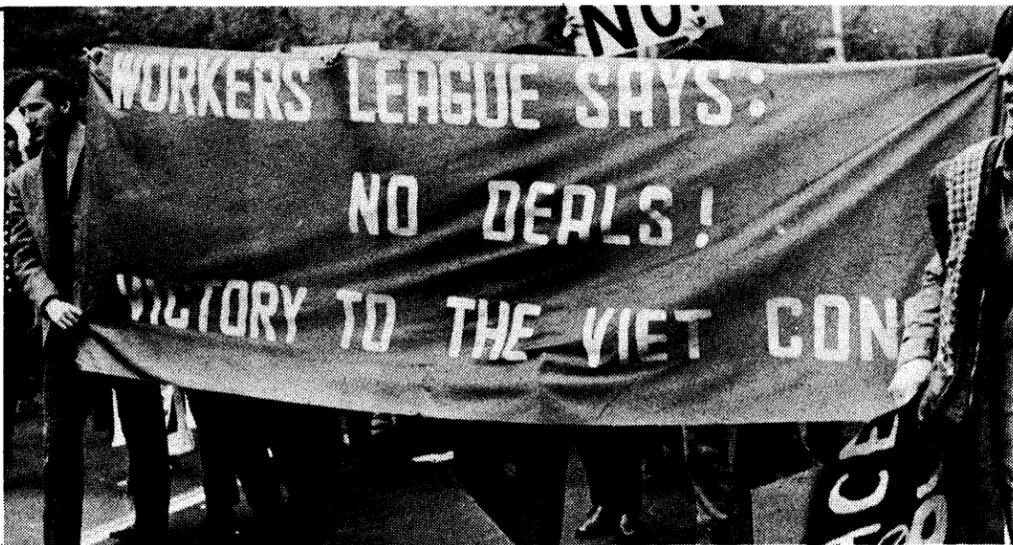
The others in the leadership have proposed that the SMC no longer remain a single issue organization. The YSA opposes this on the grounds that it would then lose

Clearly what neither the YSA nor its opponents wish to state openly is that SMC is through finished, ended. The struggle has advanced beyond this level. Political questions are being raised and a political movement must be built. The Communist Party sees this clearly and thus is seeking to channel the peace forces into its kind of political movement -- capitalist politics.

frontations.

It is not politics which is dirty but capitalist politics which is dirty. A political movement must be built in the United States which bases itself on the trade union movement and at the same time links the trade union struggle with the blacks, the poor as a whole, and the students. This requires a break with McCarthy, with middle class

SMC--HOW THE YSA COOKED ITS OWN GOOSE



WORKERS LEAGUE FIGHTS FOR VIETCONG VICTORY AGAINST CP-YSA POPULAR FRONT

communists have had to settle for left umbrella slogans such as "immediate withdrawal" instead of fighting for full support of the Vietnamese people under the slogan of Victory to the Viet-

cong. They have allowed dissatisfaction with the war to be channelled back into bourgeois parties by inviting such "liberals" as Mayor Lindsay to speak at peace demonstrations.

coalition

Meanwhile, the YSA is shrieking in horror at the possibility of a coalition government in France--a hollow cry when they practice coalition politics at home in the peace movement. They are for a complete break with the French Communist Party but fight tooth and nail to maintain a bloc with the American Communist Party. The YSA is surprised that it has been thrown out of this coalition;

its "unique" quality. The only quality of the SMC that is unique, however, is its self-declared radicalism and its actual political conservatism.

swamp

In a certain sense of course the YSA is right. If the SMC does, as its present leadership wants it to, it will just be one more swamp dweller seeking to combine student power, black power, and adventures with political opportunism. For those who want such a mish-mash they can choose from a wide assortment of groups like the CP, YSA, PLP, YAWF, SDS, etc. But the present leadership of the SMC is also right when they say that mass marches are a deadend, that the question of the Vietnam war must be linked to other questions effecting the American working people and students, and that struggles today must take on a political form.

By so doing it is not "betraying" SMC as the YSA claims but is actually giving SMC a political expression. The betraying business took place long ago when the CP and YSA-SWP joined forces to build the peace movement which could include John Lindsay. The YSA worked very hard and they succeeded in their goal so well that now they find themselves tossed out by their very collaborators for three years. Such is the logic of centrism.

adventures

The answer to coalition politics is not street adventure a la YAWF and Walter Teague. Nor is a matter of "teaching" students as to the nature of the police by taking them into struggles where they get their heads beaten in and expelled from schools. While students definitely learn this way that the police are their enemy they also learn that the enemy wins in such con-

based Peace and Freedom or Freedom and Peace movements with anarchists and isolated adventures.

serious

It requires the building of a serious conscious Marxist party in America as part of a world party of the working class. Such a party will struggle day in and day out in the trade union particularly urging workers to take the first step to power--the building of their own party--a workers party representing the exploited masses as a whole and based on the great power of the trade unions. This is the only meaningful task for socialists in America. Everything else is a diversion. The YSA is tossed out of its own creation. It couldn't happen to a more deserving people. The SMC is dying. No one will notice the death.



