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 lies 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 interventions. 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.

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 if it is as amazing law 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, the union's president, was not defeated, the union fixed $50,000, 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 absence has not stopped the legislatures from putting even more teeth into this law.

The lesson that PL draws from this whole struggle is, 'when the ruling class passes an injurious law to use as a club over the heads of the workers fighting for their demands, the thing to do is 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 be placed under the control of the working class, and this control here in this state, must be placed under the leadership of Shanker. From the 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.

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4. Strong "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

Lenin, 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 working class, because there would have to be brought to them from without. The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own efforts is able to develop only trade union consciousness.' The rank and file through their own decisions, cannot spontaneously, through an understanding of the need to struggle for power, cannot spontaneously.

Lenin attacks the Eonomists who resemble PL, instead of accommodating the call to go forward to the consolidation of the revolutionary organization and the expansion of political activity, the call...
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, worshipers of the closest 'organic' contact with the proletarian strug-

ideology that will not only sustain such coalitions in immediate struggles but enable them to advance up the ladder to more strategic goals." The unanswerability of revolutionary opposition is thereby implied.

If revolutionaries organize around con-

tradictions on local issues somehow the labor-bur-

eucrats will be replaced and this will lead towards 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 figure 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. Jekyll 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 out one or two workers and indoctrinate them for 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 collective 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 nomes beneath the 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 con-

sciousness of the working class. This is what Marxists understand by 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 conceptions 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 see it as a set of debating points of recipes to answer questions raised by individual workers.

This separation between theory and 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 theo-

retical 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 con-

ception denies the importance of revolutionary party.

A party is not needed just to articulate "communist ideology" about... What PL fails to see is that the role of the labor bureaucracy and the capitalists is not auto-

matically exposed. A party is required to lead campaigns which concentrate the attention of the workers on their interests. PL does not attempt to explain the political tasks required by the working class and does not present them for betrayal. Because they have no understanding of strategy they are unable to comprehend the ploy 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 con-

sciousness 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 majority 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 to the working class as a whole. The task of the revolutionary party is to pose demands trans-

ationally in the sense that they cannot be met within capitalism. This program must be raised not apart but in the struggles of the class. Both demands for fought for concretely develop the con-

sciousness 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 polit-

ical alternative of the working class on this program lays the basis for the formation of a mass revo-

lutionary party and is that leap in consciousness which is required for the overthrow of capitalism.

GOMPERS: MORE FATHER OF PL THAN LENIN

prepare

At the same time we understand the importance of the economic struggles. But we are not pro-

tect before these struggles. Rather we need to lead these struggles in every way at the same time pointing out that the struggles of the workers will lead to the labor party and with the government. This confrontation must be prepared for consciously. The confrontation with the labor bureaucracy raises political ques-

tions. 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 continuing 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 capital-

ialism.

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

BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

Editor-Tim Walker
Art Director-Marty Jones
Published bi-weekly by the Workers League which is in political solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Rem. 9, 243 E. 10 St., New York 10003.

Printed entirely by union labor.
LABOR AND UNIONS - FROM LENIN

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 aim of the trade union struggle. 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 the need for a revolutionary political ideology that will not only produce immediate gains, but the ladder to more struggle. This is the basic task which this issue appears.

In conclusion, the tradition of local issues should be replaced and the foundation of a ‘still’ stronger mass party, a fundamental revolutionary change is a must. The strategy of building a mass party is subordinated. PL is not only for revolutionary political parties, but also for revolutionary unions. They have no role in the unions and the白领.

What has led to the new role of the PL is the breakdown of the union movement, and the rise of the socialist party in the center, adapting and changing their tactics to fit the new reality.

For those revolutionaries who believe in a schizophrenic functioning, the concept of a ‘left’ is not necessary. They are both left and right, and there is no need for a socialist party in the center. We will see the end of the union movement in the near future.

At the heart of this issue is the question of how the labour movement can move forward. The article discusses the need for a revolutionary political ideology, and the importance of building a mass party that can lead the way.

The workers league is a campaign which emphasizes the importance of building a mass party on the historical origins of revisionism. It provides a guide to preparing the party, and the guide to every step of the way. The article also discusses the separation of the mass party from the workers movement.

PL insists that workers campaigns for power and unity, and that this is the way to prepare for power in a transitional way. PL also emphasizes the need for a mass party that is not just a means to an end.

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