MARSHALL TITO
by Pat Connelly

Belgrade University was renamed the Red University of Karl Marx by students sitting in there in protest not only against the university structure, but against the monolithic structure of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and against the social privileges created and sustained by the bureaucracy of the party.

The strike began on June 2nd, after a series of clashes between the police and students which were excessively brutal and lasted two days, until the government officially banned all public de-

monstrations, meetings and parades in the city of Belgrade. Within four days the strike had spread to the provincial universities in Zagreb, Skoplje, Sarajevo, Novi Sad and Ljubljana. After the ban on public meetings, following the police-student battles, the students called for the resignation of the police chief in Belgrade and the resignation of the interior ministers of Serbia and Belgrade, whom they charged with responsibility for the police brutality.

workers

On June 5th, days after the beginning of the strike, the government began to make overtures to the students, in fear that their demands would stir the workers throughout Yugoslavia who have been the victims of a recent, so-called 'tightening up' campaign which has reduced their wages in the face of rising prices, and which has introduced the speed up in factory work. Government representatives promised the students increased unemployment payments, and

an increased minimum wage. These conciliatory moves by the government were recognized by the students as concessions designed to still the strike, and prevent its spreading to the discontented workers, who had expressed their support to the students. They continued to strike.

The Communist Party organization in the university sides with the students on university reform and police brutality, and are making every effort to channel the discontent and rebellion into safe channels--discussion with the government representatives.

bureaucracy

The huge sign 'The Red University of Karl Marx' was not the only indication that these students, while fighting against the Stalinist bureaucracy of Yugoslavia, are fighting against capitalist restoration also. Another banner draped from the balcony of the School of Philosophy read 'Down with the Red Bureaucracy'. The students know the

bureaucratic nature of their rulers. Although the defenders of the socialized means of production, the Bureaucracy is at the same time viciously fighting for the social and economic privileges which it has wrested from the Yugoslavian worker and which it enjoys at their expense.

unity

Although support for the striking students was expressed by almost every sector of the Yugoslavian population, by students in the provincial universities, and intellectuals, by the Higher School of Political Science, and most important by workers, who stopped work in the factories for a meeting to express support for the student demands, and by young work brigades which sent messages of solidarity, mounting confusion was evident as the strike continued. Two separate action committees from different schools within the University of Belgrade were unable, without lengthy negotiations and compromises, to agree on

having a joint meeting, with a member of one action committee addressing the members of the other action committee! The confusion and division among the students only weakened them in the face of the bureaucracy. The unity of the students with each other and with the workers of Yugoslavia and throughout the world can only be achieved through the building of a revolutionary party which can provide leadership to supplant the betrayals of the Communist Party and its 'Red Bureaucracy'.

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FIGHT TITO BUREAUCRACY

SSEU CLIENTS DEMONSTRATE, CASELOADS RISE, A PROGRAM FOR UNITED STRUGGLE

by Fred Calhoun

NEW YORK-The one day work action held on May 30 by staff at the Kingsbridge Welfare Center demonstrates several very important lessons for all workers in the New York City Department of Social Service. Since returning from last summer's defeated strike, caseworkers at Kingsbridge have handled caseloads averaging in the 80's--well above the 60 caseload limit called for in the contract. This puts additional work on supervisory and clerical personnel as well. In addition, Kingsbridge has been heavily hit recently by sit-in demonstrations of welfare clients demanding the issuance of 'minimum standards' of clothing and household furnishings. With some 500 clients a day participating, workers at Kingsbridge and other centers have been working under conditions which amount to speed-up, often remaining late into the night to service all the clients.

After several weeks of this intense overwork, the staff at Kingsbridge demanded union action to obtain local work easements to facilitate the handling of clients and to demand the enforcement of the 60 caseload. The result was a one day walk-out under the guise of taking sick leave sponsored jointly by the Social Service Employees Union which represents caseworkers and local 371 of DC 37 AFL-CIO which has bargaining rights for supervisors.

Almost every caseworker, over half the supervisors, and a number of clerks - even though the city-wide clerks union local 1549 of DC 37 refused to sanction the action - participated. As a result a promise to add ten more units of caseworkers was obtained.

power

What is demonstrated here is the power that staff has if it is united--pointing up the necessity for SSEU to merge with local 371. As things stand now, this merger will most likely be approved by SSEU membership in a referendum to be held in a few weeks. But what is also needed--and what is lacking now--is a perspective by the respective Morgenstern and Rugoff leaderships for utilizing this combined strength to fight for contract enforcement now as a first step in winning a better contract in '69, as well as a perspective for winning the support of client groups by posing a joint fight against the real enemy - the bosses who control the city, state, and federal governments. Unless fought against, the Morgenstern and Rugoff leaderships will use this merger--rather than to unite staff--to more effectively limit the struggles of workers in welfare--keeping them isolated from the rest of the city labor movement.

While even the small easements won were the result

of united action by all staff, clearly an isolated one day action could not be expected to force the city to make major concessions--and none were forthcoming. Many staff members now realize the futility of this action--for their caseloads are no lower, their working conditions no better, and they are in no way better prepared to service the hundreds of clients pouring into the center every day.

blame

The blame for this failure must be borne first and foremost by the Militant Caucus whose primary support is in Kingsbridge. Two of the delegates representing the Militant Caucus ran in the recent SSEU elections on a program opposing affiliation and giving detailed advice on how to be 'militant.' It appears that these esteemed gentlemen have been unable to follow their own advice. They spread the illusion that significant gains could be won by the one day action. They opposed urging workers at the Melrose Center--which is in the same building and which has been facing the same problem as Kingsbridge - to join in. They had no program for taking the action beyond a one day, local action. They accused opposition elements who, while supporting the action, attempted to explain its limitations and propose alternative policy of being 'splitters' and 'wreckers.'

The Militant Caucus has

proven unable to draw the lessons of this action. They are still opposed to affiliation, even though they were forced of necessity to enlist support of 371 members. They are convinced that welfare workers will be unable to win support from the city labor movement and thus are opposed to any serious confrontation with the city which might lead to the invocation of the Taylor Law. Despite their militant wind, they prefer to play the kind of shell games that will lead to further demoralization of staff.

morgenstern

As a result of the action at Kingsbridge, the Morgenstern leadership was forced to act. Morgenstern had previously advocated unilateral SSEU action to fight for caseload lowering. Such an action would have been nothing more than an adventure, since the SSEU would have been unable to protect workers disciplined for taking part in the action. Now Morgenstern calls for a Bronx-wide walk-out--but again on a one day basis. He has no perspective for demanding the kind of support from DC 37 that would enable SSEU to wage any extended action. Thus, he too is forced to oppose any attempt to unite staff in a real fight for the 60 caseload.

Morgenstern's proposals created little enthusiasm at an executive board meeting. Many delegates from centers not facing the same problems were reluctant to ask their own members to support the workers at Kingsbridge. Other delegates from centers which were involved in client demonstrations opposed the walk-out because they were afraid of antagonizing client organizations. They based their opposition on the idea that they could best support clients by issuing enough money to break the welfare system, and in doing so could create the unity with clients

needed to best fight for the demands of staff. Thus they were opposed to doing more than requesting a few local easements from their administrations, and urged staff to accept the speed-up.

confusion

Such an anti-union perspective adopted city-wide would lead to tremendous confusion and demoralization of staff. It is based on the false assumption that the demands of welfare clients can be met within the system of welfare. However, no matter how much money workers give their clients, the basic problems of the poor - unemployment, lack of education and job training, rotten housing and medical facilities will still remain. Welfare workers should certainly issue as much money as they can, but they cannot stop there; they must initiate a campaign - and carry it into DC 37 to take the lead in fighting for a real program to tackle poverty in America.

fight

Only by organizing demonstrations at City Hall which, in addition to fighting for improved working conditions for staff, demand full employment a lowering of taxes for the poor and working people, and an end to the impoverishment of ghetto existence by pumping billions of dollars into the ghettos can welfare workers forge the basis for real unity with client organizations. The failure to adopt such a perspective for unity in struggle will inevitably lead to the growth of hostility between workers--who will blame the clients for their condition of overwork--and clients--who will blame workers for their condition of poverty. Such hostility will only play into the hands of the bosses and politicians who intend to depress the living conditions of all sections of the working class.

LAUNCH PAPER IN CANADA

SPARK

Vol. 1 No. 1 JUNE 1968 10c

WORKERS LEAGUE

says,

VOTE NDP- VOTE LABOR

The only way out of present deteriorating conditions facing working people and students is the election of an NDP government pledged to fight for socialism. The NDP must be brought to power with a clear mandate to carry through socialist measures to counter deteriorating wages, anti-union

are necessary the cost month ro empl

by Marty Jonas
Now on sale in Canada is the first issue of Spark, the monthly printed newspaper of the Canadian Workers League. The publication of Spark and the setting up of a functional Canadian section of the Fourth International could not have come at a more important time. As the central portion of the first issue, 'Perspectives for Building the Revolutionary Party in Canada', puts it, the time for reforms is over. Inflation is rampant. The bosses are mounting their offensive against the Canadian working class--as they are doing in all the capitalist countries. Labor must be ready to fight back. This is no time to avoid politics or divide the class with Quebec nationalism, as the New Democratic Party bureaucrats and their Stalinist and Pabloite protectors do.

The Workers League is the only group in Canada to call for an NDP victory in the coming elections so that the working class may see just what

is the nature of this labor party in power. The Workers League calls on the NDP to fight for labor. The workers must go through this experience of bringing the NDP to power and seeing it in action; it is up to the revolutionary party to lead it through this experience, drawing the lessons for the workers at every step.

Other contents of Spark include articles on the anti-war movement, the UAW in Canada, the great struggle in France, and the campaign

being led by the Workers League for a real taxicab Union in Toronto. All articles are concerned with the fight for revolutionary leadership in every area of the Canadian labor and radical movement.

The Workers League of the USA welcomes the Workers League of Canada into the ranks of revolutionary socialists fighting in the International Committee of the Fourth International for workers power.

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